

THE CRUSADER

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

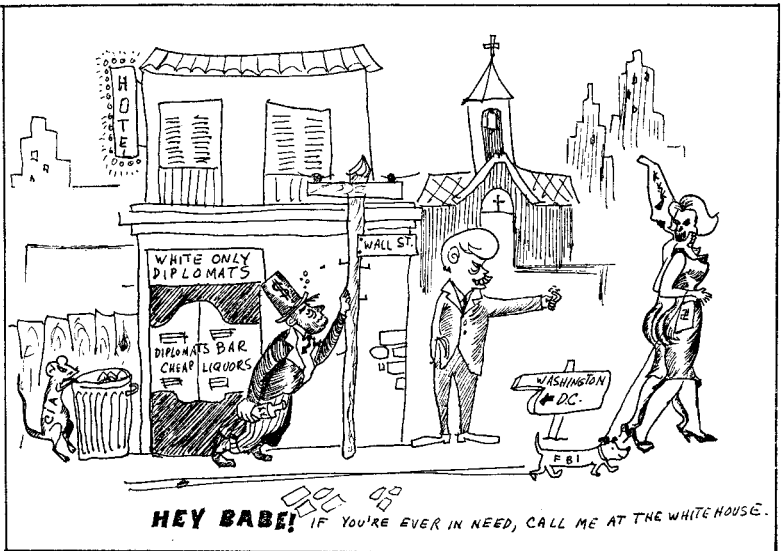
ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, EDITOR —IN EXILE—

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MAY 1962

Afro-Americans & Slick John Kennedy

THE Government of the United States is no government of the Afro-Americans at all. The slick John Kennedy gang is operating one of the greatest sham government in the entire world. Afro-Americans and fair minded



whites must be gullible indeed to believe that the racist, KKK dominated so-called U.S. Government is concerned with the welfare and human rights of colored people.

The colored people of the USA must bring themselves to realize that token integration is a slick maneuver to check the restlessness of an oppressed people fast becoming infected with the germ of total resistance policy developing among all of the oppressed peoples of the world. Token integration means nothing to the masses.

Even an idiot should be able to see that so-called token integration is no more than window dressing designed to lull the poor downtrodden Afro-American to sleep and to make the outside world think that the racist, savage USA is a fountainhead of social justice and democracy.

The Afro-American in the USA is facing his greatest crisis since chattel slavery. All forms of violence and underhanded methods of extermination are being stepped up against our people. Contrary to what the "big daddies" and their "good nigras" would have us believe about all of the phoney progress they claim the race is making, the true status of the Afro-American is steadily on the down turn.

Those mercenary Afro-Americans who pander their self respect and prostitute the human dignity of the race for crumbs from their white master's tables are helping to forge the nails for their own caskets. Have they not learned anything from the lesson of the history of the Jews in Nazy Germany? All the world knows how many Jews sold out their race hoping to gain insulation for themselves. It is common knowledge that the only privilege they won was the right to go to the gas chamber last. Now they are just as dead as the ones who went first.

Already the colored people of the U.S. are plagued with mass arrests, attacks by vicious Nazi trained police dogs, and victims of gun and club happy racist policemen. Already our people are victims of mass unemployment, official conspiracies of starvation and Ku Klux Klan terror backed by the U.S. Justice Department. Already the racist, fascists are laying the groundwork for a mass exodus. Our people must not forget how the Nazis loaded the Jews on death trains under the pretense of sending workers to other locations when they were really destined for the extermination chambers. It goes without saying that the Afro-American is not wanted in the USA anymore. Machinery and poor white workers are fast replacing him.

Where is slick John Kennedy while all of this KKK and Minuteman racist terror is being visited upon our people? Yes, he is saber rattling and boasting of how he will defend the democratic rights of ex-Nazis in Berlin. He is threatening nuclear war in behalf of so-called democratic rights for people in far away places very seldom heard of in the USA. Slick John Kennedy, the far sighted humanitarian, was very swift in setting up emergency funds and centers for so-called Cuban refugees. This same hypocrite, who rode to office on the vote of the colored people, now winks at the plight of Afro-Americans who become refugees from racist terror. Rather than set up great funds and location centers for colored refugees, Slick John prefer to fake a bleeding heart for everyone but Afro-Americans whom he expects to cry with him because the world no longer sees the

master race of the USA as God's chosen people to rule the universe.

Slick John is swift to sic his fascist running dog F.B.I. on innocent Afro-Americans who refuse to be lynched by the KKK but he merely shrugs when an Afro-American soldier is murdered by racists. When Afro-Americans are murdered by racists in the South, Slick John proclaims it a "local matter" out of the jurisdiction of the racist Justice Department. Afro-Americans are kidding themselves when they think they can expect the U.S. racist Government to respect their rights as human beings. The F.B.I., the Minutemen and the KKK are of the same ilk. There is no class immunity for Afro-Americans. When mass terror breaks loose, all people of color are targets. Turn the other cheekism is no survival tactic for a jungle filled with wild beasts and savages presided over by an impotent witch doctor, Slick John Kennedy, whose magic portions only work in far away places.

Hands Across The Mason-Dixon

It is shameful that a so-called liberal governor of a great state like Ohio would conspire with a racist sewerline politician like Terry Sanford of North Carolina to surrender an Afro-American mother to a den of rattlesnakes called lawmen and court officials of a heathen state. North Carolina's brand of justice is slander to the whole civilized race. Only an idiot of the first magnitude would ever dare think that a colored person can get justice in North Carolina, and most of all in that dung heap called Monroe. It is not even a moot question.

If there was ever any doubt, the whole world should know by now that Governor DiSalle's decision to extradite Mrs. Mae Mallory back to the sharks in Monroe, who have falsely brought kidnap charges against human rights fighters, is proof that the racist politicians of the North and South are birds of a feather. The Mallory case reminds us once more that no Afro-American is out of the reach of Klan justice so long as he is on soil presided over by racists. It is an indictment of American justice to have a Northern state collaborate with the South in a legal lynching. The Mallory case proves that even a Northern State like Ohio is not half as humane as integrated Cuba. Realizing how Fidel Castro feels about racial injustice, the racist U.S. Government has not even bothered to ask Cuba to return an Afro-American to North Carolina lynch justice. It has limited its request to members of its own political club and racist cohorts. Terry Sanford knows that he can depend on a chum like DiSalle to return fugitive slaves. It is time for the decent people of the world to speak out against jungle law in the so-called leader of the "free world" for white only. MAE MALLORY MUST NOT BE RETURNED TO MONROE'S KLAN JUSTICE.

The Disease of Bigots

The racists of the USA suffer from mass psychoneurosis. Their minds have become so twisted out of normal proportions that they have become mental cases. They possess warped personalities that have forced them out of the realm of natural readjustment. The racist bigots of the USA are monomaniacs when race is involved. Many are perfectly normal in every subject but the one encompassing human rights for colored people. A brilliant college professor or scientist who is a bigot may possess an open mind and high intellectual integrity in every field but that of race relations. In this realm he may react as a blind fanatic whose sensibilities are as insensate as the most rabid racist of the backwoods country. His insensate nature makes him immune to logic and fact that serve as a stimulus to normal people with open minds. When individuals' personalities become divorced from reality and insensible to the stimulus of a normal environment, the best antidote is a shock that registers and revives the sensible capabilities to the state of reality.

The Afro-American has been subjected to racism and persecution for almost 400 years in the new world. Common sense dictates that white oppressors who have been unable to develop a humane attitude and a just state of human intercourse indicative of a civilized society in four centuries are incapable of doing so voluntarily merely from the standpoint of social readjustment.

It must also be realized that an oppressed people who have meekly submitted to the every whim of such a deranged personality cannot possibly have completely escaped unscarred. Too many Afro-Americans have for too long, even though unwillingly, played an accommodating pretender's game in a vain effort to pacify the hopeless lunatics.

In the past when this all powerful lunatic, with his homicidal tendencies, insisted that he was God almighty, for the sake of survival it may have been necessary to go along with him. This is no longer the case. He is no longer the supreme power in the world. Afro-Americans must stop playing the accommodating lunatic's game. We must shock him back to reality. Afro-Americans must stop pretending to go along with insane racism. No sane person is willing to wear a badge of inferiority. No sane person is satisfied to live under a caste system of brutal Jim crow. Human life is too short and precious to spend under terrifying conditions as a subhuman.

We must let the entire world know that we are not satisfied with racism in the USA. We must let the racist brute himself know that we are no longer going to play his idiots' game. We must also serve notice on the world that we are willing to help place him in a straight jacket until he is completely cured of his insensate, sadistic and homicidal tendencies.

On the Monroe Scene

A weeping Afro-American mother tells the court how she was brutally raped by four white thugs — She identifies two and points one out in the court room — The verdict is acquittal and Union County pats itself on the back for another Christian victory over helpless colored people... An Afro-American is brought to trial accused of raping a white woman — The woman testifies to his innocence... The Afro-American is sent to prison for a period of 20 years... So justice reigns supreme in Union County, North Carolina — Kangaroo justice, that is!

However, let the white savages of Monroe and Union County remember that "the wheels of justice grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine."

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Last Summer the courageous action of local Monroe youth forced the city officials to close the municipally owned swimming pool. The youth picketed the pool because the City refused to provide any facilities what-so-ever for colored people. It goes without saying how the officials and their Klan loving chief of police A. A. Mauney have been conspiring to rid the town of all those who believe in democracy and the

enforcement of the U.S. Constitution.

Added to forced exile and phoney charges of all types, two other youth are now in jail on "secret assault" charges. It is said that they stole a rifle and fired on a racist service station where Klansmen assemble at night. This ESSO Service station is where around the clock nuisance telephone calls originate. This station, called Horton & Gordon, was responsible for many threatening calls to the home of the Editor of THE CRUSADER. It is also a nightly hangout for local racist policemen and highway patrolmen.

Afro-Americans have no chance of receiving impartial justice in Monroe. The law is used as a medium of white racist vengeance against helpless colored people, so it comes as no surprise that these youths are in jail on such charges. It comes as no surprise that one of them has been badly beaten in jail and shot by the jailor. That is a custom of the Union County officials. They have in times past been reported to the do-nothing U.S. INJustice Department about such conduct. What is happening to the youth there is a part of the penalty of being born black in the United States of America.

NOTICE: THE CRUSADER at this time has no subscription fee, however, we are in desperate need of funds to cover distribution expenses. Help us to continue our work in exile by sending a contribution today to: THE CRUSADER, c/o. Mrs. Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Garden, Toronto, Canada.

The Day that need not have been

It was a day when reason and wisdom gave way to madness —
When poets and priests became drunk with the nectar of folly;
When the Gods of greed and hate danced to the music of thunder
And in their passion of orgy for sensual pleasure they made toasts
from the blood of life.
Tyranny became the commanders of their souls and their minds became
slaves of vain glory and vanity.
Ignorance and superstition resigned as King and Queen
In the courts of mocked justice.
This was the day that the innocent suckling who cried for the nurture
Of milk was nursed on the champaign of death.
This was the day of destiny when guilt became the child of
Indifference and silence.
This was the day when sane men who had cried vainly in the wilderness
Of madness stood in terror at the fulfillment of their prophesy.
In horrified contempt they scorned and mocked the barons
with their fool's gold.
For this day of universal horror and doom was a day
That need not have been.
The whole world at last was illuminated.
For once, all men were equal; all men were the condemned.
Judges became the judged, executors witnessed their own execution
In the hordes of the just and unjust.
Those who had made a greater sword perished by the sword.
The giant skyscrapers insensate barons had built to store up
Their treasures quivered momentarily, then fell as dust and ashes
To the earth.
The illuminated sky became dark with twirling clouds of smoke.
The mad, turbulent winds became hurricanes and cyclones of fire.
The sea spilled over its boundaries and silence and peace
Reigned supreme.
The ravaging vulture that had strived on death and decay
Fell inanimately to earth. He too became part of what had been his life.
The world was at peace now.
The only peace since creation.
All mankind had a common bond.
There were no Kings or paupers.
All men were the same; they were the disinherited of the earth.
Deep in the darkness of earth life faintly glowed.
Through default, the amoeba had inherited earth again.
He was king over a dominion that lofty man squandered.
Yes, the lowest of creatures became king on the day that
Need not have been.

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N y 21 — Vedado
Habana, Cuba.

CAN YOU IMAGINE . . .

... Racist senator Russell from the social jungle called Georgia attacking Prime Minister Nehru of India and calling him a "hypocrite" and some things worse. Russell is peeved at Nehru because he refuses to be a "yes man" to the great white father. Russell seems to have lost track of the fact that Uncle Toms are not as plentiful as they used to be at home or abroad?

... Senator Sam Irving of the racist "Good Egg State" of North Carolina presiding over the Senate Judiciary Committee responsible for anti-poll tax legislation?

... A U.S. President who initiated the Peace Corps calling for an all out embargo against Cuba, dispatching troops and fighter planes to South Vietnam, deliberately sending planes into Berlin specifically to provoke an incident and allowing U. S. Armed forces personnel at Guantanamo to fire on Cubans on Cuban soil? Yes, can you imagine what kind of "New Frontier" the world must see him as a representative of?

... A "democratic" COUNTRY LIKE THE U.S.A. having separate grave yards in its capitol City for the deceased DOGS of whites and Afro-Americans?

... In Los Angeles, California rains collapsed a retaining wall and revealed a cave that was the only home available to a dozen or so men in this modern city in the richest country in the world?

... Church doors in Monroe being closed to human rights fighters and yet claiming to be open wide enough for God to enter in?

... That in the racist State of North Carolina where the Governor's assistant, Hugh Cannon, stated to a Non-violent Freedom Rider Minister, who was appealing to him for protection under law that, "If you don't believe in violence, you'd better get the hell out of Monroe" in this same State, the Governor has personally appealed twice to Gov. DiSalle of Ohio to personally see to it that Mrs. Mae Mallory, Afro-American mother, is sent back to Monroe to receive "justice"?

... The U.S. Justice Department being so intoxicated with stupidity that they can hear Robert F. Williams broadcasting so called "Communist" party propaganda from Havana's English School of the Air when Williams actually is spending his time writing and lecturing about the race problem? It just goes to prove that the Justice Department doesn't know a Communist party line from a Monroe, North Carolina segregated telephone line.

... that some of the "Good Nigras", teachers and preachers, in Monroe who should be trying to set good examples for the youth of the race, are still playing running dog for Bynum Griffin, would-be murderer of the editor of THE CRUSADER?

U.S. BULLS INDICT WORTHY

It is no mere accident that the first American to be indicted for visiting Cuba is William Worthy — Mr. Worthy is an Afro-American and the U.S. State Department is fanatical in its efforts to keep colored Americans in the dark about a country just 90 miles from Florida that is free of racial segregation and prejudice. It is just common knowledge that if the U.S. represents the heaven it claims to be, and Cuba is the living hell as said to be by the U.S., then why should it be necessary to punish people for leaving the so-called heaven to visit hell?

Mr. Worthy's indictment covers a lot of ground. One major reason is that he is one of the most honest journalist in the U. S. A. History is replete with examples of the penalties honest people must pay in the cause of truth and justice.

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EXCERPT FROM: The F.B.I. in Peace and Cold War

by William Worthy (Reprinted from THE REALIST)

"... On December 4th the Toronto Globe and Mail prominently reported a scathing sermon by the Reverend John Morgan of that city's First Unitarian congregation, who said that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had been "innocently trapped" into searching for (Robert F.) Williams because of misinformation originating in Monroe and passed on by the FBI". The minister, friendly with Williams and aware that he had been an active Unitarian while in Monroe, declared that the civil rights leader had been "The object of a very intense hunt under the mistaken impression that he was armed, wild and insane with homicidal tendencies."

While Williams was still in flight to Cuba, the Mounties visited Reverend Morgan twice. They informed him that a large sum of money was available to anyone providing information on Williams' whereabouts. He informed them: "Only the most trusted people would know where Williams is hiding, and they are not for sale..."

HAVANA.—The May Day celebration here was an unforgettable pageant surpassing all parades ever seen by THE CRUSADER. When two young Cuban couples rushed over and asked me in perfect English what impressed me most of all about the colorful and mammoth parade, my answer was, the complete mixture of the races without color consciousness. The races were completely integrated and harmony prevailed everywhere. There was also an absence of class consciousness and it was conspicuously obvious that all men marched as brothers under the equal protection of law.

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ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, PUBLISHER —IN EXILE—

VOL. 4 — No. 6

FEBRUARY 1963

RADIO FREE DIXIE —on the air—

**THE FOLLOWING COMMENTARY IS FROM A
BROADCAST BY ROBERT F. WILLIAMS OVER
—RADIO FREE DIXIE, HAVANA, CUBA—**

GREETINGS MY FRIENDS:

According to the great democratic leaders of Washington, Afroamericans in the USA have never had it so good as in the year of 1962. The big democratic daddies, of the so-called FREE WORLD, seem to have formed a mutual admiration society with the racist savages of the South. The Kennedy administration has nothing but praise for the conduct of Dixiecrats, who display less respect for the rights of colored people than they do for common street dogs. The substantiation for this conclusion comes straight from a Kennedy's mouth.

We hear from none other than Bobby Kennedy that the social jungle called Dixie, at last, is worthy of praise. From his lips we hear that the violent, savage racists are praiseworthy for their respect for law and order during the year 1962. To hear Mr. Kennedy number 2 talk, 1962 was a bumper year of civil rights for the Negro in the USA. To quote Mr. Bobby Kennedy, in his Civil Right's Report of '62, the South made great strides in the field of Civil Rights. Mr. Kennedy also states that he noticed an "emerging spirit," on the part of Dixiecrats, to obey and respect the law. The year was not one of defiance, brutality and rioting, but one of respect for

**SAVE MAE MALLORY
FROM NORTH CAROLINA
LYNCH JUSTICE!
SPEAK, WRITE, WIRE
OR PETITION GOV.
RHODES OF OHIO
IN HER BEHALF.**

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ONE WEEKLY SHORT
WAVE BROADCAST.**

law and order, says Kennedy. Now, we must ask Mr. Kennedy what his concept of respect for law and order is? After all, he is the Attorney General of the United States and there is great discrepancy between what he says and what the facts reveal. Mr. Bobby Kennedy's very words bear out what we have believed all along. We have constantly maintained that the Kennedy Administration is a great benefactor to white supremacy and the southern racist enemies of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

When Mr. John F. Kennedy was forced to slap his buddy and fellow party member, Ross Barnett, on the wrist during the Mississippi war against Negro citizenship, Mr. Kennedy went on the radio singing praises for the Mississippi heathens like a jay bird. Mr. Kennedy number 1 gave a glowing testimony of the greatness of the Mississippian of the gridiron, on the battlefield and in North American culture. Of course, he forgot to mention the fact that in race relations this savage state ranks all-American number one for sadistical lynchings and uninhibited terror. Mr. Johnny Kennedy, without so much as stammering, let the whole world know that the Kennedy Administration is more than proud of the conduct of the people of Mississippi.

There is no need to cite the bloody, barbaric history of the racist state of Mississippi. We know that the same flag that flies over Mississippi flies over Washington, but we had held to illusion that Washington was a bit as ashamed of the conduct of Dixie. We knew that Washington supports Dixie in a clandestine way, but we never imagined that it would dare to publicly praise such an errant tribe of the FREE WORLD jungle. For hypocrisy and utter contempt for the people, whose dehumanized lives bear the scars of the South's defiance of human rights and civilized law, Mr. Kennedy deserves a blue ribbon, or in deference to white supremacy, perhaps a white one.

The progress in Civil Rights and the respect for law and order Mr. Kennedy so ardently praises the South for, not to mention his denial of rioting and brutality, belong to the legacy of Southern folklore and Yankee mythology. The blood of two lives has hardly dried from the campus of the University of Mississippi. It is necessary for regular army troops to protect a veteran's life in quest of a university education.

Has Mr. Kennedy forgotten so soon the shameful death of a black defender of the Free World? Has he forgotten how a mad-dog, trigger-happy, thug lawman gunned down Cpl. Roman Duckworth in cold blood because he refused to surrender his bus seat and his human dignity to the racist goons of Mississippi, USA? Is this one of the noble deeds that Mr. Kennedy is praising the South for?

Mr. Kennedy may have forgotten because politicians have a special talent for remembering only those things that flatter the image of those who prostitute character for political patronage. Individuals with a conscience encounter the greatest of difficulty in forgetting fiendish crimes of insensate brutes against the human race. Americans with a conscience and fear of retribution remember the water-logged body of an unidentified Negro who was fished from the water beneath a bridge in the Tallahatchie River. His body was in a burlap bag weighted down with a hundred pounds of rocks. The spirit of justice remembers the body of a Negro found on a lonely Mississippi highway with his arms and legs severed.

Yes, it is immortally written in the record of time that Afroamericans were slaughtered like wild pigs for trying to register and vote in a so-called representative democracy. Two teenagers were murdered in Georgia by trigger-happy butchers, called cops, just for the thrill of killing defenseless Afroamericans. A mother of eight months pregnancy was beaten to the ground by savage policemen with billy clubs and kicked in her pregnant stomach until she lost consciousness. 1200 Afroamericans of the FREE WORLD were arrested and manhandled for prayer protests in Albany, Georgia, USA, while seeking their right to live as human beings in a civilized society. Violence and rioting flared in many parts of the USA, including Washington, D.C. A pregnant woman was sent to jail for defying the code of segregation and Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory has been in a Cleveland, Ohio jail and denied bond for 10 months, while fighting extradition back to Monroe, North Carolina on charges trumped-up by the Ku Klux Klan. Mrs. Mallory is being denied her constitutional rights by the Kennedy Adminis-

tration that is persecuting her as political patronage, requested by Henry Hall Wilson Jr., a White House lobbyist for the Ku Klux Klan. Racist Wilson is Mr. Kennedy's White House assistant.

"Honey Boy," Luther Hodges tried to frustrate the law of the land by duping Negroes into volunteering for racial segregation, he is now Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce. Ellen Winston, who, as head of the North Carolina Welfare Department, denied aid to the aged and dependant children on a racial basis in defiance of the law, has been upgraded by the Kennedy Administration to a high Washington Welfare Post. In Mississippi 22,000 Afroamericans in a single county have been denied government surplus food because colored people insist on registering to vote in their so-called representative democracy. Yes, and this is what Kennedy number 2 calls an emerging spirit of respect for law and order in 1962. Jet magazine of January 24, 1963 reports another possible lynching in Canton, Mississippi, USA. The castrated and mutilated body of 24-year-old Sylvester Maxwell, a Negro, has been found. Embattled students and Freedom Fighters, savagely persecuted by the racist officials of Dixie, have constantly begged Mr. Kennedy to introduce law and order to the social jungle called Dixie. They got about as much response from this Cicero of the U.S. Justice Department as a hound dog baying at the moon.

Either the Attorney-General of the USA has a psychopathic concept of respect for law and order, or he has a ghoulish sense of humor. If this is his concept of a practical joke, it fails to arouse laughter on the part of the brutally oppressed Afroamerican. Even, Martin Luther King has charged that the FBI is guilty of complicity in the conspiracy of Southern outlaw cops in their violent terror campaign against Afroamericans, but Mr. Kennedy has only praise for the new look of the bigots of the South. It is obvious that Afroamerican can expect no legal protection from an administration that elects to praise the exterminators of the Negro rather than punish them. Such a shameless hypocrite is less fit to be the guardian of law and order than a hungry lion is to watch over a newborn lamb. The Afroamerican's only logical answer is a thunderous FREEDOM NOW! LIBERTY, NOT LIES! LIBERTY, LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Reflection on Protest

From the time the first Negroes were made slave captives in Africa, the white masters have left no stone unturned to dehumanize the black race. Throughout the history of the Afroamerican in the racist USA, racist whites have perpetually striven to create an inferiority slave complex in this wretched soul. All of the social forces of the white man's society, including Christianity have been directed toward the objective of creating an entire race of subhumans.

The 400 years of brutal oppression of the Afroamerican in the New World have rendered him a broken, twisted mass of fears, and fathomless phobias. The noble sounding words of liberty, justice, democracy and Free World have been no more than vague fantasies of tantalizing mockery. He has been treated worse than a step child by a deranged and sadistical step mother. He has been like a frustrated child lullabied to sleep by songs of hate and terror. He has been awakened in the morning by the terrifying sounds of thunder and violence. No, there has been no melodious robin singing outside his cabin window at sunrise. The bird that greets him is Jim Crow and its melody is misery and death.

It is not the nature of things that grow, to flower and bloom in perfection when the twisted jungle of the battle of survival shuts out the sunlight and chokes off the very substance of life. This is a law of nature. A human being is a much more delicate thing of growth and the Afroamerican is no exception. The Afroamerican's stance of growth in the social jungle of the USA has left some weird and distorted figures of the human species. The social conditions, created to dehumanize the Negro, have become a vicious circle rotating a double cutting edge. The architect of the social jungle has been caught in the spiral of his own web. Thus, in his brutal handiwork to reduce the black man to a miserable bundle of docile and submissive inferiority complexes, the white man has become a victim of his own brutality. He has transformed his nature to that of a raging, ferocious beast. His very conduct has given him a hate complex tempered with

guilt. The white racist has built up a process of immunization to human compassion where the Negro is concerned.

The greatest tragedy of all is the fact that this long process of violent conditioning of the Afroamerican has created a race where true black masculinity is a rare commodity. The majority of the black bourgeoisie are no more than old ladies, who pride themselves on phoney cultural accomplishments.

They are no more than old ladies who fill the vacuum of their lives with the massless vapor of high society. "Trat" brothers, with their chains and leg irons concealed beneath their monkey suits of tails, go into orbit on cocktails and screw drivers and enjoy the vacarious thrill of power and high finance at a fools paradise called the poker table. They transcend from hell to heaven in imaginary chariots made at the General Motor's Cadillac plant. Such a splendid chariot for emasculated creatures whose souls are less respected than common street dogs!

These glamour boys of the black bourgeoisie adorn themselves in the finest garb only to be spat upon by brutes with less culture than the apes of the lower animal jungle. They are the yes men of the white man's heaven. They will give a fortune for a fool's diversion and a nickle for Freedom Fighters to fight the vicious battle of reality. These black actors on the stage of puppets will ride the backs of the miserable masses of their ivory towers of emasculated fools. Yet, they would set themselves apart from the mainstream of the oppressed. They are the mercenary parrots and apologists for the system that stamps them subhuman. They are a damnation to the race. They are an affront to dignified man. They are an abomination to the women of the race who have suffered rape, prostitution of subsistence and all imaginable forms of insult, and some not imaginable.

When we reflect on protest, is it no wonder that many Afroamerican women have started wearing their hair short in protest? Though they say that this style is African, can it be, oh can it be that in their subconscious minds they entertain a latent desire to make mockery of the pitiful, emasculated creatures who try to escape the obligations of manhood by manifesting the glamorous personality of timid little old ladies who fill the vacuum in their lives with the massless vapor called high society?

Death Mania

Slick John Kennedy and his megalomaniac constituents seem hellbent on giving vent to their death mania by conducting a suicidal military operation against Cuba. The greatest tragedy of the whole fiendish affair is the astounding fact that through a campaign of mendacious propaganda these power crazed egoists have zombiized the American people. The people of the USA have become so enthralled by the shrieking propaganda mills of the USA that they have lost complete track of reality.

It is shameful how a supposedly civilized and sane society can so completely fall prey to viciously mad warmongers. How can a nation of people, who just a few short years ago condemned the German people for allowing themselves to be enslaved by irrational mad men, so apathetically today allow themselves to be led along the same violent, bloody path of no return?

Just as the power drunk Nazi demagogues swept the Germans into a national maelstrom of chauvinism, by pleading defense and security against peaceful small nations, the war addicts of the USA have taken up the same hue and cry.

Even Washington's bloodthirsty generals admit that there is no threat of an attack on the USA from Cuba. They barefacedly shed tears of blood over their mythological claim that Cuba constitutes a threat to other nations of the hemisphere. Washington has been less than clear in explaining what qualifies her as an authority on threats to other peoples. If Washington has entered into some clandestine pact with God as special custodian and universal police force of mankind it is time for her to be explicit in informing the world whereof she derives this inalienable power and right.

She speaks of her right to intervene in Cuba, as if by divine writ or decree she has been placed above earthly law and order instituted by mere man. Like

Hitler's war addicts and mad men of death and destruction, Washington's jingoists are decrying the rights of other nations to peace, human dignity, self-determination and national security.

The great tragedy is the fact that the American people are trailing along like doomed rats behind irrational Pied Pipers. Are the American people not intelligent enough to envision the latent danger of an invasion of Cuba? The Cuban people are prepared to fight until the end. No doubt, the Cuban spirit of defense of the motherland is the highest in the world.

The price of a military campaign against Cuba would be paid by the American people in rivers of blood. Even if a U.S. invasion proved successful that would merely constitute a first stage of action. Invaded countries must be held. The Cuban people are better equipped for guerrilla warfare than any people on earth. Any force of occupation would find it impossible to maintain communication lines, supply lines or any form of normal stability. Any force that survived on Cuban soil would be bled to death. How long could American mothers, widows and fatherless children stand to see a continuous flow of their dead loved ones shipped home from a fruitless campaign?

Washington can deceive the people of the USA now, by telling them that the Cuban people are captives just waiting to be liberated by a holy crusading USA, but how could they justify thousands of bodies being sent home trying to occupy a country they claim would welcome a brutal self-styled liberator? The American people had better think twice before they allow war addicts to lead them to destruction. It must always be borne in mind that any invasion of Cuba may touch off a third World War. If that happens it will be too late to review miscalculations.

These are times for the masses of people, whose very survival is at stake, to execute rational foresight instead of tragic hindsight. The Cuban people want to live in peace and raise the standard of living of all the people. The U.S. would do well to try the nuance of humane concern for the sincere prosperity of the human race. Their aggressive force and violence will only bring devastation and tragedy and the masses of people of the USA will pay the greatest price.

Jimmy Hoffa and Integration

Long before the present wrangle over integration, the teamsters in some of the major southern cities advocated equal pay for colored and white workers of the same classification. In Charlotte, N.C., to mention one such place, colored members of the teamsters have long enjoyed equal work rights and pay. Why do the Kennedys hate James Hoffa and are more determined to destroy his elective leadership than such a scoundrel as Ross Barnett?

Protest Party?

The political hounds of the social jungle called Free World Democracy are playing Afroamericans and poor whites for suckers. The slick politicians are playing with the destiny of the American people for the sole purpose of personal enrichment and self-aggrandizement. Voter registration should be encouraged, but there should be also encouragement for a protest vote of no confidence. For the next national elections, what about a protest vote on a write-in protest ballot and a Protest Party?

