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MY BAG'S UP TIGHT, COOL IT !

THE DEPRIVED: REBELLION IN THE STREETS

That nation which insists on a society of law and order without giving prior attention to justice arbitrarily demands submission to tyranny. Such a government, consequently, must be prepared to enforce its demands with a precipitous brute force that ultimately decays and erodes the very pillars on which its security rests. The more coercion and repressive force a government is inclined to unjustly use against a sector of its population the wider the area of conflict will become, until finally it unwittingly succeeds in isolating

itself from the very people it purports to lead. A government callous enough to employ repressive force and violence as a substitute for the solution of long-standing social ills paves the road to its own extinction.

Modern man has evolved to a new state of social consciousness and spiritual being. The extensiveness of mass communications and the subsequent shrinkage of the size of the world, relative to perception and dialogue, has resulted in a greater state of awareness on the part of the masses. Present-day man is concerned with controlling the political and social factors that determine his state of being. The masses of today's society are no longer content to leave their fate to mystical providence or to despotic politicians. A great technological revolution has transformed the mental and physical state of the world's population. The various social and political structures of society have become less stable today than at any previous time in the history of the world. The current social and political transition is a product of, and reaction to, the technical revolution. Certain dislocations of former factors of stabilization militate on behalf of radical change. The intransigent power structure is resorting to devious means of deception or outright naked violence in trying to preserve the salient features of the status quo. It is initiating mere stopgap reforms in a desperate effort to stave off the radical changes necessary for the harmonious stabilization of a transformed society being subjected to the natural and technical laws of evolution.

The power structure is playing a counterrevolutionary role that places it in opposition to universal progress. Such a reactionary position is engendering a protracted conflict that can only be resolved through decisive force and violence. As the profundity of the technical revolution deepens, so does the friction between the establishment of deprivers and the masses of deprived. Human emotions relative to wholesome and constructive attributes necessary for harmonious collective living are smothered and frustrated. Under these conditions the deprivers deny the deprived normal means of desirable development, and violence becomes the only channel open to expression and meaningful protest. Arbitrary rule in the oppressive and authoritarian society is following a collision course with many sectors of society. The deprived classes today are being extended far beyond the miserable sector of the economically destitute semi-slave labor. It extends even further than the racially deprived. Because of the great gap between technical advances and social stagnation, the so-called modern world is becoming more and more ridden with intellectual, cultural, spiritual and humanistic deprivation. Consequently, the violent type of reaction that was once almost exclusively peculiar to the economically, politically and racially deprived is now being manifested by other sectors of the population that are becoming acutely aware of the widening blight of social deprivation.

Skillful manipulation of the mass media, the educational system, selective bribery, conditioning and violent intimidation once served as powerful preservatives of the status quo. Aside from the powerful propellents inherent in the technical transition, a state of over-conditioning is militating against the establishment. Great sectors of the population have reached the saturation point of artificial motivation and are no longer sensitive to the normal doses

of propaganda stimulation. The youth and intellectuals are forming a vanguard of a restive society. They tire of the old worn clichés and dull stimulants. They are awakening to the power structure's perennial hoax and are turning to resistance and rebellion. The process of radicalization is irreversible. Its logical and ultimate course is universal upheaval staged by a loose coalition of the world's deprived.

A loosely knit coalition of the universally deprived will gradually emerge to form an irrepressible force that will completely alter world society to conform to the new demands of a less accommodating populace. Modern communications are spreading ideas and experiences from one part of the world to the other. The power of suggestion is playing a dramatic role in the triggering of widespread rebellious reaction to long-standing social injustices. Social struggles and forces are interacting on each other. Successful tactics of rebellion from one sector are being transferred to another as a wealth of revolutionary experience accumulates. The Afro-American, as the most oppressed segment of domestic Americanism, constitutes a vanguard revolutionary force that is pioneering in a new phase of protest, urban warfare and street combat.

Certain conditions of deprivation and repression plaguing Black Americans have their counterparts in other capitalist societies. As a result, more and more struggles abroad are taking on some of the similarities of the one in racist America, and vice versa. Students, humanitarians, intellectuals, minorities and religious groupings in many regions of the world constitute what could readily be classified as the deprived "nigger" element. This social phenomenon creates a basis for a universal fellowship of the rebellious deprived. Certain aspects of the relativity of authoritarian deprivation gives the chief victim of white supremacy Americanism common cause with the racially, economically, intellectually, spiritually and culturally deprived of the entire world. Though the Afro-American must be prepared to bear the burden of his own liberation, sight should not be lost of the fact that all revolutionary struggles of the deprived complement each other. The Afro-American in his revolutionary outlook must avoid the splittist attitude and activity of those seeking to create superficial divisions, sectarian barriers and conditions that will sabotage essential and effective unity, locally and universally.

The tyranny of deprivation is the motive force behind rebellion. The tyrant will employ any cruel and cunning means to safeguard the status quo of his tyranny, while the enlightened oppressed will resort to any means necessary to overturn tyranny. The conflict of interest is becoming ever sharper. The universal forces of the deprivors and the deprived are moving swiftly towards an impending contest of survival. The oppressed and dehumanized Afro-American must animate himself with the knowledge that the present conflict, as far as he is concerned, is one of survival and that this makes him a sub-zero factor on the scale of class graduations relative to white nationalism and the spoils of monopoly capital. Thus, the Afro-American along with other sectors of the deprived must adjust to the fact that there may be divergent reasons, needs and degrees of response necessary in combatting a common enemy. There must be toleration of divergence of opinion and analysis of specific situa-

tions. There are forces on both the extreme right and "left" that constitute a threat to the unity and concerted action of the universally deprived.

At this stage of history, the rebel forces are a minority in the world despite the fact that the deprived constitute an overwhelming majority of the population. Most of all the establishment fears the spread of rebellion to an ever widening circle of the deprived. It, too, is involved in a survival situation. Subsequently, it will go to any extent in a desperate effort to prolong its survival. It will use any ploy that serves its interests. It will feign humanitarianism. It will feign a belief in the just enforcement of law and order and in the rights of man. Psychological warfare is a highly effective element in the enemy's scheme of survival. Confusion, deception, intimidation and demoralization fostered by the deprivers are being used as highly effective instruments of counterrevolution. Agents provocateurs, who call themselves "nationalists", "revolutionists" or "communists", are busy making war on the deprived rather than on the deprivers. The oppressed Afro-American is already a minority in racist America and yet some super duper "revolutionaries" and Uncle Tom "communists" disseminating the thought of the C.I.A. are moving might and main to induce further division by focusing unwarranted attention on an exaggerated class structure, thereby diverting fire away from the racist power structure. There are no black imperialists or monopoly capitalists in America. Most certainly, there are negro Americans who have such mentalities and are the running dogs of such exploiters, but they are deprived of the means to be by a discriminatory power elite. Contrary to the rantings of the criminal distortionists, who call themselves "revolutionary communists", the Black bourgeoisie is not the number one enemy and oppressor of the oppressed peoples of the world. Only a sham C.I.A. directed Marxist-Leninist could deduce such sinister dogma from a class analysis based on the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is no mere accident that all of the monopoly capitalists and imperialists in racist America are white. It is no mere accident that reactionary blacks comprise only a running-dog class. While we should seriously concern ourselves with the activities of black Judases, any deep fear of black imperialists and monopoly capitalists is but a figment unduly planted in the minds of dupes too naive to perceive the true facts of life.

