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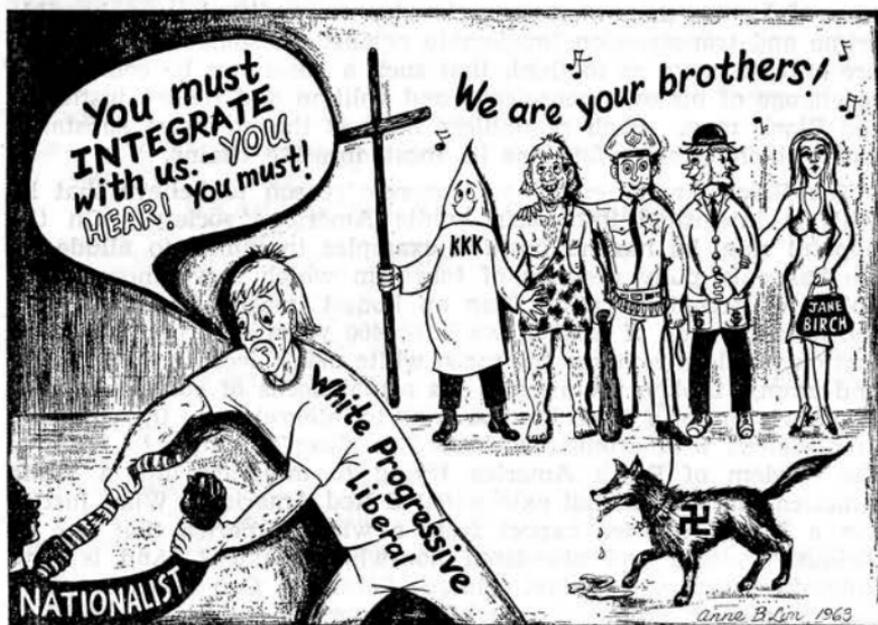
# THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher — IN EXILE —

VOL. 9 — No. 5

MAY 1968



## WHITE MAN'S NIGGER NO MORE!

More than a hundred years have elapsed since the so-called emancipation of the Black man as the white man's chattel slave in "democratic and Christian" America. Yes, according to the "civilized" white man the Black man has "enjoyed" more than a century of "freedom" in the "citadel of the free world", the "arsenal of democracy". To hear the self-righteous and pious white man howl about his magnanimous benevolence towards the "black primitive", the dull witted could very easily be led to believe that racist and Christian America's democratic concept of slavery, racial degradation and terror were and are white civilization's greatest gift to

un-Europeanized humanity. The Black man's 400-years ordeal under white Americanism is one of humanity's most blighted chapters in the book of time. The Black man's almost boundless faith and eternal patience in and towards the white man's evil deception and savage abuse constitute an exceptionally shameful record in the futile exercise of misplaced faith and gullibility.

The Black man in racist America has surpassed the limit of human patience in the toleration of inhuman oppression and tyranny. White supremacy Christianity and Americanism have plagued the Black man with a long and continuous nightmare of violence, plunder, rape, degradation, brutal exploitation and racial tyranny, conceived and nurtured in the deformed and warped womb of race hatred. Four hundred years of the satanic white man's deceit, hypocrisy, broken promises and dehumanization and some emasculated Black men still want to believe him, trust him, love him and to integrate into a savage society replete with blood curdling examples of the predatory nature of racist white nationalism. Despite the hard cold fact that for 400 tragic and mournful years the American racists have committed every horrible crime and transgression imaginable against us, some of our people are still so naive as to think that such a beast can be counted on to change of his own conscience and volition and render justice to the Black man. Such groundless hope is the strongest substance from which tyranny fashions its most abrasive chains.

The Black American has no concrete reason to believe that he will be integrated into racist white American society. On the hopeful side, he has no positive examples in which to allude to. He has only puny gestures of tokenism which serve more as an opium of deception rather than an honest image of realism. On the negative side of realism we have 400 years of brutal historical fact on which to compare the racist white man's deceptive mouthings and empty, broken promises to his actual deeds of conduct. What is the wisdom of a meek lamb seeking to integrate into the company of a vicious wolf ostensibly cloaked in sheep's clothing? What is the wisdom of Black America trying to integrate into a white America that has all but exterminated Red America? What justice can a Black America expect from a white America that has so viciously robbed and plundered non-white Mexico? And is now unleashing genocide against colored Vietnam? Can Black America expect equality in America's white supremacy environment that is as infected with race hate as a mad dog is with rabies? No! Never in a million years!