Monroe: City of Shame

MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA.—The racist city fathers seem to have developed an interest in race relations. They claim to even be willing to sit down with official of the NAACP. It seems that this little jungle kingdom of the Ku Klux Klan tribe is fast developing a holy halo around some racist heads, still spotted with the lint from KKK sheets. These phoney noblemen have even been

able to inveigh some "good nigras" to say that there is no police brutality there. The best method of ascertaining the true nature of the white savages of Monroe is for every person who possibly can to attend the racist frame-up trials of the innocent MONROE DEFENDANTS. The trial will expose the brutality and the verdict will prove the brutal, tragic absence of a sense of human decency and justice. We wonder if Mrs. Lilly Mae Rape (LADY of mythological abortions), the first lady of Monroe white society, will contribute her professional talents for framing Negroes, as a service for a fee as a member of the forthcoming jury of Monroe's distinguished citizen-specialists of Ku Klux Klan jurisprudence?

Justice and THE CRUSADER

As Crusaders, we are interested in justice for all people. We are not black racists. We consider ourselves enemies of oppressors. We are very much aware of the fact that the race problem in the USA is but a specific part of an extensive problem. From our observations, based upon our experience as oppressed Afro-americanans, we see the U.S. race problem as an acute menace to human relations that deserves immediate attention. We feel that sincere fighters for social justice and human decency will readily concur that the most destitute should always receive the most immediate corrective attention.

We know from experience that apathetic individuals have very thick skins and that they like to live in a dream world of naive hope. We realize that to soft-pedal poignant issues and to minimize social evils is to do the cause of justice a great disservice. We concur with the early crusading journalists who reacted angrily to social injustice. If the journalist himself is not emotionally moved by his observations of tragic oppression and injustice, how can he expect to arouse an apathetic public to righteous indignation? Difficult crises and hard times require hard agitators with hard words.

Among our friends we count people of all races and we exclude them from the rank of the racist savages. In fact, we think of them as being raceless. We resent black oppressors, mercenaries and Uncle Tom "god nigras" as much as degenerate whites. The difference is that these black enemies of social justice and progressivism are no more than far baby puppets. Our objective is the puppet master, for we know that when he is eliminated the whole quady show will close.

We know that racism is part and parcel of the social system, but we are not out to promote theory, we want to provoke action. The Afroamerican is on the bottom and when the bottom, near the foundation of any heap, pile or stack, is shifted the complete order is disturbed. Yes, this is what we believe as Crusaders.

Creeping Fascism

CHYENNE, WYOMING.—WYOMING BECAME THE 20th STATE TO ADOPT THE PHONEY "RIGHT TO WORK" LAW BARRING THE "UNION SHOP." THIS IS A PART OF THE GROWING MOVEMENT TO EMASCULATE TRADE UNIONS.

GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA.—The Voice of America on Feb. 8, dedicated what is described as the world's biggest radio station. The Greenville facility will beam Kennedy's propaganda around the world especially to Asia, Africa and Latin America, but the embattled, U.S. Afroamerican Freedom Fighters are still without a voice in the USA.

Caught Red-Handed

HAVANA, CUBA, Feb. 22.—The Cuban Navy recovered two Cuban fishing vessels that had been hijacked Feb. 13 off Key Roque (in which two unarmed fishermen were wounded), by pirates admittedly in the pay of the C.I.A.

The capture was made as 8 pirates were attempting to unload arms on Cuban shores. Modern combat weapons and supplies, made in the USA, were captured along with hundreds of U.S. dollars.

Some of the counterrevolutionaries confessed that they received their arms and supplies from the CIA and that they were to infiltrate the Province of Las Villas, organize and arm counterrevolutionary bands to sabotage the sugar harvest and terrorize the population. Pictures of the captured pirates, their arms and supplies, U.S. currency and identification cards in their possession appeared in Cuban newspapers. One of those captured, Armando Morales Fascual, possessed a letter addressed to him which read:

"In the name of the Armed Forces of the United States of North America it pleases me to give you the warmest thanks for having offered your services as a volunteer." The letter was signed: Fernando Ordaz 093-068, Capt. Inf.

NOTICE: Help us to continue and intensify our work in exile. Contribute to the fight for freedom and social justice. We need dollars to help us blast Jim Crow, racism and imperialism. If you do not agree with our approach, at least, agree to our right to be heard. Rush a contribution to *THE CRUSADER*, c/o Mrs. Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Gardens, Toronto 3, Canada.

"NEGROES WITH GUNS may very well prove to be the most significant and prophetic book since *THE SOUL OF BLACK FOLK*, by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, was published in 1909." —Sylvester Leaks, *HUHAMMAD SPEAKS — NEGROES WITH GUNS* by Robert F. Williams; Marzani & Munsell, Publishers, 100 W. 23rd. St., N.Y.C. (\$1.95). Also available from chapters of the Monroe Defense Committee and Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH The Story of Monroe, North Carolina by Truman Nelson. Available from C.A.M.D., 168 W. 23rd St., N.Y.C. (35¢).

100 YEARS OF LYNCHINGS by Ralph Ginzburg. Lancer Books, Inc., 26 West 47th Street, New York 36, N. Y. (75¢).

On the Monroe Scene

Jay Vann Covington, Monroe frame-up victim who was shot in jail, has been granted a new trial for February.

Albert Rorie, Monroe frame-up victim, who was sentenced to 3 years for shooting a policeman with a gun which he didn't have, and for which a 14-years-old boy is already serving time, has been ordered to start serving the harsh sentence. Rorie's case proves that justice in the South, and especially in Monroe, N. C., is a matter of color and emotion.

A Double Standard of Justice

In Monroe, N.C., Dr. Albert E. Perry, vicepresident of the Union County Branch of the NAACP was framed, tried and sent to prison. Why? Because a racist bitch named Lillie Mae Rape, or Mrs. Furman Rape, as she is called by Monroe's respectable high society white folks, prostituted herself to falsely accuse him of performing an abortion on her forbidden regions. It was only this Klan maiden's word, even though she had quite a record, that sent a people's doctor to prison. In Gastonia, N.C. Dr. Harry Duff Riddle, a blood thirsty white doctor, savagely knifed a Negro to death who sought medical aid for his ailing mother. This killer-doctor was set scot-free. Dr. Perry is still barred from practicing medicine in his home county... Yes, there is a double standard of justice for black and white in the USA. Afroamericans must alert themselves for **ON-THE-SPOT JUSTICE**.

THE ROAD TO NOWHERE

Friend, may I implore the time and the day
And where journeyeth those who pass this way?
Tell me my good woman or man
Who are these strange creatures of this mystic land?
Seemingly wise and yet more vain—
He or she confronted me with a sex I could not ascertain
And in a mumbled voice cited a meaningless time
Giving me bearings in some nameless clime.
The sojourner stood arrogantly astute
And pointed aimlessly down the maze of the cloverleaf route—
This one's East and this one's West, said he or she
Tho remotely nodding, it was a maze of Greek to me.
And endlessly hurried those who passed that way
With their pallid faces looking stern and grey
And there upon this highway main
Passed a thunderous age — souless and vain —
I asked of the wierd traveler where the vicious circles run
No special place, said he, its just for fun —
Such an elaborate structure as this, leads neither to heaven nor hell
Nor to some saintly place where one can nobly dwell?
And asked I of the one to the left
Oh, that one's to escape from death!
His pallid face looked numb
And asked he, have you never heard of the BOMB?
This is an evacuation route my friend.
Inquired I, to where and when?
On the day of the bomb, he seriously said,
Never seeming to think that roads are not needed by the dead.
And so is the wisdom of vain man
Who rides an aimless circuit in a strange land.
Oh what wise men, creators, builders astute!
Masters of escape — Pied Piper of the evacuation route!

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The Crusader

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher —IN EXILE—

VOL. 4 — No. 8

MAY 1963



WHITE MAN'S KINGDOM !

Greetings my brothers and sisters:

On May 17th, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its historical decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional. This was an occasion of joy for those who believed in human decency and democracy. It was thought to be almost a second Emancipation Proclamation by enlightened but Jim Crowed Afroamericans.

Yes, it seemed that at last the United States was determined to become a civilized nation. It seemed that the evil forces of racist savagery were on the decline. It seemed that civilized humanity in the USA would prevail. It seemed that the government of the USA had, at last, decided to honor its obligation to enforce the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution... Nothing could be further from the truth. The Supreme Court decision was nothing more than the legalization of the Afroamerican's right to struggle for racial equality. It was nothing more than a call for the Afroamerican to wrest from his oppressor the rights the racist U.S. Government secures for its white citizens.

What kind of government is it that proclaims the right of equality for its citizens, then leaves them to beg and pray for this sacred right? What kind of government is it that pretends to support the right of its citizens to live as human beings while at the same time gives aid and comfort to their savage oppressors? What kind of government is it that will ask its black people to die in the steaming jungles of foreign lands for the so-called preservation of Christian democracy while frustrating their efforts of liberation at home? Such a government, that pretends to be the leader of a so-called FREE WORLD, is a disgrace and an affront to civilized man throughout the world.

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation and nine years after the Supreme Court Decision of May 17th, Afroamericans of Birmingham and racist Dixie are experiencing the wrath of slave masters equaled only to those of South Africa. In Birmingham, mere babies six-years-old are being fed to ferocious police dogs. They are being cut down by the powerful streams of water hoses like wheat before a threshing machine. Mothers are being battered to the ground by vicious, club wielding thug cops swinging on them like desperate men fighting fire. Afroamericans are being jailed and beaten for refusing to allow fierce police dogs to feast freely on their human flesh. The world has not seen such raw and naked savagery since the era when Christians were thrown into lion pits.

What is the position of the U.S. Government in Dixie, USA? Yes, the same U.S. Government that has appointed itself to safeguard the universal rights of man and to make the world safe for democracy... What is its position of defending the rights

of black people within the confines of its own borders? What is the position of Slick John Kennedy, who flew down to Florida to welcome released Cuban prisoners of war who had ruthlessly murdered women and children? Yes, Slick John had only praise for these thugs!

Mrs. Kennedy said that she hopes that her children will grow up to be as courageous as these thug murderers who were sponsored by Kennedy to rain death and destruction on Cuban mothers and babies. Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy were all for these cold blooded murderers. So much so, that they are considered to represent the ideal example for their children to follow. Would not Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy recommend the courage of the 6-year-old black children of Birmingham as examples for their children to follow? Isn't the best example for American children to follow set by those who most courageously fight for human rights? Is it not the height of nobility when little girls, 6-years-old, will risk being devoured by vicious police dogs rather than to submit to slavery? It seems that all the world is ready to flirt with the devil while the righteous must walk practically alone.

When Slick John Kennedy speaks of making the world safe for democracy, does he mean to make it safe for the savage thug whites to practice mayhem and genocide against dark people, the way they are doing in Birmingham and throughout the racist USA?

Let our people not be fooled by the deceptive actions of Slick John in Birmingham. This faker pretends to be sending troops to maintain the peace. Yes, maintain the peace at whose expense? Peace on Slick John's terms also means the retention of the status-quo. Slick John Kennedy's backstage negotiations mean rosy promises and empty words without deeds. The Afroamerican does not need promises, he needs action and deeds. Was not the Emancipation Proclamation a promise? Was not the 1954 Supreme Court Decision a promise? Is not the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution a promise? Aren't all the white man's treaties with the Indians promises? Must our people be reminded of the history of all these lies and broken promises?

The fact of the matter is that Kennedy didn't bother to so much as raise an eyebrow while brutal racist cops were treating Negroes worse than dogs. He was as silent as a mummy's mammy when little girls were being battered and maimed by racist cops and their fellow dogs. Homes and churches were bombed. Pregnant women were kicked in their pregnant stomachs as they were beaten to the ground by heathen cops. School girls were blasted with shot guns. Afroamericans were murdered while trying to vote, black soldiers were murdered in uniform by white savages and Slick John remained as motionless as a heap of dung! And what prompted your man Slick John to get off his fanny and send troops to Birmingham? The fact of the matter is that Slick John is a racist ofay and

he just couldn't stand to see white heads being cracked in Birmingham. Yes, he moved to save his noble white blood.

Kennedy's Birmingham action proves that the Afroamerican cannot expect any action from the federal government until violence becomes a two way proposition. As long as the Afroamerican relies on passive resistance he can expect no protection from the racist U.S. Government. Washington is never upset over the flow of Negro blood. This is the key to the question of why Afroamericans have never been able to get an anti-lynch law passed... The fact of the matter is that Mr. Charlie never need one. We can not logically expect one until he does.

By massive arrests and fines, Mr. Charlie plans to further impoverish the poverty stricken black masses and enrich local racist municipalities. The best way to frustrate this scheme is for our race to follow the Rev. James Bevel's plan of 15 thousand students spending their summer's vacation in jail with a slogan of, not one red cent to the racist courts.

Afroamericans must stop acting like stupefied monkeys and start defending themselves. If our people don't start defending themselves our race is going to be starved and wiped out of existence in the USA. And don't let us think for once that this cannot happen! Don't let us think that Mr. Charlie is too much of a Christian to stoop so low! Let us not think that he loves us too much to exterminate us. That was the mistake of 6 million Jews in Germany. If we defend ourselves, if we throw his cities into turmoil, he cannot exterminate 20 million people. He would commit suicide in the process. It is better to die than to live as starving dehumanized dogs.

The razors and lye cans that we used to use on each other, let's put them to good use now. Use them on the brutal dogs, including those with two legs. Those lye bombs will work wonders on dogs. When he is hit, he can neither bite nor shoot. The whole civilized world is on our side. We must not slack up now. Let our people turn out in fierce numbers for FREEDOM. This is our great opportunity, it is NOW OR NEVER!

Birmingham is just the beginning. We must be willing to suffer jail, we must be willing to suffer death and we must be willing to kill for freedom! This is the way the United States was born and this is the way our freedom shall be born. Birth is not without pain and blood, neither is freedom! With a thunderous voice, let our battle cry be heard around the world: FREEDOM! FREEDOM! FREEDOM NOW OR DEATH!!!

The above commentary is from a broadcast by Robert F. Williams over RADIO FREE DIXIE, Havana, Cuba — 690 on the dial (long wave E.S.T.) FRIDAYS 11-12 midnight, SUNDAYS 12-1 a.m. and TUESDAYS 12-1 a.m.

BEST RECEPTION: Transistor radios, Automobile radios and regular home radios with outside aerials.

RECOMMENDED READING: "NEGROES WITH GUNS" by Robert F. Williams, Marzani & Munsell, Publishers, 100 W. 23rd. St., N.Y.C. (\$1.95).

PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH by Truman Nelson, C.A.M.D., 168 W. 23 St., N.Y.C. (35¢).

THE CRUSADER and Mr. Elijah Muhammad

It is revolting to watch the grand parade of "good nigger" puppets who are being manipulated by their racist masters to perform monkey shins of derision against the Black Muslims. These white-man-kept Aunt Jemima concubines and their emasculated fellow travelers are literally falling over each other to denounce the Muslims. They hope by committing these nefarious Judas acts against their own people to gain favor with their idol gods, the ofay "big daddys."

Are these idiots, these foolhardy Uncle Toms and Aunt Jemimas asinine enough to really believe that to denounce their own people they enhance their chances of being accepted? Do they not know that 400 years of loyalty to their slave masters have still left them empty handed and bare-assed? Do they not know that 400 years of stool pigeoning by their lackey predecessors who informed, flogged, brutally drove and helped capture runaway slaves have availed them nothing? Do they not know that Mr. Charlie's greatest weapon of oppression is division?

When Muslim blood flows, it is black blood! When little girls in Birmingham, 6-years-old, are bitten and crushed on the pavement by high powered water hoses, it is the blood of black little girls. Do they think these black children, these black mothers are being savagely attacked because they are Muslims? They are brutally persecuted because they are black and are seeking human rights in a savage white man's social jungle. The Muslims are being attacked because they are proud black people who have shed their slave mentality! Why are these oily tongued tar babies so hot and bothered about the Muslims?

The fact of the matter is that they are trying to show the white racist savages how much they love them. They are frantically trying to say to their masters:

"You see boss, I'm a 'good nigger'. I'm above the human passion of hate. I believe hatred is morally wrong — that is, hatred of white people. I only hate Black Muslims because I know that you approve of this!"

These apers of racists are like the vicious police dogs of Birmingham, they only hate and bite those who are hated and abused by their masters.

Why have these Uncle Tom pimp-punks and concubine-kept women not made public statements condemning the barbarians who are masters and devisers of race hatred? Why aren't they in the forefront of 6-year-old babies who are truly striving to rid racist America of its most shameful evil — race hatred? They are as silent as a mummy's mammy in condemning the hatred and savage brutality of their racist masters against their own oppressed and captive people.

Can you imagine, while our people are being literally torn asunder limb by limb by vicious ofay thugs, while babies are filling front line positions left vacant by coward, cringing "good nigra" immature adults, far babies are expending their energy denouncing and fighting Muslims!

Phoney whites who pretend to be liberals are more alarmed at the possibility of Afroamericans becoming Muslims than they are at the possibility of 20 million Negroes being exterminated. Whites who know all too well how the racist press enflames the general public against Negroes are, all too, quick to pick up the hue and cry of curse the Muslims. White who know the smear tactics of the racist press against our race are echoing its venomous lies like brainless parrots. They are not interested in learning the truth about the Muslim movement. They are too carried away by the hate demogogy of the rabble rousers, appealing to the base emotions of the white supremacy lynch mob.

All we can hear is that the Muslims are teaching Negroes to hate white oppressors. Since when did mankind become so pious? Is there no such thing as justifiable hatred the same as the white man's concept of "justifiable homicide"? Is hate not a human emotion the same as love? Is hate not as old as man himself? Nay, ye self righteous hypocrites, the Muslims did not invent hate. They have as much right to hate oppressors as selfrighteous Americans have to do nothing about the barbaric oppression of the Negro. To be a hypocrite and falsly pretend to love oppressors in a cardinal wrong. To love those who inflict pain upon us is either Christlike or latent masochism. We are neither hypocrites, saints nor freaks. We have a great aversion for oppression and oppressors. We advocate self-defense and action rather than lip service when it comes to dealing with oppressors.

For the record, yes we have white friends. We believe in Negro and white unity. Unlike the "good phoney nigras" we do not love all white people. We do not love Ross Barnett, George Wallace, Lincoln Rockwell and the tobacco chewing, snuff dipping racist savages who ruthlessly abuse little 6-year-old black girls crying and begging for freedom. We don't have any love for Slick John Kennedy and his Ku Klux Klan lobbyist, Henry Hall Wilson, the Monroe racist frame-up engineer on his White House staff either. Yes, we love some white people like we love "some Negroes". We love whites like the the late Mr.

William Moore and great John Brown. We love them because, "there is no greater love than that of a man who will lay down his life for a friend."

We love all our white friends who support our struggle, like the Olsons and our vast network of white allies around the world. Yes, and THE CRUSADER loves the Muslims because they love oppressed black people and are teaching "Negroes" to love themselves, and Malcolm X is the greatest leader on the American scene today. He is our most eloquent spokesman. Yes, THE CRUSADER hates and loves by reason, not by direction of deceitful puppet masters.

Terry Sanford and Carolina Justice

Terry Sanford, the phoney liberal Governor of North Carolina, would like to use the governorship of North Carolina as a stepping stone to a high national position in the Democratic Party. Terry has made a lot of meaningless gestures hoping to pass himself off as the Abe Lincoln of Dixie. What a joke!

The massive demonstrations in North Carolina have blown the lid off the political sewer line of the great deceiver. Honorable, Mr. Sanford promised Mike Di Salle, former Governor of Ohio that if Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory is extradited to N.C. that he can assure her a "fair trial." If Mr. Sanford can assure Afroamericans justice and fairness in racist North Carolina, why the hesitation in calling for the abolition of ALL FORMS of racial discrimination and injustice as proposed by the hundreds of students who have been arrested in the "tar heel" state? How can a state pretend to grant black people justice when they are barred from the mainstream of life? What is a more flagrant travesty of justice than to deny human beings the right to enjoy the democratic rights of humanity?

No, there is no justice for Afroamericans in North Carolina. The arrest of hundreds of students, merely seeking justice there, is ample proof to all but deceptive hypocrites and blind idiots that North Carolina is a far cry from what Sanford would have us believe it is. Only a fool could possibly believe that Mae Mallory or any of the other Monroe Defendants can get justice there, in fact, that is the very reason I have avoided trial there. No person, who really believes in justice, can in good conscience afford not to fight to prevent Mae Mallory's deliverance to racist kangaroo justice in the Klan Kingdom of Terry Sanford's so-called "liberal state."

SAVE MAE MALLORY! ACT TODAY! WRITE, WIRE OR PETITION GOV. JAMES RHODES, EXECUTIVE MANSION, COLUMBUS OHIO. Ask him NOT TO EXTRADITE MAE MALLORY!

THE SILENT SHALL INHERIT THE THUNDER

In Lexington and Bunker Hill
Rose an angry cry of "to the battlefield!"
And men who loved freedom more than life and wealth
Thundered to the world, "liberty or death!"
The flames of freedom swept the land
When swiftly rode the gallant minute man
With enemy to the front of him and traitors at his back
All in freedom's cause, the first to die was Black.
But now, silent is the bugler and he who beats the drums
While tyranny tramples freedom with no gallant call to arms.
Oppression falls like darkness over every town and brook
While patriots stand in shadows and tremble as they look.
The fascist clouds are gathering and blood will surely flow —
Where Heritage is distorted in the jargon of Jim Crow.
Now listen patriots and hear!
What fascist Minute Men call their Paul Revere —
A Hitlerite named Rockwell or Birch,
Rides with terror to bomb a "nigger" church.
Black children starve in their ghetto shack
For this is the penalty for being Black
While pious sounding liberals smile and say,
"Violence against violence is immoral today."
But listen well and soon you shall hear —
A bugler and a drummer who shall nearly burst your ear,
A Universal cry of "Freedom!" from every land
The oppressed of the world, marching hand in hand.
And in darkest Dixie where the savage Klansmen ride
A Black bugler will arouse the countryside —
Patriots fired with freedom shall arm from town to town
And from within and from without we'll mow the racists down.
An angry cry will rise as in Lexington and Bunker Hill
And blood will mark the trail from Harlem to Mobile
Behold! the long silent bugler, a Black boy beats the drums
Hear the angry roll of thunder! Take up the noble call to arms!

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS — Hotel Capri #1405
Apartado 6032, Havana, Cuba.

NOTICE: Those who send Newspaper clippings, Phonograph records, and FINANCIAL contributions are making it possible for us to continue our work in exile. Please join THE CRUSADER list of sustainers. Send all contribution to: THE CRUSADER, c/o MRS. ANNE OLSON, 21 ELLIS GARDENS, TORONTO 3, ONTARIO, CANADA.

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The Crusader

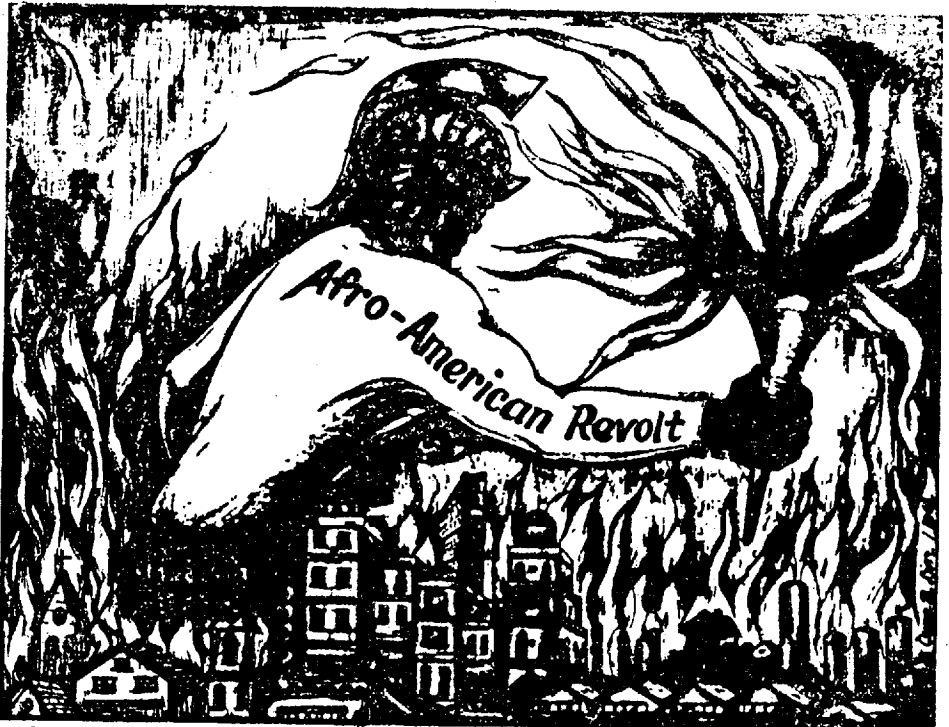
MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher —IN EXILE—

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USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

When the brutally oppressed Afroamerican speaks of violent resistance to savage racial dehumanization, he reaps a whirlwind of reasons and causes why such a reaction



THE RACIST U.S.A. - THE TORCH OF RETRIBUTION!

supposedly is insane and suicidal. There is no end to the stereotyped polemics and heated opposition that beclouds a rational and objective discourse on the subject. From the

camps of the rabid white supremacy power structure, the fellow traveling white liberal and the mercenary running dog Uncle Tom, any individual who raises such a question is labeled a bloodthirsty crackpot, not worthy of social acceptance in America's "democratic and Christian" society. Proponents of the peaceful transition philosophy are quick to evoke the Gandhian theory of appealing to the conscience of the brutal oppressor and conquering him with the power of nonviolence and love.

These Gandhian Fabians inadvertently extol the success of Gandhi's peaceful revolution. Gandhi's nonviolent revolution may have guaranteed the ruling powers immunity from the violence of the masses, but it most certainly left the masses exposed to the violence of the oppressors. It served to assure that only the blood of the oppressed would flow.

The disciples of the Gandhi theory of peaceful transition elect to omit the latter stage of the continuing revolution. Revolution is a continuing process. It is essential, in appraising the success of the Indian Revolution, to consider the fact that Nehru, a disciple of Gandhi, dispaired of the love principle in extending liberation to Goa, Damao, and Diu. He refused to settle the Pakistan and the Chinese border questions peacefully as exemplified by the philosophy of non-violence and love. Despite the Gandhian "power of love" theory's evolution to a "force of arms" theory, Afroamericans are still being drugged with the opium of the power of love and nonviolence.

The forces with a vested interest in the equilibrium of the U.S. master-slave society and their agents of deceit are more than willing to point out to our miserably exploited and dehumanized masses that violent resistance and self-defense will mean total annihilation and extermination. This is in itself an unwitting admission of the beastly nature of the oppressor. If such an oppressor is conceded to be capable of such an act of genocide, and history bears out his determination to maintain the status quo, where is the wisdom of the logic that he will tolerate the loss of his slave empire through peaceful means? The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power, if it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed.

It is a universally known fact that the power structure of the racist USA is rabidly opposed to self-defense on the part of our oppressed people. They have a morbid fear of violent self-preservation on the part of U.S. freedom fighters. Is this because they love the dehumanized Negro? Is this because they are concerned with the welfare and well-being of our brutalized people? Is this because the American society is a pacifist society with an aversion for violence? No! A thousand times No! If the power structure had ever manifested any true concern for the welfare of our people (for whom it now professes great fear that we may commit suicide by fighting for the right to live as human beings) there would be no question of a violent liberation struggle. The question of peaceful persuasion, as a moral issue, is belied by its imperialist military actions against Cuba, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other liberated areas. Why is such a belligerently imperialist government not concerned about black Americans, and whites as well, being exterminated in a nuclear war? Was it not Kennedy, as the very head of the U.S. Government and white so-called liberal society, who said, "... We will live up to our commitments even if victory turns to ashes in our mouths?" Where were the panic preachers then, who express such great concern and alarm for the possibility of black Americans being exterminated in

violently resisting racial oppression? Is not a black American just as dead when killed in an international war of conquest as in a national struggle for liberation?

Why are the liberals, Uncle Toms and the power structure so hysterical about the possibility of massive violence erupting on the national human rights scene?

The fact is that the racist oppressors of the Afroamerican realize the insecurity and vulnerability of the most powerful military complex in the world to a violent internal struggle, wherein its horrible and sophisticated weapons of war will be ineffective. The internal defense of the U.S. is a possibility that money cannot buy. Only a change in the moral and social structure of the system offers security against an enraged oppressed citizenry. The USA is either unwilling or morally incapable of bearing the cost of this type of internal security. The race question is her Achilles heel, her Maginot line.

The power structure, the liberals and Uncle Toms are in essence asking Afroamericans to cooperate with the very forces that are opposing them. How can oppressed people, who seek liberation, afford to allow the enemy to dictate the method of struggle? How can a people, who are dead serious about their freedom, allow themselves to be duped into limiting themselves to the most ineffective method of struggle? It is not logical to accommodate the will of the oppressor, who has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and to wage a successful liberation struggle simultaneously.

The fact is that racist white America is not worried about the possibility of Negroes being exterminated. It is more worried about the loss of its privileged position in its racist caste society, its system of white supremacy and world domination. It is ironical that we note inherent inequality in the very method and tactics proposed to abolish the evil inequities of racism. The white barbaric racist is ceded a "white only" special privilege in the realm of all violence, both justified and unjustified. The execution of human prerogative is again straddled with a limitation placed on brutally oppressed people whose miserable existence is the very personification of limited human endeavor. A democratic or equitarian society is devoid of minority or majority distinctions based on race or class. An integrated society of racial equality in the United States is impossible if specific limitations are placed on black citizens, while excluding white ones. True equality must not only extend to the Afroamerican the right to full participation in virtuous endeavors but also the full right to the equal extent of the white nationalist class in some not so virtuous endeavors. Equality, total equality, must grant the black citizen the same right to be a devil or a god as the whites. It must grant him the same right of temper and the same right of self-defense as any other citizen. To limit the Afroamerican struggle to the narrow confines of non-violence, while the white oppressor class wages a violent struggle to maintain the status quo, is to invoke the principle of Jim Crow and its racial inequality. The power of nonviolence and love is a farce. Socrates was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love. He died at the hands of violent men. Christ was nonviolent and he, too stressed love and nonviolence, he too, died a violent death. History is replete with examples of nonviolent men, as well as violent ones, who died from the power of violence either justified or unjustified. We have the case of millions of nonviolent Jews, who found meekness to be greatly inadequate in the face of ruthless and intemperate Nazi violence. The evil force of Nazism was not crushed by nonviolence and love but a fighting spirit, backed up by force and violence. The Christians, who were cast into the ancient lion pits were not saved by the power of nonviolence and love. Where is the example of the success of this power, of this nonviolence and love? The mystic principle of the power of nonviolence and love borders on the primitive poisonous snake-handling rituals of some religious cults.