The fact is that the white power structure maintains a strict monopoly on the reigns of monopoly capital. It is the height of folly for anyone to think that the white nationalist power structure will grant its despised and deprived victims parity in its exclusive club of monopoly. With this undisputable truism looming before us, how can any but an infantile leftist, an agent provocateur or a dupe of such individuals equate an imaginary black monopoly capitalist or imperialist with an in-the-flesh white one? This type of fallacious agitation serves only to undermine the Black liberation struggle. It serves to prevent the formation of a badly needed broad united front to fight the forces of racism and imperialism. Those given to this type of reasoning are now in the vanguard of the power structure's frantic assault on revolutionary black nationalism. After many generations of submissiveness and acquiescence on the part

"In a struggle that is national in character, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle."

Mao Tse-tung

of our people under the yoke of brutal racial tyranny, revolutionary black nationalism is the life-giving spirit that is providing our people with the backbone to violently resist oppression; and yet, the one unifying force that propels us in quest of our human dignity is being usurped and distorted by rightist agents and spitefully slandered by phoney and infantile Marxists. This is no time for superficial divisions among us. The cause of our survival dictates that we unite all of our people and seek aid from wherever we can get it. Those who ostensibly wrap themselves in the raiment of self-righteous political sages and arrogantly proclaim themselves the true believers and saints of purity are the antithesis of social progress and transformation. There are many shades in the spectrum of color, to limit one's scope of perception simply to black and white is to become a victim of stupidity. We must also guard against being erroneously swayed by the fabian histrionics of put-up black Marxists whose political line just so happens to coincide with the politics of the C.I.A.

Society is in transition. Rebellion is a natural process resulting from technological transmutation. No half-hearted measures or political subterfuge can ameliorate the growing intensity of the present conflict. There can be no social stability in the world until social systems have been reconstituted to harmonize with man's new and ever evolving scientific state of being. The system of brutal monopoly capitalist exploitation, cruel racism and ruthless imperialism is obsolete. A perpetual spiral of higher prices and wages is no solution to the problems of the deprived. Intellectual "freedom" geared to the needs of the obsolete system is no solution to the problems of the deprived. Genocidal assimilation, illusory integration and farcical black capitalism are merely misappropriated gestures of delusion that are bound to accelerate the pace of alienation and frustration.

BLACK CAPITALISM: In racist America, slaves, peons and the disinherited and cruelly deprived are being tempted with a new myth called black capitalism. This is but another cycle of petty business based on shoestring operations. Some of the most lucrative profits in the capitalist world are derived from weapons and munitions manufacture. Is the establishment going to commission black capitalism to manufacture modern horror weapons of destruction and war? This new myth has been designed to create superficial class divisions and ultimately to deepen the inferiority complexes

that are beginning to dangerously wear thin in Black folks. Black quasi-capitalism is nothing more than pocket coins or pin money tossed contemptuously to the more sophisticated version of the white man's idea of Little Black Sambo to have him scramble and dance a jig while pandering his self-respect to the white man's ego. Why subsidized black capitalism? Why capitalism controlled and limited by the big white fathers of the power structure? The cry "black capitalism" can be likened to the cry "law and order," both are far removed and divorced from the virtuous spirit of real justice. Economists have been presenting statistics for years to elucidate the fact that the era of the family enterprise is passé. Voluminous data proves that small businesses are either being frozen out or gobbled up by giant and newly consolidated enterprises. According to the most reputable of economic reports and findings, failure is the most common lot of the small business venture. At best such a venture is a marginal affair. The concept of black capitalism is tantamount to the urban advance of Afro-American communities across the race line into deserted white areas that are already in a state of deterioration. When the cycle of blight is complete, these slums are exhibited as yet another case to substantiate "negro inferiority." Under the new concept of blacks controlling the communities and businesses where they live the question arises if the American Indian is going to be allowed to control his community and business where he lives also? What about the oil and mineral rights on land assigned to the Indians under treaty?

No person who wishes the Afro-American people well will ever oppose improvement in their living standard. The question here is not whether the Black people are entitled to a better way of life; but whether they will be duped into selling the birthright of the masses for a mess of pottage for a select few of token elites. The salient question is whether once again greedy black chiefs will help lure their people to slavery and genocide for the sake of a few white man's trinkets. Capitalism is the thing that has enslaved and dehumanized our people. It is the cause of our present misery. Our people are not being offered justice, they are being offered a bigger dose of what already ails them.

The establishment full well knows that small time capitalism is doomed. It knows that it is merely offering black serfs another opportunity to help convince themselves and the world that they cannot make it in the white man's "complicated and superior society" even with a "head start". This sudden new fad of so-called black capitalism is an unwitting admission that our people have only participated in the American system as an exploited productive force, completely estranged from the inner circle of empire and power. At this late historical date of American capitalist development, the establishment finds it necessary to introduce a paternalistic imitational petty black capitalism only as a sinister maneuver of deception and yet another cruel hoax of so-called democratic reconstruction. The current vociferous commotion concerning the need for "black capitalism" should be proof enough to convince all thinking individuals that a capitalist class among Black Americans is so microscopic that even the power structure considers it too sterile to exert any influence in the ghetto. With this fact looming crystal clear before us, then why the frantic shrill calls for the Black masses to invoke fratricidal class war in the face of a vicious racist enemy

"The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in their advocating and upholding freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be *no* internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressing nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand, even if the *chance* of secession being possible and 'feasible' before the introduction of socialism be only one in a thousand..."

V. I. Lenin

now preparing pogroms of extermination and genocide? Common sense and the expediency of survival dictate that we mount an all out campaign to mobilize all our people and friends everywhere to form a common front against our oppressors and perennial enemies. We are a people with a common heritage of racial suffering and oppression. We must place stress on those factors that relate to our common destiny. We must emphasize our own likenesses rather than to place false emphasis on dissimilarities magnified by those parrots who ape the white man in trying to explain away the need for intense struggle against racism.

PROGRESSIVE BLACK NATIONALISM: At this historic juncture in our struggle for survival, human rights and self-determination, progressive Black nationalism offers the greatest hope for unity of purpose. Progressive Black nationalism is anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly capitalist and anti-fascist. It stresses deliverance from both the white man's tyranny and his paternalism. It is a powerful cohesive factor that motivates our people in a common cause towards a common goal. Yes, it is essential for us to cooperate with and solicit support from other sectors of the deprived, but to relinquish our right to act in our own best interest of survival and well-being is criminal default on our part. We must collectively be ourselves. We collectively must lead ourselves. We must collectively advance ourselves. We must collectively preserve ourselves and must collectively respect and love ourselves. Without concerted action our cause is lost.