The late Rev. Martin Luther King was savagely butchered by a guardian of Americanism while trying to demonstrate the power of nonviolence and love in disarming white hostility and in paving the way for peaceful integration. The white man in racist America is opposed to racial integration and he will resist it 400 more years no matter whether its advocates are violent or nonviolent, Black or white. It is time for the Black man to serve notice on the white man that the feeling of contempt is mutual. It is time to serve notice that we do not want to go to hell with him, but to get the hell out of his beastly clutches. It is time for us to drive home the point that we are no longer satisfied to be what we have been for

400 years; we are no longer content to be what the white man wants us to be, and we no longer believe that his hellish society is the ultimate of life. To struggle for Black liberation under the tutelage of white liberals divests the movement of its inherent vitality, undermines the self-confidence of the Black masses, and promotes paternalism and the myth of white supremacy. It reduces the Black liberation struggle to that of a social ward of the inofficious dominant caste. As the honorable Elijah Mohammad has been teaching us for more than a generation, it is time for the Black man to go for self. It is time for a homeland that we can call our own.

The Detroit Conference for the establishment of *the Republic of New Africa* was a step in the right direction. Now, it is time for united action. We must struggle for self-determination, for independence and nationhood. Our war in racist America must become a war of liberation, a war for nationhood rather than a futile struggle to integrate with a ravenous beast. It is not in the nature of the racist white man to do justice by the Black man. His historical record bears witness to this gruesome fact. The white man thinks that his white god divinely fashioned him to be the master and owner of all of the non-white peoples of the earth. Let us stand up to differ by ratifying the Detroit Declaration of Independence. Let us proclaim to the whole world and especially to the white Devil in racist America that we are the white man's nigger no more, no more, and this is as final as yesterday's sunset.

### **U.S.A.: OF SIN AND CONSEQUENCE**

During the long bitter years when most Afro-Americans meekly submitted to white terror and racist tyranny, most of the peoples of the world in one way or another claimed to sympathize with the "poor mistreated American Negroes". "How shameful!" they would say in a sense of token repudiation on one hand as they accommodated the status-quo on the other. Primarily, the solidarity of Black and white in America was limited to hymn singing, bread-breaking, sympathy and old clothes. Trouble is that inactive sympathy does not count for much in a liberation struggle. The most shameful aspect of the whole affair was that some of those who prated the loudest about sympathy for "mistreated Negroes" proved to be some of the least inclined to accept the social changes necessary to eliminate racial tyranny. They only paid lip-service to the cause of oppressed Black humanity. Their activity was predicated more on paternal condescension and social indulgence than on an honest desire for revolutionary change.

In the past, many of the so-called friends of "the Negro" seemed to derive some latent sadistical satisfaction out of describing America's racist cruelty and in constantly reminding the "poor downtrodden Negro" how helpless to resist he was. To hunt and lynch a "Negro" was no more than to hunt and kill a rabbit. (The Afro-Americans until this day have been unable to get an Anti-lynch Bill passed; however, a so-called Anti-riot Bill has been passed in record time.) Universally, the law is expected to levy penalties against criminals and protect the innocent and law abiding from the transgressions of lawless villains. One shameful exception to the application of law is embodied in the representative democracy

of racist America. The Black man in racist America has no rights that the white man is legally bound to respect. For centuries Black people in racist America have been subjected to the worse indignities the devil white man has to offer and with the exception of a few dozen righteous people the white population in general has not raised a finger in defense of Black humanity. White America has raped, maimed, burned, robbed, plundered, enslaved, brutalized, lynched and dehumanized Black America with impunity. This has gone on so long that all but the new Blacks have become conditioned to its acceptance. Most people in the world seem to think that the white devils have a right to do what they please with and to our people and that it is our duty to hold still and submissive while they do it.