The most noble of mankind must surely aspire for a human level of endeavor, wherein mankind can establish a utopian society divested of brute force and violence. The irony of this great dream is that if it is at all possible, it is

possible only through the medium of violence. It is possible only through Revolution.

Many of the nonviolent preachers in North America tend to fuse Gandhism and Christianity. Their hybrid type of pacifism leans heavily on Christian teachings and on the bible, which threatens that the entire earth is to be destroyed by violent fire. Its watchword is the coming battle of Armageddon. Not a nonviolent battle but the most ferociously violent one ever staged. These advocates of the Christian power of nonviolence and love omit that part of the Old Testament which describes the evil subversion attempted by the devil when peaceful coexistence degenerated in Heaven to a state of open conflict wherein the Christian's God, the highest ideal of peace and love, ordered the devil forcibly ejected from the heavenly society. In removing the devil and his evil from menacing the peace of the ideal community, it is significant to note that God did not see fit to relegate such an important task to the realm of nonviolence. Why is the mortal Afroamerican expected to be more peaceful and loving towards his enemy than his divine God?

From the very earliest event of the African's chained arrival in the New World, he has been subjected to every form of brute force, systematic demoralization and dehumanization conceivable. The insensate slave masters left no stone unturned in conditioning oppressed blacks to meekly accept their miserable lot. The black man's fate was presented as being inseparable from the will of the white man. He was deliberately conditioned to base the prospects of his fortune on the Christian charity or conscience of the good white folks. Our people have never been allowed to forget that all significant power is in the hands of and under the control of the all-powerful and God chosen white man.

The lip agents, both black and white, of the white man's supremacy doctrine have been rapid and more than lavish in proclaiming the "white folks" as possessors of all the cannons, the bombs, the machine guns and the complete military establishment. This has been true and it is essentially true today, however, times have changed. These changes do not bear good tidings for the perennial and brutal oppressor, dehumanizer and exploiter of our people.

Our people's freedom spirit has been ossified by the continuous harangue of "we cannot possibly win a violent struggle of liberation." It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatist attitude. Our oppressor's greatest weapon of repression is his psychological apparatus by which he impregnates our people with a defeatist complex. Are we to concede the fact that racial oppression and tyranny prevail invincible and unshakable? Are we to concede to the unchallenged all mighty power of our dehumanizer, that he is the supreme benefactor of our freedom? Are we destined to forever kneel beggingly at his feet seeking the alms of liberty and justice?

The sweetest fruits of liberty are plucked by those who readily display boldness and daring. The cringing and the reluctant constitute the hindmost part of a civilization in constant transition. The defeatist voice of cynicism is the inevitable scum that litters the shore before all daring world-shaking exploits of emancipation. What would civilization resemble if all revolutionaries, inventors, adventurers and scientists had heeded the inevitable voices of the doubting Thomases, who perennially admonish that every novel and daring exploit is predestined to fail? Ironically, the survival of the cynic and the conservative is assured by the dogged iconoclast.

Is it possible for a minority revolution to succeed in powerful America? The cynics, prophets of doom, and agents of the oppressive establishment maintain that to even raise such a question is insane. They energetically, with a clairvoyant air, assure us that violent self-defense or violent resistance to brutal racial oppression can lead only to suicide. How do they know? What is the basis of their logic? Are they any wiser than those cynics who brazenly stated that "man will never fly," that "it is impossible to cross the oceans," that "man

can never reach the speed of a mile a minute and survive," and that "the American Revolution can never succeed against the military might of the Crown?" How do they know that violent resistance on the part of our people will lead to suicide? Yes, they have been conditioned to accept America's racist tyranny as a condition bound to prevail until the tyrant himself elects to abandon the throne of tyranny. They are more than resigned to the premise that white supremacy might is the God of the fate and destiny of oppressed black humanity.

Yes, a minority revolution has as much, or more, chance of succeeding in the racist USA as any place else in the world. At the very outset, all revolutions are minority revolutions. In the early stages cynics think that all revolutions have a very remote chance of succeeding. Revolutionaries display a propensity to accomplish the impossible. Is the Afroamerican revolution to be an exception? Do we subscribe to the premise of white supremacy? Is it because the oppressor is white and the oppressed is black that most of the world accepts the premise that our struggle must be white-led and supported by the majority race or that it is insignificant and doomed to failure?

The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the cutlets of feet and tail. The vast majority of the whites have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychosis without a severe shock treatment.

The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community, the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown. The more dependent a community is on mechanization, the more important it is for the wheels of industry to perpetually turn smoothly. Social systems, like biological systems, tend to adjust to environmental conditions and requirements. The American society, over a long period of time, has adjusted itself to a high rate of productivity directly bearing of the relativity of consumption.

The physical conditioning of a society also manifests certain relative psychological traits. The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast upper and middle classes in the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

Afroamericans have long sought a peaceful solution to the race question. It is more than obvious that a people, who have manifested and unshakable faith in the vain hope that the government would eventually grant citizenship and justice, prefers a peaceful solution. Our people have dreamed and prayed for a peaceful transition from slavery to first class citizenship and human dignity. Peaceful evolution, through the mediums of legislation, law and negotiation are the methods that have been pursued for almost 200 years under the present government. The results are bitter and frustrating indeed. The orderly social process has been stymied by savage violence and brute force.

Instead of the majority race extending brotherhood and justice, it has resorted to a campaign of a massive drive aimed at extermination. The fascist elements are arming, not to liberate our brutally oppressed people but to liquidate us. It is becoming next to impossible for Negroes to conduct a "peaceful" demonstration in America. A Civil Rights Bill will have no more effect than the U.S. Constitution. What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized

violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense. Self-defense develops to the stage wherein the source of evil and terror must be eliminated.

In Monroe, North Carolina (the first instance wherein highly organized self-defense units supplemented nonviolent tactics and reduced the incidence of resulting terror) our force of defense was adequate in staving off local attacks. We had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes. The fault, however, lay in the fact that we had an isolated force without extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us. Our self-defense forces had to remain purely static and defensive. The Monroe explosion came prematurely because of our shift in emphasis from self-defense to publicly overemphasizing nonviolence. The racists seized this time of weakness and confusion to launch an attack to annihilate our forces. A six year effective self-defense campaign terminated in ill-fated untimely experiment with nonviolence. The organization of external forces was just being conceived. A decision was made to spare the city thus avoiding an all-out confrontation prematurely. The town would have been destroyed but our defense forces would have been crushed by external power, and the state and white supremacists would have used the example to intimidate other advocates of self-defense. The racist news media would have portrayed the entire operation as one conducted by psychotic extremists.

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people, requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the besieged racist terrorists. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, lights mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tank on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turn-pikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win. We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel. America's great abundance is what makes America America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the

loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

Like it or not, we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save America and liquidate its domestic enemies. If we truly seek freedom and human dignity we must be willing to pay for it in the fashion of the Algerians. Great multitudes of our people must be willing to fight and die in America's true cause and commitment to her Constitution, democratic principles and the rights of man, and for a victory that will not "... turn to ashes in our mouths," but to eternal freedom and happiness in our hearts. Such a victory would truly make the world safe for democracy. It would secure the world from extermination by hydrogen war. Not only is America's peace and security involved but also the peace and security of the whole world.

The horrible nightmare of massive violence need not fall upon the American scene. It can be staved off by the birth of a sincere spirit of humanity, dedicated to the proposition of brotherhood, peace and security.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanize people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them is to meet violence with violence.

We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for brutalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing our Constitutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people, is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.

"... This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it... If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution..." Abraham Lincoln, 1861.

The oppressors's heart is hard. The experience of history teaches that he only relents under violent pressure and force. There is very little hope that he will see the handwriting on the wall before it is too late. This year, 1964 is going to be a violent one, the storm will reach hurricane proportions by 1965 and the eye of the hurricane will hover over America by 1966. America is a house on fire — FREEDOM NOW! — or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!!!

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ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, P. O. Box #185, Havana, Cuba.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA—Police used violence in Sydney on May 6, 1964 to break up a peaceful, sit-down demonstration by University students outside the United States Consulate. The students were protesting against racial discrimination in the United States. More than 50 students were arrested.

KOBE, JAPAN — The Association of Negro Studies, an organization of Japanese intellectuals and students, is celebrating its tenth anniversary in June. The Association was established ten years ago among progressive students and



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CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT

**Calling Upon the People of the World to Unite to Oppose Racial
Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and Support the American
Negroes in Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination**

August 8, 1963

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina Chapter of the National Association for the Advance-



Second Meeting: China's 15th Anniversary

ment of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Chinese people, to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. Their position in society is one of enslavement, oppression and discrimination. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. On the whole it is only the most back-breaking and most despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are only from a third to a half of those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train with the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten up and murdered by U.S. authorities at various levels and members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in 11 states in the south of the United States, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing ever stronger. In recent years the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights has been constantly developing.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, and there resulted the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than 20 states held "sit in" demonstrations in protest against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched a campaign of "freedom riders" to oppose racial segregation in transport, a campaign which rapidly extended to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enrol in colleges and were greeted by the authorities with a blood bath.

The struggle of the American Negroes this year started in early April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed, bare-handed Negro masses were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous suppression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. These Negro masses, aroused to indignation and defying brutal suppression, carried on their strug-

gle even more courageously and quickly won the support of Negroes and all sections of the people throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every state and city in the United States; and the struggle keeps mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety to the U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against and persecution of Negroes; it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, it is parading as an advocate of the "defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes," is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint," is proposing to Congress the so-called "civil rights legislation," in an attempt to lull the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country. However, these tactics of the Kennedy Administration are being seen through by more and more of the Negroes. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened personages of all colours in the world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the

American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.

**CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI'S SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION IN
CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

September 30, 1964

Esteemed Distinguished Guests,
Fellow Countrymen, Friends and Comrades,

With great joy we are gathered here with more than 2,600 distinguished guests from foreign countries and with the representatives of overseas Chinese and Chinese inhabitants of Hongkong and Macao to warmly celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Present at this reception are delegations of the socialist countries, delegations of fraternal parties, government, parliamentary and military delegations of friendly countries, popular delegations as well as many foreign statesmen, public figures and eminent personages. We are especially honoured by the presence this evening of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the esteemed Head of State of Cambodia; His Excellency Modibo Keita, the esteemed President of the Republic of Mali; His Excellency Alphonse Massamba-Debat, the esteemed President of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville); Comrade Choi Yong Kun, the esteemed President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Comrade I.G. Maurer, the esteemed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Rumania; Comrade Pham Van Dong, the esteemed Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; and His Royal Highness Prince Moulay Abdallah, the esteemed representative of His Majesty Hassan II, the King of Morocco. The presence of our distinguished foreign guests is a great support for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, I express warm welcome and sincere thanks to our foreign friends and comrades.

Making giant strides of historic significance and surmounting all kinds of difficulties along their path of advance, the Chinese people have in the past fifteen years achieved great successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The social productive forces of our country have grown unprecedentedly and the mental outlook of our people has undergone a fundamental change. The material base of socialism in our country has never been so strong, the unity of our multinational people has never been so solid, and the revolutionary spirit of our people has never been so high. This is a victory for Marxism-Leninism, a victory for the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and a victory for the general line for socialist revolution and socialist construction as laid down by the Chinese Communist Party. Our people will rally even more closely around the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and uphold the correct line of the Party so as to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and build China into a prosperous and powerful socialist country.

During the past fifteen years, the Chinese people have made consistent and untiring efforts in defending world peace, opposing imperialism and colonialism, supporting the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed

nations and peoples and upholding the revolutionary unity of the peoples of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world. Whatever slanders and threats the imperialists may hurl at us, this fundamental position of the Chinese people in international affairs is consistent and will never change. The Chinese people will for ever stand on the side of the peoples of the socialist camp, on the side of all oppressed nations and peoples and on the side of all peace-loving countries and people; they will for ever uphold the revolutionary principles and international justice and continue to do their part in advancing the common cause of the people of the world.

The Chinese people firmly support the south Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, support the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its resistance against U.S. aggression and support the entire Vietnamese people in their struggle for the reunification of their motherland!

The Chinese people firmly support the Laotian people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression!

The Chinese people firmly support the Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia in their struggle against foreign aggression and subversion and in defence of state sovereignty and territorial integrity!

The Chinese people firmly support the south Korean people in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle and the entire Korean people in their struggle for the reunification of their motherland!

The Chinese people firmly support the Indonesian people in their struggle against Malaysia, the product of neo-colonialism, and the North Kalimantan people in their struggle for national liberation!

The Chinese people firmly support the Japanese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its agents and resolutely oppose the conversion of Japan by U.S. imperialism into a base for launching a nuclear war!

The Chinese people firmly support the Asian peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and control, in defence of national independence and for democratic rights!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the Arab countries in their struggle in defence of national independence and against imperialist aggression and support the people of Palestine in their demand for the restoration of their proper rights and for return to their homeland!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) in their struggle for national liberation, resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialists' armed intervention in the Congo (L) and their subversive activities against the Congo (B) and Burundi and oppose the U.S. scheme of making Africans fight Africans!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea in their struggle for national independence!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe in their struggle against racial discrimination and for equal rights and national liberation!

The Chinese people firmly support the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and in defence of national independence!

The Chinese people firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and to safeguard and carry forward the Cuban revolution!

The Chinese people firmly support the Latin American peoples in their national and democratic revolutionary struggle!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the German Democratic Republic in their struggle for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and in defence of their state sovereignty!

The Chinese people firmly support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and persecution and for freedom and equal rights!

The Chinese people firmly support the working class and broad masses in Western Europe, North America and Oceania in their struggle against monopoly capital and for democratic rights, the improvement of their living conditions and social progress!

Friends and Comrades! The present international situation is excellent, and U.S. imperialism is increasingly encircled by the people of the whole world. Together with all the people of the world the Chinese people will make persistent efforts and march forward from victory to victory. The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, in order to form the broadest united front to fight together against the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and for greater victories for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

I propose a toast

to the great solidarity of the people of the countries in the socialist camp,

to the great solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

to the great solidarity of the people throughout the world,

to the great development of the cause of liberation of the peoples of the world,

to world peace,

to the health of our distinguished foreign guests, and

to the health of all our fellow countrymen, friends and comrades present here!

CHINA SUCCESSFULLY EXPLODES ITS FIRST ATOM BOMB

Chinese Government Statement

October 16, 1964

China exploded an atom bomb at 15:00 hours on October 16, 1964, and thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to increase their national defence capability and oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend oneself is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. And to safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace-loving countries. China cannot remain idle and do nothing in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threat posed by the United States. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Should this have been realized, China need not develop the nuclear weapon. But this position of ours has met the stubborn resistance of the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow in July 1963 was a big fraud to fool the people of the world, that it tried to consolidate the nuclear monopoly held by the three nuclear powers and tie up the hands and

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feet of all peace-loving countries, and that it not only did not decrease but had increased the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the people of China and of the whole world. The U.S. Government declared undisguisedly even then that the conclusion of such a treaty does not at all mean that the United States would not conduct underground tests, or would not use, manufacture, stockpile, export or proliferate nuclear weapons. The facts of the past year and more fully prove this point.

During the past year and more, the United States has not stopped manufacturing various nuclear weapons on the basis of the nuclear tests which it had already conducted. Furthermore, seeking for ever greater perfection, the United States has during this same period conducted several dozen underground nuclear tests, thereby further perfecting the nuclear weapons it manufactures. In stationing nuclear submarines in Japan, the United States is posing a direct threat to the Japanese people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all other Asian countries. The United States is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the so-called multilateral nuclear force and thereby threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European socialist countries. U.S. submarines carrying Polaris missiles with nuclear warheads are prowling the Taiwan Straits, the Tonkin Gulf, the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, threatening everywhere peace-loving countries and all peoples who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Under such circumstances, how can it be considered that the U.S. nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against the people of the world no longer exist just because of the false impression created by the temporary halting of atmospheric tests by the United States?

The atom bomb is a paper tiger. This famous saying by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because we believe in the omnipotence of nuclear weapons and that China plans to use nuclear weapons. The truth is exactly to the contrary. In developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe in the people. It is the people who decide the outcome of a war, and not any weapon. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, and the destiny of the world by the peoples of the world, and not by the nuclear weapon. The development of nuclear weapons by China is for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the danger of the United States launching a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people firmly support the struggles for liberation waged by all oppressed nations and people of the world. We are convinced that, by relying on their own struggles and also through mutual aid, the peoples of the world will certainly win victory. The mastering of the nuclear weapon by China is a great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggles and a great contribution to the cause of defending world peace. On the question of nuclear weapons,

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China will neither commit the error of adventurism nor the error of capitulationism. The Chinese people can be trusted.

The Chinese Government fully understands the good wishes of peace-loving countries and people for the halting of all nuclear tests. But more and more countries are coming to realize that the more the U.S. imperialists and their partners hold on to their nuclear monopoly, the more is there danger of a nuclear war breaking out. They have it and you don't, and so they are very haughty. But once those who oppose them also have it, they would no longer be so haughty, their policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat would no longer be so effective, and the possibility for a complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons would increase. We sincerely hope that a nuclear war would never occur. We are convinced that, so long as all peace-loving countries and people of the world make common efforts and persist in the struggle, a nuclear war can be prevented.

The Chinese Government hereby formally proposes to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

If those countries in possession of huge quantities of nuclear weapons are not even willing to undertake not to use them, how can those countries not yet in possession of them be expected to believe in their sincerity for peace and not to adopt possible and necessary defensive measures?

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote the realization of the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations. Before the advent of such a day, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly march along their own road of strengthening their national defences, defending their motherland and safeguarding world peace.

We are convinced that nuclear weapons, which are after all created by man, certainly will be eliminated by man.

HALLELUIAH: THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH

Last year when I first visited the People's Republic of China, I was astounded by the progress being made in industry, agriculture, science and all aspects of this socialist society. As an Afro-American from the racist U.S.A., I had become accustomed to living in a white supremacist society; a society with no compunction about deceptive lies and smears designed to perpetuate the myth of white supremacy. As all Afro-Americans, I had learned early in life that those who preach and advocate racism are without principles or scruples. They are deliberately deaf, dumb, and blind to the facts of life that run counterwise, or fail to compliment the status quo that they are trying so vainly and fanatically to maintain. Yes, on my first visit to China last year, I learned that the great achievements of its new society are being purposely downgraded in racist America because the white supremacy imperialists are too arrogant in their self-conceit to face the rising tide of the new east wind.

Yes, I was astounded by China's achievements last year, but this year I can merely look in amazement with no appropriate words to transmit what is transpiring here. To honestly appraise China's progress today, one must also look back into her past. Only 15 years ago China was one of the most backwards, brutally exploited, racially divided, and hopeless nations on the face of the earth. Even the racist U.S. Government, with its Negro population brutally oppressed and dehumanized, hypocritically shed crocodile tears for "helplessly poor and over-populated China." Through revolution, sacrifice and unprecedented collective toil the great Chinese people are painfully lifting themselves to their rightful place in the sun. Yes, the new and forceful east wind is beginning to prevail over the old and declining west wind.

If America felt such great sorrow, loved China so much, and felt her to be such a romantic subject for storytelling when she crawled on her hands and knees at the feet of mighty and rich nations, who made her dire poverty an object of curious amusement, then what is the rationale of America's attitude today? The fact of the matter is that China's dehumanization of the past, like the Negro's today, was based on a system of exploitation master-minded by the same racist savages who cloak imperialism in phoney slogans of making the world safe for democracy. If the U.S. Government really believed in democracy and the prosperity of mankind, it would never cease praising the achievements of the people of the great Chinese People's Republic. Mere words offer no means of justly describing the fantastic transformation taking place here. I have travelled across the country. Food, consumer goods and clothing of high quality are more than plentiful, even in the most remote regions. The people are working like beavers for a brighter tomorrow. If the American people could truly see the great transformation of China today, they would demand that those loud-mouthed political thugs, who are making an ass of the U.S.A. before the whole world, shut the hell up.

The progress of China is helping to reshape the whole world. Quality conscience businessmen are streaming here from most of the major countries of the world, excluding the racist U.S.A. and racist South Africa. China's spirit of brotherhood and internationalism is unprecedented, her growth is astronomical.

It was a great feeling for me, an exiled former NAACP official, to be in China when their first Atomic bomb was exploded. No doubt, I manifested more overt pride in the feat than the Chinese people themselves. They are very modest people, and never gloat over their achievements. They merely resolve to work harder and to do better next time. The bomb is not just a Chinese bomb, it is a freedom bomb for all of the oppressed peoples of the world. People are expressing themselves in this manner in cables from many parts of the world, especially from Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is also the Afro-American's bomb, because the Chinese people are blood brothers to the Afro-American and all those who fight against racism and imperialism. Yes, the humble people of China prevail throughout the land. To see China is to see the likeness of the future of the world and Halleluiah, it is written that: **THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH.**

—Robert F. Williams, Apartado 6185, Habana, Cuba.

More about China next issue.

TO ROBERT WILLIAMS

BY TSO CHUNG-LING

... with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle.

— Mao Tse-tung

*Your country is so broad so vast,
Yet it does not allow your footprints.
Beautiful is your native town,
But there you may not dwell.*

*What crime have you committed?
Only that your skin is black.
What law have you broken?
Only that you chaired your NAACP branch.*

*The KKK sought you everywhere,
The police searched for your trail.
Like bats that dread the shining light,
They tried to put the sun in jail.*

*You found refuge in Cuba, but your heart
Was with your nineteen million brothers,
Struggling to wrest from Wall Street's hands
Sacred freedom and equality.*

*Why should the waves of the Mississippi
Swallow Negro corpses in gunny sacks?
Because they were white men's neighbors?
Ate with them at the same table?*

*Why should flame-charred Negro bodies
Hang from Arkansas telephone poles?
Because they rode with whites on a bus?
Wanted to study in the same school?*

*Robert Williams,
I see you standing before a map of your land,
Thinking: We must have a people's America,
We can't let the big shots ride high forever.*

*Robert Williams,
Look around at the whole world.
On the banks of the Yangtse where the sun is rising,
You have six hundred and fifty million brothers in arms.*

*Surely the day will come
When you'll be welcomed back with flowers,
When you'll stroll in North Carolina's woods,
When again you'll fish on the edge of Old Mis'.*

*And black and white will sit in the same theatres,
And relax in the same swimming pools,
And till America's soil together,
Surely the day will come.*



THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher

—IN EXILE—

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USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

PART II

The power structure of the USA is a cruel force of brutal oppression, exploitation, dehumanization, bloody imperialism and rabid racism. The U.S. Government is almost 200 years old and it



has never been humane enough to extend ordinary and simple justice to the Afro-American. It has made a mockery of its own Constitution. It blatantly and contemptuously refuses to honor its signature to the United Nations Human Rights Charter. It allows its black citizens to be gassed, clubbed, bombed and savagely mur-

dered for prayerfully petitioning for human rights. Its F.B.I. and Justice Department reek with sympathy for, and render aid and comfort to racist terrorists who maim and murder black Americans with impunity. As far as black humanity is concerned, U.S. jurisprudence is predicated on a racist kangaroo court system that respects the rights of common street dogs more than those of black humanity. The Afro-American has less chance for justice fair play and human rights under the present rabidly racist power structure than a new born lamb in a hungry wolf's den.

If racist America had any capacity for pangs of conscience on behalf of our dehumanized and brutally oppressed people, it most certainly would have manifested itself in some more tangible form than what we have experienced in almost 200 years under the present government. The downtrodden Afro-American has been loyal unto death to racist America through all its wars and crises. The Afro-American has retained faith in racist America's promises of justice, freedom and equality because faith was his only consolation in a painful situation that he seemed powerless to alleviate. The demoralized, pitiful, ignorant and helpless Afro-American accommodated his personality to the obsequious adjustment of survival. Consequently, he became a subhuman in a society that brazenly and hypocritically prided itself on being a great exemplary democracy, highly respectful of the rights of man and dedicated to the construction of a Christian and affluent society.

The black American captive has begged and prayed for freedom ever since he was first brought in chains to the new world. It is mere elementary logic that the brutally oppressed cannot achieve liberty and justice primarily from the benevolence of the slave master. The slave master has a vested interest in the continuance of exploitation rights that result in the dehumanization of the slave. He is afraid of the unbound slave. He is afraid of the subhuman passion that he has created in the personality that he has so effectively warped. He must rely on the opium of hope that forever keeps the slave in a twilight state of a fantasy more palatable to the oppressed than the hard cold logic of reality. The reality of the matter is the hard fact that those who would be free must shoulder the major burden of painful and arduous struggle themselves. Oppressors never relinquish their strangle hold on the oppressed voluntarily. When oppressors find their position to no longer be tenable, they cunningly and hypocritically, in the face of force or the fear of force, attempt a strategic retreat in an effort to salvage as much as possible under the disguise of humanitarian concessions.

On the human rights front today, the power structure cunningly pretends to be making civil rights concessions to Afro-Americans on the basis of a great new spirit of white benevolence. What a farce! The power structure and their pacifist apologists would have us believe that nonviolence and love are bringing about a transition on the part of racist masters of the oppressive society. They would have us believe that the ruthless and barbaric power structure is civilized and humane enough to respond to nonviolent demonstrations and peaceful petitioning. The fact of the matter is that the Afro-American is becoming more revolutionary and justly violent in his demands for human rights. He is losing faith in empty promises. He is losing faith in nonviolence. The growing strength of the liberation forces of the world is beginning to embolden him. He is beginning to see his struggle as a part of a universal struggle against an international racist oppressor and imperialist. He no longer sees himself as a helpless minority, but belonging to a

winning majority. He can see and is more and more convinced that the white racist power structure is far from invincible. He can see that those inspired with the cause of freedom can overcome the mightiest of obstacles and defeat the most modern of weapons of death with simple and sometimes crude arms in the hands of what the oppressor likes to call ragtag terrorist bands.

Millions of dollars are being dumped into Afro-American communities to convert our people to pacifism. Our people are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-educated and the victims of wanton police brutality and kangaroo court injustice, yet these millions are not earmarked to improve the lot of our suffering, dehumanized masses, but for nonviolent workshops and race relations designed to maintain a more subtle form of white supremacy, under the deception of possible integration based on moral persuasion. In regards to militancy and self-defense the power structure and their apologists are endeavoring to keep the collective mentality of our people in a shameful state of narcosis. Our people are constantly reminded that to resort to defensive violence would precipitate inevitable extermination of the race. We are constantly intimidated by the threat of extermination. We are led to believe that we are helpless and that our deliverance must come through the benevolence of our racist oppressors. We are made to feel inferior and insecure. We are led to believe that our first objective should be the prolongation of our miserable and dehumanized lives, even at the cost of total and abject submission to tyranny.

Once again, I reiterate, for the sake of those who find it exceedingly difficult to face the new reality of a changing world, yes, and for the sake to those who strut and prate about the invincibility of the slave master's power, in defiance of the slave master's self-perpetuated myth. I offer further discourse that today he is nothing more than a self-overrated braggart and buffoon, fearfully living out his last days in a fool's paradise of bluff and bluster.

Let me pause here to stress that it is not my endeavor to violently overturn the U.S. Government per se but to struggle uncompromisingly to abolish the evil it condones and engenders. It is not my intent to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government but to explore its weaknesses, to destroy its myth of invincibility and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution. I hope those Congressmen, Senators, witchhunters and members of UnAmerican Activities Committees, who take such great interest in unraveling the mysteries of un-American subversion, will find these concepts to be as American as the Boston Tea Party and the Declaration of Independence.

If the U.S. Government stands in the way of the enforcement of The Constitution, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all the people, then, it forfeits its right to exist. If it stands in opposition to the enforcement of The Constitution, it is an enemy to the people's heritage. If it is an enemy to the people's Constitutional rights then let it fall, let it fall! I do not advocate violence for the sake of violence. I advocate freedom and justice by any means. I advocate defense of The Constitution and especially against its domestic enemies. If it is treason to support the execution of The Constitution, then let treason be charged. Let the oppressor no longer feel secure. Let the Uncle Tom crier for his master's mighty invincibility take note and weep and moan for his master's change of fortune. Yes, the Afro-American can win through violence. Our so-called minority can bring the brutal slave master to his knees. Our people can convert the USA into a vast barren desert.

We prefer freedom through brotherhood and peace, but the brutal nature of our enemy oppressor responds only to naked force. Our oppressor keeps himself on the throne of power by unmitigated violence. Our only alternative is to dethrone him by violence. The power structure of the nation is internally weak. Its imperialist commitments are too widespread in the world. Racist American society is degenerate and soft. Its internal security is based on machinery and massive production. It relies on terrifying weapons of massive destruction to maintain its dominant position in the world. The heart and essential organs of this oppressor and common enemy of the oppressed peoples of the world are easily vulnerable to any potential firestorm that may be sparked from massive social discontent. The Afro-American is a part of his means of production and profit. The Afro-American inhabits his property. Though disinherited, the Afro-American is a portion of the oppressor's population. He cannot wholly and instantly destroy the Afro-American without destroying himself. If he turns inward to destroy a great portion of himself he will lose his international equilibrium. He is in a great dilemma. His power is so extended that his greatest weapon of survival is deception fed on the opium of hope, devoid of substance. Through deceit and machinations he must strive to keep body and soul together by containing the flames of rebellion to a minimum of sectors to enable him to concentrate terrifying force in a deceptive facade of invincibility. His tactic is to bribe one sector into submission while crushing the other.

Currently, the U.S. power structure is moving might and main to herd the Afro-American into a false alliance of national unity by offering token and ever elusive civil rights. The object of this phony national unity is to create a united front of imperialism and to shore up the cracks of strained domestic relations between the home factions. These are not genuine moves of humanitarianism and brotherhood, but measures based on the expediency of survival. Concessions granted under these conditions are nothing more than short-range and temporary windfalls of bribery. These concessions of token integration will vanish the same as they did after the Reconstruction era in relation to the whims and historical cycle of the unscrupulous slave master.