Collective self-determination must not be just a deferred thing of the future. Our deprived people must start exercising self-determination now. Now is the time for united action to remove the stigma of social blight from the ghetto. Now is the time to transform life in the ghetto into enclaves of brotherhood, redemptive morality, racial pride, law and order with justice and a great force for social change within the swiftly deteriorating jungle of America's fascist racism. As sectors of the most severely deprived, it is only natural that the ghettos will become base areas of revolutionary thought and deed. Subsequently, it is imperative that revolutionary youth undergo personal and moral transformation. There is a need for a stringent revolutionary code of moral ethics. Revolutionaries are instruments of righteousness. Violence applied in the pursuit of justice is what distinguishes revolutionary violence from that which is committed by tyrants and villainous thugs. Clean up the ghetto.

Stop fratricidal warfare and conflict. Discourage the agents provocateurs, Judases and criminal elements. Prepare for a struggle of survival.

SEPARATION: An evaluation of our four-hundred years in racist America not only proves that the Black man has been denied participation in capitalist endeavors, but that he has been denied freedom, justice and human dignity. Once this fact is universally realized there can be no honest and logical argument against the separation that comes with self-determination. Relative to our people, we know what America has been, we know what it is and with a little dialectical reasoning we can see what it will be in the future. There is no future for Black people under the present chauvinistic and jingoistic government in tyrannical America. America has doomed herself by trying to serve as a brake on the natural process of social evolution. Nations like men are subject to the laws of decay and decline. America is no exception. The time-honored advice of the wisest of sages is that those who would survive the judgment against the iniquitous must depart from the ways and company thereof. Four hundred years of brutal oppression at the hands of white savages in America should offer ample evidence that these racist beasts of this era are incapable of rendering justice on behalf of Black people. Only a fool would want to integrate with a savage. White America has already emasculated and dehumanized a great portion of Black America. The continuation of such an incongruous relationship can only result in complete corruption, dehumanization and ultimate extermination of the Afro-American.

While some individuals and groups expend a lot of time and energy trying to distort, discredit and downgrade the concept of the Republic of New Africa, the power structure is busy constructing concentration camps and trying to ascertain the most convenient and economical means of ridding the nation of the "nigra peril". A close analysis of the current situation will reveal certain maneuvers on the part of the power structure to counteract the growing interest in the idea of the Republic of New Africa. There is also feverish activity afoot to undermine the program of the Nation of Islam. Certain separatist projects are being promoted and funded or offered funds in a ploy to replace grass roots movements with establishment controlled operations. This is a very crucial time when our people must guard against enemy inspired scrambles, violent skirmishes, power and leadership struggles, jealousy and all manner of disgraceful and detrimental conduct precipitated in pursuit of establishment funds. The cause of our survival must become a collective endeavor that overrides philosophy, personality, sectarianism and personal advancement. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam have been preaching self-determination and self-reliance for a generation. How many foundation and government funds have been appropriated to subsidize their program? Wake up brothers, wake up! The man knows who serves his cause best and there is an irreconcilable conflict of interest between the cause of the depriver and the deprived. We need no more definite proof of the correctness of our position than the fact that the oppressor has already mounted a campaign of subversion. The new rash of machinations should be our cue to step up our agitation for the Republic of New Africa. A more

vigorous agitational campaign must be staged among our people. This campaign should not prove to be a source of conflict between ourselves and the Muslims or other self-determination groups, but should serve to bring us closer together in our common cause of national salvation. Our cruel oppressors and their Judas running dogs are our primary enemies and the immediate deservers of our rancor and enmity.

Our struggle for self-determination and nationhood does not mean that we relinquish our struggle for human rights in the slave territory of racist America. We have no intention of abdicating our demands for legal justice in the kangaroo courts of lawless America, even though our chance of success may be as slim as one in a million. This type of struggle has its advantages despite the absence of justice. The Republic of New Africa must be a long-range project while currently we must do everything possible to lighten the burden of our oppressed people who daily face the scourge of savage racism. While the hypocritical power structure and racist savages in general are ranting and prating about "law and order in the streets", aside from a campaign of law and order with justice, Black people should press a vigorous and relentless drive for the equitable application of law and a democratic process of order in racist America's kangaroo courts. The solution to police brutality rests with the oppressed's willing capacity to meet violence with violence. A national concerted effort should be made to press for the release of all political prisoners. Contrary to American propaganda and what the man says, the number of political prisoners in the citadel of the "free world" is steadily on the increase. Our people must be brought to realize that every Black person in America is a potential victim of police mob violence, legal lynching, mob lynching or gangsterism. Every Black person is a target of a campaign subtle in appearance but as cruel and vicious in its genocidal intent as the one that decimated the American Indian.

THE WHITE CONCEPT OF CULTURE: In racist America, persons of African, Indian and Spanish origin are also victims of cultural tyranny. Every concept of culture in the white world is based on the myth of the white man's divine mandate to "govern and civilize" the "inferior" peoples of the world. From the very beginning, America was founded on the concept of the superiority of the white man's Christian culture of brutality, plunder, iron and blood. The Anglo-Saxon mores of "staid old England" became the guidelines in the formation of modern Americanism. Is it no wonder that the coloreds and minorities of England suffer similar humiliation and dehumanization to that of Black Americans? The question of culture is also a question of survival and a question of the freedom to collectively identify.

The rebellion of black students against the chauvinistic American educational system is part and parcel of the Afro-American's struggle for survival. The American educational system has been fashioned to glorify Americanism and to perpetuate the status quo of the American way of life. It manifests the same effect on the Afro-American as the colonial and missionary educational systems on the so-called backward native. It strives to justify and to institutionalize the cruel consequences of genocide, slavery, rape, plunder and imperialism. Its objective is not to instill allegi-

ance to truth and justice and the cause of enslaved humanity, but to create a petty elite class of loyal running dogs who will respond more like machines than *Homo sapiens*. Beyond the shadow of a doubt the American educational system consists of a series of sectarian rituals designed to condition Blacks to act in accordance with the dictates and wishes of the reigning hierarchy. It has nothing to do with the stimulation of free and creative thought.

BLACK STUDIES: The black and white students are right to rebel against the rigidly sterile and reactionary system of ante-bellum brainwash. The students should be supported as pioneers who dare to go in quest of new and broader frontiers, however, they should exercise care in making sure that they not allow their rebellion to degenerate to a state of pointless anarchy wherein rebellion becomes a fad of mischievous hell raising. Black studies yes, but what black studies? Some black studies can be just as irrelevant as white ones. Black studies are no improvement over white studies when racist slanderers of the race are allowed to select new material that will have the same effect and serve the same purpose as the old. It must be borne in mind that a great portion of material produced by black intellectuals under the aegis of the white power structure is anti-black and pro-white. White publishers are the most forceful advocates of Americanism. With but a few exceptions they have seen to it that black works of art and literature comply with the white concept of the "nigra's place in American life." The white man's power to publish or not to publish has deprived the black artist of the right to reflect black truth as it relates to savage America. Because of the racist white man's life and death control over the black man's art, it has become a vehicle of accommodation, steeped in racist clichés that surreptitiously debase our people and serve the cause of white supremacy.