In the name of sobriety for those who are still intoxicated with the illusion of the Christian charity and benevolent brotherhood of white America, I offer a few incidents that give some faint indication of the true nature of the "good white folks". I think that it is very important at this time that we review some history that has deliberately been left out of the beast's history books. It is most important at this time, because this is the time that we are hearing a lot of loose talk about burning, "looting" and crime in the streets. We are hearing lots of loose talk about too many "shiftless Negroes" being on relief and about illegitimacy. And who but the same old devil is the source of this slanderous talk. Yes, the same old devil who robbed a people of an entire nation, then kidnapped another race and enslaved them in order to build a fascist empire. Yes, the same old devil who fathered illegitimate mulatto children and sold them into slavery at an exorbitant profit. The crimes of the degenerate beast are too numerous to catalogue and yet he dares to cast aspersions about the black peril of the ghetto—the ghetto that he created. Has such a beast any cause to complain about a few hot summers? Has he any right to even exist upon his stolen portion of the earth?

Now a small indication of the man's true nature: Once, in New York, Irish workers who thought that Blacks were out to get their jobs massacred 2,000 and injured another 8,000 Blacks. This was considered merely a part of the white man's inalienable rights in dealing with the "black peril". From 1889 until 1918 there were 3,224 known and recorded lynchings of men and women in democratic America.

In 1916, in Waco, Texas, 10,000 men, women and children cheered when Jesse Washington, a 19-year-old mental defective, was burned alive in the public square. Youngsters were held high to watch his agony as the flames crackled. Innumerable photographs were taken of this gruesome spectacle with its carnival atmosphere. Washington was dragged through the streets, stabbed, mutilated and finally burned to death in the presence of a crowd of 10,000. After death what was left of his body was dragged through the streets and parts of it sold as souvenirs. His teeth brought \$5 apiece and the chain that had bound him 25 cents a link.

In Tennessee a Black farmer and his two daughters, taking a wagon full of cotton to a gin, were ambushed, all three were

hanged from a tree, and the load of cotton was burned under their dangling bodies. . . .

The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* reported that Dan Davis, a Negro screamed as the fire, set by a lynch mob, reached his body, " 'Lord, have mercy on my soul,' and that was the last word he spoke, though he was conscious for fully twenty minutes. His black body hung nude in the gray dawn light. Meanwhile, the crowd jeered the dying man and uttered suggestive comments of a cannibalistic spirit. Some danced and sang to testify to their enjoyment."

The *Memphis Press* stated of the 1917 lynching of Ell Person that: "15,000 men, women and children cheered as they poured the gasoline on him and struck the match. They fought and screamed and crowded to get a glimpse of him, and the mob closed in as the flames flared high and the smoke rolled about their heads. The Negro lay silently in flames. . . . He died quickly, though fifteen minutes later excitable persons still shouted that he lived when they saw the charred remains move as does meat on a hot frying pan."

A mob near Valdosta, Georgia lynched three innocent Negroes; the pregnant wife of one of the three wailed at her husband's death so loudly that the mob seized her and burned her alive, too. As the flames enveloped Mary Turner's body, her unborn child fell to the ground and was trampled underfoot; white parents held their children up to watch.

In East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917, white workers went on a Negro hunt and massacred hundreds of innocent and submissive Negroes. The savage nature of the American white man is not inclined towards integration on an equal basis with so-called inferior people; in this respect, he has never been sociable and he is not now so predisposed to be. The Black man in America today is considered just so much excess dirt under the racist white savage's foot. The beast would prefer to exterminate Black America rather than to amalgamate or integrate with it. Those who think the "good white American Christians" incapable of such a cold blooded act of genocide are either ignorant of the white master race's brutal history and satanic nature or have been brainwashed to a highly dangerous extent of Uncle Tomism. While arrogantly standing on the countless carcasses of their Black victims, the American mad dog racists toot their own horns and are the foremost adulators of their own self-righteousness. With his cruel hands still dripping with human blood, body infected with the odor of decaying flesh and his breath tainted with the smell of the rancor of death, this racist satan has almost convinced the world of his inherent virtuous piety. In his devious cunningness, he weaves a web like a poisonous spider to snare the unwitting prey.

