

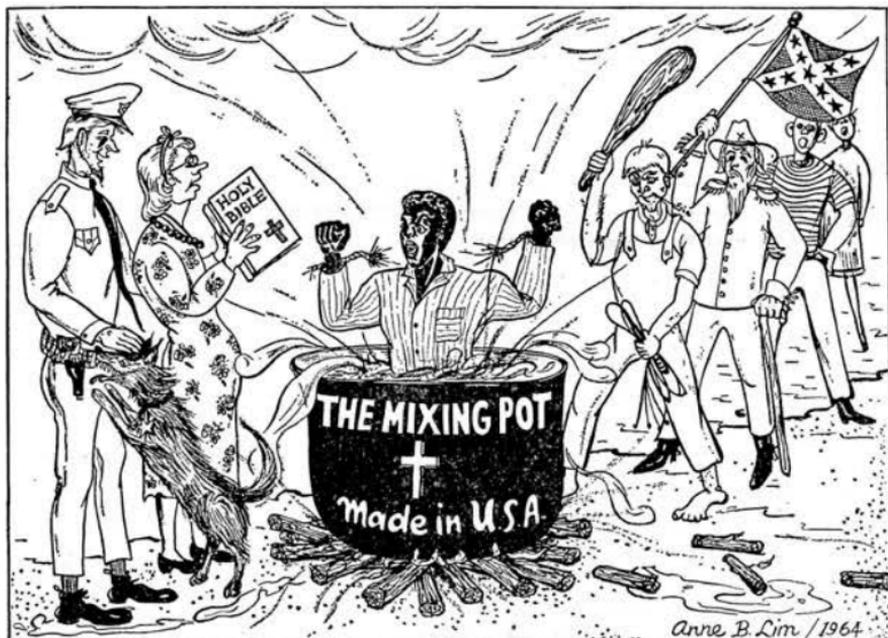


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"We's 'One Nation, Under Gawd, Indivisible', Boy!"

ON THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

The recent first step towards self-determination for the oppressed nation of Black America is not a new one. It is an extension and continuation of the ideas of the late Marcus Garvey, the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, the late Malcolm X and countless others. Brutalized, frustrated, dehumanized and enslaved Black people in America have long dreamed of a homeland wherein they could escape the rigors and hazards of oppressive savage tyranny. The dream of self-determination and nationhood has swelled the breasts of captive nations through time

immemorial. The drive for freedom, self-respect and self-determination is a natural human attribute.

Among the disinherited and the wretched of the earth there have always been fawning individuals who preferred to submit to the harried and tormented union of orderly slavery rather than to confront the uncertain challenge of disunion and liberation. Our own tragic history in racist America affords us a graphic example of such an indecisive and slavish mentality. After the so-called emancipation of the Black slaves in America, many insecure souls had to be driven from the clutches of human bondage at bayonet point. This was due in part to the brutal profundity of environmental conditioning. To some terror-stricken souls the rugged road of freedom was an awesome sight that could only lead to perdition. Despite the wretched voices of fear and prophets of doom, the masses cast down their chains and took to the perilous road of stormy uncertainty. What one among us today would still insist that our well-being and collective security would have best been served by loyally clinging to the bloody chains of slavery?

After the Boston Tea Party and the rising crescendo of those who called for independence and revolution, again, we have a case wherein some docile and status quo accommodating individuals preferred the oppressive social immobility of tyranny to the uncertain social locomotion of revolutionary change and the challenge of self-determination. Today, who would deny the wisdom and nobility of those who angrily cast off their oppressive chains and set the torch of freedom to the citadel of tyranny? No, we are not so unfamiliar with history as not to know that tragically some revolutions faltered and temporarily failed, but neither are we unaware of the fact that a noble undertaking of freedom can never be considered a permanent failure.