The racist whites of America are the haves, and they can never truly sympathize and identify with the black have-nots until they feel what it is to be poor, destitute and oppressed. Too much prosperity dulls the sensibilities of the haves in their understanding and dealings with the have-nots. The slave labor and the starvation wages of the masses of the Afro-Americans were major contributing factors in the construction of the affluent society. If the Afro-American so elects he can make the so-called affluent society poor again. He can bring it to its knees, not because of his military power, but because of world conditions and his favorable location in racist America's essential regions. If the Afro-American ever divests himself of the fantasy of hope, based on the deceptive and empty promises of the white supremacy power structure, and if the attitude of "freedom or death" continues to spread and permeate the masses, the present racist and imperialist power structure is doomed.

Could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The

segregationists, the hypocritical politicians and the terrorists have already paved the way for the latter. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of self-confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be the necessary attributes for the success of a minority revolution.

Organization would require many facets. Groups dedicated to militant demonstrations would have to apply constant pressure to the power structure, create chaos and confusion and force the oppressor to unmask his ugly face before the world by reacting even more brutally and indiscriminately against Constitutional forces. This would expose the true nature of the power structure and inspire greater resistance to it.

Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law and when possible become sporting rifle clubs affiliated with the National Rifle Association. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. Some form of central direction would be necessary. A tightly organized and well disciplined underground guerilla force would also have to be formed to perform a more aggressive mission. It would have to be clandestinely organized and well versed in explosives. Its mission would be retaliation and a force used to pin down and disperse concentrated fascist power. It would prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle against terrorist forces by ambushing, sniping, bombing bridges, booby-trapping and sabotaging highways. A welfare corps would have to be organized to build morale, raise funds, promote legal defense and take charge of the general welfare of the fighting forces and their families. Many of the members of the Welfare organization front would not understand its total function. They would be recruited on a humanitarian basis.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. Their legal aid in court defense would be rendered by Afro-Americans giving legal aid to victims of kangaroo court systems, as is commonly known where black people stand no chance of obtaining justice. This would be similar to, but more vigorous and militant than the NAACP's role. The fire teams' mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their immediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement. They would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would sometimes masquerade as super patriots, and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. They would even infiltrate the police force and armed forces when possible, and work in the homes of officials as domestics. There would be no official meetings and discussions, only emergency calls and sudden missions.

The mission of these thousands of active fire teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags in America's forests, and have

time to be far removed from the scene by the time the lighted candle burned to the dried leaves. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that would burn in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troop reinforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive man power, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more accessible. A few teams could start miles and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect reddish flames that would elicit panic and a feeling of impending doom. Operating in teams of twos or threes, one freedom fighter could pour gasoline or lighter fluid from a small flask into public waste paper baskets, another could later enter and toss a lighted cigarette in the same container. Near closing time kitchen matches could be placed in the air conditioning systems of industrial and public buildings. The property of racists would be designated as priority objectives. Through this method, the racist oppressors could be reduced to poverty in a short span of time.

These fire teams could also go on pre-dawn missions just before the morning rush for work. Their objective would be to spread tacks fitted with wire bases to insure their upright position when thrown from a moving automobile in heavily travelled tunnels and freeways. Pure havoc would ensue. Sugar or sand in gas tanks could be used to knock out the engines of public vehicles. During police invasions of the ghetto, lye and acid bombs could be thrown from roof tops. Many forms of booby traps could be utilized.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist America. It could succeed because the winds of rebellion are rising against the racist oppressor throughout the world. It could triumph because the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the universal liberation struggle. It must be handled as such. It is only natural that the power structure would like to keep it isolated and provincial. The enemy's tactic is to divide and conquer. The Afro-American has sought to join the white American league since first arriving in chains in the new world. He has been brutally rejected. The racist whites have made it plain, in no uncertain terms, that the black American is never to be fully accepted in the main stream of the so-called great society. It is as natural as water seeking its level for the Afro-American to turn to the oppressed peoples of the world to make common cause in the universal revolution for freedom and human dignity. What greater indication do we need, than centuries of barbaric oppression, that the U.S. power structure is our natural enemy?

With or without a common cause with the Afro-American the universal freedom forces are going to triumph over U.S. racist imperialism. The question is simply whether or not the black American is going to perish with racist imperialist America as a party to her savage crimes against oppressed and progressive human-

nity or whether he is going to contribute to the great victory of revolutionary humanity destined to fulfill its historical role.

In summary, let it be made clear that I am not advocating a minority revolution. I am merely exploring certain theoretical potentials as an alternative to passive submission to proposed genocide as projected by the racist, fascist and terrorist white groups now growing by leaps and bounds in the racist and imperialist USA. I hope that others, who are genuinely interested in the survival of black people in racist America, will analyze, debate and contribute to this thesis in a way that our people need never fear extermination under racial tyranny and fascism.

Each year rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, becomes more extensive and ferocious. We can neither pray nor hope our way out of this difficult situation. We must defend ourselves. We must fight, and we must fight to win. We must also consider the immediate necessity of effective self-defense and resistance to racist terror. During times of massive rioting too many of our people are forced to fight armed cops and troops with bare hands and stones. Cops and troops must be disarmed and their weapons turned against other cops to obtain weapons of defense. Tanks and armoured cars must be knocked out with molotov cocktails and captured when possible. Bazookas and mortars must be taken from troops and national guard armories to prevent heavy concentration of troops and invasion by overwhelming force. The Minutemen, Confederate Underground and other terrorist groups are arming and training with U.S. Army gear such as bazookas, mortars, hand grenades, machine guns and gas masks. Sub-machine guns are even being manufactured in small shops controlled by these fascist groups. These private arsenals must be located and raided for weapons and ammunition. These weapons can also be used to do extensive damage. Oil storage tanks and natural gas lines could be fired through delayed methods. The oppressor must be forced to pay heavily economically for his police brutality, pogroms, racist court frameups and white supremacy terror.

The racist imperialist is an unmerciful bully when he can control a situation with his sophisticated weapons of death and destruction. On the international scene, he will not hesitate to embark on the world's greatest campaign of slaughter in a desperate effort to save himself. The Afro-American liberation force is the only force in the world secure from fascist America's devastating nuclear force. He cannot use nuclear weapons against his own population, property and cities. In such a minority revolution, racist America's very essence of strength and power would become the Achilles' heel of her security and struggle for world domination.

The advanced technology of the affluent society has made it soft, nervous and hypersensitive. It is a society fearful of the cold realities of life. A society devoid of soul and humanism. A jungle society of dog eat dog, a society of frightful automation that is addicted to tranquilizers. Racist Americans are not psychologically prepared for fire storms, power, communications and transportation failures and long periods without public utilities. The Afro-American has been under siege since the very beginning of his days as a captive person in the so-called New World. Terror is a way of life for the great masses of Afro-Americans. Our people have practically become immune to the fear that flows from violence and brutality.

Such a minority revolution could only succeed as an integral part of the universal liberation struggle. From this point of view, we would not be an isolated minority in racist America, but a highly

concentrated sector of a majority revolution. The Afro-American must take his fate into his own hands. He cannot rely on racist white brutes to dole out liberty like a welfare commodity. His only hope lies in concerted action with his oppressed brothers throughout the world. The racist imperialists are doomed. They cannot muster the power to save themselves. They are morally bankrupt. The vast majority of white Americans are racists who currently indentify with U.S. imperialism. They have been deluded into believing that they have a vested interest in the oppressive and corrupt system. There is more hope, at this stage of struggle, for a rabid wolf than white supremacy orientated white workers allying themselves with racially oppressed Negroes. They are no more reliable in coming to the defense of persecuted Negroes than the German working class was in coming to the defense of the Jews under Hitler. The Afro-American is as alien to the so-called American way of life as a shoe shine boy is to Wall Street. The Afro-American is an outcast, the disinherited of the very society that he helped make affluent. The wilderness that his slave labor cleared; the sprawling cities that he helped build, his rebellious and freedom-starved spirit can make barren and desolate again.

While U.S. strength is spread around the world in a hypocritical gesture of making the world safe for so-called democracy, democracy goes begging at home. Let racist America be apprized of the fact that she can no longer count on a peaceful and united front at home so long as the Afro-American is brutally subjected to racial tyranny. Racism and imperialism are destroying the U.S.A. If her choice is doom rather than justice —if she prefers to emasculate and compromise the Constitution rather than to honor it; then her irreversible choice most surely will be accommodated by the invincible historical tide of justice-loving humanity, gloriously storming the tyrannical bastions of imperialism and racism. Our choice must be freedom or death. We must prepare ourselves to obtain freedom by any means. Let the phoney liberals, the pseudo socialists, and their fellow-traveling avowed racists call us what they will. Our cause is just, our cause is freedom. Let us be labeled anything but pacifists suffering racial tyranny in a masochistic spirit of loving oppressive beasts. Yes, in racist America a minority revolution can succeed. Those who counsel patience and nonviolence, in the face of tyranny and aggression as against vigorous self-defense, are the vanguard puppets of U.S. imperialism, white supremacy and its oppressive status quo. They are foolhardy reactionaries, dreaming their psychotic dreams of a white supremacy slave kingdom, in ivory towers fast submerging in the quicksands of time. Yes, because of the relativity of righteous struggle, a minority revolution in racist America can succeed and bring about the establishment of a just and humanitarian government truly of the people, by the people, and for the people, dedicated to universal peace and brotherhood.

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THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher — IN EXILE —

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THE GREAT CONSPIRATOR'S CONSPIRACY

The master conspirator and great deceiver has contrived yet another mythological plot to whip up mass hysteria against the Afro-American Revolution. Once again the most militant segment of the black liberation struggle has been victimized by the most vicious enemy of the ghetto community, the predatory beasts masquerading as the saintly guardians of the savage white man's law. The so-called assassination plot is pure and simple white supremacy vindictiveness aimed at crushing the resistant spirit now sweeping Black America. This so-called



"Oh please, don't let violence smear our moral image!"

"early morning swoop-down on plotting assassins", is nothing more than a conspirator's conspiracy to intimidate all who are determined to resolutely resist racist American tyranny. The vicious police running dogs of fascist tyranny are not only masters at cruel and savage repression against the enemies of oppression, but they are also masters at prefabricating lies to give some semblance of justification to their abominable action.

RAM is not now, and has never been an organization given to pointless assassination. What would be the logic of murdering zombies who exist only on the rump to mouth resuscitation of their white saviors? What would be the logic of murdering black Samboes resurrected from the tombs of white America merely to serve as dummies for racist and reactionary ventriloquists? If I were an advocate of assassination, what would be the logic of a "murder conspiracy" against Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young while the chief villains of the 1961 Monroe frame-up and those responsible for my present exile continue to harass and persecute Afro-Americans in a racist community where the racist culprits live in peace and security with no thought of retaliation on my part?

The racist white power structure contrived this outlandish and bogus "plot" against black misleaders because it wanted to create an image of the black mind being capable only of petty and pointless acts of violence and terror. It wanted to play on the power of suggestion by suggesting that black resentment should be unleashed against black puppets instead of being directed at the chief culprits, the white puppet masters. This was a vicious design to divide our people and to spread mass suspicion. It is a shopworn trick long used by the white imperialist oppressor to instigate black to fight black while sadistical white oppressors amuse themselves by watching the ancient Roman sport of blood letting and mayhem.

This vicious plot against RAM and other black militants was supposed to serve as a brake on America's headlong plunge into the long hot summer. RAM had been informed months ago by sympathetic police sources that a frame-up was in the making. This is why some brothers moved out of the New York area. This is why they had become deliberately inactive. All revolutionary acts of violence now taking place in America, according to police logic, are done under the direction of members of RAM. This is not true. RAM has long advocated a policy of self-defense and revolutionary resistance to tyrannical oppression. We are anti-imperialist, anti-racist and all black, and for this we offer no apologies. The police vultures dared not contrive a plot around an alleged murder plan against Whitey because they knew that this would project RAM as the greatest saviors of Black America. This would make RAM the toast of the ghetto, for every black child now knows that black men who kill white oppressors are great heroes worthy of emulation.

The RAM case proves the fascist nature of the U.S. power structure. The charges against RAM are openly political. Among other things, RAM is being charged with planning the overthrow of the U.S. Government. The incarceration of militant blacks under such trumped-up political charges is incontrovertible proof that American fascism has shamelessly started to collect black political prisoners. Those of RAM and other militant groups who are charged and imprisoned by state and federal police are not criminals but are political prisoners seized as opponents by an over-zealous and tyrannical power structure.

The racist power structure hoped to head off the long hot summer of Afro-American rebellion by staging cruel and aggressive sneak attacks on some of the most militant leaders of the revolutionary black

community throughout racist America. By staging a Pearl Harbor sneak attack on the ghettos they hoped to seize the initiative, thus stemming the tide of ever spreading discontent and massive ghetto uprisings. The battle of Newark should be a lesson to the oppressor that his tactic of vicious repression is not an answer to the black man's thrust for human dignity. Violent repression results in violent reaction to violent repression. The greater the force of oppression, the greater the ultimate force of resistance.

The plot against RAM and other black militants throughout the country portends the unleashing of massive terror against our captive people of the ghetto. Newark is one battle of the many ahead in the future. The tyrannical American white man is an incorrigible oppressor. The black man cannot peacefully co-exist in close proximity with such a savage beast. The black man's strongest dialogue with the oppressive American white man is the revolutionary sound of fury and violence in the Street. Our people must answer the challenge of white terror with well organized and revolutionary violence. Though the insensate power structure is desperately trying to stem the tide of the black revolt by using innocent scapegoats for examples of intimidation; we must become ever more courageous and proficient in urban guerilla warfare. Our oppressive enemies have grossly miscalculated the situation. Such vicious frame-ups and savage repression only serve to kindle the smoldering unrest already nearing the explosion point throughout the width and breadth of tyrannical and imperialist America. Our response to these mendacious frame-ups is a clarion call to oppressed Black America to **UNITE OR PERISH! MOBILIZE FOR PEOPLE'S WAR BECAUSE AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND!**

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"Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.

Lure the enemy in deep.

Concentrate superior forces, pick out the enemy's weak spots, and fight when you are sure of wiping out part, or the greater part, of the enemy in mobile warfare, so as to crush the enemy forces one by one."

— Mao Tse-tung

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**STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS ON THE FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S STATEMENT SUPPORTING
THE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM**

On August 8, 1963, the architect of people's war, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued an historical STATEMENT SUPPORTING THE AMERICAN

NEGROES IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM.* Present facts concerning the struggle of the oppressed black people in racist and imperialist America speak for themselves. The nature and intensity of the struggle bears undeniable evidence of the impact of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the oppressed people of the world. The Afro-American people, like their oppressed brothers throughout the world, have been inspired to raise their level of struggle to a new revolutionary height. The correctness of Chairman Mao's words on August 8, 1963 is being borne out in armed uprisings across the width and breadth of imperialist and tyrannical America.

In his world famous statement, Chairman Mao said: "... The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. Recent years have witnessed a continuous expansion of their mass struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. . . ."

The phoney movement of passive resistance is being thoroughly discredited and more and more the oppressed black people are turning to armed revolutionary resistance. As the Afro-American liberation movement engulfs and enflames major American cities, the Johnson Administration becomes ever more frantic and brutal in its desperate efforts to repress the heroic uprisings. It is resorting to arbitrary and vicious arrests of thousands of black people and their leaders. It is dispatching thousands of troops armed with modern weapons of war to murder and maim the long suffering victims of its fascist tyranny.

The tide of the Afro-American freedom struggle cannot be stemmed. Johnson's savage repressive measures amount to no more than: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet." The flames of people's war cannot be extinguished by tyrants. This is the era of Mao Tse-tung, the era of world revolution and the Afro-American's struggle for liberation is a part of an invincible world-wide movement. Chairman Mao was the first world leader to elevate our people's struggle to the fold of the world revolution. In keeping with the principles of people's war, wherein the great masses of exploited peoples of the world represent the rural masses surrounding the cities (the exploiting industrial countries) the Afro-American revolutionaries represent a mighty urban underground within the city. Our people will further develop and master people's warfare. Every battle will be a glorious monument to Chairman Mao's August 8, 1963 statement and we shall become ever more fierce in resisting the tyranny of racist U.S. imperialism. We shall ever be inspired by the fact that Chairman Mao has said:

"... The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people."

RECONSTITUTE AFRO-AMERICAN ART TO REMOLD BLACK SOULS

In but a few rare exceptions, the Afro-American artist has failed to serve the best interest of the viciously dehumanized and oppressed black multitude. The black artist, like his layman counterpart, is a product of the sinister white man's freak mold. In order for our people to cultivate our best human attributes, it is imperative that we destroy the mold that has been fashioned by our slavemasters to imbue

* The complete statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung can be obtained by writing to: Guozhi Shudian, P. O. Box 399, Peking, China.

us with a slave mentality. The collective intellect of our downtrodden people has been hatefully deformed by the beast who cast us into a savage slave culture. If we are to liberate ourselves we must remold our thinking in conformity to this monumental task.

We must see the artist's role as a propagandist. The question is whose cause is he going to serve with his propaganda. Who and what is he going to glorify? The Afro-American artist must apprise himself of the fact that to follow standard tradition and tendency in art and propaganda is to succumb to the latent design of the dominant forces to perpetuate their domination. Art and propaganda that pander to and accommodate the fashion of the oppressor are contrary to the best interest and welfare of the oppressed. The black artist in America who strives only for recognition in the white man's world is a captive of cultural tyranny. He is an intellectual prostitute. A mercenary who inflicts injury and death with the pen and art forms instead of the gun, though this be done unconsciously, is none the less a faithful lackey servant of the money changers.

In order to liberate themselves from Chuck's stranglehold, Afro-American artists must identify with and arouse the black masses. Our people must be made conscious of the dire need to support the Afro-American artist. Subsequently, the brother artist must speak for, to and about the masses. He must not only say what needs to be said, but must say it well in a provocative and interesting way. Our brother artists must also support and concern themselves about each other. There is a great need for expanded collectives and cooperative sponsorship of mass art. Pointless art born of frustration is no constructive contribution. Black talent must be channeled and utilized in a conscious and organized effort to liberate, inspire and remold the souls of our people who are mental slaves of the white supremacy plantation era.

There was a time when white Parnassus required black art to glorify the Cabin In The Sky culture which was the anathema of revolutionary militancy. Then followed the roustabout, chain gang, cotton field, spiritual and white man—black woman "Pinky" era. Black arts also had its run of the hustling, pimping and carnival kick. In Chuck's artistic book we have now come full blown into social question age. Now we are the problem people, the white man's burden, so he would have the world to believe. We are the frustrated jazz-crazed fiends, the junkies, the addicts, the vicious delinquents, the ultra sophisticated blacks who have been accepted in Chuck's paradise of mansions, we are the ever loyal puppet troops killing and dying for Chuck's God blessed imperialism and the I SPY stoolpigeons in the front line of the white man's intrigue and subversion.

Black artists must also guard against allowing Chuck's hippie left to channel Afro-American art to the level of a well staged exercise in profanity, vulgarity, and pornography. Such debase forms of art are encouraged by b.s. ofays to emasculate the revolutionary spirit now developing among our young people. The beast is encouraging unwitting artists to slander and vilify our people. Such tripe is being peddled abroad as American Negro culture. The purpose of this is to portray black people as uninhibited, sex mad savages and to distort the true aspirations underlying our desperate freedom struggle. Irreparable damage is being done to our youth at home and to our image abroad. We are not a people primarily of Porgy and Bess, prostitutes and dope addicted frustrated musicians hell-bent on senseless violence against each other.

It is time for Afro-American artists to tell it like it is. Mr. Charlie is a beast. The black American is a product of his jungle society and

he is struggling to cast off his age-old shackles and to shatter his freak mold. The Afro-American artist must make a resolute and conscious effort to reconstitute our art forms to remold new proud black and revolutionary soul. Black art must become a new source of inspiration for our people. It must be placed in the cause of black liberation. It must eulogize black martyrs and heroes instead of degenerates, Toms and thugs. It must broadcast our cause to the world and vehemently indict the beastly oppressor. It must create a new theory and direction and prepare our people for a more bitter, bloody and protracted struggle against racist tyranny and exploitation. Black art must serve the best interest of black people. It must become a powerful weapon in the arsenal of the Black Revolution.

REMEMBER MUHAMMAD ALI

A cardinal reason that the black man in racist America has been so savagely transgressed against for so long is that too often he has feared the consequences of asserting his manhood. His innate spirit of rebellion, that should manifest itself as a natural reaction to dehumanization and tyranny, has been emasculated by a morbid fear of the ofay devil's capacity for spite and violence. Too many black men have lacked the courage and resolve to take a principled stand against the evil white man's brutal and savage usurpation of our human rights. Four hundred years of dehumanization, terror and racist tyranny have conditioned the black man to acquiesce to the white man's commands and coercion like a loyal and abused dog responds to his master. There have been too few examples of the black man's assertion of manhood to inspire the type of spirit in our youth that is paramount to sustained and massive resistance to tyranny.

We are greatly indebted to Muhammad Ali. He is a shining example of courage, selfless devotion to a cause, resistance to intimidation, first magnitude martyrdom and an unexcelled source of pride to the race. Muhammad has laid more than even the exceptional black man could ever expect to accomplish in racist America, on the line for freedom and human dignity. Our people must start somewhere to break the white devil's mold especially designed to fashion human zombies and Uncle Tom sycophants. To procrastinate and ever defer the time and place to make a do-or-die stand against brutal oppression is to shirk the responsibility of manhood and to shamefully acquiesce to tyranny. Muhammad Ali is not just intellectually blowing off hot theoretical and abstract air, he has risen in a concrete situation of confrontation with the savage and beastly tyrant. Tomorrow is no time for the oppressed to resolve to stand against the tyrant and his rampant tyranny; the dignity of such an honorable resolve is its unfaltering readiness to stand in that place and that moment wherein justice demands a confrontation. To defer resistance to injustice, is justice compromised. Deferred justice is no justice at all. To wait to make another buck, to wait for one final fling of fiesta, to wait to see what tomorrow is going to bring is to pander to the gods of inertia. Delay is a major cause of the black man's shameful and terrible oppression in racist America. The intimidated and emasculated black man in America has been waiting for four centuries for freedom and justice to fly to him on the golden wings of time. This is not the way of justice. Justice does not just happen as a result of oppression growing tired and weary. Justice is made by the sword of resistance to tyranny. Tyrants never tire of being tyrants. Tyranny ends when it becomes impractical and impossible to maintain.

The black bourgeoisie and Uncle Toms in racist America can be equated to a mass of dung whose value is positive only as a fertilizer

to nurture the evil roots of a cactus-like society. Muhammad Ali is the spirit of life. It is a spirit that can raise our black manhood from the wicked white man's dungeon tomb. His is a hero image sorely needed by our floundering youth. The black captive press and the so-called good nigras are conspicuously derelict in defending and eulogizing this living saint of black manhood. Look how they try to ape their white puppet masters. If Muhammad had been labelled a good nigra by the racist power structure the ghetto people would not have been able to get within a mile of the champ because of admiring white folks' niggers.

Muhammad is the greatest, and racist savages are not qualified to properly judge the greatness of black men. Such a situation is like casting pearls before swine. What racist America is doing to Ali, she is doing to all non-white humanity in the world. White America had better make the most of its present rampant sadistic folly, because as sure as the sun shall rise the torch of vengeance is coming to tyrannical America. What is being done to Ali is another evil crime committed against black people that must be paid for in future penalties. In its harsh and insensate repression of the Afro-Americans the racist imperialist beast is fashioning a scaffold from which to hang itself. The champ is setting an example that cannot be jailed or consigned to oblivion. America is devouring the best of its young manhood, but such a feast cannot be digested. The champ's example is our signal that the time is now. In the coming bloody fray, let us remember Muhammad Ali. His resistant spirit will inspire us in every battle, for his is the true resistant spirit that finally and invariably leads to the overturning of tyranny.

DIXIE CARPETBAGGERS CELEBRATE CONQUEST OF CHICAGO

While the in-spooks in Chicago were pondering how to coolbreeze Chicago before the advent of the worst of the long hot summer, the neo-carpetbagger set was throwing a real old fashioned lily white hoe-down to celebrate the confederate conquest of a Windy City center of wealth and power. In a nook of the social jungle adjacent to the area long known as Terror Town USA and also commonly called the Little Angola of the Americas, gathered the "best of our pioneer families". This mini-brain racist set indulged in a traditional ritual of a ball to celebrate the ascension of a local bigot from Monroe, North Carolina to the top chair in the Chicago Board of Trade. Henry Hall Wilson, Jr. alias: Cap'n Wilson or Mr. Hall and sometimes just plain "Boss" reassured the confederate slave conscious gentry that even though he was going to Chicago, he could still be counted on as a loyal son of "nigra" hating Dixie. We are sure that the bigots of America can rely on "Cap'n Hall" to live up to his racist record of keeping sassy "nigras" in their places. No doubt Henry Hall Wilson will leave no stone unturned in his inspired effort to keep the black man down. His past experiences rate him an expert in this field. He learned at an early age to handle "nigras" on his papa's expansive plantation empire. He is not without a slave trade heritage.

Henry Hall, a former official of the Union County kangaroo Court system, backed the railroading of 8- and 10-year-old underprivileged black boys to jail because one was accused of having been kissed by an 8-year-old little Miss Anne. The celebrated Mr. Hall, as a lawyer, has pleaded many legal cases on behalf of Klansmen. He is a tight crony of the viciously racist Monroe Chief of Police, A. A. Mauney. Henry Hall Wilson's experience in race relations is one that the black

people and just-minded whites of Chicago could do better without. The ascension of one racist ridge runner to power in a mighty urban community is a pass key that opens the door for the influx of a powerful legion of Dixie Carpetbaggers. Afro-Americans must closely scrutinize the background of this new mod-fashion group of southern Klan gentlemen now infiltrating into influential positions in northern communities. Anti-black Klan elements must be fought against in the urban north as well as down home in savage Dixie.

THE NEW LEFT: OLD IDEAS IN A NEW FRONT

The current surge of the so-called new left of racist America is being heralded in some quarters as one of the most portentous Marxian events since the Great October Revolution. The new theoreticians of the bourgeois intellectual vanguard are dispatching its new fourth world cadre to direct the revolution of the third world into a channel that will serve the best interest of the old white world. Now that revolutionary rumblings are becoming more intense in the third world many of those, who have buried themselves in "progressive" study groups since Marxian antiquity, are hurriedly gulping down the last shot of their revolutionary martini toasts and are scurrying to seize positions of misleadership in the vanguard of the mighty upsurge of oppressed humanity. These "new left" carpetbagger fabians are not conduits of revolution but the Trojan Horse of counter-revolution. Their objective is to preserve universal white supremacy power, by cloaking their predatory nature in Marxist-Leninist garb. They are not partisans of the third world revolution. They are sinister 5th column usurpers desperately seeking to emasculate and undermine the liberation struggle of the most oppressed and dehumanized sector of downtrodden humanity.

They are viciously seeking to utilize rebelling black masses as ramrods and cannon fodder in their loyal opposition to the presently constituted imperialist forces of white supremacy. Their clandestine mission is to modernize white supremacy and to fit it into the new left scheme of things predicated on the old ideas of "progressive" racism. As far as the Black revolution is concerned the only thing new about the new left is its name. The manipulators of the new left are growing ever more vindictive towards those leaders of revolutionary black nationalism and Black Power who reject white domination over our movement. They are moving might and main to sabotage and smear the image of those who find white dictatorship unacceptable. These new left con men have an international network second only to the C.I.A., and oftentimes these subversive groups operate in a united front. They are becoming frantic at the thought of Afro-Americans establishing their own direct international contacts. They want the massive and vigorous Black Revolution to be an appendage of the sterile and puny so-called white working class "revolution". They want to give the socialist world the erroneous impression that only the American monopoly capitalists are racists and that only the white new left is capable of leading the black man out of bondage. They want the world to believe that the black movement is a mere legion of chaotic rioters, and an orgy in anarchy; an ill-fated politically immature movement bound to fail because of the lack of the white man's theoretical blessings. These new left scalawags insist on speaking for "all the American people". They want to speak for the "Negro" without the slightest concept of what being black in racist America is like. They want to speak for the "workers" without the slightest concept of who or what is a worker. While Afro-Americans are locked in mortal combat with ruthless oppression and tyranny in the streets of capitalist and imperialist America, these pseudo Marxist-Leninists minimize this

revolutionary phenomenon while seeing every loyalist strike as representing the first shot fired in the coming Great October white American revolution. In their version of the book, black people must be forced to wait for the white working class to get ahead of them, because the white man's place is always at the head of the line.

These new left socialist fabians are hard at work ever trying to project their black socialist pawns as the leaders of the "militant black masses" and their countless "white allies". They glowingly speak of the revolutionary exploits of what they condescendingly refer to as "Black Lenins" who are leading the militant black masses correctly, due to their servile adherence to the orders of white Marxian Moses. This new left as far as our people are concerned, is nothing more than an old bundle of rejected pseudo-socialism sporting a new deceptive outer wrapping. The so-called new left's united action front is well calculated to promote modern revisionism, international white supremacy, latent imperialism and socialist cloaked zionism.

To this new left, the same as to the old left, the savage oppression of the black man is of minimal importance. Their feigned desire to liberate the "white working class" is the plenary cause while all others are mere subordinates. In their way of thinking when the white workers (most of whom seek only a better life for themselves under the present racist system) are "liberated" the black people will automatically become the beneficiaries of the by-product flowing from the effect of the new social element. This is to leave the struggling black man's fate to chance. To place it once again at the mercy of the racist white man's whim. Their attitude can be likened unto that of the racist city officials of Monroe, North Carolina who responded to Afro-American's request for equal employment opportunities, relative to the new influx of run-away industry, by explaining that: "Our acquisition of new plants will benefit all the people of our community because as our white people get better and higher paying jobs their standards of living will rise and they will need and hire more cooks and maids for their children. Each new plant will need janitors, handymen and colored folks to clean the toilets."

The oppressed can only trust their fate to themselves. The oppressed must speak for themselves. Our people must come to see through the latest facade of the scheming new left frontiers. This new left is seeking white hegemony over the black revolution. They have had their "revolutionary study groups" since the Great October Revolution. They have drunk a zillion toasts to the coming white American working class revolution. They have betrayed the "white working class and the Negro people" at every flip of the Marxian card. Now that our people are fed up and have started to storm the bastions of racial tyranny, the new left has risen from its den of the fabian fraternity with a new hippie mask and a mini-skirted mod to LSD the black revolution on a fantastic trip to some nebulous white working class heaven. Of course there are exceptions to the rule, however, at this juncture of our long and arduous march towards human dignity we had best concern ourselves with the negative aspect of a menacing universal danger. On the home front and on the international scene the much vaunted American "new left" is no more than an old idea disseminated through a new front. It is still a white man's baby born to a black man's wife. We demand the right to father our own liberation brain child. White paternalism is a bankrupt policy of a bygone era. Black revolutionaries must roundly denounce and defeat the great new white supremacy conspiracy to capture and subvert the black revolution. The black revolution is being fought for black liberation, not for white domination and it must avoid the racist liquidationists working in the new left front like a dreadful plague.