Too often, as the price of publication, the racist power structure has required the black artist to reduce himself and the entire race to a state of immoral clowns and idiots. The cunning racist white man, in a subtle effort to put the black man down through his own works, requires the "award winning" Afro-American novel, auto-biography, cinema or theatrical production to be self-deriding exercises in negro crime, vulgarity, prostitution, dope addiction, homo-sexuality, incest, self-hate and psychopathic masochism. A close examination of much of this work will reveal a thinly veiled attack on the integrity and intelligence of the race. It is not protest but the condemnation of black by black. The most tragic aspect of this whole affair is the fact that nigra intellectuals are inclined to judge the merit of their own art and literature on the basis of the white man's reviews, publicity or hypocritical glorification. If black art is going to disembowel the race before the entire world, what greater instrument of justification does the enemy oppressor need to convince the world that he is truly the Christian benefactor and civilizer of the "savage African?" Why should the racist devil object to a transfer of the means of black degradation to a different but more effective crew of white supremacy advocates? The whole mass media of racist America is dead-set against black people. It is not sincerely endeavoring to dignify "negro" life in white America, but is merely shifting tactics to correspond to the new situation and attitudes that have started reacting negatively to over-conditioning. The image of the pious little Sambo, submissive

God-fearing Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus nigra is being changed to that of the vulgar, tough talking, welfare-made and white subsidized nigger, who is even of less value to white civilization than his hat in hand predecessor.

It is quite puzzling how militants, fired with a new spirit of black pride, seem unable to detect the cruel hoax being perpetrated on them by racist publishers who sponsor black studies material that reinforces the derogatory white myth about Black America rather than disprove it. Subconsciously, such works of degradation can only have a negative impact on honest effort to remove the stigma of four hundred years of brutal racism. Black studies yes, but they should be inspiring and uplifting. Such studies should encourage wholesome family ties, morality, dignity, courage, devotion to freedom and high ideals. They should serve to raise the intellectual level of all who participate and should eulogize the good attributes of our people rather than serve as a surreptitious method of propagating intellectualized pornography. It is a first magnitude shame that at this late date of our poignant and turbulent sojourn in oppressive America even some black nationalists still permit white racists to define what constitutes black history, black leadership, black morality, classical black literature, art, music, politics, aspirations, alienation and black capitalism. Have we not had enough of the white man's version of white studies? Why accept his version of black studies?

SHAM INTEGRATION: Not only should our people be on guard against a racist hoax perpetrated through a facade of so-called black studies, but we must seriously examine rush proposals of school integration that require the complete abolition of school facilities in the black community. The school should be a community institution that reflects local tradition and culture. Our people should be extremely suspicious when perennial segregationists become overnight champions of an integrated school system administered by whites only. White nationalists are evolving a new plan to further socially cripple the deprived youth of the ghetto. Presently, this is a small town scheme that applies primarily to the South. Out of pure spite and vindictiveness, provincial white racists, under orders from the establishment to integrate school systems, are reacting angrily by assuming the role of liquidationists as far as black schools are concerned. The pressure of this situation is becoming a great source of frustration for many locally victimized black youth. It is increasing the number of dropouts as it exacerbates deep-seated inferiority complexes induced by an insensate white nationalist society hell-bent on denying Afro-Americans the medium to enter the mainstream of American society. Now that there is a growing spirit of Black Nationalism and a growing demand for self-determination, coupled with unveiled coercion, the phasing out of black schools and the shift to total and arbitrary integration is more punitive and spiteful than progressive. As the black school in the South is being slyly phased out, so is the black teacher. The hardest hit victim of all is the black student. He will be forced to either drop out, make war on the system or submit to assimilation and become a lost soul in the purgatory of social being.

BIRTH CONTROL: Despite constant efforts at extermination and genocide, on the part of our great "Christian benefactors" the black

population is increasing faster than any other ethnic group in racist America. As a result of this phenomenon, there is growing interest in a campaign to arouse Afro-Americans to the need of birth control. Yes, Afro-Americans are being sold the idea of birth control while white so-called refugees and immigrants are being welcomed to America with open arms. America claims to have the capacity to feed most of the world and she is still encouraging white immigration. America is pressing for birth control among a people whose women were forcefully used for slave breeding by and for white savages only three to four generations ago. This is another indication of how the black man's fate in the social jungle of racist America rests on the white man's whim and fancy. The man speaks of a welfare burden and a negative factor on the tax system. What a niggardly complaint on the part of a kidnapper who has fashioned his tax system on a slave traffic in human flesh. What a niggardly complaint on the part of one who has picked decaying flesh from the myriad bones of a plundered and raped humanity that he savagely victimized in his Christian endeavor to build an affluent society divorced from what he considered the trivialities of social responsibility.

INTERNATIONALISM: The black rebel in America is a very significant part of the world rebellion. Our people must acquaint themselves more with the specific realities of the world revolution. Conscious and deliberate effort must be made to establish contact with progressive forces abroad. This can be an effective method of counteracting the slanderous propaganda being disseminated throughout the world by the establishment's mass communications. Black militants must create their own propaganda system. It should be geared towards both home and foreign audiences. It should not be narrow in its outlook or sectarian nor should it be vulgar to the point that it will repulse the uncommitted elements seeking enlightenment on current social problems. Afro-Americans should develop relations with their foreign counterparts to the point that there will be mutual assistance lobbying, supportive demonstrations and widespread pressure exerted on the embassies of target governments.

HIGHJACKING: Aircraft highjacking should be discouraged among black militants. Such antics should be looked upon as negative factors in the Black liberation struggle unless activists are forced to flee for their lives or are desperately trying to escape an acute felony frame-up. Black militants should be reminded of the fact that highjacking entails a serious felony that contributes nothing to the liberation struggle. This act is no way to defeat or escape U.S. racism. This type of action neutralizes the militant and completely isolates him from his people and their struggle. The drama of such an escapade soon wears off and the highjacker must occupy himself with the difficult task of adjusting to a new way of life usually fraught with a language barrier. Sooner or later he will have to face up to the fact that only in America is Black nationalism a salient feature of the class revolution. It is quite shocking for most black militants to learn that Americanism, white power and racism have very long arms.

GLOBETROTTING TOMS: More and more "loyal" American negroes are being used in U.S. imperialism's campaign of penetration and domination of Africa. This is a ploy being used to counter-

act adverse publicity emanating from the racist actuality of the hypocritical American way of life. The brutal antics of American racists at home constitute a liability in its policy of penetration abroad. The role of the negro Toms in the U.S. foreign service is two-fold. The black face is expected to blend in with the local shading and to help facilitate U.S. economic penetration. Secondly, the Tomboe is expected to strain relations between the black brothers of America and Africa. He is expected to demonstrate to the African that the Afro-American is more American than he is African and that there is no ethnic basis for empathy, sympathy, identification and unity of purpose. The American Tomboe with his assimilated airs of arrogant Americanism is a sure bet in arousing the envy and latent animosity in the African, who has been transformed into a bourgeois nigra in the western white man's institutions of cultural dehydration, erroneously called schools of higher education. Afro-Americans must make determined and conscious effort to counteract the imperialist white man's propaganda in Africa. Our people must strive for closer relations with the African people and their devoted leaders. We must exert special effort to spread the truth about Americanism as it relates to black people. More of our people must endeavor to visit Africa and to make contact with the youth. We must stir ourselves on behalf of counteracting the man's well-planned and financed effort to alienate our people. While we concentrate great effort on improving our relations with our African brothers we should not neglect other sympathizers and potential allies in other countries. We must strive to offset the racist power structure's distorted image of our people and our predicament in savage America. The establishment is moving might and main to convince the world that Americanism is democratic, civilized and humane and that the oppressive plight of the negro in "free America" must be attributed to his "innate savagery." The tragic fact is that our people leave too much of our case to be explained by the enemy media or Sambo, globetrotting running dogs of the system. We must become more conscious of the relativity of the Black man's problems in America to those of the deprived peoples of the world who are our natural allies. We must give more attention to foreign relations and the winning of friends to our side.