Let those love and trust the racist white savages of America who will, but such light-hearted folly is predicated on a deadly binge that Black people can ill afford. We must not allow ourselves to hate the white devil because he is white, but because he is the devil; neither let us love what he is doing to us because we think he is God and incapable of evil. He is evil and we know it by the scars and bruises on our bodies and souls. We also know that any people with a master race complex are more than capable of

exterminating what they consider the "inferior being who has no more right to human dignity than livestock". Professor Buell G. Gallagher, writing in *COLOR AND CONSCIENCE: THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT* states that: ". . . Under the protection of racist dogmas, the systematic extermination of a 'racial' minority has been a principle of program and practice for the 'master race'. It could conceivably happen here.

"Various devices have been used in the process of extermination. The simplest process is that of shooting. . . .

"There are other methods of extermination. Starvation and its cousin, malnutrition, are gaunt specters which have been employed with considerable success. . . . In its less obvious form of under-feeding, it has long been a tacit part of the American caste system. Failure to provide adequate medical and hospital facilities is a part of the same general pattern of letting the non-white population die off. The infant mortality rate among Negroes in ten southern states runs from 50 to 70 per cent higher than among whites in the same states, due in large part to the lack of medical and hospital facilities and prenatal care and instruction for Negroes. Sterilization is advocated by some, as a means of eliminating all minority peoples in one generation. It has the advantage of not involving any actual murder of persons now living; it merely murders the unborn generations.

"The occasional lynching or race riot in this country is only a suggestion of what the believers in white supremacy have in store for the minorities if and when it becomes necessary to act on a comprehensive scale. Mass extermination has been used on a small experimental scale in the United States—first and foremost in the treatment of the American Indian. The failure to follow through in that process means that the Indian on the reservations is not now vanishing. His numbers are increasing again. The experiment was not completed. Another precedent for the process of mass extermination of troublesome minorities is found in some parts of the South during reconstruction. In a single parish in Louisiana, after a Negro hunt in the seventies, more than two thousand brown bodies were gathered for burial."

In all recorded history, no people has been so long suffering under such diverse trials and tribulations and so stoic and steadfast in misplaced loyalty. The white supremacy spawned vicissitudes of the Black man in America are not some folkloric tales of a by-gone day. Though comparatively altered in some aspects, the Black man's ordeal in racist America is a continuous situation of static hate and rejection perpetuated by a racial caste system.

In its long brutal process of emasculating or "civilizing" the Negro, white America has transformed itself into a rabid mad dog which either must be killed or isolated and left to die in the agony of its own madness. Whole societies, like individuals, must inevitably bare the deferred cost of corruption, social evils, tyranny and grievous sins committed against the human race. It has been well said that at a given time the pupil may surpass the teacher. If there is minor looting (or peoplization) on the part of oppressed Blacks in racist America, it means that the Blacks are learning

from the whites through negative example. If there is small scale burning and the destruction of property, this is another graphic example of the contagious nature of the white man's culture. If Blacks are purging their hearts of baseless love and replacing it with hatred for the white racist tyrant, it indicates to what extent Americanism is able to transform humanity and to contaminate society with the disease of destruction. The American white man is a degenerate and incorrigible racist so long as he has the power to mold "inferior colored life" to his own service and liking.

It is the apex of hypocrisy for white America to feign shock as a result of the conduct of those Blacks now engaged in ghetto insurrection. The thing that tortures self-righteous white America the most is the thought that the pupil may soon surpass the teacher in destroying a prevailing society and culture. More and more of the beneficiaries of white power, who once shed crocodile tears for the "poor mistreated Negroes", are now more and more beginning to speak menacingly about the necessity of "maintaining law and order" at any cost; any cost to the Afro-American that is. The Black man knows from deadly experience that his lot is going to be hellish whether he burns, peoplizes, kills or plays it cool and dead as a submissive nigger. The U.S. is in an almost inextricable dilemma. The prospect of peaceful integration is dead. Love and nonviolence is dead. White sanity is dead. The American dream is dead and the cringing nigger is dead. All were killed by the white man's satanic hatred and violence. His sins have caught up with him. They have found him out; and the wages of sin is death. The time of Babylon approaches and the racist fool stands in the wake of the gathering firestorm still trying to bluff and cheat judgment out of its penalty, still basking in the sadistical pleasure derived from Black men's misery, still madly pounding his bloated chest and proclaiming himself master of the whole wide world. But lo, even for mighty America, the bells are tolling and the wretched slaves who have ascended to the bench of judgment are speaking starkly of sin and consequence.