Unprincipled souls, devoid of courage and creative stamina, can devise a million reasons and causes why a daring and divine mission may fail, but they are always hard pressed in formulating a single honorable alternative affording certain positive success. For one reason or other, the cynical critics we will have with us always. Wise, honest and positive criticism is an integral part of a society, an idea or an individual's natural growth and development. However, the criticism of the cynic is the sinister product of a frustrated and disgruntled jester seeking status through a profession of criticism based on besmirching the creativity of those daring activists who set out to do, and sometimes succeed in doing what cynics, neither have the capacity nor courage to undertake.

There are those among us who seem to think that America is a God-made indivisible empire blessed with the divine gift of permanence. That country which is nearest to permanence is also nearest to perfection. That country which is nearest to indivisibility is a bastion of brotherhood and justice. Racist America is no divine exception, like all other realms of oppression and tyranny, she, too, is subject to the laws that govern the transience of empire. A government that rejects the long suffering pleas of the oppressed and aggrieved for redress licenses insurrection and secession.

Some advocates of continued submission in the face of insufferable tyranny are desperately trying to confuse the issue of self-determination. These reactionary souls try to impinge the sacredness of self-determination by haughtily alluding to it as the negro's version of

racial segregation. These nigra gentlemen of high estate and intellectual cynicism argue loud and long in a surreptitious defense of degenerate Americanism by pretending not to know the obviously elementary difference between self-determination and racial segregation. If racial segregation is a goal to be desired by oppressed Blacks there is no need to struggle for that; it has been a living reality in America for four hundred years. The Black man in America has never known anything other than racial segregation. Segregation is what we have never needed but have always had. Self-determination is what we have always needed and never had. Self-determination means the condition to forge one's own destiny. Segregation means the condition of one without a meaningful destiny. The struggle for the fulfillment of the long range objective of self-determination does not mean a complete abandonment of present endeavors to ease our social burdens while we are captive people under the current racist white regime.

For the benefit of all those who seem at a loss to grasp the difference between an independent Republic and a racially segregated colonial community, I would like to refer to the Declaration of Independence of the proposed Republic of New Africa. It specifically states that:

“. . . We, therefore, see these as the aims of our revolution:

- To free Black people in America from oppression;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- To build a New Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;
- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;
- To assure justice for all;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the State to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to Society and all its members, and
- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution. . . .”

Who can be so asinine as to believe that such noble ideals are based on enlarged racial segregation espoused by Black reactionary separa-

tists? And for the sake of the record may I add that we self-determinationists are not advocates of a 51st American State. Let us rest assured that our goals are more realistic than those who think that they can plead and pray their way to a peacefully integrated and just monolithic American society. Nation building is a laborious, difficult, violent and sacrificial task. Black America deserves as much opportunity to undertake it in racist America as any other people in the world. On behalf of fair play and justice it is incumbent on just minded and progressive whites to support Black self-determination and nationhood. We have dismally failed after four hundred years of bloody and fruitless effort to win acceptance into the mainstream of American life. There are some who think that we should be patient enough to exert another four hundred years of vain effort. But we say no! We have had enough of shameful and bloody rebuff.

Now is the time to embark on the rugged road that leads to a destination of promise. We must unite in this great cause. It is a cause of survival and salvation. The rising tide of history is on our side. America's own corruption and meanness doom her. She is gradually sinking into the chaotic quagmire of her own filth and unrighteousness. Human decency and the laws of survival dictate that we sever our destinies. We must stand as an independent entity disassociating ourselves from the heinous crimes and grievous sins of Babylon. Our time has come. America's time has come. We are opposites in transition. One is rising the other is falling. The irreversible laws of the transience of empire are in motion against America. The seeds of fragmentation, sown in a soil fertilized by tyranny, react to the laws of birth and death. This process of transformation will ultimately be fulfilled despite the wrath of hell and the cynical and spiteful curses of devils both negro and white.

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

Mao Tse-tung

COMBAT THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR RANKS!

The more intense the Afro-American struggle for liberation becomes the greater the counter force brought into play against it will become. Aside from brutal repression, the power structure will use whatever other counter-revolutionary methods it can dream up. The more Black ghettos become united, organized and resistive, the more imperative it will become to supplement self-defense forces with strong underground counter intelligence operations. Black militants must never relax their vigilance or lower their guard against the most sinister enemy of all—the one within our ranks.