BLACK WORKERS: Most influential trade unions in the USA are through and through white supremacist organizations. They are staunch defenders of the status quo and of universal Americanism. To the Black American, the status quo is a heavy chain that binds him in eternal slavery. All who support the status quo can only be viewed as opponents of progress and social justice for the Afro-American. The major U.S. trade unions constitute another infiltration front of U.S. imperialism. The dictators of America's most important trade unions are part and parcel of the establishment. Whenever long-standing, latent racial conflict erupts in urban communities, the unions almost invariably throw their weight to the side of white racism. There are times when the unions' tongues pretend to plead the cause of victimized blacks, however, their actions almost always prove their hearts to be with white tyranny. The trade union leadership has become so much a part of the establishment that even the white rank and file membership is more and more being forced to dissent in the concept of what is in

the best interest of the working class. It is imperative to the best interest of black workers that they quietly institute organizations that will look out for their best interest. United and well-organized black workers should also play an influential role in the educational, cultural, social and political affairs of the ghetto. Despite all the slogans and deceptive antics about black capitalism and minority enterprise, the racial situation in America is bound to deteriorate to an acute state of hostility, and the Black worker is going to be caught up in an awful bind. Along with other sectors of the black ghetto, Afro-American survival dictates that he organize against the adversities of the immediate future.

INFILTRATE THE MAN'S INSTITUTIONS: Black youth should not commit the catastrophic error of seeing things simply in black and white. That is, of seeing things as all good or all bad. It is erroneous to think that one can isolate oneself completely from the institutions of a social and political system that exercises power over the environment in which he resides. Self-imposed and premature isolation, initiated by the oppressed against the organs of a tyrannical establishment, militates against revolutionary movements dedicated to radical change. It is a grave error for militant and just-minded youth to reject struggle-serving opportunities to join the man's government services, police forces, armed forces, peace corps and vital organs of the power structure. Militants should become acquainted with the methods of the oppressor. Meaningful change can be more thoroughly effectuated by militant pressure from within as well as without. We can obtain invaluable know-how from the oppressor. Struggle is not all violence. Effective struggle requires tactics, plans, analysis and a highly sophisticated application of mental aptness. The forces of oppression and tyranny have perfected a highly articulate system of infiltration for undermining and frustrating the efforts of the oppressed in trying to upset the unjust status quo. To a great extent, the power structure keeps itself informed as to the revolutionary activity of freedom fighters. With the threat of extermination looming menacingly before Black Americans, it is pressingly imperative that our people enter the vital organs of the establishment.

FIGHT KANGAROOISM: Inasmuch as the kangaroo court system constitutes a powerful defense arm of tyranny, extensive and vigorous educational work must be done among our people so that when they serve on jury duty they will not become tools of a legal system dedicated to railroading our people to concentration camps disguised as prisons. The kangaroo court system is being widely used to rid racist America of black militants, non-conformists and effective ghetto leadership. These so-called courts are not protecting the human and civil rights of our people; they are not dispensing even-handed justice, but are long-standing instruments of terror and intimidation. Black Americans must be inspired to display the same determination in safeguarding the human and civil rights of our oppressed people as white racists are to legally lynch us. No matter how much rigmarole is dished out about black capitalism and minority enterprise, the hard cold fact remains that it is as difficult for a Black American militant to receive justice in America's tyrannical courts as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Black people must be brought to see their duty as jurors as an opportunity to right legal wrongs not to per-

petrate shameful obeisance to tyranny and racism. Youth should mount a campaign relative to this social evil that will by far exceed the campaign of voter registration.

NO DOLE OF FREEDOM: Violence and turmoil without strategy and meaningful goals and objectives amount to fruitless effort. The oppressor is organized. He knows what he wants. He has elaborate designs to achieve his objectives. The oppressed who truly endeavor to upset the status quo of the oppressor's tyranny cannot afford to be less organized and resolute in their enterprise of liberty. Freedom is costly. It is not a welfare commodity to be doled out by benevolent tyrants. Freedom giving is hardly an attribute peculiar to tyrants. Justice and liberty must be ferociously wrung from the citadel of oppression. Freedom cannot be realized and maintained without great sacrifice. Concessions freely given can be freely taken away. The Reconstruction Era ushered in a new hope for the so-called emancipated black slaves of America. Infantile black capitalism was encouraged. The power structure promised equality before the law, black suffrage and equitable political participation in American society. The brevity of that new mood of democracy should be a tragic lesson of history. The Reconstruction Era gains were violently washed away in the backlash of white savagery that descended like a catastrophic avalanche on deluded and powerless black waifs. It is criminal naiveté for Black America to expect justice and humanity from a white racist America that respects the rights of black people less than it does the rights of common street dogs. It is criminal betrayal of our oppressed people for so-called responsible leaders to advocate allegiance to a barbaric system that owes its very existence and affluence to the robbery, enslavement and extermination of the American Indian, the Mexican, the African and that is currently waging a genocidal war against the heroic people of Vietnam, while daily starving, emasculating and dehumanizing its so-called freed slaves. The American record speaks for itself. Is it any more righteous now than it was then when those celebrated, "liberty-loving" racist gentlemen hypocritically fashioned the Declaration of Independence and The Constitution? Some handkerchiefheaded Tomboes would have us think so. Why? What fiendish deeds the proverbial 30 pieces of silver have inspired in the mercenary hearts of Judas vipers! Spineless cringing will not liberate our people. Meek submission to tyranny will not lead to affluent black capitalism and minority enterprise. This type of mentality is not in style with capitalism. Capitalism is ruthless, cunning, swash-buckling, murderous and cut-throat. To expect black capitalism and minority enterprise to be dished out on a gold plated serving platter is tantamount to hoping to lay claim to the mythological pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

LAMBISM: No doubt, black capitalism and minority enterprise will grease the potbellies of a selected few tokens, but the vast majority of our people will remain the victims of vicious and cruel Americanism. Lambism and servile accommodation to an insensate and tyrannical power structure will no more save black panderers in America than it did Jewish panderers in Nazi Germany. Nothing but effective resistance can save an oppressed people marked for extermination when a savage aggressor decides the time is ripe to bury them. Those who accept enemy fabricated mirages as thrones

of power and dominion, with no thought of actuality, callously violate the first law of nature, the law of survival. If the black man in America is to survive, he must cast off his grandiose illusions and resolutely apply himself to the gravely serious business of disciplined and conscious resistance to genocide. Contempt for and resistance to are the only worthy and normal reactions to the bait of a beast whose benevolent air has become no more than a sinister snare to countless trusting and deceived victims whose murdered flesh has fattened the vultures of the earth. Black people in America must organize, must steel themselves in resistance, must unite and must institute the kind of discipline that is the hallmark of a people's invincibility.