## REVELLE FOR BLACK FOLKS

Black nationalism is being vehemently denounced and verbally excoriated with the intensity of a medical control team trying to contain an epidemic of a dreaded communicative disease. A prime reason that most people find Black nationalism so obnoxious is that it is a point of rally for Black people. Of all the nationalism in the world, Black nationalism is the least acceptable. Above all others, white nationalism is accepted as the white man's special prerogative in asserting his mastery of the world community, while the Black man's defensive nationalism is frowned upon as something vulgar and anti-social. Negative world conditions today do not mitigate against our people because of nationalism, but rather because we have too little of it. In the cause of group survival, we must develop a strong spirit of nationalism based on common goals, aspirations and collective struggle. We must single-mindedly strive to overcome our racial handicap and to construct a world devoid of the stigma of color caste.

To reject progressive Black nationalism is to deny the Black man his natural right to manhood. If Black people are to be denied the right to labor foremost for the advancement of racially retarded and socially deformed Black people, then whose cause are they expected to serve? The oppressed can only rely on themselves for deliverance. He who would be liberated must strike the first blow against his chains. It is time for Black people to wake up and realize the pressing need for progressive Black nationalism. We cannot allow ourselves to be maneuvered into renouncing our natural right to group identity.

Shrill voices are rising everywhere to denounce Black nationalism. Sinister fascists are maliciously labelling it "communistic" while racist pseudo communists are viciously labelling it Black fascism. The white folks-loving Uncle Toms are all shook up over the fact that Black nationalism may diminish the Black bourgeoisie's Sambo chance of ecstatically floating through white heaven. We cannot allow ourselves to be confused and deterred by labels and smears. Black people have as much right to strive for self-determination as anybody under the sun. Some brainwashed and timid Blacks are mourning that militant Black nationalism will further divide the races and inevitably lead to a race war. When and where have the races been fully integrated on an equal basis? Since when did the white man need an excuse to segregate, exploit, hate and abuse Blacks? Is Black nationalism the reason the white man found it necessary to plunder and enslave Africa? Is Black nationalism what brought slavery to racist America? Is Black nationalism the cause of the Afro-American's predicament in America today? Why all the fuss about Black nationalism arousing the wrath of the brutal white man? The beast has always been that way and he has always been able to formulate a ready excuse to justify his barbarity.

Some people are even gullible enough to fall for the lame hipe that the white fascists are working in league with the Black nationalists and are directing them to whip up white hysteria to the point of destroying the "liberal wing" of the racist, imperialist U.S. Government to pave the way for a rightist takeover. If the progressive Black nationalists and the fascists are one and the same, and if the nationalists serve their cause; why is it that countless Black nationalists are languishing in fascist jails, while so-called revolutionary communists are granted a constitutional right to work in U.S. defense industry? How many so-called revolutionary communist leaders are jailed or assassinated in fascist America today? Yes, there are phoney Black nationalists just like there are phoney communists, just like there are Christian fakes, but the essence of this new rash of slander is a conspiracy to frustrate and emasculate Black resistance to racist white tyranny. There are Fabian Black nationalists just as there are Fabian socialists; these are the "militant" brothers who hate Whitey's guts and they hang themselves up on the culture kick so as to avoid the responsibilities of Black manhood. Yes, and there are agents and infiltrators in our ranks, but we cannot stop struggling for emancipation because of nominal pollution in the mainstream.