We must not leave any stones unturned in ferreting the enemy out of our midst, while at the same time we must not allow the presence of agents to paralyze our progressive activity. Better and more serious organizing requires more elaborate forms of security. Not only are

police agents, stool pigeons and pimps spying for the man, but agents provocateurs are busy weaving conspiracies of entrapment.

"Super militants," extreme "leftists," impatient "revolutionaries" and all manner of phoney Black nationalists are being sent into the movement to sabotage its forward thrust. These way out "revolutionaries" are advocating action and policies that are designed to destroy the vitality of the struggle.

Assured of police immunity for their lawless deeds, executed within the ranks of progressive Black nationalists, they engage in repulsive and irrational activity in order to alienate and isolate the true vanguard from the yet uncommitted masses. Their assigned task is to stymie and fragment the growing unity of our people. On behalf of the power structure they are moving might and main to discredit Black Nationalism and the growing demand among our people for self-determination and nationhood. Some are injecting irrelevant sectarian arguments and are trying to impose outlandish philosophies on the movement. They are trying to promote policies and saddle the rank and file with ideas certain to sow seeds of division, distrust and demoralization.

The cause of Black liberation in racist America must be raised above individual ideas, philosophies and personal attitudes. A united front for our overall collective goal of Black liberation and self-determination is not a thing of petty individual beliefs. The dynamics of our most significant consensus must flow from our common desire to throw off the yoke of racist tyranny. Our front of national salvation must be based upon an intense brotherhood of mutual respect and tolerance. It is not necessary that we all dress, speak and act alike in those matters that neither promulgate nor hinder our common cause.

We must have discipline yes, but we must have discipline through consensus of cause. Tyrannical discipline is contrary to the cause of liberation. Our objectives must be long range and designed to serve our common cause of freedom. We must guard against falling into a cultural rut wherein we dissipate our time, energy and resources trying to resurrect a dead past instead of constructing a glorious future. Instead of displaying negative color, wit and style in undercutting other groups and individuals, it behooves us to set ourselves to the task of formulating positive strategy.

It is time for solid unity. It is time for serious work and agitation. Progressive Black nationalism and self-determination must be widely explained in sober and rational terms through an all-out campaign in the ghettos. Those agents provocateurs, who are out to make the whole movement look like the rantings of stupid fools, must be discouraged. Those who advocate outlandish philosophies, which conspicuously and obviously the great masses will not accept, should be toned down. Stand up for unity and effectiveness, combat the enemy within our ranks.

NOW IS THE TIME TO GIVE UP THE GHOST, INTEGRATION

In white America there are many mansions, yet the Black man is relegated to the destitution of the outhouse. The American Black man is a harried and frustrated victim of an ever elusive ghost called integration. Hoped for integration into the white man's affluent society

is a tantalizingly cruel mirage. As far as Black America is concerned, the white man's ill-gotten dominion is as mobile and as elusive as a mirage in the desert. It appears on the horizon, but continues to move into the distance before it can be caught up to. Integration into the racist white American community, as far as Black America is concerned, is tantamount to the fabled pot of gold at the end of every rainbow.

The racist American white man is the proven enemy of the Black man. The facts of his treachery and brutality are so well known that there is no point of bothering to document them to our people any more. Bigoted white America is so calloused with hate and spite, and it is so pathologically warped that only those enslaved by the mania of self-delusion dare persist in the folly of the hoax of integration.

Is it logical and mentally wholesome for the aggrieved to seek close proximity with his torturer and crucifier? Is it common sense to persist in a shameful enterprise crowned with almost four hundred years of heartbreak and dismal failure? Is it common sense to pursue a suitor for an aeon who habitually convulses and flees at the sight of the undesirable pursuer?