THE EXTREMIST LABEL: Those who are out to save the race can most surely expect to be labelled the most anti-social sort of reprobate. Those who labor most diligently in the noble cause of black salvation will be the most slandered and persecuted. It is traditional Americanism for the white racist power structure to brand all who work uncompromisingly for black liberation and social justice as extremists. Yes, American society is so degenerate, reactionary and rigid in its outlook that it considers unpopular righteous dissent the sinister product of extremism. A tragic phenomenon of this morbid situation is the shameful fact that brainwashed nigras, in aping their puppet masters, resort to the me-too-ism of arbitrarily brandishing the extremist label. Who is more extreme, the dehumanized slave who strikes violently against the chains of slavery or the slavemaster who insensately employs violence to maintain such a barbaric institution? Who has less conscience and is less imbued with the attributes of humanity? There can be no such thing as "extreme" methods employed against a beastly oppressor in a noble enterprise, undertaken on behalf of social justice and the liberation of wretched slaves. America was founded on the extreme belief that cut-throats, prostitutes, criminals and social scum from Europe had a right to slaughter and massacre an indigenous people in a white crusade of extending "Christian civilization". America even has the audacity to piously refer to these original land grabbers and thug killers as "blue bloods." This is really the extreme of extremism. The Black American meekly suffered 400 years of brutal racism. The white American racist has savagely inflicted 400 years of slavery and cruel dehumanization upon the Black American. It has been more of an exception than a rule for the white supremacist to experience a pang of conscience relative to his brutal subjugation of the African-American, in fact, he has reacted hysterically violent to any suggestion or hint that conscience should dictate a humane attitude towards black people. After 400 years of violent and inhuman subjugation, after 400 years of deliberately creating one of the world's greatest social problems, America does not display a spirit of repentance, understanding and compassion but one of arrogant contempt and ignorance wherein police violence is considered a civilized solution to the social problems of the already cruelly deprived. Such violence is utilized as a medium of mass intimidation. The folly of this premise lies in the fact that violence eventually loses its power of mass intimidation after a sustained period of ruthless application. The masses become conditioned to it and the desire to eliminate it becomes a more powerful valence than the fear of it.

THE ESTABLISHMENT'S DILEMMA: Society is in a state of flux. The status quo is undergoing a process of alteration. The resulting extent of violent dislocation will manifest itself in relation to the degrees of intransigence demonstrated by those who oppose social change. The question now is not one of whether there will be violence but the type and extent of it. The question is no longer one of whether the deprived will resort to violence as a means of social change, but it is rather one of whether the establishment elects to make a suicidal last ditch defense of the doomed status quo or grudgingly resigns itself to a new structure of social order. The deprived peoples of the world are now awakening. They are on the move in quest of a more just and civilized way of life. They are no longer intimidated by legalized state violence nor the threat of it. When constituted authority over-reacts and unleashes unmitigated force and violence, it plays its trump card in a desperate game of all-or-nothing. There is a limit to the power of violence to intimidate. Any sustained use of it entails a risk of saturation and the subsequent precipitation of counter-violence. World society is on the threshold of this point today.

Not only are the deprived peoples of the world becoming more and more convinced that because of violent repression they must express themselves through violence, but they are devising new concepts of violent resistance and struggle. The concept of urban people's war is sweeping over the earth like an uncontrollable fire storm. Urban guerrilla warfare is being perfected to a most effective and decisive point. A close examination of world-wide student and worker uprisings attest to a long dormant, but highly devastating people's power. The establishment aristocracy has been most fortunate in that these uprisings have been spontaneous, unorganized and unsustainable. Up to this point the go-for-broke spirit has not permeated the resistance movements. The more repressive the power structure becomes the more cognizant the masses will become of the revolutionary fact that sustained and organized struggle is the prerequisite to radical social change that will ultimately overturn the status quo. Recently, in many cities of the world we have witnessed a limited application of urban guerrilla warfare, or street combat. In these mere skirmishes we have been given some idea of the colossal potential of what could really happen, and how, in such a conflict. Conventional military science and tactics can be rendered ineffectual in massive people's war. A poor man's arsenal of light arms and home-devised weapons can wreak havoc on a nation. Extensive dispersal of combatants makes it impossible for repressive forces to concentrate the necessary power to quell the resistance. When thousands of freedom fighters fan out over a city in a campaign of obstruction and destruction, paralysis prevails. A salient feature of this type of conflict is that all of its destructive action takes place right on the enemy's own premises. Both offensive and defensive combat extract a heavy toll from the establishment. A government, no matter how tyrannical, cannot wage an extensive war of attrition against its own citizenry without indulging in self-destruction. Less than ten percent of a given population can bring a highly mechanized and industrialized tyranny to its knees in a surprisingly short span of time if the ten percent is well organized and devoutly committed to all-out urban guerrilla warfare. Urban guerrilla warfare does

not mean that the countryside is completely neglected; it means that most mass activity would be concentrated in urban communities because most of the population is there. It means that rural campaigns would be conducted on the basis of targets being selected out of the dictates of necessity, overall strategy and diversionary tactics.

In France, in Germany, in Japan, in Pakistan and numerous other places students' rebellions have sent great shock waves through almost all strata of society. These student uprisings have, in many instances, proved to be detonators of more powerful and extensive explosive social forces. Modern society is so structured that any great and sudden dislocation in its midst sets in motion a chain reaction that motivates all unstable social, political and economic forces to respond to the natural laws of realignment. This relativity of social being is a powerful determining factor in the concept of street combat. It acts as a magnetic field in the decisive formulation of the array of forces, and sets in motion a vast scale of sympathetic vibrations. The world is rife with social discontent that smolders like a volcano beneath a highly fragile surface of restraint and illogical order. The logical consequence of injustice, oppression, uncorrected social ills and tyranny is disorder and insurrection. The conflict now spreading to all corners of the world is the beginning of a new era, of the transformation of the old society. We are witnessing the prelude to universal upheaval. The only force powerful enough to contain and defuse this highly explosive universal social conflict is not brutal military repression, but rests in the capacity to restructure society on the basis of undiluted social justice. However, it is not the nature of tyranny to indulge in humanistic virtue. Its humanistic capacity is rendered sterile by its arrogant greed and affinity for self-aggrandisement. Oppressive and tyrannical society nurtures the seeds of its own destruction and America is no exception.

A constantly asked question is one asking what chances have the deprived against the well-armed, well-organized and vicious deprivers. It is invariably asked where the deprived will obtain weapons of the caliber and quantity necessary to match the sophisticated arsenal of the tyrannical establishment. There seems always to be a great deal of controversy and confusion surrounding the type of organizational structure and tactics that would be necessary to wage a successful urban guerrilla warfare campaign in situations in which conditions necessitate such action. Revolutionary experience is accumulative. There can be no precise blueprints created on the drafting board. Successful strategy and tactics derive from an evolutionary process of practice and experience. My primary interest is to stimulate revolutionary thought and promote the idea of collective self-defense. From my point of view such hypothetical problems are presented for the sole purpose of stimulating the manifestation of new concepts of street combat and urban warfare sorely needed by the deprived of the world in defending their human rights. Because of the critical situation facing minorities in racist and tyrannical America, and because police forces are more oppressive than protective, there is an urgent need for a massive campaign to master the art of collective defense and survival. Self-defense is an inalienable right. Effective self-

defense requires the capacity to seize the initiative and to crush the enemy's ability to prevail in aggression.