9—THE CRUSADER

THE POSITIVE SIDE OF CHUCK'S NEGATIVE WHITE HELMET GANG

Since the very beginning of American slavery, Chuck Whitey's devilish mind has been prolific in devising ways to divide and subdue black folks. He is a master at deception and of pitting brother against brother. He is an expert in confusing the oppressed and in instigating them to oppose and fight in sinister causes running counter to their best interest. This devil Chuck Whitey maintains his racist position at the top by exploiting the gullibility of his oppressed victims. He harnesses the energy of the oppressed and channels it in a way that it neutralizes and negates its inherent potential to utilize its force to transform the status-quo. Chuck is a master in utilizing the power of the slave to maintain slavery and to perpetuate his iron fist rule over the dominion of bondmen.

Lo! The shameful persistence of the house slave and the field slave relationship still is an integral of the master slave equation. In some battle zones of late, especially notable of Tampa, Florida, Chuck has sprung a new gimmick on struggling dark folks. His anti-Negro engineers in his social warfare center have fashioned a new anti-black personnel weapon. Lo and behold! Chuck has invented a white helmet that makes "good nigra boys" forget that they are black and that their interest is with the black revolutionaries. We knew that LSD and "Pot" could make one lose his identity and imagine himself everything but what he is, and we have even heard of magic beans, golden slippers and magic fountains, but now comes a new kind of hat. Yes, we have even heard of clever magicians pulling rabbits out of hats, but now the clever one pulls a nigra zombie out of a white helmet. We have always been more than conscious of the brothers' extreme fondness for Miss Whitey Anne but we never expected a white helmet to have such a traumatic effect on Sambo.

Brothers and Sisters, wait, do not despair. No doubt this time Chuck has outdone himself. The negative can become the positive and the butt of the joke can be reversed. For every new weapon introduced to warfare a counter weapon is soon devised. Don't curse the white helmet gang. Join it. Infiltrate it. Take it over and do your fighting, people-izing and shooting under the cover of a white helmet.

USA: THE COMING FIRESTORM

On the 26th of June, THE CRUSADER entered into its ninth year of publication. Since its very inception in Monroe, North Carolina (Terror Town, USA) THE CRUSADER has been appealing for black militancy and armed self-defense. THE CRUSADER served as the official organ of the first black self-defense militia initiated as a security force for the civil rights movement (the local N.A.A.C.P.). THE CRUSADER has always opposed non-violence as a surreptitiously white supremacy inspired gimmick designed to render Afro-Americans docile and submissive in the face of unrelenting racial oppression and tyranny. From the very beginning we predicted and warned black Americans of bloody and brutal days ahead. We warned of Whitey's plot to exterminate Black America. While the pacifist mercenaries spoke piously and glowingly of great Georgian "dreams" and of "great advances" in the field of integration and civil rights, we constantly invoked our people to organize, unite and to prepare for a war of self-defense and survival. Because of our predictions and exhortations we aroused the full fury

of the power structure, the timid "good nigras", responsible leaders and the fabian left, all of whom directed their sinister efforts at the wretched victims of aggression instead of at the savage aggressor.

In the name of survival of Black America, we invoke another serious warning. We call upon Black America to arm to the teeth, to organize and to religiously acquaint themselves with the theory and tactics of urban guerrilla warfare. Time is running out. The racist American white man is like a predatory beast gone mad. Such a beast can only be restrained by unmitigated force and violence. We are now merely witnessing the first showers of the approaching storm. By the summer of '68 the full fury of a nightmarish firestorm will descend on the black people of racist America. Transform your instruments of sensual pleasure into weapons of war and prepare to make any sacrifice that may be required. Prepare now for that great raging fire when there will be no hiding place.

CUBA: THE ENEMY FROM WITHIN

There is a sharp difference between Cuba's positive desire to aid world revolution and its negative effect on the movement. Cuba's present role in the revolutionary struggles must be carefully re-examined. All revolutionaries maintaining close contacts with Cuba are treading on extremely dangerous ground. Revolutionaries of Africa and South America who maintained a liaison with Cuba have met with a series of resounding reverses. The recent so-called clandestine landing of revolutionaries in Venezuela was wiped out by fascist forces waiting on the beach. Chances are it was no secret operation at all. Can be that U.S. C.I.A. agents knew when it was being planned, not to mention when it was actually undertaken. Cuba has become a center from which the C.I.A. gathers information on revolutionaries and revolutionary movements. This has been effected through the infiltration of the Cuban G-2. Through its Cuban based operation, the C.I.A. keeps close tabs on every revolutionary visitor to Cuba. The Cuban G-2 files are an open book as far as the Yankee agents are concerned.

If the Western press is correct in reporting that "Che" Guevara is in Bolivia (we are convinced this is a ruse) he had better get the hell out of there as fast as possible. If the Cuban Intelligence knows where he is, so does the C.I.A. Under these conditions his life would not be worth a plug nickel. The sheer mental alertness of a black brother, who was invited to Cuba since my departure, prevented Afro-Americans from being lured into a Venezuela type Cuba-C.I.A. sponsored snare. Cuba's contribution to world revolution will be grossly restricted until its G-2 is purged of its C.I.A. Trojan Horses. Cuba's liaison man between revolutionaries is either extremely dumb or he is more loyal to Lyndon B. Johnson than to Fidel Castro. Perhaps the Soviets obtained a no invasion pledge from the Yankee, but we can rest assured that there is no moratorium on subversion. Revolutionaries beware of Cuba's enemies within.

CHINA'S H-BOMB EXPLOSION: THE PEOPLE'S ANSWER TO NUCLEAR BULLYING

I was honored to be in China when it exploded its first A-bomb and also when it exploded its first H-bomb. China's latest nuclear feat is a great boon to the universal liberation struggle. I am more than happy to join the world-wide revolutionary chorus elatedly singing of a great

new day wherein the monopoly of massive violence is no longer in the hands of the self-appointed gods of the earth. It is no mere accident that the most brutally oppressed of the world find cause to rejoice over the acquisition of an H-bomb by People's China while the masters and dupes of the so-called free world tremble with fear and ponder devious ways to lure the great new giant to the side of the world's gentry. While China's bomb is a powerful weapon of self-defense, it is also a giant step towards the neutralization of nuclear weapons. It assures the ultimate triumph of the people's cause. It assures the continuation of the invincibility of people's warfare. The mighty explosion of the Chinese H-bomb marked the end of the era of nuclear terror and bullying by the hawks of world imperialism. The oppressed peoples of the world have good reason to rejoice over the nuclear achievements of China. Our struggles have been mightily strengthened and the days are numbered wherein the savage bullies of the world can invoke a nuclear monopoly of terror.

BLACK MADONNA OF HARLEM SQUARE

Oh lovely madonna of Harlem Square
Mournful of the trials and tribulations you bear
Timeless are the soulful songs you sing
Through the eternal wintery night where never dawns the spring.

Your life is a confrontation with cupboards bare
And death is borne like a vapor on the wintery air
In rat infested tenements where starving babies cry
And the poignant blues becomes an infant's lullaby.

Oh lovely madonna dispel the sorrow from your face
Your sturdy ebony hands can mold a mighty race.

Oh lovely lady of the ghetto, throw your despair to the wind
For yours is the charge to raise up a race of mighty men.

What your hands mold is what the race shall be
So take care the twig to nurture a mighty tree.

Oh madonna, forsake the dream of mink and pearls and silk
In a ghetto dungeon where babies starve for care and milk.

Oh sister of travail seize the fleeting hour
Our fate is in the hand that dares to grasp the power.

Exhort the infant slave to dare to rebel
And like a mighty Sampson to bring down the roof of hell.

Oh lovely lady, give us men to do and dare
A Toussaint from your ghetto dungeon down in Harlem Square.

— R.F.W.

HELP to tell it like it is. Shake the man up. Wake the brothers up. Be a CRUSADER pusher. Order copies to put on the scene and to spread along. KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China



THE CRUSADER

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**USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION
PART III**

In 1964 when I first advanced the idea of the potential of a minority revolution in the USA, among other things, I was called a "species of maniac out of touch with reality". Again in 1965 when I extended my discourse on the potential of a minority revolution there was very little change in attitude and response from certain "sane" quarters. Now in 1967 again I endeavor to provoke serious consideration of this highly emotional and controversial question. This time I write with certain



LAST DITCH STAND

knowledge and facts derived from Watts, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and more than a hundred other places. In this brief treatise it is not my objective to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. This is not meant to be a blueprint for revolution, but is meant to inject sobering thought into the minds of those jingoists who so arrogantly extol the myth of American invincibility. I want to explore America's weakness and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution.

Once again, I raise the question could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total revolutionary unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage, and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be some of the salient attributes for the success of a minority revolution. In keeping with the principles of people's war, wherein the great masses of exploited peoples of the world represent the rural masses surrounding the cities (the exploiting industrial countries) the Afro-American revolutionaries represent a mighty urban underground within the city. Our people must further develop and master people's warfare.

A high quality leadership would have to be developed. It must be wholly committed and devoted, selfless, devoid of ego, mentally alert, imaginative, fearless servants of the people acting as an instrument responding to the desires, necessities and aspirations of the revolutionary masses. All positions of leadership should be provisional on the basis of tried and proven performance in action. Selection on the basis of prestige is a form of accommodation that is inimical to effective struggle.

In racist, tyrannical and imperialist America the question of violence vs. passive resistance no longer confronts brutally oppressed black people. Savage and sadistical cops, racist terrorists and active bigots have already resolved the question of choices before us. They have decided for us in favor of violence. Now that violence is the only road left to brutally oppressed blacks, we have only to ponder the question of to what extent and methods we could respond in order to survive, in order to win. When one is forced to fight, he should fight desperately to win. If one is forced to resort to revolutionary violence to counteract tyranny, he should spare no effort to overturn the system and destroy the structure that serves as a medium for oppression and tyranny. Such an effort requires political theory, political guidance, and a dynamic nationalist spirit, fired and sustained by an endless torrent of propaganda. It is essential that armed resistance to tyranny be vigorously supported by that indispensable weapon common called psychological warfare.

We must analyze and probe in depth the situations and conditions underlying the plight of our oppressed people in racist America today. Kidnapped Africans were introduced into America's slave society as implements of agriculture and production. Captive black people, in the minds of the molders of American society, were never meant to enjoy the benefits of American society but were to be utilized as machines to

produce for its enrichment and glory. Capitalist America's transition from a primitive to an industrial state was greatly aided by its brutal exploitation and enslavement of savagely victimized black people. Sociologically speaking, the black man has never been respected as anything more than a machine of production and a vast reservoir for exploitation. Herein lies the great tragedy of our present miserable plight and the system's insoluble dilemma.

The capitalist system was predicated on the abuse and dehumanization of black people. It was partially designed and fashioned to glorify white supremacy and to liberate the European from feudalism at the expense of colored people. The pitiful cases of the American Indian and Mexico offer ample evidence that Americanism is an evilly constituted authority fashioned to generate brute power and to institutionalize the white man's right to exploit, rape, rob and plunder in the name of white civilization. Yes, poor whites are exploited too, but the supreme white authority has been careful, even from the beginning, to afford them escape hatches built into the system. Even their slavery, what little of it that existed, was not of a permanent nature. They elected to call it indentured. Even today a white skin still carries a certain significant premium. It is still a badge of status in the system of racial caste.

American racism is inherent in its economic and social system. This inherent social evil cannot be drastically rejected without completely altering the political, economic and social structure of the nation. White supremacy cannot afford to yield its master position without a complete transformation of its way of life. This means that it must discard its psychic make-up. It must discard its white supremacy arrogance and egotistical Americanism. The status quo is life to it. Its survival means, in its warped concept, that the black man must remain in the caste ascribed to him. It is not in the nature of the oppressor to voluntarily relinquish his stranglehold on the oppressed. He may resort to deceit. He may feign, he may relax his pressure in order to gain a more firm control of the situation, but always his design is the same. He may shift his tactics. He may engage in a diversionary maneuver, but his objective is the same. It is always to perpetuate and to consolidate his power and privilege to oppress.

Each year uprisings and rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, become more and more extensive and ferocious. The gap between black and white is becoming ever more wide. Massive unemployment and hunger are symbols of the American way of life for the great masses of our people. In relation to justice for the black man, the U.S. legal system is a white supremacy instrument of kangarooism that sanctifies and dignifies the mayhem and cannibalism of white savagery practiced against America's captive black humanity. No sober thinking Black American can fail to see that fascist groups, with both overt and covert support on the part of the U.S. Government, are gearing for a vicious campaign against our people. In the sense of the black man's original role as a machine of production, because of automation, he is becoming obsolete and the need for his labor and production is diminishing as rapidly as that of the ole mule in this modern age of mechanized farming.

It is a great myth to believe that the surplus black man is needed by the big boss to threaten the jobs of the poor whites. There is also

developing a surplus of white workers with which to threaten whites. As far as necessity is concerned, blacks are not even considered in the picture any more. The power structure is moving might and main to develop a black bourgeoisie Uncle Tom buffer group to inhabit the schizoid no man's land between America's black and white worlds. This new class of nigra zombies is supposed to represent America's show case of democracy and multi-racial affluence. The power structure is stupid enough to believe that a crash program, aimed at integrating and elevating a small clique of good responsible nigras, will serve as a pacifier and sedative that will lull the ghetto masses to sleep until the pogrom is over and the race problem is solved through intimidation, token integration and extermination. The white power forces in racist America are asinine enough to think that the black masses are so fantastically childish that they will be content to enjoy food, shelter, dignity and security vicariously; and that as long as they have examples of vulgarian Toms, who have made the suburban set, that this phenomenon within itself will allay the restive black masses' feeling of frustration, neglect and denial. White America feels no urgent need to relieve the oppressive and stifling colonial conditions of the black masses. The white man's relations with the black man in America are governed by an imperialist mentality. He sees no need to respond humanely to the black man's cry of anguish. His response is the club and the bullet. The masses are brutally subjected to the club while a microscopic, obedient and dog-loyal elite is transformed from peons to compradors. This old imperialist line of building a buffer class of petty bourgeoisie among the natives of the colony is a bankrupt policy. It is already obsolete and represents that stupid kind of folly hatched in reactionary minds haunted by the exigency of social change.

Dire poverty, dehumanization, brutal oppression, ruthless exploitation, terror and tyranny constitute the motive force that drives the victimized masses to a state of last resort. Man's final and ultimate response to the tyrannical intransigence of an insensate power structure is revolution. Revolution is a final spark of hope that flares in the ashes of despair and the devastated faith in the institution of parliamentary buffoonery and demagoguery. Revolt is a natural human response to brutally sustained tyranny. The adamant colonial attitude of the racist, imperialist American power structure leaves the Afro-American but one of two choices; he must either meekly submit to tyranny and risk ultimate extermination or invoke the natural law of survival and resort to revolutionary resistance. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that he will turn to revolution and be determined to obtain victory at any price.

Theoretically, if the black man in America should elect to pursue the final course, what would he have to do in order to overturn tyranny? America's strength and weakness should be carefully analyzed. Strategically speaking America is a mighty giant with an exposed Achilles heel. The key to America's strength is its almost unlimited industrial capacity. Its staggering production is its life blood. From a military point of view it is also its greatest weakness. The American society is the most automated society in the world. It has become addicted to machinery. It has become enslaved by it. Without it it would soon wither and die like a green melon whose vine is severed from its roots.

Without consideration of the social and political ramifications of the evil systems of Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan, and strictly from a military point of view, we should study the causes of racist America's advantage during the Second World's War. Aside from the effectiveness of dauntless allies, one very salient point is the fact that U.S. and allied air power was able to pulverize enemy production, communications and to greatly disrupt the normal scheme of life. While the enemy was made to suffer this disadvantage, American industrial power was allowed to intensely mobilize its abundant human and natural resources, rapidly expand and to fiercely feed the war effort unhampered. The American scheme of life was never violently disrupted and, relatively speaking, the civilian population was merely inconvenienced as a result of the war. In the past American production has been fortunate enough, because of technical limitations and geography, to escape the devastation of war. The fear of such devastation is the very reason the power structure is so hysterical about the proliferation of H-bombs and intercontinental rockets. Massive devastation of America's industrial centers would reduce it to a primitive nation.

The Afro-American is in range of the American giant's Achilles heel. American production, communications and the normal function of the affluent society are exposed to the Afro-American's natural revolutionary reaction to tyranny and oppression. A united, well organized, armed and trained Black America is a potential force to be reckoned with in its own right. The American case is a unique case. Any Afro-American revolt would consequently constitute a unique form of urban guerilla warfare. The match and gasoline would be his most effective weapon. Four hundred years of violent deprivation can be transformed into an indomitable fighting spirit that may burst forth on the American scene with an intensity more fierce than a hundred hydrogen bombs. The black man will have nothing to lose but his chains, while America has its very existence at stake. For it is better to live just 30 seconds in the glory of human dignity and freedom than to live a thousand years crawling in terror beneath the brutal foot that savagely maintains the tyrant's yoke of tyranny.

As the power structure applies ever more brutal repressive measures in response to the black man's just petition for social justice, a precision type urban guerilla warfare is the prerequisite for the black man's survival and liberation in racist America. Such a campaign must be well organized and coordinated. There must be a vast network of communications and central planning. No matter how primitive, black freedom fighters must establish their own coded and clandestine communications system. There must be central planning and a national supreme command. Afro-American revolutionary forces must create a top-notch security agency. This agency must be responsible for the establishment of an efficient and extensive intelligence network. It must infiltrate the armed forces, the National Guard, the police, the FBI, the CIA, public utility services and all political groups, right, center and left. The power structure's facilities must be utilized to advance the cause of Afro-American liberation.

Such a revolutionary organization would require many facets. Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. A tightly organized and highly mobile under-

ground guerilla force would have to be clandestinely organized. This well disciplined force would play a more aggressive role. It would be well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when deployed as snipers. Its mission would be retaliation, to visit attrition upon the enemy and to pin down and bring about a dispersal of his concentrated forces. This guerilla force must operate in small bands and know every inch of that part of the city where it is to operate. It must control its fire and use its ammunition sparingly. It must be highly mobile and constantly shift its position when sniping to avoid detection, death or capture. It must have a perfect understanding of its mission at all times. When operating in full view of great throngs of people, its members should cover or mask their faces to prevent revealing identity. It should handle its weapons with gloves, especially the captured ones, so as not to leave incriminating finger-prints on weapons that may later fall into the hands of repressive authority. These groups, while sniping and performing other missions of sabotage, should be extremely careful in avoiding death and injury to the friendly black population. Friendly property should be diligently protected and safeguarded. The guerilla forces must be so organized, coordinated and equipped as to prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle with repressive forces by ambushing, sniping, bombing and sabotaging roads. These people's warfare tactics must be executed in a fashion that will reek frustration and exhaustion on the oppressive enemy forces.

A welfare corps would have to be formed. Persons with medical knowledge should be recruited and mobilized to care for the wounded during uprisings when many white hospitals and medical centers refuse or half-heartedly treat wounded black casualties. It should distribute food, aid victims of fire and look after the general welfare of the people. Such a corps should serve to build morale, encourage and educate the people to support the resistance fighters of the uprising and to maintain tight security about what takes place in the ghetto and as to what roles are played by certain individuals. It should raise funds in preparation for legal defense for those who fall into the vicious clutches of the kangaroo white supremacy law in the early stages, before the legal system is completely paralyzed.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. The fire teams mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their immediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement and would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would often times masquerade as super patriots and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. There would be no official meetings and discussions, only emergency calls and sudden missions.

The mission of these thousands of active five teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags, allowing enough air at the bottom to allow

the flame to burn until it burned to dry leaves and grass, thus devastating the forests. The length of the candle would be determined by the amount of time needed to clear the scene. At night the bag would conceal the light of the flame. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that belongs to the enemy in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the miles of fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troop re-enforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive manpower, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more accessible. A few teams could start miles and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect the holocaust and emit a feeling of impending doom.

What types of weapons should be in the arsenals of the Black Revolution? Guerilla forces should rely heavily on simple and even home-made weapons. Much stress should be placed on obtaining highly portable weapons that are easily concealed. Soldiers on leave, AWOL or recently discharged should be induced to play a very active part in the Black Revolution. Full use should be made of this personnel's military training and experience. They can give invaluable instructions in the use of heavy machine-guns, hand-grenades, anti-tank guns bazookas and demolitions. Militant minded brothers in the service will be able to aid in securing weapons of all descriptions. Revolutionaries must keep a sharp look out for hustling troops whose greatest pre-occupation in life is to play the chicks and the night life; for a few bucks they can become a great source for supplying much needed military gear.

There is a great need for the black revolutionary to become proficient in ambushing and seizing arms and equipment from the enemy oppressor. This includes even the capture and use of tanks and armoured cars. Special effort should be made to locate and seize Minutemen and rightist fascist groups' arms caches. When U.S. Government surplus military and sporting goods stores are peopled (looted), first aid packets, gas masks and helmets should not be overlooked. When stocked, the heavier type of model airplane equipped for remote control can play a big role in urban guerilla warfare. These model planes can be used to deliver hand-grenades to targets. Firing pins or mechanisms can be so constructed that the impact of a direct head-on collision will set off an explosion. Dynamite and other explosives and deadly chemicals can be utilized from these heavy model planes. These model aircraft can also be used to reach fenced in and inaccessible targets like oil storage tanks, industrial chemical tanks, high tension power installations, armoured cars, and troop carriers. They can also be used against inaccessible buildings and other targets that may require special attention.

The black revolutionary must become creative, must use his imagination, talent and training in the sacred cause of liberation. He must become consciously constructive in devising ways and means of harassing, bankrupting, exhausting, demoralizing, injuring, and destroying the enemy. He must not expend himself, his forces and supplies foolishly. While soberly respecting and analyzing the strength of the enemy, he must never fear him. He must seek the advantage of battle and be as certain as the realm of possibility will allow that skillfully planned and executed actions will heap great injury upon the enemy. Revolutionary forces must save themselves while destroying the enemy. Revolutionaries must make a strong bid for dramatic victories that will inspire the people, encourage them to want to participate in a war of dignity, retribution and liberation. At the same time the urban guerilla must strike terror into the hearts of the enemy forces. He must be well disciplined, of high morale, devoid of ego and be able to work and think collectively. He must at all times project a double image. To the masses of the community he must project an image of a race conscious politically mature brother whose unshakable mission is to defend the human dignity of our downtrodden masses. His image should be that of a liberator rather than one of a thug rioter engaged in an orgy of pointless plunder. He should be seen as a Black patriot and savior who is convinced that it is more honorable to fight and die in battle against oppression and tyranny directed against the black people of the ghettos than to die in white men's wars of imperialism and the repression of freedom loving colored peoples abroad. He should equate his revolutionary actions, not to "looting" and "rioting", but to the spirit of the Boston Tea Party, the battles of Concord, Lexington and Valley Forge. He must feel and understand the nobility of his historical role; a role that affords him the opportunity of forging his own destiny and of bringing new direction to the world.

The fact that the power structure has called for an integrated National Guard that will be specially trained and equipped for counteracting urban guerilla warfare will provide black revolutionaries with a never-before-opportunity to infiltrate the first line of the power structure's repressive arm and acquire the latest professional skills in military science and tactics and the handling of weapons. This is a golden opportunity that should be seized upon to the fullest extent. When security is tight and every individual concerned has been checked and double checked as a security risk, newly acquired tactical knowledge must be discussed and disseminated among small secret groups. Marksmanship and the handling and manipulation of weapons can be taught through the use of air rifles and pellet guns. Dummy rifles can also be used to improve marksmanship, by cutting slots in cardboard boxes that will hold a rifle snugly in position. The box can be mounted on a chair or table facing a small target tacked to a wall. The trainee sights the rifle in on the bullseye of the target and leaves it in the position he thinks to be accurate. The experienced shooter or instructor looks down the gun sights of the weapon just as it was placed by the trainee and can ascertain to a certain degree the marksmanship of the trainee. This exercise is repeated until accurate sighting comes naturally to the pupil. This exercise must be supplemented by a series of exercises in the practice of trigger squeezing. The trainee can be taught the proper method of trigger control by slowly squeezing triggers on empty rifles until he perfects a method of sniping that requires an

ability to squeeze the trigger with the minimum of jerk. The shooter should not anticipate when the rifle is going to fire. The shot should come as a surprise to him. A jerk or impatient pull of the trigger throws the rifle off target and makes for poor marksmanship.

Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size or the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armoured troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are 3 or 4 stories high. The jumbo size of the gasoline bomb can be made by using an empty syrup bottle of one gallon capacity. These gallon sized glass jugs are usually available around confectionaries, drug stores, restaurants and warehouses. Each is equipped with a screw-on cap and is fitted with a finger grip or a built-in ring by which to handle the bottle or jug with a single finger. This type of jug can be filled with almost three-fourths gasoline, about one-fourth extra heavy motor oil with lubrication grease added. The screw-on cap should be tightened after which a tampax, well soaked in gasoline, should be securely taped or wired to the jug. The soaked tampax or well soaked rag is lit when the individual is ready to heave the Black Power Bomb. The glass jug or container breaks on impact thus igniting the gasoline, oil and grease resulting in a napalm-like effect. This is highly effective when heaved from a roof top into personnel (troop) carriers. It can also be thrown as a satchel charge against tanks and other armoured vehicles. Satchel charges can deal deadly blows to armoured vehicles. U.S. regulation type and instructions can be obtained from U.S. service men.

During the time of all out conflict selective fires must be set over a wide area. This spreads the enemy forces thin and makes the situation more difficult for him to control. During the height of the fire offensive, car patrols should roam widely separated sectors of the city with heavy duty adjustable wrenches. All fire hydrants in safe, isolated or deserted places should have their caps removed and valves completely opened. This will hamper and sometimes completely negate the power structure's fire fighting capacity. Fire is the black man in racist America's most effective weapon. It can be just as devastating as a hydrogen bomb. America is the black man's battleground and he cannot afford to hesitate to use whatever means necessary to remove the bitter and tragic consequences of almost 400 years of unmitigated white supremacy tyranny.

After initial incidents that trigger conflict with brutal police forces, Afro-Americans must more and more avoid massive congregation for confrontation. Fighters must quickly disperse and keep out of range of chemical sprays used to immobilize and identify freedom fighters. Some sprays can render the individual unconscious. Some types may result in permanent injury and may be used by the power structure unsparingly in a surreptitious campaign of genocide against the restive black masses. Snipers must always be conscious of the fact that even during night hours the sniper-scope, consisting of infra-red telescopes, can be used by enemy forces to zero in on their positions. The only defense against this is to fire and shift positions and to keep shifting positions and firing only at worth-while targets. The urban guerilla fighter must rely on the elements of mobility, speed, surprise, terror, a friendly environment, knowledge of the community, concealment and cover when possible. He must consciously concentrate on the enemy's weakness, attack him at his weakest point and avoid becoming a target of his massive power.

Possibly, if the brothers should want to devise an effective defense against the thug cops' chemical warfare, club attacks and vicious close range shooting, it may be necessary to send special representatives to Africa for specialized training in the manufacture and use of the poisonous dart. This simple, silent but deadly technique was highly successful when used by the Congolese revolutionaries against Tshombe's butchers. This could become a highly effective secret weapon in the arsenal of the Black Revolution in racist America. It could be most potent at night during confrontations with killer cops. These vicious mad dog butchers would never realize what hit them. This type of warfare must be waged under top secret conditions.

The "honky" cops and the racist power structure are deadly serious in their war against black people. Afro-Americans can expect no humane considerations from such insensate savages. They are cold-blooded killers and they have no qualms what-so-ever about massacring our helpless and defenseless people. We must respond in kind. During all confrontations with racist thug cops and their loyal black running dogs, black freedom fighters must realize that it is a do-or-die situation and must fiercely act in the most violent and desperately daring fashion as a matter of survival. The thug cops are devoid of all mercy. When they have the upper hand they will not hesitate to viciously butcher black people. Revolutionaries must remember that there is no second chance or appeal from death. In situations of such savage confrontations what is to be done must be carried out instantly before the beast squeezes the trigger. It is better to die in action and to take at least one of the enemy along, than to die as butchered swine by an unsathated sadistical beast who lives to kill again and again.

No method of terror or destruction against the oppressor should be overlooked in urban guerilla warfare. Freedom fighters should always try to invent and develop new methods of sabotage that can be carried out against targets of opportunity in particular areas. Students of electronics, chemistry and science should be organized and mobilized in a way that they can contribute greatly to the arsenal of the urban guerilla fighter. Fighters should also be able to obtain an almost unlimited supply of plastic bombs. When hardware stores and tool centers in department stores are raided compact sets of acetylene torches should rate high on the list of most desired weapons of struggle. These small portable sets can be ignited, set for slow cutting with the intense flame fixed to remain directed against gas mains, oil pipe lines, gas and oil storage tanks to effect explosions. If this is done at night the flame should be covered leaving a small space at the bottom of the cover for air while the flame is concealed to prevent detection. This set-up must be completed swiftly and the fighters must get as far away from the scene as fast as possible in order to avoid being caught in the explosion.

Revolution is not a festival and it must be approached with the utmost seriousness. Freedom is not a welfare commodity to be doled out as charity. It must be seized and taken with the ferocity of a wounded tiger. Nobody is going to give the black man freedom. Nobody is going to give him justice. He must take it. America's brutal oppression of the black man justifies any means that he may find it necessary to resort to remove the consequences of the savage legacy of slavery and dehumanization. Relentless oppression breeds hatred,

violence and war. America more than deserves all that is coming to her. Those who insist on following an evil road of tyranny and injustice must ultimately expect to meet a harsh judgment of retribution.