It is a normal drive of humanity to seek fellowship, common cause and social intercourse with *Homo sapiens* with like human attributes propelled by the valences of mutuality. It is also a natural human drive to withdraw from harmful and painful stimulants and contacts. Black America's experience with white America has been much less than a gratifying venture. It has been a terrifying and brutal ordeal. The worse part of the matter is that no appreciable relief is in sight. White America's conduct towards Black America is becoming more and more unbearable. The mailed fist of genocide is cocked in naked threats.

The Black man in racist America is being viciously blamed for all the social ills that the savage racists' demonic nature has wrought against the evil and corrupt society. White America is a shameless and savage hypocrite who thinks it can escape human conscience and the natural laws of retribution by becoming ever more beastly and brutal in its relationship with the victim of its depravity. There is more hope in the reformation of a rabid wolf than in such an ape of a fiend.

Thinking Black men can plainly see that the very laws of nature dictate separation under such an oppressive and incongruous relationship. The history of heaven and earth are replete with precedents of necessary separations under much less severe conditions than ours.

The choice now looms before us. Are we to contract ourselves to miserable lives as loyal dogs in the devil's den of satanic wrath and destruction, or are we to rise in a sacred exodus of emancipation, self-determination, salvation and dignity? For sundry reasons there are those among us who beg to continue their masochistic relationship with sadistic America. There are some honestly confused and not yet certain that an emancipated slave can make it without his master, but the hard cold fact remains that time alone is not a panacea for acute social ills. Those who deserve freedom and those who ultimately obtain it are those willing to shoulder the burden of its challenge. The dreaded task of separation challenges us. It is time to claim our rightful place in the

sun. Self-determination is a universally proclaimed right of all oppressed people and nations with the intelligence and will to grasp it. This is the season of our most provocative discontent. Now is the time to give up the ghost, integration. Let us claim our heritage. Now is the time to proclaim a nation.

AFRICAN SAFARI: HELLS RUN ON A MOTORCYCLE

Either out of a sinister design or from the unwitting course of habit, African journalism, with some progressive exceptions, is not placing enough stress on the development of black stamina and daring as essential ingredients for liberation and national construction. An oppressed and downtrodden people cannot cast off the cruel and crippling legacy of colonialism without undergoing a transformation of thought and attitude. Dwarfed and deformed thought as fashioned by ruthless exploiters and oppressors can be viewed only as negative factors in the downtrodden's cause of liberation.

Some African publications portray the new look of Black Liberation as a state of transition wherein the Black bourgeoisie becomes a symbol of soft and secure parliamentary life. They become the clerks in the new order. In the newspaper and magazine ads they become the hard-drinking playboys in the world of grinning, dancing, effeminate society.

It is considered a great new scene of freedom wherein imposing pictures of ivy league dressed Black men, armed with overrated degrees in white man's sociology, psychology, anthropology, political science and law serve as symbols of nation building and examples for the youth to emulate. The collective outlook of a people is influenced and formed by the slant of the mass media and certain accepted standards of success.

While most African journalism proudly stresses the new status of white collar Blacks risen to nominal power under token independence, certain factors essential to nation building, like boldness, exploratory quest and the challenge of nature, are still being portrayed as the adventurous white man's monopolized dominion.

Black youth who will face the task of nation building are not being exposed enough to the bold spirit necessary to undertake the rugged challenge of pioneering in national construction. The world of Black youth should not be a narrow, limited one wherein their hero examples consist of soft secure occupations that could very easily be interchanged with the west's concept of a woman's world. If it is a truism that man is a product of his environment what hope is there for Black youth who develop in a world of white man's order based on Black submissiveness? Great nations are not built from desk corps of parliamentarian dudes. They are built by robust men and women challenging nature, the general order of things and driven by a quest to scale unfamiliar heights. Inasmuch as the environment is conceded to be the most salient factor in the formation of personality and character the new image of the Black man needs to be drastically altered. The Black man's image cast before formative youth should be one to inspire a new tendency away from effeminate bureaucracy and conspicuous consumption.