A classical stratagem of warfare is to attack and lay siege to an enemy stronghold with the ultimate objective of penetrating or breaking its power to successfully resist. The main requisite of successful assault requires a capacity to bring the enemy's essential regions in range of destruction. The essential region consists of the core of power or the generator sector from which flows the enemy's source of strength and direction. This is the heart region, the brain center and the nerve system without which no sophisticated organism can function. The classical concept of defense consists of the ability to secure and defend this region against devastating assault, and to render a successful offensive against these vital organs either impossible or too costly to be a profitable operation. No matter how far-flung defenses may be the purpose always remains the same: to safeguard the dominant region, its vital organs and interests. From the very beginning of organized warfare this military premise has held true: the walled city, the block house, the fortress, the barricade and the static line of positional warfare have always been utilized to defend the approaches to, and deny access to the center of power and command. In offensive warfare, classical, mobile and guerrilla combat have as their ultimate objective the penetration and crushing of the inner structure of the power center.

The Trojan Horse and the Fifth Column methods constitute strategy designed to accommodate the basic tenet of penetration, and to facilitate destruction of the inner circle, the ultimate seat of power. The inner circle is always the final objective. Herein lies the powerful potential of urban guerrilla warfare in highly industrialized countries. In well-organized and executed urban guerrilla warfare much of the battle has already been won. However the road to complete victory may still be a bloody and difficult one. The classical struggle for penetration into the inner circle to bring it in range of devastating and decisive destruction is an existing advantage that preempts the necessity of negotiating this stage of combat. Opposition forces begin at this point rather than face it as a major objective. Such is the situation in the USA. Herein lies the power and potential of a minority revolution. Such a situation of preliminary exposure relative to the attackers' need to penetrate and devastate his opponent's essential innards has always been the dream of military planners and strategists. This, in conjunction with the world's anti-imperialist struggle, growing resistance and revolutionary consciousness of the deprived, relativity of common causes, economic conflict and the common struggle for world markets, offers highly fertile ground for new concepts of urban guerrilla warfare and street combat.

This is the era of the crusading mimeograph journalist, the dedicated agitator, the disillusioned heart and the highly receptive ear. This is the era of a shrinking world and the dissemination of universally applicable concepts, ideas and methods. This is the era of extended communications, exposed pipelines, arteries, inflammable cities, a highly sensitive and complicated, but essential, industrial complex. This is the era of the match, the molotov cocktail, the slingshot with steel pellets, the plastic bomb, the sniper's rifle, the hacksaw and a host of other highly destructive weapons

The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.

Mao Tse-tung

that are readily available. There is a wealth of knowledge on utilization reinforced by a growing political awakening. There is no limit to the capacity of the masses to devise new instruments and tactics of resisting tyranny. Students of chemistry and engineering, no doubt, could greatly enhance the masses' arsenal of struggle. There is no greater boon to invention than desperate necessity. The black man in America and the deprived peoples of the world now stand at the threshold of desperate necessity. The world's oppressed know that the status quo must go. The ideology of survival and the control of one's destiny sound reveille for the deprived. At one minute to zero the tyrants of the oppressive establishment smirk at angry petitions for justice. With water hoses, billy clubs, vicious police dogs, deadly chemicals, bullets and tanks they smother the deprived's cry for freedom, justice, peace and prosperity. They substitute primitive violence for humane solutions to bitter social problems, and they resort to time-worn gimmicks and cruel deception in a frantic effort to maintain an antiquated status quo. The current social and political transition is a by-product of, and reaction to, the continuing technical revolution. The trend towards radical social change is irreversible. A new social being is about to be spawned from the womb of evolution. There is, no doubt about this, the only question is in the duration and extent of labour and travail.

JOHN BULL: A STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE

The white man's attitude towards his non-white fellowman is pretty much a universal phenomenon. It goes without saying that white nationalism and Anglo-Saxon clanism are much more concerned with maintaining "law and order" in the world of color, vis-à-vis. the racist status quo, than they are in promoting freedom, justice and democracy. Yes, Mr. Charlie moves with the swiftness of greased lightning and the cunningness of a wise old fox when it comes to crushing and undermining black resistance to white supremacy. International racism today is so blatant that only a fool, or the most compromised of hypocrite, can pretend not to ascertain its rancorous and festering manifestations. Black man, look at South Africa! Black man, look at Rhodesia! Britain stands before them paralyzed with inertia. The United Nations squirms, piously denounces racism and dutifully returns to its bed of shame as white supremacy and colonialism's mistress. Wake up, brothers! Wake up! It is time to cast away all illusions about peace, justice, democracy and the redemptive potential of the savage racists. Actions speak louder than words. The black and the weak are always victims of the white and the strong. John Bull's sterile words of cen-

sure against a minority of white squatters and poachers on the Black man's soil of Africa are quite in contrast to his "law and order" enforced by bullet and bayonet in tiny and independence-loving Anguilla. But then, the contrast hinges on the difference between black and white and the tyrannical nature of white power. Like father, like son, that's the way it is with John Bull and Uncle Sam, and as far as the black man is concerned he has no legal or human rights that white terror is bound to respect. In contrast to white Rhodesia where British troops publicly stated that they would not fire on white brigand squatters, black little Anguilla languishes under the boot of military aggression and occupation. Is freedom no less crushed there than in Czechoslovakia? Where is the universal condemnation chorus now? Brothers, we have a living lesson in black and white contrast! When the freedom of Black people is wantonly trampled under the foot of white military power, me lords and sirs, is the right of self-determination no less strained?

THE USSR: FROM CAPITULATION TO AGGRESSION

The ruling hypocrites of the USSR have been ardently vocal in singing the peace parody tune that "war is unthinkable." They strained their every vocal cord in trying to sing revolutionaries to sleep by crooning that even a liberation war endangers the peace of the world; that even a liberation war entails the danger of sparking an intolerable world-ending nuclear conflict. They disclaimed violent struggle and brayed of how they were righteous champions of peaceful coexistence. They exerted all possible pressure to deprive the victims of imperialism and racism of the means and will to engage in violent struggle. They sang love songs to savage America and made vows never to betray her imperialist cause. Barbaric America became their idol as they flung themselves at her feet, crooning soothing words of detente. Like a fawning mistress they capitulated. Now the capitulationists have become aggressors. In regards to their socialist neighbor, People's China, they have changed their tune of "war is unthinkable" to a land grabber's ballad of armour and bullets. These double-talking hypocrites even dare suggest that nuclear war is perfectly alright as long as it is unleashed against a socialist country. Again, they are singing off-key. The defensive bullets of socialist China kill just as deadly as those of imperialist America. Why is war not "unthinkable" on the Chinese border? Undeterred from her goal of surging ahead, China prepares for possible war and convened her 9th Party Congress in the utmost confidence. It behooves the land grabbers to switch their tune again and to go back to fawning songs of capitulation. U.S. imperialism is in great need of such songs of humor. People's China is not Czechoslovakia! Aggression against one quarter of the world's population is the iniquity of madmen indulging in the folly of fools.