Americanism or American capitalism is synonymous with brutal exploitation and is motivated by a ruthless drive for super profits, wealth and power. American society is a caste in which the black man is psychologically molded as a sub-human. He is expected to faithfully play the part of a sub-human and to show gratitude to his white deformer and mental mutilator for even extending the meager generosity of allowing him to breathe the oppressive air of the master's slave kingdom. The black man is expected to passively submit to all debasing and aggressive liberties that the racist white man sees fit to take against his life, limb and fortune. The black man is not expected to entertain any principle or cause of his own that is worth making war for, that is worth dying for. The long suffering and brutally oppressed black man is expected to meekly and dutifully make war and die in response to the white man's orders. This slave mentality must be cast away forever. If he is to know justice and prosper, the black man must take up the sword in his own hand and in his own cause. With the sword of war he must hew liberty and justice out of the social mountain of oppression and tyranny. He can wash away the evil filth of America and cleanse its soul with the sacred blood of martyrs whose highest calling is revolution.

More and more the most thinking element of white America is beginning to concede the fact that the Afro-American is capable of a potential that could very well lead to the destruction of racist, imperialist America. However, the question is invariably asked: "How can such a small minority expect to control and reconstruct a vast nation wherein the oppressors constitute such a great majority?" The fact of the matter is that the tyrannical conspirator has already offered a solution to this problem through negative example. The plundering white head-hunter first appeared in the Indian's America as a very small minority. Once he broke the resistance of the courageous Indian, he solved the imbalance in red-white population by massive immigration. He encouraged everything with a white face to settle on the land that he had just robbed from the Indian. This same method of solving the racial imbalance was successful in Australia and New Zealand, and Zionists conquerors appear to have the same thing in mind in the Middle East today. For the first time in history, why can't America be opened to unlimited colored immigration? Why can it not logically pass from colored back to colored? It is a foregone conclusion, that even if whites were welcomed with open arms in such a just society, the overwhelming majority would resent living in an environment justly guided by colored power.

All degrees of white supremacists and their Uncle Tomboes and some honest, but retarded thinkers, are more than zealous in pointing out that a Black Revolution in racist America can never succeed because of the numerical superiority of white racists and the concentration of state power in the hands of the majority. These dismal hawkers of defeatism unwittingly concede the fact, through this argument, that America is a hopelessly racist country and that all whites can be counted on to fight to the death for the evil cause of slavery and tyranny. What scientific laws reserve the victory of battle for the majority? If revolu-

tions should only be undertaken under conditions wherein the insurgents hold the advantage of numbers and the edge in power, what is the need for revolution? Such conditions would be conducive to parliamentary change. Revolution is the medium 'hrough which the underdog can overturn the top dog villian.

Capitalism operates on the profit system. Profit is the motive force that nurtures its growth. Profit is the reason for its existence. Without profit it would eventually wither and die. The life blood of U.S. Capitalism is its productive capacity and its extensive commerce. If these two factors were to become paralyzed and rendered sterile the orderly function of the governmental establishment would degenerate into a state of chaos, and the superstructure of the system would collapse. The American economy and its delicate and automated society cannot withstand any sustained and violent dislocation. Massive, violent disruption would set off a chain reaction that would fragment the entire nation and usher in an all-consuming state of anarchy. Out of the ashes of anarchy and chaos a new order could be reconstituted.

The more automated a society is the more vulnerable it is to forces of calamity. The American society's better half is the machine. The modern machine has become a soulless extension of the American anatomy. It is the indispensable crutch on which a lame American society limps toward human sterility. The machine has transformed the American society to that of a collective semi-invalid, greatly dependant on it for mobility. What would highly mechanized America be without electrical power? What would it be without modern transportation? What would it be without its industrial capacity? Yes, what would it be without the modern and luxurious facilities that it has grown so accustomed to?

The insensate power structure realizes its vulnerability. It realizes the potential consequences of a Black Revolution. The very thought of such a possibility throws it into panic and hysteria. No oppressive system wittingly and willingly goes to its doom passively. It fights desperately and brutally for its existence. It does not hesitate to unleash frantic pogroms and campaigns of genocide. It has no compunction about resorting to extreme measures of fascist repression. America is no exception. The alternatives ahead for Black America are bloody and violent revolution or meek submission to tyranny and Nazi-like extermination. Revolution is a serious and costly endeavor. In America it would claim untold numbers of human lives. Property damage would be immeasurable, but in the final analysis submission to tyranny would be an even more expensive proposition for the black population. The power structure has an alternative to the approaching holocaust. Its only hope is an intense crash program of total justice and equality and possibly a geographical separation. It is not the nature of tyrants to honor the petitions of their victims. The tyrant's response to such just demands is always unmitigated force. Tyrants always entertain the illusion that brute force is a panacea for social ills. They inevitably make the fatal mistake of thinking that violence is an invincible pillar of state hegemony.

The shrill voices of white supremacy fools are rising from the turmoil of social dislocation and hysterically calling for extermination of that segment of America now called the Black peril. They want America's consequences of long standing racial injustice solved by wiping the victim from the face of the earth. They are overwrought

with the white man's self-appraisal of invincibility. They have no conception of the world today. They don't know what time it is. The vicious power structure can murder, maim, imprison and plunder but it cannot destroy Black America without destroying white America. The two are joined together in a forced and incompatible wedlock, they have been unable to learn to love each other and the head of the household is unwilling to make a property settlement. The head of the household wants to have his cake and to eat it too. This is scientifically impossible.

Newark and Detroit were merely skirmishes of protest. Complete alienation is imminent. The black man is in for some rough days ahead. He will experience some jolting setbacks, but he will learn the hard way. Through negative examples he will learn the art of warfare. He will become steeled in his determination to overcome, and the conditions of battle will transform him into a fierce fighter. Great loss of life will not serve as a deterrent, but as a propellant. More and more the masses will come to realize that their greatest chance of survival lies in collective and fearless struggle. Anger will descend on the collective masses like a great torrent that flows from a crumbled dam. Such a force will be invincible. It will be powerfully driven by the fact that it has nothing to lose and a whole new world to gain. The great masses of Black Americans have nothing to lose, the power structure has everything that a ruling class can ever lose.

The cynics, the Uncle Toms, the capitulationists, the timid, and those socialists who disguise their white supremacy precepts behind a facade of pseudo-Marxism are more than blunt in reminding Black Americans that a minority revolution of black people cannot succeed in racist America. From a faulty dialectical point of view they have all of the stereotyped answers as to why such a noble undertaking is bound to fail. This prejudiced point of view is in the same vane as proclaiming that the Black African cannot run Africa without the white man. It is like saying that a youth is not mature enough to manage a responsible position. This negative view is the manifestation of either subconscious white supremacy or contempt for the black man's ability to match the white man in wit or revolutionary capacity. It can be said to be tantamount to a white man approaching an all black work crew, being directed to a black supervisor, but instead turns to a white bystander and asks if he is in charge of these black boys. He just cannot understand how a job can be carried out without the inevitable white brain and authority. We are invariably told that we cannot succeed without the master race.

Seven million Cubans can take a stand against the powerful USA and the whole world cheers and inspires them to resist. Fourteen million people in South Vietnam stand up to U.S. aggression and become the "Little David" against Goliath among the nations of the world. Two million Jews unleash aggression against one hundred million Arabs and the whole reactionary world cheers the success of their imperialist inspired aggression. More than twenty-two million Black Americans, who are massed in racist America's most sensitive regions, speak of massive resistance to genocide and tyranny and we are greeted with only the demoralizing words that "you can't win because you don't have a majority. You must have the good white folks on your side." And when we ask where are the good white folks and what is the formula

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

Mao Tse-tung

for winning them to our side, there are no positive answers. In short, what we are being told is that we must have the white folks, and in-as-much as there is no possibility of their joining us, our cause is lost. In other words, we should do nothing other than to passively protest and make love to our oppressors and wait for them to fall in love with us on some vague and mythological date in the future.

Why should the black man in racist America love the white man? Why should the black man in racist America trust the white man? Is not the white man the one who created the hate barriers? Is he not the one who has betrayed and abused the black man? We know that there are white exceptions in racist America, but if we are going to be realistic we must concern ourselves with the rule rather than with the exception. Those who so readily proclaim to us that we cannot win such a conflict are sometimes actually expressing a secret wish. This is what they really hope. The same individuals who wish to convince us that we need the great white folks are also some of the very first ones to express a fear that the white masses will side with the power structure. The fact of the matter is that racism is a grand part of the American way of life. The great majority of the American working class constitutes a great manpower pool for world fascism and imperialism. They cannot be expected to change until the conditions that molded them are shattered. So long as the great majority of them remain the cream of the world's working class they cannot be expected to manifest any strong altruistic drive in the formulation of meaningful solidarity ties with their less fortunate and oppressed fellow workers throughout the world. The overwhelming majority of the American working class, at this historical moment, must be seen as the conservatives and, to a great extent, as the counter-revolutionaries that they are.

In a minority Black Revolution in racist and imperialist America, the best our people can hope for, as far as the white working class is concerned, is the strategic neutralization of a great portion of these unreliable racist masses. The black man cannot leave such an accomplishment to chance either. This is why any all-out minority revolution must create a state of crisis wherein almost all of the white male population would be forced to remain in their homes to protect their property and families. A great factor in favor of the Afro-American is the fact that the middle class is very large. It is not accustomed to deprivation and terror. Because of its affluence, it has waxed soft. It has no stomach for massive fire, blood and violence. The motive force behind its life drive is its endless pursuit of prestige, conspicuous consumption and sensual pleasures.

A few years of violent, sporadic and highly destructive uprisings will set the stage for the grand finale. After the stage is properly set, through protracted struggle, big bad racist and imperialist America could be brought to her knees in 90 days of highly organized fierce fighting, sabotage and a massive firestorm. This would be a unique type of urban guerilla warfare that is only applicable to a highly industrialized and urbanized country like racist America. Such a campaign could only be mounted by a desperate and frantic people struggling for survival. This type of warfare must be based on the expediency of the last resort. This is the final hope of the brutally oppressed wherein intolerable misery has closed the hopeful gap between life and death.

The day of such a confrontation draws near. Time is running out. The power structure prepares to respond to just and prayerful petitioning with more brute force, armour and steel. It has not learned its lesson in Vietnam. It has no understanding of the relativity of resistant violence to applied violence. Relative to revolutions and rebellions it is like a child who does not yet understand where babies come from; for it does not yet seem to know where rebellion comes from. Rebellion is born of oppression. Tyrants are the progenitors of revolution. Conditions of tyranny constitute the womb of revolution. Revolution is a Caesarean operation to facilitate the deliverance of the child of peace. It is the surgery needed to master the complications developed by a malfunctioning parliamentary delivery system.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist and imperialist America. Its chances of success today are better than at any previous time in history. America is an imperialist power with its tentacles spread around the world. Its greed makes it want to dominate the world. It has arrogantly proclaimed its hypocritical self savior of the entire world. The fact of the matter is that it can not even save itself. The American black man holds the balance of power in the world today. He holds the fate of America in his hands. The only thing left to the power structure is an alternative that its actions show that it has already rejected. Is there cause for a Black Revolution in racist and tyrannical America? Even by the evil white man's standard there is. And for the sake of those "responsible" wise men who are so prone to invoke the extremist indictment against those who believe in revolution and violence as the only forceful response to tyranny, I finally take refuge in a quote from that extremist document called THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:

"... Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Coming soon:

AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND. A book by the editor of THE CRUSADER dealing with the experiences, propaganda, motivations and philosophy now transforming a non-violent civil rights struggle into a national liberation movement based on urban guerilla warfare.

PROTEST THE BAN

The banning of THE CRUSADER Newsletter from the U.S. mails is yet another warning of an ominous nightmare of fascism hovering over America. The fact that Lyndon B. Johnson personally ordered a probe of the "content and mailability" one week prior to the summary and arbitrary ban offers undisputable evidence of the dictatorial nature of the Johnson regime. It constitutes a graphic example of Johnson's callous disregard for civil liberties and constitutional guarantees. The fact that the Johnson regime is openly and shamelessly soliciting the aid of postal authorities in Hongkong in the enforcement of its fascist ban also proves that the Johnson gang expects the whole wide world to respond like ever-loyal running dogs to its every whim and command.

Since its inception nine years ago, as an organ of the Union County, North Carolina Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, THE CRUSADER has pursued an uncompromising policy of advocating armed self-defense for brutally oppressed and terrorized black Americans. It has never wavered in its stand against imperialism, fascism, racism and the enemies of freedom, peace and justice. THE CRUSADER has always been a staunch advocate of the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution and equality for all Americans irrespective of race, creed or political persuasion, and from the very beginning maintained that the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The summary punitive action taken against THE CRUSADER is an alarming indication of the rapid erosion of civil liberties in racist America. As a matter of constitutional preservation, it warrants the protest and active opposition of all Americans who believe in the right to dissent and freedom of press and speech.

Send a protest against the banning of THE CRUSADER to: Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

Help devise ways and means to frustrate postal authorities' ban on THE CRUSADER. Order copies today to pass along and to send to the brothers all messed up in the U.S. Armed Forces. THE CRUSADER is hurting the man, you dig? KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, 1 TAI CHI CHANG, PEKING, CHINA



THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher — IN EXILE —

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WHY I PROPOSE TO RETURN TO RACIST AMERICA

On July 28, 1967, I wrote a letter to the Union County, North Carolina Clerk of Court which simply stated: "Even though I have never been officially informed as such, I understand from press reports that I am under indictment in Union County. Inasmuch as I contemplate an early return to Monroe, will you please be so kind as to inform me specifically of the charges and statutes under which I am indicted? Also please inform me as to what amount of bail bond your office will require."

This inquiry was carried by one of the wire services and was very widely circulated internationally. As a result of this somewhat unexpected turn of events, many friends and interested parties wrote to me directly expressing disbelief. My close friends are expressing serious concern for my welfare. There is an almost unanimous chorus of voices from abroad warning me that almost certain death awaits me if I return to the so-called free world. The smaller segment not completely convinced that the U.S. is totally controlled by incorrigible homicidal maniacs, as far as black men are concerned, merely warn me of certain long-term incarceration as the power structure's method of gagging and emasculating me.

Who can say that either assumption is wrong? Above all, I would be the last one to dignify or place faith in the racist American legal system. It is the touchstone of hypocrisy, the great tragedy of a schizophrenic society that honest and sincere citizens of the self-proclaimed guardian of democracy and law enforcer to the entire world are convinced that such a state is incapable of dispensing simple justice unincumbered by racism and a spiteful spirit of vindictiveness. Yes, so is the nature of American justice for its non-Anglo-Saxon peons and captive people. Only the rich and the powerful can afford to have faith in the legal system of the



R. Williams

"democratic center of world democracy." Only those with a deep sense of justice, those with a boundless devotion to humanity and victims provoked to resistance can be relied upon to dare endeavor to change or alter such a shameful scourge upon the wretched of the earth.

I am indicted in Monroe, North Carolina. The charge against me is "kidnapping." I am charged with kidnapping a racist white Ku Klux Klan couple that my generosity actually saved from death at the hands of an angry group of abused and terrorized Afro-Americans. The woman of the so-called kidnapped couple, Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall, stated in a taped interview that she "never thought of the incident as a kidnapping until the law came to our house, took us to town and told us that we had been kidnapped. . . . The press was there and they got into it and that's what made it a kidnapping. . . . We had gone home and forgotten the mess until they (the law) come after us."

The so-called kidnapping is supposed to have taken place on August 26, 1961. Racial violence flared in the wake of a week of hazardous anti-segregation demonstrations by advocates of nonviolence. These bi-racial demonstrations were supported by the local branch of the NAACP of which I was president. Personally, I was not involved in these demonstrations because I was an advocate of armed self-defense. This was to be the first time and first place where nonviolence was to be tried under parallel conditions that would have allowed it to demonstrate its "superiority" to violence. It was a dismal failure and it also undermined a six-year campaign of successful armed self-defense.

What the state and racist officials snowballed into a charge of kidnapping is actually a case wherein fascist agitators against black freedom fighters were denied passage through a black community and delayed for about two hours. I allowed them to have shelter from an angry crowd, screaming for their death, after they had fearfully pushed their way into my house. The moral from the kidnap indictment: Every black must come to realize that during race wars in America, charity towards distressed racists does not pay. Benevolent blacks only place themselves in jeopardy when they extend humanitarianism to racist savages. The fact of the matter is that the racist white law will use any pretext, no matter how flimsy, to legally lynch "uppity trouble-making niggers," and they will find the racist white general public more than willing to "perform their civic duty," by helping to make examples of "communist-inspired darkies." This is their devotion to the cause of racial tyranny. This is their resolve to use the law as a club by which to bludgeon the black man eternally into the Stone Age of social being. We must manifest the same measure of devotion and resolve to the cause of justice, to the negation of kangaroo legality.

This Monroe, North Carolina, to which I propose to return, what kind of a place is it? It is American. Its justice is American. It prides itself on its representative democracy. It prides itself on its "democratic" institutions like its nonunionized industry, racist Christian churches, racist kangaroo courts, racist schools and civic-minded fascist populace hell-bent on dehumanizing its "niggers." The Union County legal system is tantamount to a whipping post or a lynch scaffold designed specifically for the emasculation of the blacks and poor whites. The Monroe and Union County system is a part of a state system that once sentenced a middle-aged "colored" man to five years in the penitentiary for "leering" at a white girl 75 feet away. This shameful and savage misappropriation of the machinery of justice should be a challenge to honest, civilized and just-minded men everywhere. The decent and civilized cannot afford to peacefully co-exist with such an evil and obnoxious system. They must resist it, eventually destroying or altering it or being overcome and crushed by it. Every courageous and resistant individual that such a wicked and rotten system is forced to overwhelm hastens the day of its demise.

I was born and grew up under such a barbaric system. It has proclaimed itself my executioner and I have proclaimed myself its uncom-

promising opponent. What is the nature of such a racist buffoon-type force of law and kangaroo legal system? When I was perhaps 11 years old the image of white supremacy law was emblazoned in my mind forever. I can never forget, nor do I want to forget, that awful day when I saw a big over-six-foot brute of a cop, who later became chief of police, drag a screaming black woman along the concrete sidewalk by her heels. There had been some minor disturbance and the woman had disputed the big white policeman's word, and in a fit of anger he knocked her down and dragged her off to the nearby jailhouse in the same fashion that a cave man would club and drag his sexual prey. The whites along Main Street where this white savagery took place found the scene to be quite amusing. The emasculated black men hung their heads in shame and hurried silently from the cruelly bizarre sight. I have never forgotten the hysterically painful grimaces on the face of that woman and her tortured screams as her flesh was ground away from the friction of the concrete. Yes, that was an aspect of American law and order that I could not accept nor understand how others could accept it.

The American white man is a brute who legalizes brutality against black people by cannonizing white supremacy in the sanctity and the beatification of kangarooism. The great shame and tragedy of American racism and its protective kangaroo court system is not that a few sadist perverts reign supreme, but that the vast majority of white America either supports or cowers in the face of the court mob that so zealously and viciously screams for "stern justice" against law breakers and trouble-makers. A trouble-maker, in the eyes of these patriotic Christians, is anyone who bucks the status quo, who believes in justice, equality and fair play. A trouble-maker to them is anyone who cannot accept brutality and terror against the weak and helpless as a way of bringing a partial and lopsided law and order to their self-righteous white supremacy community.

In 1959, an Afro-American mother of five children, who worked in a Monroe hotel as a maid, was kicked down a flight of stairs into the lobby of the hotel by a white guest. He said he kicked her down a flight of stairs because she had been making too much noise while working in the corridor, and had disturbed his sleep. When we asked for an indictment, the chief of police, A. A. Mauney, refused our request. Finally when we threatened to take legal action by bringing in NAACP lawyers he relented and placed this man under a \$75 bond. Even though this defiant white defendant subsequently failed to appear in court for his trial, he was not penalized.

That same day there was another Afro-American woman in court who was eight months pregnant. She was the victim of an attempted rape by a white man who came to her house, drove her from her home, and then beat her. He caught her while she was trying to escape down the main highway and knocked her to the ground. The mother's six-year-old boy was running along on the side, and when the white rapist beat his mother the boy picked up a stick and started hitting the man over the head with it while his mother escaped. She went to a neighbor's house and her neighbor called the police and gave her aid. The neighbor was a white woman and she came to court that day as a witness for the victim. She testified that she had seen the defendant chasing the victim who came to her house in an excited and hysterical state, without shoes, and with her clothes torn from her. This testimony required considerable courage on the part of the white neighbor.

During the trial the defense attorney arranged for the defendant's wife to sit at his side just as if she were also involved in the case. Then the defense attorney appealed to the jury. He said, "Judge, Your Honor, and ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you see this man. This is his wife. This woman, this white woman is the pure flower of life. She is one of God's lovely creatures, a pure flower. And do you think this man would have left this pure flower for that?" And he made it appear as if the Afro-American woman were actually on trial. Then

the defense ended by saying, "It's just a matter of whether or not you're going to believe this woman or this white man. Judge, Your Honor, this man is not guilty of any crime. He was just drinking and having a little fun." The man was acquitted.

The Afro-American mother had several brothers, and they had wanted to kill her white attacker before the trial began. But I persuaded them not to do anything. I said that this was a matter that would be handled legally. That we would get a lawyer—which we did. We brought a lawyer all the way from New York who wasn't even allowed to take the floor in court. So I was responsible for this would-be rapist not being punished.

The courtroom was full of Afro-American women and when this man was acquitted they turned to me and said, "Now what are you going to do? You have opened the floodgates on us. Now these people know that they can do anything that they want to us and there is no prospect of punishment under the law and it means that we have been exposed to these people and you're responsible for it. Now what are you going to say?" And I told them that in a civilized society the law is a deterrent against the strong who would take advantage of the weak, but the South is not a civilized society; the South is a social jungle, so in cases like that we had to revert to the law of the jungle; that it had become necessary for us to create our own deterrent and I said that in the future we would defend our women and children, our homes and ourselves with our arms. That we would meet violence with violence.

In 1957, I became the leader and organizer of the first ghetto militia established to combat racist terrorists, defend the black community against racist white aggression and to serve as a supporting arm of our local civil and human rights movement. In the summer of 1957, our armed guard engaged in two major skirmishes with the Ku Klux Klan. From behind sandbag emplacements and from our foxholes we broke the back of the terrorist group. Two years later I issued the call for Afro-Americans throughout the nation to arm and meet violence with violence.

During a time when even so-called militants developed goose pimples at any suggestion of pressure for the racial integration of swimming pools, we were picketing to force city officials to either provide facilities in our community, integrate the pool constructed with federal funds or close it. It was finally closed and remains so until this day as a graphic monument to the intransigence of American racism. In an unprecedented move I ran for mayor of the white supremacy city and in 1960 when the sit-in movement's goals were still primarily limited to the integration of public places, we drafted a ten-point program which included fair employment, school integration, integrated medical facilities, non-discrimination in welfare aid and the abolition of police brutality. The far-reaching and militant demands advanced by the NAACP branch, of which I was president, raised the vindictive ire and spiteful hatred of the power structure and its local satellite bigots.

For six years in Monroe and the social jungle of the so-called free world, I learned to live with danger, always in the shadow of death. Four brazen attempts were made on my life; two of these in the presence of and aided by the police. Hundreds of threats were made and the Ku Klux Klan circulated a petition on the Court House Square to drive our branch vice-president, Dr. A. E. Perry, and me out of the county never to return again. The local press reported that more than 3,000 bigots signed the Klan petition in the first ten days. The Klan, the Minute Men, the police and racist fanatics unleashed such an intense campaign of harassment and threats of violence that it became necessary for a volunteer armed guard of thirty men to be posted around my house at night.

Though I was especially singled out as a most urgent target of the spleen of racial vindictiveness, others were also ensnared in the viciously

racist power structure's net of vengeance and hate. Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory of New York, an Afro-American mother of two children who was a guest in my home, Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, local Afro-American youths and John Lowery of New York, one of the 17 white freedom riders in Monroe at the time, were also falsely indicted for "kidnapping." This so-called "kidnap case" was tried on February 28, 1964 resulting in the conviction of the four defendants present for the trial. I had escaped an international shoot-on-sight police dragnet and was living in political exile in Cuba. Mrs. Mallory was sentenced to 16 to 20 years in prison, Richard Crowder 8 to 10 years, Harold Reape 5 to 7 years and John Lowery 3 to 5 years.

The trials and indictments were invalidated by the North Carolina State Supreme Court on the grounds that Negroes were systematically excluded from jury duty. This ruling was based on the fact that the county used the designation Col. (colored) behind the names of Afro-American taxpayers from which the names of jurymen were drawn.

Despite the fact that Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall has publicly stated that she and her husband did not consider the incident an act of kidnapping and had gone home and forgotten the matter until the police picked them up and coerced them to charge kidnapping, and that the sensational press entered the picture and blew the case up to a big kidnapping mess; all the Monroe defendants were reindicted in February 1965. The state has not moved directly to bring the defendants to retrial, however, it has claimed the \$37,000 bond posted by a bonding company.

What I have said and am going to say hereinafter about Monroe and Union County are merely a token résumé of the hate, spite, terror, violence and savage depravity rampant under, and propagated by, the so-called agents of law in the social jungle of the hypocritical America that so piously claims to be defending the cause of freedom and democracy in Vietnam. The attitude of the white self-righteous, Christian citizens of Monroe, North Carolina towards justice and democracy for non-Anglo-Saxons is highly representative of the American concept of justice. Monroe justice is American justice and American justice prevails in Monroe the same as in any other part of the nation. No amount of importunity will touch and transform the consciences and souls of the beastly bigots. The unjust legal system and its brutal, sadistic and cynical police arm are the vicious watchdogs assigned the dutiful task of preserving the system that gives it its reason for being. Time alone is not a logical remedy for that perennial social malady of tragic tyranny spawned from the cult of cruel and reasonless reactionaries. No, this shameful social ill will not cure itself. The nation has become addicted to it. It is a part of its way of life and it has lived with it so long that it has become callous to the painful cries and moans of its wretched victims. Those still humanly sensitive accommodatingly look the other way. They refuse to know, refuse to understand, while many of the poor multitudes of humanity flounder in the man-made quicksands of despair and desolation. History has proved that the mainstay of social reaction is apathy and lethargy. Force is the driving wheel of transition and change. Man is not an island unto himself. We can no longer afford to peacefully co-exist with racist judicial tyranny and kangarooism based on an insensate class and racial caste system.

Under certain conditions, I propose to return to Monroe. Under certain conditions, I propose a challenge to the bigoted and insensate power structure. I bitterly resent racist and fascist American justice. I am barred from the land of my birth, from the teeming ghettos of my people, because my words, resolve and actions have unfailingly been in the sacred cause of black liberation in white America. I am an Afro-American political refugee cynically branded a criminal by a tyrannical and racist government too cruel and evil to honor justice and democracy and too self-righteous and hypocritical to

openly accept the satanic image that truly corresponds to its heart and soul. I am not a criminal and I reject being associated in the slightest way with crime. The only crime I am guilty of is being in opposition to tyranny. If progressive, honest and sincere dissent is a crime in the warped concept of the bigots of Union County, then I proudly accept the label of criminal, and if it means that I violently oppose the fascist, racist and imperialist American government's barbaric and indiscriminate slaughter of the freedom loving patriots of Vietnam. I proudly proclaim myself to be at odds with a government so derelict in dispensing freedom and justice to its own people at home while sending the most noble of its sons to such an ignoble and shameful death on foreign soil under the false pretense of a holy crusade of righteousness and justice. I am at odds with a government that bases one's right to the pursuit of happiness, freedom from want, freedom from fear and terror on skin pigmentation. I am at odds with a government whose legal system is predicated on the proposition that protective law is a special privilege of the powerful and the rich and a manipulative restriction on the weak and poor and the black.

The preponderous power of the colossal state, which is an instrument fashioned to serve the best interests of plutocracy, is an invincible and omnipotent force when arrayed against the weak and destitute who run afoul of the establishment's social order of tyranny. On the part of the oppressed and dehumanized masses, there can be but one successful answer to awesome tyrannical state power. The proper answer lies in resolute, militant and collective opposition on the part of the masses in behalf of the powerless and wretched victims of insensate and unjust state power. While it is a foregone conclusion that poor whites are also tragic and pitiful victims of the class injustice of the kangaroo system, the fact remains that the black man's plight remains more urgent and desperate, because even the extent and nature of travesty is relative to racial caste. Even among the very destitute, the white man's skin is still a badge of petty privilege. His opportunity for amnesty and rehabilitation is much greater than that of the black man. To be concerned with justice for black men in America is to be concerned with justice for all men in the world, and the oppressed white man is no exception. The race question and the question of justice and democracy in America today are symbolic of humanity's struggle for a better world. If creeping fascism succeeds in imperialist America the chances will be greatly increased that it may infect and devastate the world to a much greater extent than that of Nazi Germany. The black man's struggle in America is a front line position against world fascism and reaction. It must be strengthened by decent forces everywhere.

Unlimited white violence, police brutality, mob rule, lynch law and kangaroo legal justice are the hallmark of racist American justice for black people. Racist America's legal system of jurisprudence is white supremacy's right arm of containment. The racist court is used as an instrument of coercion and intimidation. The whole system is rigged. The judge is more concerned with upholding white supremacy than in upholding the cause of justice, law and order. The jury is stacked and as far as a black man is concerned, who runs afoul of the white man's code of black containment, his pleadings evoke no more mercy and sympathy than the anguished groans of one suffering at the hands of a perverted sadist.

The U.S. Constitution clearly states that one is to be tried by a jury of his peers. In actuality, this is nothing but dung. In racist America, a land rabidly infected with racism and boundless white supremacy, the black man's peers would be other black people whose economic and social lives are on the same level as his. Since white skin is considered a mark of distinction and a badge of superiority, how can such persons be considered the peers of black defendants? Racist, kan-

garoo, southern, ghetto and slum court machinery are indirect sources of insensate exploitation and a contributing factor to the impoverishment of the disinherited masses. The indiscriminate leveling of stiff fines and excessive bonds, for minor or even doubtful infractions, against the black and the poor by prejudiced judges, who think of themselves as being divinely commissioned as infallible popes, to interpret and implement the callous, cynical, iniquitous, inequitable and naturally predatory immortal decrees of a sadistical white supremacy god, is legalized usury, extortion and fleecing of the powerless and the destitute.

A campaign is needed to educate prospective jurors not to serve as white supremacy and class tools by arbitrarily convicting the black and the poor simply at the behest of an insensate and vindictive power structure. Prospective jurors, especially black ones, must be brought to realize that their own best interests can be served best by not following the white supremacy trend of kangaroo courts that are more interested in preserving racial and class oppression and tyranny than in truth, justice and democracy for the black and the poor.