Some African journalism has a tendency to project rugged outdoor life as the special meat of the great white hunter. Engineering and heavy industry are projected as something almost peculiar to Mr. Charlie. This

is a more modernized form of Tarzanism. The African press is full of praise for whites who muster the stamina to scale such peaks as Kilimanjaro. Other grueling exploits of daring are recorded without impressionable Black faces.

Such seemingly nonproductive exploits may seem insignificant in the general scheme of national construction, but they are not. The psychological state of a people is a determining factor in the effectiveness of nation building. The development of national stamina, courage and a pioneering spirit sets the stage for an essential motive force required for great nation building.

On my recent trip to Tanzania, East Africa, aside from sitting fifty hours to tape my autobiography, a series of other interviews and meetings and conferences with officials of the proposed Republic of New Africa and African freedom fighters, an Afro-American brother, Ronald Howard, a Tanzanian, Gabriel Mulokozi and I completed a 1,470 mile motorcycle safari across Tanzania into Zambia. We not only planned this rugged itinerary over the murderous terrain commonly called "Hell Run" because it was the best way to get off the beaten tourist path to study Africa and her people, but also as a challenge to our stamina.

Our ten-day motorcycle safari took us across treacherous unpaved, dusty and sandy roads that are considered a sometimes impossible hazard for some motorcars and trucks. We cycled over mountain peaks that extended into exceptionally beautiful African clouds. We rode wash-board-type roads that shook us like a precarious ride on a rodeo bronco. Along 700 miles of roads so dusty that we had to wear dust masks, shields and goggles, we counted 50 heavy trucks and trailers overturned and wrecked. The truck traffic was very heavy because this is the route of the emergency truck lift between the Dar es Salaam port and landlocked Zambia.

Our dusty images replete with crash helmets, face shields, goggles and masks became a momentary source of fright to some children who rushed for closer view along the roadside at the roaring sound of strange sounding motors. This was primarily a territory of heavy trucks and landrovers. Curious but friendly observers stalked us wherever we went. It was a new scene to see Black men daring to mount such a venture. Many of the children after regaining composure and mustering special courage came close enough to touch the machines. The older people marveled at the rugged performance of the machines. Our Swahili speaking Tanzanian brother was forced to spend most of his time answering questions about where we were from, where we were going, how long would the trip take and what kind of motorcycles we were riding. We stopped over in rural African hotels and met people who were not accustomed to meeting tourists. The fact that we were Black aroused added interest.

At the Zambian border we went in separate ways with plans to rendezvous in two days on the way back to Dar es Salaam. I was to travel 137 miles on the return trip alone, however, because of some minor difficulties my companions failed to rendezvous and I was stuck with a 700-mile return trip to Dar alone.

I rode steadily but slowly hoping my friends would overtake me. They never did. On three occasions night overtook me riding in the rugged animal infested mountains alone. Some oil tankers had overturned in

the mountains and started widespread brush fires that gave an eerie glare wherein the vastness of the heavens seemed ablaze.

Near Mbeya, I visited an encampment of Chinese engineers who are surveying the line where a railroad is to be constructed as Chinese aid to Tanzania and Zambia. When completed this railroad will strengthen the transportation system between landlocked Zambia and Tanzania and will ease Zambia's dependence on South Africa's transportation system and strengthen it against Rhodesian pressure.

I raced darkness through Mikumi National Park, a wild animal reserve, and barely won. I was alone on my motorcycle in lion and elephant infested Mikumi Park with night fast bearing down. My speed was hampered because of occasional drifts of sand that piled up in the road and completely deprived the two-wheeled vehicle of control and traction. I had already sustained a fall at the beginning of the journey under such conditions at 30 miles an hour and suffered only a few minor abrasions which luckily did not interfere with the trip, so I had to be extremely cautious. Caution prevailed despite the fact that I had to ride by a herd of elephants and various other packs of animals along the side of the road.

