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WHY I PROPOSE TO RETURN TO RACIST AMERICA

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

This inquiry was carried by one of the wire services and was very widely circulated internationally. As a result of this somewhat unexpected turn of events, many friends and interested parties wrote to me directly expressing disbelief. My close friends are expressing serious concern for my welfare. There is an almost unanimous chorus of voices from abroad warning me that almost certain death awaits me if I return to the so-called free world.

The smaller segment not completely convinced that the U.S. is totally controlled by incorrigible homicidal maniacs, as far as black men are concerned, merely warn me of certain long-term incarceration as the power structure's method of gagging and emasculating me.

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



R. Williams

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AN APPEAL: SUPPORT FRAME-UP VICTIMS

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

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

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

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

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

—Mao Tse-tung

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

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

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