It goes without saying, to anyone familiar with the behind-the-scenes maneuvers of the court mobsters and propagators of kangarooism, that there is a staggering amount of sinister and vicious collusion between leecherous bondsmen, capricious judges, shyster lawyers, corrupted court officials, vicious and sadistical cops, a galaxy of racist nuts from the realm of fascism and the complete gamut of the local and national power structure. Through this hazardous obstacle course, sanctimoniously called "due process", must pass the lonely and harried soul already frail and exhausted from the frey of jungle survival. Inside this maze the energies and resources of freedom, civil liberties and revolutionary movements are expended and dissipated in long drawn court cases invoked as a rearguard action to stave off a breakthrough of the forces of humanity and justice. Through this "due process" farce, leaders are put out of action, the masses are confused and deceived, and the potential effectiveness of movements is neutralized by long drawn and expensive litigation which requires positive forces to expend most of their energies raising money and organizing for legal defense.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

The destitute in general are potential victims of America's rapacious kangarooism, but to the black individual the kangaroo court system is a subtle and more ritualized extension of police brutality. Heretofore, throughout the black man's perilous tenure in racist America, there has been only nominal national concern for the mitigation of savage white supremacy and police brutality. Of late there has been a rising crescendo of clamor for a more enlightened approach to Afro-American-police relations. The new spate of concern derives from the fact that police brutality is a common detonator of massive, highly destructive, ghetto and urban explosions. The fact of the matter is that widespread devastation is not conducive to capital gain and a high margin of profit. It is quite trite even to mention the fact that the capitalist system operates on a purely profit basis. It is certainly not a humanitarian endeavor. The fact that ghetto patriots are engaging in mutual resistance to police aggression, are collectively responding to vicious attacks on the individual and subsequently making police coercion, brutality and intimidation exceedingly costly to the power structure, is transforming some old attitudes concerning social relations. Unanimously, the harried and tortured people of the ghetto agree that in urban communities of recent massive and destructive uprisings the vicious thug cops are displaying a little more indulgence towards black people. In many cases, so-called civic-minded personages are appearing to be more concerned with human relations and are demanding the leashing of and ferreting out of mad dog cops. Social change and social upsurge come through agitation, exposure and pressure. Inasmuch as sham

trials and kangaroo courts are legal extensions of police brutality, they too must be made too expensive for the whimsical indulgence of the power structure. A massive and collective reaction, but better organized, like the angry response to police brutality must be unleashed against tyrannical kangaroo courts. Like police brutality, unjust, spiteful and vindictive courts must become anti-social addictions that the profit hungry minions of society can ill afford.

My only crime in racist America was to struggle for equality, justice and human dignity. The true criminals are the satanic despoilers who oppose this type of humanism. The world must learn to distinguish between crime and humanism, perfidy and chivalry, evil and good. I contemplate a confrontation with the evil oppressive forces in Monroe, North Carolina. I propose to return, if possible, with the support of an international movement that will force racist and imperialist America to display her true colors under the spotlight of world opinion. I think it is time for a new precedent to be set that will ultimately arouse universal indignation for America's blatant injustice to the black man and flagrant contempt for the poor and destitute. Relative to the fact of my proposed return to the South of racist America, I personally appeal to all people, who are opposed to injustice and tyranny, in the United States and all countries, to join me in this projected crusade against U.S. kangarooism, and against the use of a criminal frame-up to effect a political exile. Soon, perhaps committees will be formed to plan and to organize the different aspects of the massive operations. There will be many phases of work that will require a great diversity of talent. It is hoped that 10,000 persons will be able to converge on Monroe and that there will be an encampment there of many people of different races and different beliefs. This is one area in which we all have a common denominator. This is an issue broad enough to accommodate many factions and that serves the best interest of them all. It is an issue that sorely needs the cooperation and unity of all people of good will with good intentions. Sectarianism is taboo. Egoism is taboo and all conduct inimical to the cause in question.

There is a great need for individuals from all walks of life to converge on Monroe. Funds must be raised for mass transportation, food and housing. Every person who wants to join the crusade should be able to do so whether he has money or not. Special considerations should be given to the unemployed. Special invitations should be extended to professors and students of law to attend the legal seminar on American kangarooism, to be held in conjunction with the trial and facts surrounding the case, legal procedure, and court deportment. Separate groups should be allowed to hold special meetings, conferences, and professional seminars relative to their group and individual interests. This should be done in order that each group may be able to take advantage of new experiences and accumulated knowledge without developing conflicts of interest. There should be a strong liaison committee to promote general order and amiable relations for the successful execution of the campaign. Regulations of system and procedure must be worked out before the establishment of the encampment. Everyone with spleen and hatchets should reserve this for the power structure. There will be many power structure bigots available for everyone so desiring to let off steam and give vent to a lifetime of pent-up emotions and frustrations. In this case, it will not be necessary for us to turn our frustrations against each other. We can channel our pent-up emotions into constructive energy.

There will be a great need for skillful and effective personnel in public relations, locally, nationally and internationally. A coordinator is yet to be engaged. Pressmen, students and friends from abroad will be invited to observe the function of "democratic law" in the imperialist country that is butchering the Vietnamese people in a self-righteous Christian campaign to enforce the acceptance of the American concept of justice. We will also appeal to progressives in countries throughout the world to organize and coordinate protests, petitions and demon-

strations at U.S. Embassies and information centers in support of the crusade against kangaroo justice in the so-called free world of racist America.

The racists in Monroe, Union County and North Carolina are aggressive and vindictive and the law is in open support of fascism and brute force against peaceful petitioning. In view of the uncivil attitude of the bigots of Monroe, who on occasions in the past imported Klansmen, Minutemen and terrorist thugs from as far away as South Carolina and Georgia, a well disciplined and armed defense corps will be needed. It should function only as a defense corps and its duties in this respect should be divorced from protest, legal and executive activities. Monroe is a racist and segregated town through and through. The Union County jail is segregated and has been condemned as uninhabitable. State prisons are also racially segregated. There are no Afro-American court officials. There has never been a black judge to preside during the entire history of the court. The police force has a quota system and the jury system is rigged on the basis of both class and race. Segregated courts and the mono-racial administration of law over a bi-racial society cannot be viewed in the same light as the faltering drive for social integration. It is expedient to the survival of revolutionary black nationalist leaders and militant movements that racist America's white supremacy and fascist kangaroo legal system be immediately and resolutely challenged by massive united action. Kangaroo courts are also a scourge on the poor, unpopular and powerless. Kangaroo courts must be challenged with the same vigorous mass resentment as naked police brutality in the open streets of the ghetto. As in the ghetto, revolutionary and enlightened black nationalists should be the first to strike a blow against intimidation by terrorist tactics in insensate courts. The fascist forces are powerful so unity of many factions will be required in such an open confrontation.

Many lawyers maintain that the North Carolina statutes on kidnapping are so vague that they are unconstitutional and illegal. In any event, a movement should be set up so that in case of conviction and confinement (which is highly probable) the struggle can continue against pitiful and archaic prison conditions throughout the statewide system. A permanent movement should grow out of the North Carolina campaign that will be able to challenge the kangaroo legal system of the entire nation. For the powerless, the custody of justice must be taken into the hands of their peers. It must be divested of class and race and it must be transformed from its vindictive nature and made an impartial mediator, catering only to the righteous demands of justice, so that a mean and corrupt legal system will no longer be able to heap the vindictive rancor of the power structure on lonely and helpless individuals, but will have to confront a massive force and the fury of an aroused, collective citizenry, resolutely dedicated to fair play and justice for all. The court and police department of Monroe, as many other racist courts throughout America, have been consistently anti-black. As they did during the 1961 Monroe clashes, they still conspire to negate and deprive Afro-Americans of their civil and human rights through intimidation and legalized extortion.

I have no personal desire to go to Monroe, however, the state insists that I must return there to answer trumped-up criminal charges. The F.B.I. has been utilized to assure that I will not be able to reside within the USA without facing extradition to the racial vengeance of Monroe. This challenge must be met and its threat executed or resolved.

Monroe is not to be just a provincial case of sectarian or personal value. The Monroe situation has far-reaching potentials as it did in the beginning of the fight-back era. There are certain positive factors to be considered in the equation of human injustice that singles Monroe out as an ideal proving ground for the development of new tactics, a rallying point for an anti-fascist crusade, a new drive for solidarity and to test the impact of the exposé of internal tyranny on the politicians' hypo-

AN APPEAL: SUPPORT FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Fascist forces in the USA are now endeavoring to create a national state of hysteria. Consequently, many Afro-American militants who refuse to sell out and who cannot be intimidated are being framed and imprisoned. A vicious campaign is being waged to destroy effective and potential ghetto leaders. Chief among these are Max Stanford, Rap Brown, Leroy Jones and Martin G. Sostre. Many others are framed in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, in the South and on the West Coast. As a matter of collective security all anti-fascist forces and partisans of justice must stir themselves and give financial and active support to these victims of fascist kangarooism and tyranny. Oppose the court mob with massive resistance!

critical justification of a fascist war in Vietnam on the basis of America's love and commitment to universal democracy and social justice. The Monroe Court-in, seminar on kangaroo justice, conference and encampment should be planned to coincide with the coming U.S. farce called elections. The Monroe campaign must also be the beginning of a drive to effect the release of all political prisoners incarcerated inside America.

The outline presented herein is tentative. Suggestions are now being received and urged. All just-minded individuals are asked to make suggestions, present more detailed plans, to volunteer and submit names of persons believed to be qualified for specific tasks of organization, publicity, international liaison, fund raising, legal bureau, coordination, logistics, security, etc. Persons wishing to join in the preparation of the crusade or to make positive offers for the movement can contact me directly by using the address of THE CRUSADER or can write me in care of Attorney Conrad J. Lynn, 401 Broadway—Suite 911, New York, N. Y. 10013 USA.

Yes, I propose to return to confront the racist kangaroo justice of Monroe, North Carolina, USA, because the ultimate mission of the freedom fighter must be to wipe out all forms of unbearable social injustice. The ultimate aim of a Revolutionary Black Nationalist must be to forge the closest possible unity based on common heritage, common suffering and a common faith of common resistance in a common endeavor to overturn a common tyranny. The Revolutionary Black Nationalist must turn his first attention to those who suffer most as brothers in travail and are most victimized by an alien and restrictive society, however, in the final analysis, the Black Nationalist's struggle is a front of the universal struggle for the liberation of all mankind, for human dignity, peace and justice in a prosperous people's world.

"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."

—Mao Tse-tung

A very MERRY CHRISTMAS and a fighting NEW YEAR! Make sure and see to it that Soul Santa brings you a do-it-yourself survival and liberation kit. In the cool peace of the Yuletide remember the battle of the coming long hot summer.

THE CRUSADER has survived racist attempts at economic strangulation, KU KLUX KLAN harassment and a license conspiracy in the racist USA. It has survived exile in Cuba and attacks by international liquidationists. Now it is struggling to survive a fascist ban invoked by U.S. Postal authorities. Help the indomitable CRUSADER to reach all who would be interested. Order copies to pass along. KEEP ON PUSHIN'!

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China



THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

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REACTION WITHOUT POSITIVE CHANGE

The short hot summers of '65, '66 and '67 came and went leaving the imprint of discontent and rebellion in their wake. As a result of the growing turmoil of these past summers, the power structure is reacting out of hysteria and is brutally applying the laws of the jungle as a solution to long standing social problems. The power structure reacts hysterically violent out of fear of any challenge to its authority and



power to play the role of an omnipotent god in arbitrarily deciding the fate of humanity at large. The miserable and wretched Black masses of the ghetto are beginning to react fearlessly and to resolutely oppose the brutal repression and blatant denial of their natural right to a place in the sun. The power structure is alarmed, but not alarmed enough to rectify its social evils that torment and threaten the very existence of the Black man. Even hypocritical dialogue between the oppressor race and the oppressed race is now almost a thing of the past. The bigoted and degenerate American white man is no longer predisposed to justify his barbarity by eloquent words couched in grandiose schemes of delusion and the vain glorification of representative democracy, freedom and justice. Nevertheless, the Black man is no less entertained by the silence of the oppressive white man's guiled tongue of deceit and lies. No, there is no vacuum because the white man has stopped talking. The Black man had stopped listening long ago. As the white man hypocritically pretended to be talking; the Black man merely hypocritically pretended to be listening. Yes, it was a total shuck.

In racist America it is becoming more and more difficult for the Black and White races to congregate under the same roof without a bitter clash of interests. Their minds seem as far apart as East and West and almost all hope is lost in a realistic and honest coming-togetherness. This is no new wonder of the world. The facts are simple. This seemingly insoluble problem stems from the fact that the Black community inherited the bitter legacy of slavery; it still suffers from the consequences of an aeon of degradation and brutal exploitation. The white community has arrogantly inherited the imperialistic legacy of a brutally exploiting slave master race; it is still motivated, in its relations with the Black community, by a master slave mentality.

The suffering and dehumanized Black man is determined to usher in a new social order that will redress his long standing social injustices, and that will allow him to join the human race without restrictions. The white power structure and its massive array of satellites and Tomboes are determined to halt or to, at least, slow the pace of the erosion of their capacity to oppress, exploit, segregate and dehumanize the Black under class. The racist American white man is not about to voluntarily give up his special privilege, his whiteness, his right to wield the devil power of the earth. The racist American ofay is a master of deception, he has deceived the world into accepting him as a democrat, a humanitarian, a Christian, an equalitarian, a universal philanthropist and even sometimes as a Marxist while the very nature of his hypocrisy is fashioned from a grand design to propagate white supremacy and cultural, spiritual, economic and political domination.

Racist America is the evil and sinister white man's last great hope of world domination. It is also the Black man's last great hope of frustrating the white man's fascist scheme to subdue and Americanize the world. In short, we must come to realize that the current crisis facing the races in America is by no means an isolated or provincial affair. It is a struggle of good against evil, of justice against tyranny and of the slave against the slave master. Eventually, it will decide the fate of America, and subsequently it will register an impact upon the whole world, for the disposition of the USA determines many major world

issues. The racist white man in America will fight desperately for the uninhibited right to decide the fate of the world, and his international running dogs and Yankee loving Uncle Toms will move might and main to help their master to retain control over the citadel of world reaction.

If there is ever going to be justice in America, if the Black man is ever to be liberated, if human dignity is ever to prevail; there must be a violent confrontation between Black man and white man, between oppressor and oppressed, between the master class and the slave class. The white man has in the past and still hates and brutally abuses the Black man in racist and imperialist America, and this cruel fact is not based on intangible theory and speculation either. In regards to the present intolerable situation and the task before us, we must not allow ourselves to relapse back into a state of fantasy wherein we place our survival, our freedom and human dignity in the hands of our oppressors and dehumanizers and humanity's worst enemy. Survival demands that we take our fate into our own hands, that we prepare ourselves to meet any challenge and make any sacrifice in the impending confrontation with tyranny.

Yes, we have begged, prayed and peacefully petitioned for justice and human rights in racist America. We have befriended and loved white America under conditions that would have alienated a most loyal dog. We have served and attended the affairs of white America at the expense and neglect of our own. We have nurtured and enriched a way of life the very existence of which is inimical to our own best interest. Now we rise up to resist white supremacy tyranny and we are cynically called Black racists. We rail against the symbol of brutal exploitation, and we are called mad dogs. We burn a source of our social contamination and the wrathful white reprobates and their running dogs assail us from all corners of the earth. In America the savage oppressor prepares a pogrom, a massacre, genocide. We meekly plead for understanding, for justice and he arrays his fascist forces for massacre. We ask for food and he sends us the policeman's club, the guardsman's bayonet and the soldier's bullet. In the cold and miserable peace of the winter, he prepares his armour and his tanks to make war on us in the hot and troublesome summer. Let us not permit ourselves to be disarmed and rendered defenseless by those who admonish us to love this beast, to lie down in darkness with this monster and to have faith in his phlegmatic goodness. Our survival requires us not to prepare for a masochistic all American love-in but rather for an all American confrontation.

As far as we are concerned, things are not going to get any better. They are going to get worse. The racist government is preparing to unleash a campaign of terror against our people. They are arrogantly announcing the acquisition of special tanks and weapons to make war against the ghetto and are doing their best to exaggerate the role of weapons so as to intimidate our people, morally disarm us and to undermine our confidence in our capacity and ability to resist racist tyranny. Let our enthusiasm for resistance not be dampened by fear. There is no such thing as an invincible weapon. Do they (the imperialists) not have tanks and fierce weapons in Vietnam? We must meet

repressive violence with an invincible will to be free. We must meet tyrannical violence with righteous violence! We must unite! We must get organized! We must arm and perfect the art of urban guerrilla warfare! Only a powerful Black Nationalist spirit can correctly fortify our people with the high spirit and aspirations needed to withstand the coming onslaught of white supremacy nationalism and savage white power unleashed on a wild rampage of Black genocide. The fat is in the fire. There is trouble in the air. We are tugging at our chains. The power structure responds. It is not a positive response to a flagrant and long standing injustice. It is a vicious and beastly reaction to a righteous gesture. It is a declaration of war in response to a plea for peace and dignity. Yes, the barbaric power structure is feverishly preparing for a short hot summer of fascist repression. The word has gone out to the bloodthirsty wolf pack to viciously crush Black resistance to white tyranny and to preserve the status quo at all cost. The order of the day is that Whitey vampire must maintain law and order at all cost. Whose law and whose order? But in defense of whose rights will the Black man stand? Yes, the white supremacy power structure has responded. It is a reaction without positive change. The source of tension, the cause for war remains. The enemy masses. Stand by for fierce fighting. Stand by for a new phase of violence.

USA: THE NEW AUCTION BLOCK

Once again the Black man's tragic soul is insensately rent from his wretched and tormented body in the shameful market place of the auction block where the unholy traffic in Black humanity complements the American way of life with a new gentry of bloodsucking vampires. Yes, once again the Black man's dignity and freedom are being offered as commodities of commerce from the auction block. Once again the wretched Black masses are becoming the pitiful victims of a vicious conspiracy of collusion between negro Judases and fiendish white enslavers. The new chiefs of the ghettos, driven by their selfish greed and boundless stupidity, are delivering the masses up for slavery and destruction in response to the establishment's petty bribery.

A new and despicable form of American slavery looms over the Black man. A new auction block has been erected. Bloody slave money flows in the neo market place of slave trade. Agencies of the United States Government and the affluent foundations are enticing unprincipled traitors to betray and sell the birthright of the great masses of our people for a few coins of silver and a mess of porridge. The mounting angry rebellions staged by our brutally oppressed people constitute a source of horror to the power structure. It realizes the power and the great potential of our aroused people. It realizes that they are like a mighty Sampson awakening, and like Sampson they must be emasculated, deceived and frustrated. Subsequently, the degenerate punk chiefs of the ghetto are bribed to do the job.

While we are emphasizing the study of African culture and history, let us be profound and thorough in our studies. Let us learn from history and not allow it to repeat itself. History is merely a record of humanity's adjustment to its environment and its response to social conditions. Above all let us not forget that greedy and unscrupulous

tribal chiefs shamefully pandered to the vicious white slave traders by selling their own people into inhuman bondage. Their modern counterparts are those mercenary "leaders" running rampart in the ghettos today. They have effected a drastically different façade, but their principles or the lack of them are the same. They sound militant. They look Black, but they are neither. They are the vicious running dogs of the slave master. We must know them for what they are. Our examination of them must be based upon fact and deed, not rumour and word. While we purge our ranks of traitors and mercenaries, we must at the same time be careful in not falling prey to the enemies' tricks. We must not allow the enemy to define the standards by which to judge phoney. We must not allow the enemy to divide our ranks by creating false divisions. We must determine who is an enemy and who is a friend by an unbiased examination of attitude and deportment. At this point, our struggle is a national democratic struggle and while we recognize the fact that there are class contradictions among us, we also realize that some of these differences are minor in our people's relationship to the white imperialist power structure. Yes, we have Black enemies but they are Black traitors and Tshombes rather than imperialist conquerors and monopoly capitalists. Ours is a liberation struggle. It is a struggle for the survival of the race and a united effort to remove the consequences of four centuries of unmitigated dehumanization and savage exploitation and oppression. This must be our immediate goal. We cannot afford to allow ourselves to be diverted from this objective.

There are no Black imperialists in the world today, however, there are some would-be Black imperialists. There are negroes with imperialist mentalities but without the means of becoming imperialists. These negroes will never become imperialists because imperialism is a thing of monopoly and the monopolists do not tolerate alien intrusion into their exclusive dominion. We must come to know the difference between those with a capitalist mentality and those with monopoly capitalist means. In our race we have a common denominator, we are all Black and Black is a target of the white man's venom. Whites almost invariably list Moise Tshombe as a negro imperialist in order to circumvent the growing Black consciousness and unity of oppressed Blacks. From our Nationalist point of view the traitorous positions of Tshombe, Duvalier and their ilk place them outside the realm of progressive Black Nationalism. But the fact remains that Tshombe is not an imperialist. He never was and never will be. He is a negro running dog of white imperialists. He was an imperialist in mind only. This is why he suffers his present justified fate. The all white élite of the imperialist power structure enjoy almost universal legal impunity.

All Afro-Americans are victims of racial discrimination, and being Black in racist America is a hurting thing. We all have a common heritage of injustice irrespective of whether we realize it at this point or not. No Black man has any real political power in racist America. No Black man can truthfully say that he is integrated into the power structure. With the exception of clear-cut running dogs and Uncle Toms, the Black tokens are not necessarily enemies. The USA is a hard core racist country. Let us make no mistake about this. The American Black man is born into a caste system predicated on race. The power

"A nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."

Mao Tse-tung

structure is now busy trying to divide our people on an artificial basis. It is hard and fast trying to convince us that all the so-called Black bourgeoisie are as much our enemies as the white power structure. This is a phoney issue injected to create yet another division among our oppressed people. The power structure has brazenly stated that it is seeking to create a "buffer class" of negroes. The idea is that this "buffer class" will become a decoy through which to deflect the wrath of the brutally oppressed and revolting ghetto masses away from the white power structure, the real enemy oppressor and exploiter.

What we need is the unity of all of our people who can be counted on to make a positive contribution no matter how small or cautious. There is a need and a place for everybody. Those who are not outright traitors should not summarily be rejected, but should be encouraged and persuaded to become at least to some degree a brother. This is essential to the survival of the race. Only the oppressor will gain from needless divisions among us. A great inner threat to our survival now stems from those hired mercenary "revolutionaries" who are getting rich from a phoney war on poverty being waged in the market place of the new auction block. Yes, there is a new auction block being raised in our midst and there are new negro chiefs selling Black souls to white vultures who feast on Black flesh. The man is attempting to buy off as many Uncle Tom "Revolutionaries" necessary to confuse, demoralize and wreck the Black revolution. We must avoid falling prey to the vain words of ambitious Black men in the sinister employ of satanic white savage oppressors. Our cause is just. Our cause is sacred. It is above the ambition of personalities, of dirty white conspiracies foisted upon us by Black Judas clowns. Let us heighten our vigilance and be on with our mission. Let us labor under the consolation that in the final analysis, the joke will be on the oppressive tyrants. We shall fiercely destroy the new auction blocks being erected in our midst. Eventually the power structure's folly will backfire and for its effort it will reap the bitter harvest of a united and dauntless people. A righteous cause is indestructible. An aroused freedom loving people is unconquerable. Let our enemy be apprized of the fact that Judas chiefs among us cannot sell our people into slavery twice. No, and neither can they save his crumbling slave kingdom.

U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM: THE QUAGMIRE OF DEATH

More and more U.S. cannon fodder is being sent to Vietnam. More and more underprivileged and oppressed Black boys are being press-ganged to fight the racist white man's lost imperialist cause. It is uncivilized and tragic for any human being to be pawned off and expended as cannon fodder in a war fought for a doomed status quo, but the most despicable crime that can be committed against the human race

is to force or coerce the slave into defending the tottering system of slavery. Racist and imperialist America has no sane excuse to be in Vietnam. She has no more cause to butcher the innocent and defenseless women and children of Vietnam than Hitler had to exterminate those whom he so deceptively portrayed as a threat to German survival.

The Johnson administration and the fascist vultures, who prefer to be called hawks, piously claim that racist, imperialist and savage America is defending democracy, freedom, self-determination and American survival in Vietnam. In order to justify their villainous handiwork these flesh-picking scavengers are invoking every old cliché and jingoistic gimmick they can wring from the bag of chauvinistic demagoguery. The most shameful, savage and genocidal kind of fascist aggression and imperialist plunder are being whitewashed and deceitfully cloaked in the exaggerated euphemism of Prussian-type patriotism.

Not long ago the world had cause to wonder how a civilized generation of Germans allowed themselves to be piped over the precipitous cliffs of chaos, tragedy and desolation by a jingoistic maniac like Hitler. Now, the civilized world again has cause to be astounded by a generation of sheep transformed and led by a pack of bloodthirsty and howling wolves. Now really, can any person in the world today be naïve enough to believe that Americanism is maiming, murdering and plundering in Vietnam in the cause of freedom and democracy? Can any fair-minded and sane person in the world today be so naïve as to believe that America herself is a land of freedom and democracy? If America does not believe in freedom and democracy enough to extend it to her own citizenry, what motivates her to believe that the Vietnamese are more deserving of this sacred blessing than her own people?

A look at the desperate situation of the Black American, the Indian, the Puerto Rican and Mexican American belies the hypocritical claim of America's unfaltering devotion to freedom and democracy. In many parts of the U.S. Southland Afro-Americans still participate in free elections only at the peril of life and limb. American Indians are the victims of strategic hamlets and are oppressed aliens on their own soil. Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and Afro-Americans live in bleak ghettos terrorized by the institutionalized brutality of the police state. Despotism kangaroo justice is a way of life, is a part and fabric of so-called American democracy. How free is America? How democratic is it? Is it free and democratic enough to allow a Black man to decide whether or not he is to go 10,000 miles to fight and die to foist racist and imperialist American tyranny on the freedom loving people of Vietnam? Is it free enough to support the Black man's right to fight for Black self-determination, freedom and democracy at home? Is it free and democratic enough to allow the youth of America to peacefully reject an arbitrary conscription that forces them to violate the Nuremberg Convention? What kind of freedom is it that deprives one of his freedom in the name of defending the same freedom that threatens the freedom of one to determine what freedom his freedom allows him to select? It is time for the American people to face up to these foul deeds. Fascist aggression, plunder, terror and genocide are reproachable social evils irrespective of the fervor with which they are made to look and sound sanctimoniously patriotic and civilized.

Racist and imperialist America's rape, plunder and genocide in Vietnam is even a greater evil than that which Adolf Hitler visited upon the human race. America dares to pressgang slaves, who don't know the difference between democracy and a chain gang, into a so-called commitment to freedom in Vietnam. She dares to make Black men the bullet shields of white men in a tyrannical fight against the valiant Vietnamese. In this cunning way, America reduces the populations of Vietnam and Afro-America by juggling colored into bearing the biggest burden in the fight against other colored. Fascist America is sustaining a bloody beating in Vietnam and it is among the lowest and dirtiest tricks of humanity that the enslaved Black man is being made to absorb a great portion of America's defeat. Expendable Black cannon fodder is readily available to racist white officers who vengefully commit them to slaughter. This is sheer genocide and we must come to see it for the racist extermination plot that it is. America's bloody imperialist crusade in Vietnam is no commitment to democracy. It is a commitment to fascist imperialism. Any Black man who is sent there becomes a mockery to the very claim the vultures, who call themselves hawks, make to justify this sinister American crusade. The longer the U.S. remains in Vietnam the more openly fascist it will become, the more hardened it will grow to world public opinion and the more acute its self-destruction complex will become. There is no victory for racist U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. There is no glory to inflate the national pride. Vietnam is the symbol of that age old Waterloo wherein would-be plunderers and conquerors belatedly realize the futility of their grandiose dreams of unlimited imperialist expansion. Let the screaming vultures call U.S. aggression in Vietnam what they will, but in the final analysis and at the tragic expense of the American people, they, too, will come to realize that the war is nothing less than an American quagmire of death.

KANGAROOISM: THE PLAGUE OF BIGOTED JUSTICE

Next to naked violence and unmitigated terror, racist America's bigoted court system is the cardinal scourge of the powerless Black and white masses. The constitutional myth about "trial by one's peers" is a cardinal sacrilege against the sacredness of truth. When a Black man is a defendant in Americanism's dock of Anglo-Saxon law he is pretty much in the same position as an humble lamb on an altar of sacrifice. White America's savage culture erects a pious façade of devotion to the rule of law rather than of man and hypocritically attempts to project the ritualistic victimization of the Black man to some remote and spiritual realm of divinity above and beyond the tawdry arena of satanic man. To proclaim Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence to be a rule of law; and to allow its application to be left to the whim of insensate brigands is tantamount to casting pearls before swine.

The kangaroo court system in racist America is the most archaic of reactionary institutionalized injustice. Some phases of society modernizes and advances. Certain aspects of culture are in a constant state of transition, but lo and behold Anglo-Saxon law doggedly clings to a Magna Charta steeped in the traditions of a Middle Ages mentality. Why does this so-called rule of law so readily invoke the heritage of ancient vanity in justifying modern injustice predicated on

feudalistic logic and morality? Why is it so inclined to look backwards instead of forward? Why is it a quilted patchwork of sham reform rather than a bold new uniformed structure created out of sociology's up-to-date discoveries and premises? It is because it is an instrument of social reaction in the employ of reactionaries hell-bent on preserving an ante-bellum and vulturous power structure frenetically trying to maintain its encircled and battered position.

Tyrants do not change of themselves. The pressure of the people stimulated by the enlightenment derived from their social being is the driving wheel that propels the vehicle of change. The Black and the powerless, who face the wrath of so-called Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, must come to realize the futility of leaving their fate to the rule of law as implemented by puppet judges who pander to the savage emotions of a cold blooded aristocracy. The true power of the state derives from the people. The weakness of the people in a confrontation with state tyranny evolves from the apathy, confusion, demoralization, disunity and ignorance of their own power. All over degenerate and fascist America today the most complimentary citizens of a civilized society are being railroaded to prison, are being removed from a decadent and sheepish society that is in dire need of highly moral and resistant fiber. These courageous and upright citizens constitute the last thin line between regression and progression. They are the sparse in numbers but firm pillars that so precariously prevent the society from plunging into the tragic and chaotic depth of despotic fascism. America's jails are teeming with principled Black Nationalists, freedom fighters, war resisters, peace advocates, resisters of false arrest, those forced into crime as a means of survival, the penniless and powerless guilty of minor infractions, but unable to pay the court's tribute money and the state's bribery. America's racist courts have assumed the despotic posture of institutionalized lynch mobs enjoying the sanctimonious solicitude of the state's ritualistic buffoonery.