The trip was a rugged one. It was an experience well worth the hazards and hardships. We journeyed 8,300 feet up to Njombe and Buloma. We visited schools, farms, market places, villages, rural African hotels and enjoyed the breath-taking scenery of emerging Africa. At one elementary school, a bright young African girl asked us what do Black people in America call themselves, Africans or Americans. I gave her a rundown on the history of how and why African people got to America and explained the fact that now most of our people with race pride call themselves Black Americans, Afro-Americans or African-Americans. After hearing this the entire fourth grade class broke into enthusiastic applause. Most of all, we gave African youth a much too rare opportunity to see a new type of tourist, Black brothers calling to them to accept Africa's challenge to the Black man. Through practice and example we were trying to say to Black youth everywhere that the Black man's day has come. We must rise to the challenge. We must change our outlook and our image. We must dare to scale the highest peaks and develop the stamina to succeed. Rugged pioneering is not in the exclusive dominion of the conquering imperialist white man, but is a commodity within grasp of all men. We wanted to say to our African brothers that the Black man can do anything he is really determined to do. In addition, I wanted to reaffirm to myself that I am physically and psychologically ready for a confrontation with racial tyranny in racist America.

AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN

Historically Africa is the home of the Black man. Africa has a great potential. Many African youth sincerely and innocently ask why trained and educated Afro-Americans do not come to Africa to help construct the motherland and replace the imperialist-minded whites. This is positive thought, but the African situation is not so simple.

The imperialist-minded whites are deeply entrenched in Africa and they view a possible influx of Afro-Americans as a grave danger and threat to the status quo wherein lies their security. Afro-Americans have developed certain militant attitudes that are appearing very horrifying

to the white supremacists. They are afraid that these new Black Revolutionary traits are highly infectious and communicative. They are also fully aware of the fact that the Afro-American, because of his long and bitter experience in racist America, is the most enlightened of all the world's non-whites as to the true nature of universal white Nationalism, now sustained and nurtured by Americanism. Our enlightened African brothers are well versed in the wiles and ways of the former and current European colonialists, however, many of them are yet to be educated to the wily ways of neo-colonial Americanism. Racist America has now assumed the position of standard-bearer for universal white supremacy nationalism. She does not intend to allow her new world position to be threatened by Revolutionary Black Nationalists. Consequently, America is laboring fanatically to establish a closed door policy that will exclude non-Tom African Americans from becoming entrenched in Africa.

The great tragedy of the whole sordid affair is the fact that the newly emerging African Governments are not economically and militarily independent enough to frustrate these racist designs. Another great source of weakness stems from the lack of principle and a state of moral and political degeneracy on the part of some African Sambo leaders whose intellects have been warped and distorted by foolish and pretentious pedagogy.

Afro-Americans with the "Back to Africa" mania would do well to examine the current situation carefully to ascertain whether or not they are welcomed to settle in Africa without the racist white man's approval. There is no doubt that a vast majority of Africans are anxious to welcome Black Americans as brothers, but white power is yet a factor to be reckoned with in Black Africa.

To be sure, the present situation in Africa relative to militant Afro-Americans is no more than a transitory phase of a long and arduous uphill climb. Mr. Charlie cannot eternally stem the tide of liberation in Africa any more than he can in other parts of the world. It is only a matter of time. The Black youth of Africa like the Black youth of America will break with the obsequious traditions of their Uncle Tom elders and rise in a massive invincible challenge of Black Power!

The white agents provocateurs are working feverishly to widen the breach between Afro-America and Africa. Their rumor mills are busy sowing the seeds of suspicion, misunderstanding and rivalry. Despite the sinister activity of Americanism in Africa the Tanzanian Government manifested enough principled sovereignty to resist demands for my expulsion during my recent visit there.

Mercenary American negro Toms are serving as willing bait in the anti African-American snare. Some gullible Africans are being deceived into believing that most Black Americans are agents of the C.I.A. while the white ones are pious humanitarians. It never seems to occur to these naive souls that a government that furnishes military, economic, industrial and social advisers to guide the formulation of policy has no need to recruit Black agents unless they are merely to be used as decoys. The man who presides over or influences the formulation of policy is in better position to gather intelligence than a discriminated against brother who is denied access to the inside track.