* * *

TELL IT TO THE WORLD AND TELL IT LIKE IT IS!

There is a crying need for the Black American to acquaint the peoples of the world with the true aspects of his nightmarish ordeal in racist America. Too little information concerning our true status is being disseminated abroad. Most Afro-American publications that reach foreign shores give a somewhat unbalanced image of the situation of black people relative to the affluence of the American way of life. Too much is left to the chance that foreigners may

already know of our plight. Too much is left to the man's media. Currently, it appears that the MUHAMMAD SPEAKS Newspaper is giving a more balanced picture of the true situation. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS seems more concerned with telling it like it is than in dressing it up so as to curry favor with the man. Truth is what is needed most sorely in all aspects of man's social being today. Either because of subjectivism, ignorance, intimidation, brainwash or downright apathy, truth has a very small audience in the world today. Most of all, Africa needs to know about the true nature of American white supremacy. Africa and the world need to know about MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. All those who are opposed to white-washing U.S. racism and who have the opportunity to travel abroad should take it upon themselves to take along and distribute introductory gift copies of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. Such an act will be a service to the cause of Black liberation. The address of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS is:

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS NEWSPAPER
436 E. 79th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60619 USA

THE END OF EXILE

This is my eighth year of exile from the racist USA. I agitated for and initiated armed self-defense to white supremacy racist terror more than twelve years ago, consequently, my frame-up greatly preceded the current crop being leveled against black militants. Due to the widespread support and aid I received from lovers of justice, I was able to escape a massive international police dragnet. From the southern racist and Ku Klux Klan infested town of Monroe, North Carolina, I made my way to Canada, Mexico, Cuba and ultimately to the People's Republic of China. Yes, I made it home-free.

Relative to justice for black people in America, the situation remains the same or perhaps slightly worse. In wake of this glaringly reprehensible fact, the question arises as to what reaction I expect on the part of the gods of Americanism when I return. A mad dog can always be expected to act like a mad dog. Despite the hypocritical wail of "black capitalism", "minority enterprise" and "law and order", I have no illusions about the racist power structure developing pangs of conscience and a human capacity to render impartial justice in the case of black humanity. It is excessive asininity for black people to expect justice in a hostile white jungle society.

The most positive aspect of my possible return to racist America will be an opportunity to demonstrate the extent of the black man's commitment to our ever widening struggle for liberation. I hope to set an example that will serve notice that in face of white supremacy terror, unjust and cruel imprisonment and threats of cold-blooded and savage death, the black man can no longer be intimidated. I hope to bring home the point that the day has gone forever when the bullying white man can frighten the black man out of existence. He has the power to assassinate but not to intimidate.

I am not now a criminal, I have never been a criminal and the only time that I have ever been in jail was because I sat on a

"for white only" stool at a lunch counter. Eight years ago a so-called kidnap case was prefabricated against me by bigoted authorities working in collusion with the Ku Klux Klan. This vicious racist cabal was executed to facilitate a legal lynching after four attempts at assassination failed. As an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I engendered the enmity of white power by advocating militant action and armed self-defense. The false charges against me were not motivated by criminal activity on my part, but stemmed from political and racial persecution. I have as much right, or more, to live in America as Nixon and no amount of intimidation can force me to abdicate this inalienable right. This summer, I will again step into that horrible and bloody breach where honorable black men array their bodies and souls to form a mighty bulwark against tyranny.

U.S. POST OFFICE: AGAIN THE CRUSADER

From its very inception in racist America THE CRUSADER, like the Black American, has had a very rough row to hoe along its path of survival. The power structure, the Ku Klux Klan and fascist-minded brigands in general have never ceased in their devious scheming to silence THE CRUSADER. The fact that such a small journal warrants such attention leaves us with the impression that THE CRUSADER must be much more effective than we had imagined. Last year, the U.S. Post Office Department banned it from the mails. Actions of the U.S. Civil Liberties Union have been instrumental in bringing about some form of modification of the original ban. Now, we are being informed that the U.S. Post Office has flung another hurdle in our path. Recipients of bundles of this publication are being required to fill out certain Post Office forms requesting release of "propaganda material from a communist country".*

AN APPEAL: SUPPORT FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Fascist forces in the U.S.A. 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, Martin Sostre, Herman Ferguson, Cleveland Sellars, John Kenyatta and Lee Otis Johnson. Many others are framed throughout the country. 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!

* Some bundles are being returned to the sender marked: REFUSED DELIVERY UNDER U.S. FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL REGULATIONS. This is a sinister act of intimidation and suppression of speech and press. Perhaps something is being said that hurts the man. I ask all of the brothers and sisters to respond to the man by increased activity to spread the word of THE CRUSADER. KEEP ON PUSHING!

* * *

A monologue by Robert F. Williams to the Black brothers in Vietnam, "LISTEN BROTHER", sells for 35 cents. Quantities of six or more are 20 cents each, post-paid within the United States.

It may be ordered from: World View Publishers, 46 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010 USA.

BIRD OF EXTINCTION

There was a bird that lived by an enchanted sea
His life was as charmed as it could be
He chirped and made music all the day
Earth knew no creature so carefree and gay.
He was a bird with plumage rare
None had wings so golden and graceful of air
He abided not in chivalry, nor fashioned charitable device
In his gilded lustre he was without equal in his paradise.
How lovely was this creature not given to challenge nor toil
His pearl-studded feet had no need to scratch the soil
Oh what splendor and melodious songs of merriment
Only he could afford such heavenly raiment.
But there were other creatures wretched and less graceful in flight
Creatures fired with ambition to change their luckless plight
Restless creatures with claws of steel in the valley of discontent
Though rustic, they too had dreams of golden raiment.
There was restive grumbling in the valley that went unheard
In the paradise of this gayly self-centered bird—
The luckless birds descended swifter than the golden bird could
fly
Like a bolt of lightning in the forest, they set his paradise afire.
Now a myriad chorus of creatures joyfully singing by the sea
All wear a piece of plumage of the bird that used to be
They sing a gallant legend in harmony and distinction
About an ancient bird and how fell he to extinction.

— R.F.W.

AMERICA THE BRUTEFUL

Oh how ill-gotten her mighty wealth
From whence she dopes and drinks herself to death—
Frantically she dances to a sordid tune
Swears and curses that age has flown too soon.
Oh what a despicable species of the human race
Drunken and lewd with yet a haughty smirk upon her face—
Self-proclaimed saint with Bible in her hand
Oh thanks to her that God is a mighty man.
Blasphemous woman full of vanity and disgrace
How artful the veil that hides her demonic face—
Scarlet Mother of brutes and spiteful knaves
Who ghoulishly consume the blood of paupers and of slaves.
Oh how decadent and given to savage rage
Gaudily painted, drunken and clinging to a moribund age—
Bruteful America paining with death and laughing hysterically
Cursing the God she made for his impotence of eternity.

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