This inhumane and oppressive situation can only be rectified by an aroused, united and determined citizenry. The power of the enraged masses must be arrayed against this Anglo-Saxon kangarooism. We must strive to create more favorable legal conditions to disrupt the orderly and uninhibited process of perennial racist kangaroo justice. A life-and-death struggle must be waged to break this antiquated first line of the reactionary power structure's defense of its fast eroding position. Science changes, medicine changes, education changes, customs change, styles change but the archaic courts still arrogantly pride themselves on the fact that they are the true and noble hermits from the dark ages.

In our life-and-death struggle, we must convert everything possible into a weapon of defense and survival. We must not be narrow-minded and sectarian in our scope. When possible we must use the ballot, we must use the school, the church, the arts and even the evil legal system that we know to be stacked against us. We must fight in the assemblies, we must fight in the streets. We must make war on all fronts. We must use the word as well as the bullet. We must not only master the techniques of our enemy, but we must surpass him in a technique that will serve our cause of liberation rather than

his cause of slavery. A liberation struggle cannot afford to hamper its possibilities of success by straddling itself with narrow limitations, by limiting itself to only one method of struggle. While the gun is essential and basic, it must be supplemented by actions, sometimes less dramatic, less decisive.

The first spark of change must have a beginning. In the December 1967 issue of THE CRUSADER, I proposed a ten thousand strong march on the racist kangarooism of Monroe, North Carolina. I am happy to report a wide and excellent response, both pro and con, from persons of diverse ethnic and political groupings. It is my hope that the response will continue to mount and that all justice loving and fair-minded people will join in this proposed crusade to elevate America's feudalistic kangarooism to a state of 20th century people's justice. After almost seven years the Union County vultures, who pose as dispensers of Anglo-Saxon justice, insist that I am a wanted criminal who broke their laws by fighting for Black humanity's right to enter the 20th century as human beings. Already they have mobilized their Ku Klux Klan home guard for a mission of terror and intimidation. Evidently, they fail to see the handwriting on the wall; they don't know what time it is. From Monroe should come the thunder that will be heard around the world, the spark that will ignite a prairie fire that will sear all the land of the desolate underbrush wherein is situated a jungle society boasting of its feudalistic rule of law.

BEWARE THE INTERNATIONAL LIQUIDATIONIST MOVEMENT

No just struggle being waged anywhere in the world today can be said to be an isolated affair. No matter how small, distant or unheralded any struggle waged in the cause of human decency and dignity may be, the fact remains that in the final analysis it complements humanity's eternal universal struggle to liberate and civilize society. The fountainhead of racism, imperialism and violent plunder is situated in the devil kingdom commonly known as the United States of America. The original imperialist powers today are ailing and feeble. They would have already passed from the current scene if they were not being subsidized and patronized by conquest crazed and power drunk America. It goes without saying that hypocritical and covetous Americanism entertains a sinister design to even colonize the former colonizers whose governments are now struggling desperately to stave off complete bankruptcy and subsequent Yankee receivership. Inasmuch as the racist and imperialist USA is the mainstay of world social reaction, political, economic and racial tyranny, it also is the wellspring of international subversion and counter-revolutionary liquidationism.

Decadent and dying systems and orders struggle fiercely for survival and their tactics of struggle evolve in relativity to the social stress, political forces and exigencies motivated by the dynamics of the will to survive. Whenever the situation dictates certain responses, the power structure has no compunction about usurping, emasculating and feigning adherence to principles and policies naturally opposite and alien to its state and structure of being. This vicious but cunning wolf does not hesitate to disguise itself as a lamb, to simulate its nature

and to integrate into its flock so as to delude and devour the innocent and duped. We must alert ourselves to the ancient, but still successful Trojan Horse tactics of the enemy. Our innocent gullibility can be the enemy's greatest source of strength. His skilfully developed art of deception can be a weapon more powerful and dangerous than his instruments of force and violence.

The history of Christianity can teach us much. In its early era of inception the prevailing power structure reacted to Christianity as an alien doctrine inimical to the interest of the declining order and scheme of things. It was looked upon as a revolutionary doctrine that would, if allowed to run its natural course, upset and overturn the status quo. It carried with it a dynamic mass appeal. It railed against the rich and the exploiters. It taught brotherhood and the equitable distribution of wealth. Man was to be his brother's keeper. Such a doctrine could not be tolerated by the ruling gentry. The power structure's first response to the inimical doctrine was one of violence and savage repression. Violence failed to stamp it out. The horrible lion pit was no deterrent. The despoilers of humanity's dream and quest for an equitable and just society eventually realized that the wisest response to the new doctrine would be to join, usurp, utilize and control it. From within they converted it into a powerful instrument of coercion, repression, exploitation and an opium through which to deaden the sensibilities of the defiant. After it had become a mighty institution through which to perpetuate the oppressive and reactionary system, it was no longer the lion pit for those who adhered to its teachings, but for those who challenged its claim to eternal power.

After the Great October Revolution in the USSR, the reactionary forces of the world moved might and main to crush this new social order. Again, violence failed them. They changed their tactics, recognized the USSR and embarked on a long road of usurpation, subversion, deception and utilization of its dynamics. In the arena of world revolution we know what role certain revisionists play today. The perennial international liquidationists are still at work. Again they have cloaked themselves in deceptive revolutionary garb in order to facilitate their villainous work of perpetuating the status quo. Their sinister aim is to subvert the whole international revolutionary movement and the oppressed people's struggle to build an equitable and just world society. The Afro-American struggle is no exception. The modern liquidationists constitute a high pressure goon squad deceptively and skilfully implementing the will of the traditional hierarchy of monopolists. They constitute an inseparable arm of the perennial international plutocracy that segregated and enslaved us for centuries, stamped us with the stigma of racial inferiority, ignored our mournful cries of anguish and jeered at our pitiful pleas and petitions for justice and an integrated society of freedom and brotherhood. They vehemently opposed American Marxists who maintained that our savage victimization resulted more from class exploitation than from racial animosity. When we were helpless, demoralized and isolated as a race the vicious power structure opposed interracial unity on a working class basis.

Now, again, the liquidationists have shifted positions. This time they appropriate the tenets of Marxism to further their own liquidationist

designs. Now, we have no less hypocrites than Johnson, Ford and a grand parade of the top wolves of the dying system admonishing us that the Afro-American struggle in racist and imperialist America is more a class (poverty) injustice than one of race. They are calling for unity between the races and hypocritically advocating the narrowing of the gap between the classes. They are pleading for racial harmony and unity. Unity for what? Unity to crush the freedom struggles of the world's brutally oppressed and exploited peoples. They see unity and peace between the races in America as a possible salvation for their tottering empire, their decadent system. They know that a united Black people in racist America would constitute a terrifying threat, so they try to dilute the struggle and divert us from our goal by infiltration and control. By infiltrating the Marxist movement and simulating class brotherhood they hope to accomplish what they can never realize through naked violence alone. They are striving to turn black into white and white into black and to profit from confusion and deception. Their appeals for brotherhood and racial unity are aimed only at the victims of hate and racial tyranny. Why? The Black man in America is on the right track. We cannot allow wolves in sheep's clothing to weaken our resolve to resist and defeat the white man's tyranny. Brother is as brother does and no amount of whitewash can conceal white America's contempt, hatred, slander, brutalization and lack of class sympathy for Black America.

The international liquidationists of racist and imperialist America's power structure have infiltrated the Marxist movement, the revolutionary movement, the Black Nationalist movement and everything else that constitutes a potential threat. From within they hope to divert the people's struggle into a blind alley wherein lies the hope of white supremacy and imperialism's survival. They are seeking to create artificial barriers and emasculating divisions by distorting revolutionary doctrine. They are endeavoring to curb our growing militancy by feigning adherence to Marxist and humanist principles. They want Black men to cease and desist from fighting like revolutionary Nationalists and to meekly submit to the discipline and ideology of CIA sponsored and controlled phoney Marxist cliques. We must fight those who oppress us, who hate us and abuse us. It is not a difficult task for the victim to ascertain who is victimizing him. It is also not difficult for him to discern the sham Marxists from the true Marxists.

IN CHINA: A NEW WONDER OF THE WORLD

As an astounding relic of the past, China's Great Wall is universally known as one of the great wonders of the world. The bourgeois world, though somewhat passively, seems willing to acknowledge the herculean feats wrought by the people of ancient China. Most of the present day western press seems more than willing to limit its reportage to sensational misconceptions, half truths, negatively slanted commentary and literary slander of the present day achievements of the great Chinese people. It is one of the great tragedies of this age that the western press has reduced modern journalism to a comic book type of sensational story-telling. That portion of man's historical record not dedicated to the furtherance of the status quo becomes viable copy deceptively rehashed by the unscrupulous hacks of distorted verbiage.

I have recently completed a tour of China's Shansi Province. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which is one of the world's great modern wonders in its own right, has created an excellent situation that offers a vivid example of the creativeness of Chairman Mao's teachings. Those who jubilantly prate about China being in a mess of confusion, in a state of disintegration with a detrimental decline in production and resolve in national defense are extremely mistaken. The spirit of the Chinese people is high and the will to support the revolutionary peoples of the world manifests itself in every conversation.

My tour of the Wu Xiang Mountains and Ta Jai Commune was to me yet another great confirmation of the indomitable spirit of the great Chinese people. This commune of terraced mountainous land is a seemingly supernatural task accomplished by peasants who are guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is a great miracle wherein once barren mountain heights have been transformed into highly productive high yielding farm land by dauntless people whose principal tools were the burning determination to make every sacrifice to overcome all difficulties and to build a people's society based on the thought of Mao Tse-tung. These resourceful people have resoiled mountain peaks, terraced them and installed a beautiful network of stone masonry around each terrace to prevent erosion. They have built reservoirs atop mountain peaks feeding a highly complexed maze of irrigation works; and all this done by human hand without the aid of heavy and expensive equipment. Even after examining the accomplished fact, it is hard to believe one's own eyes. It is a miracle, a new wonder of the world. It is a present day feat of the peasants of socialist China that rivals the construction of the Great Wall in ancient time.

Underlying this seemingly impossible feat, of converting the negative factors of nature into highly productive and positive ones, is an effervescent collective spirit nurtured in the new socialist order. The children, the youth and the older people are exceptionally enthusiastic about their work, the physical state of the collective and the general welfare of all the people. To a visitor, the enthusiasm for constructive production, technic of work, revolutionary zeal, hospitality and deep love of the world's struggling humanity is highly infectious. The great people of Ta Jai are worthy examples for the nation and the world and their spirit is symbolic of the spirit that will lead the new China to unequalled heights.

Those who hope for the restoration of capitalism in China are out of tune with reality. Those who think aggression against China might have even a slight chance of success may as well be hoping for the ocean to cease its roar. Aside from carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, increasing production, studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung and planning for an even more successful future, the broad masses of Shansi are maintaining a high militia preparedness. They showed great capability in being ready and able to defend the gains of their socialist revolution and to give the necessary support to the struggling nations and oppressed peoples of the world. Let no one make a mistake about the Chinese people, they are not what the western press would have the world to believe. Miracles are being performed here and they cannot be negated by a campaign of distortion

unleashed by reactionaries who vainly dream of reversing the hands of time.

FEAR NOT TO BE CALLED RACIST

As a race of oppressed and victimized people, we have been called almost every derogatory name conceivable by the racist white despoilers of Black humanity. In most cases throughout our tragic and pitiful history of acquiescence to the white man's slavery and tyranny we have suffered the abuse of repulsive labelling and name calling in muted indignation. There was no overt protest or discernible display of resentment. We dared not. Some common names our white oppressors have labelled us with derived from the lower case of the animal world. Among other things too numerous to mention we have been called: nigger, shine, coon, burrhead, pickaninny, mammy, anty, black apes, savage Ethiopians, monkies, negroes, etc., etc.

By now, we should have become conditioned to the white oppressor's affinity for trying to demoralize and castrate us through name calling and label mongering. By now, nothing the white man can call us should in the slightest way register any emotional effect. Racist Charlie, after all he has done to us, has once again started resorting to the old trick of appropriating names and labels to our people which more approximately describe the white man in America. Yes, again they are trying to saddle us with their own ignoble and inhuman legacy. They have started a universal campaign to brand us, the victims of the world's most vicious racism, as racists. They want to cover their guilt and to propagate their cunning scheme of world domination by projecting their sins and faults onto helpless scapegoats.

Our people who are vigorously resisting racism in the world are being branded and called racists. We are being called racists because we refuse to accept dictation from slave masters and perpetrators of white supremacy. This is a clever trick to obscure the fact of who is the real racist and who is really the victim of racism. Only white supremacists, Uncle Tom running dogs or stupid fools can ever logically believe that the burden of American racism rests on the shoulders of the racially dehumanized Black man. Let us not be disturbed by this new spate of name calling engaged in by the white man and his Tombo flunkies. They are using racist designations to shame the Black man out of defending and uniting with his own kind. They are fostering vicious white nationalism under the cunning disguise of internationalism and brotherhood while vehemently condemning Black Nationalism as a dreaded plague threatening the white man's concept of a white supremacy dominated utopia. Let us not be deterred from our goals and objectives by mere words. Let us not be emotionally upset and side-tracked because racists call and succeed in getting others to call us what they are. We have been called almost every derogative name under the sun, now we are being called racists. If it is being racist to oppose white supremacy tyranny, world domination, imperialist deception, cultural aggression and the attempt at enslavement and the neo-colonialization of the non-white world, then let us wear our new label with the greatest of pride. For we have never before had cause to be proud of accepting any of the sinister labels the oppressor branded

AN APPEAL: SUPPORT FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Fascist forces in the USA are now endeavoring to create a national state of hysteria. Consequently, many Afro-American militants who refuse to sell out and who cannot be intimidated are being framed and imprisoned. A vicious campaign is being waged to destroy effective and potential ghetto leaders. Chief among these are: Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Rap Brown, Leroi Jones and Martin Sostre. Many others are framed in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, in the South and on the West Coast. As a matter of collective security all anti-fascist forces and partisans of justice must stir themselves and give financial and active support to these victims of fascist kangarooism and tyranny. Oppose the court mob with massive resistance!

us with. Any American Black man free of "racism", in the racist white man's concept, is truly a nigger ape dedicated to the glorification of the American white man's brutal continued subjugation of Black America.

Fear not to be called racist, but rather fear being praised and loved by the enemy, because this is a sure indication of moral degeneracy.

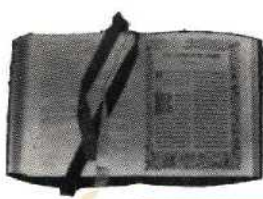
NOTICE: The U.S. Post Office Department has taken it upon itself to withhold some bundles of CRUSADERS mailed to friends in the USA. Some persons who have protested and requested delivery have been told that they must be registered as an agent of a foreign government in order to legally receive multiple copies to pass along. This is merely a stall and a lie. THE CRUSADER is not a publication of a foreign government. It is exactly what it says it is: *A personal journal*. It originated as an organ of the NAACP Branch in Monroe, North Carolina, USA 9 years ago. Any such nonsense should be protested to: Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D.C.

Also, Mr. Melvin L. Wulf, Legal Director, ACLU, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010, should be notified of the fascist piracy being practiced by U.S. Government sponsored looters and terrorists seeking to destroy the orderly function of free speech and press.

HELP to tell it like it is. Shake the man up. Wake the brothers up. Be a CRUSADER pusher. Order copies to put on the scene and to spread along. Send copies to the brothers all messed up in the man's armed services. The call is out, let the brothers come through. **KEEP ON PUSHIN'**

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China

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I am the Light of the World: He that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of Life.

John 8:12

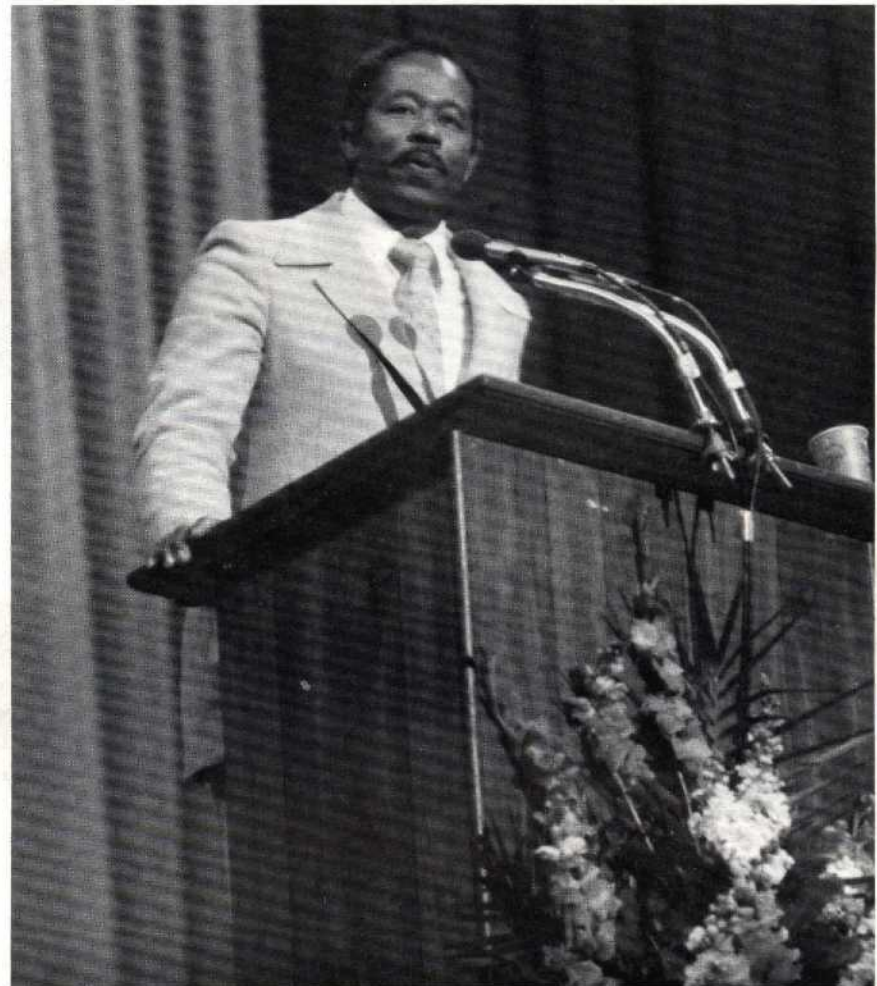
Ye are the light of the World. A City that is set on a Hill cannot be hid.

Sr. Matthew 5:14

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor: he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.

To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

Luke 4:18-19



GREETINGS in the name of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I can never thank the Lord enough for bringing me out of darkness into the light of Holy Truth.

Since being released on bail from the Alameda County Jail on Friday, 13 August 1976, I have been caught up in a whirlwind of activity. I have lived out of my suitcase. Holiday Inns became my familiar stomping ground. Certain airports have become as common to me as the local bus stop is to commuters. There were days it seemed I spent more time in the air than on the ground.

I have spoken at approximately thirty (30) colleges and universities and given my testimony in approximately twenty (20) churches. I have also appeared on the best of both

secular and religious television programs. On the religious side, Rev. Jerry Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour, Jim Baker's PTL Club, Pat Robertson's 700 Club, and Dr. Robert Schuller's Hour of Power. Then, on the secular side, Meet the Press, Good Morning America, Tom Snyder's Tomorrow, and William Buckley's Firing Line, among others.

Throughout all this activity, I have encountered a tremendously wide variety of people. From the Christian community has come an outpouring of warmth and love in

(continued on page 3)

NEWSLETTER
OF THE
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER CRUSADES
BOX U
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305
TELEPHONE: (415) 493-1702



Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver

Good News From The Supreme Court

After the vision to surrender came to Eldridge Cleaver while exiled in France, doors have opened for him, one after the other; crooked paths have been made straight, and the regenerative power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has been made manifest in his life.

The scheduled May 9 trial date has been stayed by the California Supreme Court. The stay resulted from the Supreme Court's reversal of a decision by Alameda County Superior Court Judge Alan Lindsay. Judge Lindsay refused to allow Eldridge's attorneys access to relevant records from the FBI, the Oakland Police, State Prison officials, and the office of the Attorney General of the State of California. The California Supreme Court has ordered this motion to be heard in the Court of Appeals, and until the issue of the records has been decided, the trial cannot proceed. The Supreme Court has shown an unprecedented interest in the activities of government agencies towards Eldridge Cleaver during the era of the '60's when so many political trials and confrontations took place.

The charges against Eldridge Cleaver are six counts of assault stemming from a clash between the Oakland Police and the Black Panthers on April 6, 1968, in the wake of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. But since the publication last year of the findings of Senator Church's Committee on In-



With Senator Frank Church, who headed Senate Committee that investigated FBI and CIA. Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. 3/25/77.

telligence investigations, some of the extra-legal, clandestine activities of government agencies calculated to provoke disturbances in which black militants would be killed or injured, have been documented and exposed to the public. Hence, the climate in which Eldridge Cleaver is being tried is hardly the same as in 1968, for dark police and FBI secrets are now public information.

Brief Historical Review of Case

Although aware of coordinated activities against him back in 1968, Eldridge Cleaver was hardly able to stop them or receive an unbiased hearing. So, in order to save his own life, he fled the country following a 1968 Appellate Court order to return to prison as a parole violator. In effect, he was being sentenced to prison *before* his trial, before any determination of his guilt or innocence in a court of law. And when Eldridge Cleaver returned to the United States and surrendered to U.S. authorities on November 18, 1975, it was on the same charges of parole violation that he was jailed.

But following a hearing before Judge Avakian in Oakland, in which Quentin Kopp represented Eldridge Cleaver on a petition for his release from jail on the grounds that continued incarceration on charges of parole violation was discriminatory and cruel, and that the Adult Authority was deliberately

refusing to grant Eldridge Cleaver the benefit of current legislation, the California Adult Authority was ordered to review his sentence and explain why Cleaver was still in jail without the ability to make bail. In August 1976, the Adult Authority decided to grant Eldridge Cleaver a discharge from parole! Eldridge Cleaver's eight year battle for freedom from imprisonment before trial was finally won! He was, once again, eligible for bail. To have the Adult Authority finally grant him a discharge from parole was quite a hard won victory! Eldridge had resolved to not allow the court proceedings to turn into a political circus, but the low key proceeding hardly diminished the importance of the justice finally received.

Free On Bail

Once free from jail, Eldridge was finally able to obtain competent and supportive legal counsel to represent him. (Choosing an attorney and discussing his case in the confines of the Oakland county jail was impossible.) Christian brothers came forward and organized a Legal Defense Fund, and the donations of thousands and thousands of Christian people across the country have made it possible to pay the high cost of expert legal defense that is required by this case.

Eldridge's attorneys, John Keker and Marcus Topel of San Francisco, predict the trial may start in September, 1977, or later.

With no final resolution of the case in sight, it is impossible to await the final outcome of the trial before Eldridge Cleaver initiates plans for his ministry.

This summer will see the beginning of the *Eldridge Cleaver Crusades*. For this effort, we ask the support and prayers of all the marvelous brothers and sisters who have sustained us through this terrible period of waiting and planning to go to trial. Again, we want to express our deepest appreciation for your help. Thank you.

Kathleen Cleaver



Paradise Baptist Church, San Francisco. 5/15/77.

(continued from page 1)

Christ, a genuine acceptance and forgiveness, a display of Christian charity and compassion that has all but left me speechless!

I am deeply impressed by the many people I have met throughout the land who were, like me, members of the radical, Black, and anti-war movements of the '60's, but who have now come to Christ. They all testify to deep spiritual rebirth, and it is a blessing to see the love and happiness on their faces. I shall always remember the Chinese family at a rally in San Francisco's Cow Palace. That family must be a jewel in God's eye! After the rally was over, this family came forward to shake hands. A young daughter of the family said, "Brother Eldridge, we were together in the Movement, and I am so happy that we are now together in the Lord . . ." Her voice trailed off as she was swept by emotion. We all nearly cried tears of joy.



Rev. Walter Hawkins and Eldridge at Operation Live, Mt. Hermon retreat. 5/21/77.



Eldridge Cleaver Meets the Press. 8/29/76.



Eldridge and Charles Colson at Cow Palace, San Francisco. 5/6/77.

There is a generation in the world whose souls are weary, just as mine was. These are unchurched people. Yet our souls can find rest and proper repose only in the House of the Lord. I believe that the Lord is leading me to play a role helping to bring some of these people to Him. The Lord has planted a desire to serve Him deep in my heart. I have dedicated myself to His service.

Functioning as part of the Christian community has quickly taught me the necessity of establishing organizational machinery to carry out those things which the Lord

wants me to do. I cannot do what He wants me to do through the machinery of someone else's ministry. For that reason, I have incorporated an organization called *Eldridge Cleaver Crusades*. Because we are involved in spiritual warfare between God and the Devil, "*Crusades*" captures the urgency which I feel. I seem to hear the Lord saying to me, "Against these evils, Thou shalt crusade . . ."

With each passing day it has become clearer and clearer that God has cut out my work for me. I am learning to listen for and hear His

voice, to follow His lead. I want to share with others the Good News of Christ that has come into my life. I want to help redeem others who are lost as I was, who do not know Jesus Christ, but whom, I know, are thirsting after Him.

Jesus Christ said of Himself:

*"I am the Light of the World,
He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness,
but shall have the light of life."*

John 8:12

Of us, Jesus said:

*"Ye are the Light of the world,
A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid . . ."*

Matthew 5:14

My response is expressed in the formulation which Jesus used to defend Himself:

*"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me
to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal
the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives,
and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are
bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."*

Luke 4:18,19

Those are the Three Pillars of my ministry. When we set forth our purpose in the Articles of Incorporation, the Three Pillars were the guiding light. We expressed it thusly:

The specific and primary purpose for which this corporation is formed are to serve the physical, social, and spiritual needs of the community through counseling, visitation, preaching, and other means of sharing the teachings and spirit of Christianity and of Jesus Christ; to lend assistance, support, and guidance to persons confined in prison or on parole or probation or formerly so confined or in such status; to assist young persons to develop their abilities and potential and become useful and productive citizens who will

work both to better themselves and to assist others in improving the physical, social and spiritual well being of all persons; to undertake projects intended to reduce the incidence of violence of all types in the community and the world generally; to assist elderly persons to cope with the many problems which they confront in our society; to pursue the above purposes by a variety of means including, without limitation, appearances on television, radio, and through other media; and to receive, hold, invest, distribute or apply exclusively in order to further the purposes of this corporation voluntary contributions from public and private organizations and from individuals.



Paradise Baptist Church. 5/15/77.



At Paradise Baptist Church. 5/15/77.



Mothers' Day, San Francisco Christian Center. Left to right: Rev. Green, Rev. Glandion Carney.

Left: Church of Nazarene, Easter Sunday, Portland, Oregon, 4/10/77.



Above: Eldridge Cleaver's mother went to church with her son for the first time in 30 years on Mothers' Day, San Francisco Christian Center. 5/8/77.

Left: Mothers' Day, San Francisco Christian Center. Left to right: Eldridge, Rev. Glandion Carney, Rev. William B. Green. 5/8/77.



Delivering Easter message at Sunrise Service, Colliseum, Portland, Oregon, 4/10/77.



Seattle Pacific College Fellows Banquet, Seattle, Washington. 4/29/77.



Impact '77

From Vanderbilt University Speech on America in It's Third Century

The Achilles Heel of The Stumbling Red Monster

... I want to focus briefly on one important decision that was taken in the Soviet Union which has influenced the whole subsequent history of the path of socialism and communism in the world and created the context for the situation that we are now caught up in. After the Czar was overthrown in the Soviet Union, the Russian people created a democratic republic. Their parliament, their counter-part to our Congress, was called the Duma. They had their representatives and a president. They embarked upon the development of a democratic form of government. But because of all the unrest and upheavels, the instability of a weak government that had gotten rid of the Czar, the Bolshevik party was able to take advantage of the situation and seize the power.

When Lenin and the Bolshevik



Left to right: Congressman Crane; Eldridge; former Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld; Governor of Tennessee, Ray Blanton. Vanderbilt University Impact Symposium. 3/25-26/77.

party found themselves with the power in their hands, they made the decision — and this is crucial for all the subsequent history of the world — to abolish the Duma and to institute the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not through the Duma itself, but by reverting to the totalitarian machinery of the Czar. A few names were changed, but the Bolsheviks used the same prisons and in many cases the very same personnel who had manned the machinery under the Czar. They took the rhetoric and the analysis and the philosophy that underlies the whole theory of the

dictatorship of the proletariat and applied them to the situation. They sanctified this dictatorial machinery of the Czar and called it the dictatorship of the proletariat. Following that, the other socialist and communist parties of the world adopted the Russian model as the orthodox form. We have seen since then the implantation of this model in all of the socialist and communist countries around the world that have come to power under the influence of the Soviet Union...



From University of South Florida Speech on Censorship

... I have a son and a daughter, and I am very concerned about what happens to them and what they are taught. I don't want my children corrupted by bearded teachers who don't agree with me. Maybe I don't have the right to tell other people what their children should read. But I certainly feel some right to have some assurance that my children aren't just going to be taught things to make them do things I think they shouldn't do — at least not now. Maybe later, when they've reached some age of responsibility. I think this is the overriding goal and attitude of parents who have a legitimate concern. I think they have every right to be concerned. I think those whom we entrust with the educational apparatus and paraphernalia are out of line if they become too arrogant and contemptuous of the legitimate concerns of the parents...



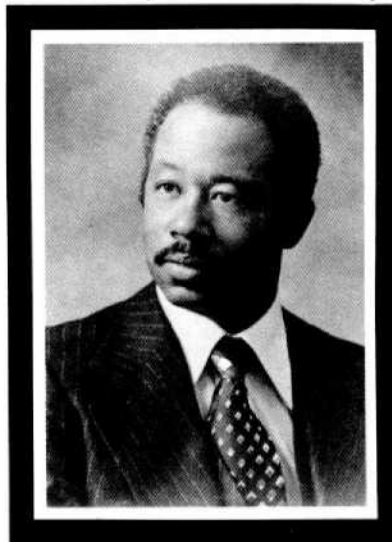
Above left: Eldridge Cleaver, FELLOWS Banquet speaker, and George Guy, Board of FELLOWS Chairman. April 1977.

Left: Sharing with Hudson Armerding, president of Wheaton (Illinois) College and students. 1/5/77.

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FORMER BLACK PANTHER MINISTER OF DEFENSE

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