A close examination of the African scene will also reveal that our African brothers are not properly apprized of the true nature of Ameri-

can racism. On this subject there is a wide information gap as to the whys and wherefores of our long ordeal now culminating in a Black Rebellion in racist America. Many of the salient aspects of our struggle have been deliberately obscured by the white man's skillful propaganda. We have left too much of our cause to be explained by our enemy oppressors to our Black brothers. We have taken too much for granted and left too much to chance. It is not enough for us to plunge headlong into the study of African history in Africa, we need to also acquaint the African with African history in America. The African needs also to be apprized more of Indian history in America and the potentially dangerous similarity of future development.

Yes, we need to look with pride to mother Africa, however, it is imperative to our own mental state that we not push our heads into blinding clouds. There is a lot of work to be done and it cannot be accomplished through cultural orgies. The Black man is facing a challenge of survival and it cannot be met successfully on a foundation situated in the quicksand of mythology. Our greatest satisfaction is that we can view the present situation in Africa as a transitory one. The American white man hates Blacks. His true nature is spiteful and demonic. Fortunately, a great shortcoming of hypocrisy is its inability to maintain its deceptive façade over the long haul. It soon grows weary of pretending to love what it hates. Ultimately, its feigned love degenerates to open contempt and violence. Afro-Americans must exert special effort to expose the true disposition of vicious Americanism now attempting to deceitfully devour the heart of Africa. Literature accurately portraying the African's bitter ordeal in racist America should be widely disseminated throughout Africa. Periodicals like *Muhammad Speaks*, *Inner City Voice*, *The Black Panther*, *The New African*, *Rebellion News* and other tell-it-like-it-is publications should supplant the *Ebony*-type of whitewash journalism in Africa. Black Americans with enough human dignity to resist American racist and imperialist oppression should take it on themselves to hip our African brothers.

I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

Mao Tse-tung

1969: A SEASON OF TERROR

Each year the struggle for Black Liberation in America becomes more and more intense. The trend of our struggle is following a natural scheme of progression based on the dynamic laws of social conflict

wherein the agitation of opposite forces initiates a chain reaction of increasingly violent friction. The acceleratory factor has neither been disengaged nor neutralized. Ever more brutal instruments of repression have been arrayed in defense of oppression and tyranny. The racist power structure is attempting to cloak mass lynching, unmitigated police violence, racial emasculation and extermination in a viciously hypocritical crusade disguised as "law and order."

There has been no implemented concern for law and order for protection of the human rights for Black Americans throughout the history of violently racist America. Now what is the cause for this sudden concern and pious sounding devotion to "law and order" and safety on the streets? Under the new Hitlerite order, who will defend the rights of the disinherited victims whose eternal abuse is considered an accepted peculiarity of the American way of life? No sensible person can take exception to the just and impartial application of law and order. The most sinister and repulsive factor in the whole affair is the cruel fact that white man's "law and order" to Black America means racist license to rape, maim, plunder, dehumanize and massacre the most abused and unprotected element of the heartless society.

Who can have any faith in the demagogic utterances of a brigand whose entire history indicts him as a lawless savage whose very sadistic nature seems to condemn him to the hopeless region of human society dominated by the incorrigible? Can a leopard change its spots? Can a rabid wolf become a lamb? Can Black America rely on a viciously racist cop to justly enforce impartial law and order? Can Black America rely on viciously racist kangaroo courts to dispense even-handed justice? America's police and legal system constitute the goon squad of the white supremacy order. White supremacy is part and parcel of America's life, breath and blood chemistry. For Black people to leave our fate to the goodness and trust of such ruthless deceitful beasts is tantamount to trusting in the holiness of the devil.

After four hundred years of callous indifference, after four hundred years of capricious lawlessness, after four hundred years of tantalizing us with the cruel mirage of Constitutional law on the barren desert of white man's immorality, the eternal villain threatens the invocation of "law and order" to stymie our poignant quest for law and order born of a human compassion for unfettered justice. The current shrill howls for "law and order" emanating from the social jungles of jingoistic and chauvinistic America are savage clarion calls for an orgy in Black massacre.

The Black man, too, must attune his ear and stir himself to the stance of defense, the stance of survival. The year of '69 is to be a year of unmitigated terror. It is to be the prologue to a dramatic and glorious new testament to be unfolded in the year 1970. Brothers, the distant trumpets are beginning to wail. Sinister shadows feverishly stir in the citadel of hate. An ill wind rises to convey the demons of devastation and perdition. Get yourselves together Brothers! Get yourselves together! After the approaching harrowing night of terror and horror, change is gonna come. Lawlessness will devour the lawless hypocrite. Truth and morality shall be the final arbitrators of law and order in the streets of evilly dissipated America.

STILL PLANNING TO RETURN

The idea of my proposed return to the racist U.S.A. has not been abandoned. I am as convinced as ever that I should return in what I consider to be the most appropriate time. The decision has already been made, only the time element has been deferred. The time of my return has been deliberately set back in order to permit more preliminary details to be completed.

At any rate, the long anticipated undertaking will be a high voltage calculated risk. I shall assume this risk in the coming summer if plans materialize. I ask all those who have expressed interest to continue rallying support. Further details will be forthcoming.

BEST WISHES FOR UNITY, SUCCESS AND STRAIGHT SHOOTING IN 1969!

ETHICS AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION

It is not enough to merely strike out against social injustices. It is not enough to violently endeavor to overturn tyranny. It is not enough to strike down one evil system only to erect another. Power structures are as much the products of environment, attitudes, traditions and mores as are those who are the victims of their tyranny and oppression. Nothing can grow or develop without an environment permeated with a certain amount of fertility and tolerance.

Apathy, mental degradation, naivete and impoverished thought are the running mates of political corruption, social reaction, oppression and tyranny. Racist America is a cesspool of moral degeneracy. Those nurtured in such a society cannot expect to escape its detrimental field of gravity without well disciplined and conscious design. There is no virtue in that freedom which becomes a visa to a region wherein the individual merely discards the restrictions of virtue and morality. The right to enter a degenerate and corrupt society is not the nobility of liberty but a descension to the depth of chaotic anarchy. To control one's own destiny is not positive self-determination unless it encompasses an endeavor for superior achievement in an improved environment.

The struggle for control of the ghetto must also be a struggle for the transformation of the individual and the environment. It must flow from a conscious determination to eliminate crippling social maladies as well as alien domination. The Black freedom fighter must engage in a personal inner struggle which will exemplify and propagate revolutionary ethics. The fight for control of the ghetto must be propelled by a deep-seated desire for social change. It must encompass a crusade for social and spiritual reconstruction as well as for the reconstruction of the physical structure of community blight.

The ethics of the Black Revolution must be predicated on a very high sense of morality and exemplary conduct. Meaningful freedom must entail the duty to cleanse one's self and community. It is the duty of Black Revolutionaries to wage war against the destructive use

and dispensation of narcotics, the scourge of fratricidal crime and violence and all the social evils and conflict of human blight.

Reconstruction in the Black community cannot be left to the corrupt and degenerate power structure nor to its mercenary running dog nigras. Racist beasts have no interest in the social reclamation of impoverished Black communities. Revolution means change — change of man as well as his environment. The Black Revolution will be meaningless if it seeks merely to become a carbon copy of the degenerate racist American white man's way of life. The Black Revolution must establish a high standard of ethic principles as a part of its guide lines and objectives. The matter of ethics and wholesome constructive goals should be the great distinguishing factor between ourselves and the enemy. The great difference should be in our revolutionary struggle to pioneer in the area of human decency and dignity; to build a world better than the one that dehumanized the oppressed and made us chattel slaves to our savage oppressors.

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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 U.S.A.

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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'.

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 and Herman Ferguson. 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!

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking,
People's Republic of China