Many outright lies, half-truths and deliberately planted rumors are being circulated now to rupture our unity and to demoralize the militants. The enemy oppressor hopes to subvert the Black revolution by arousing suspicion, distrust, fratricidal clashes, jealousies and by turning our mounting wrath inward against ourselves. We must build a humane and scientifically logical Black nationalism that will serve as a worthy foundation on which to strive for nationhood and self-determination. Yes, we have faults and we must strive relentlessly to correct our inadequacies, and we must endeavor to purge our ranks of treacherous and undesirable elements. While being ever watchful for enemy tricks, we must at the same time avoid becoming sectarian and racist fools.

We must carefully analyze what is happening to our people throughout the world. Racism is not just an American product. It is almost a universal commodity. White power is working throughout the world to discredit Black nationalism. It wants the world to believe that the Black man is the aggressive racist and that the pious white man is ready to redeem himself, but is prevented from doing so by vengeful and reactionary "Black racists." The true nature of the racist white man's horrendous crimes against the Black American is practically obscured by a fantastic deceit and brainwash game being played throughout the world.

Yes, the power structure has declared war on Black nationalism and is framing and railroading Black nationalists to jail wholesale on the flimsiest of false charges. We have seen the absurd claim of so-called police efficiency in uncovering a bomb plot before any explosion occurred, and which was not going to. We have seen the police's self-acclaimed proficiency in uncovering a "plot" to kill moderate Black leaders whom most militants in the race already consider dead. When the real assassination plots come off, and are not just the figment of a fertile racist cop's imagination, the real killers are as hard to locate as a fly in space. The power structure's know-all cops were given ample warning concerning plots against Rev. Martin Luther King but there was no interest in protecting a live nigger who was "making trouble." The cops are only interested in uncovering imaginary plots against spiritually dead niggers. Guards were placed at King's grave to guard it from vandalism, but is that not rather like locking the chicken house after the wolf has devoured the chicken?

Black people must wake up—now, and develop and nurture a race pride that will serve as a staunch bedrock of resistance and survival. No, we cannot, at this crucial time in our history, allow ourselves to be divided, confused and channeled into the white devil's extermination trap. We must confront truth at all cost; but we must also avoid gullibility at any cost. We must not deny any of our people the right to be heard; but we must also avoid becoming victims of mercenary piedpipers who wail the enemy's tunes. Racist Americanism is incorrigible. There is no other way to view it. There can be no such thing as true and independent Black political power within a racist system maintained by a savage goon squad. Yes, we should strive for political concessions (such as may be possible in a master slave relationship) but let there be no illusions about how and where political power originates. Some of our people think that we should concentrate

more on power politics based on parliamentary procedure. To them, this seems more sophisticated and safe, however, safe politics are the politics of folly, unless played by those already in power. Force and violence, or the threat of it, is the real staying power of politics. In the final analysis, the ballot is always at the mercy of the bullet. We cannot sanely afford to give political activity priority over the practice of self-defense and survival. In racist and savage America, where the law of the jungle prevails, we dangerously delude ourselves when we accept as fact the myth that docile "negroes" can survive and thrive on politics and obsequious appeals to white conscience.

Black brothers wake up—Now! Get organized for survival. Prepare seriously and scientifically for self-defense. We need brain power, black brain power that is more fertile than the tongue. It mitigates against us to make empty threats against the man, and it undermines effectiveness to give sneak previews of coming attractions. Those who are seriously laboring for the survival and emancipation of the wretched of the earth must go underground for the sake of preservation and effectiveness. The Black man's case in America is relative to the Black man's case throughout the world. Our remedies must become concerted and similar. In the world today, racism is the Black man's greatest affliction and we can hardly overcome other nagging social ills without removing the long standing consequences of racism.

The unity of identification for the purpose of survival and emancipation is not racism. It is a necessary reaction to it. Its natural inalienable rights evolve from the expediency of survival. It is not the Black man's fault that the white man is a racist, that he has fragmented human society into splinters of racial antagonisms. Blacks have been more than willing to share a common world of mutual respect with whites, but the whites have arrogantly laid claim to all the world and all therein, including the souls of Black folks. Self-seeking whites have always dedicated themselves to the white cause of white supremacy world domination. Realizing that there are exceptions to every rule, and appreciating the exceptions, we must go for self, not for greed's sake nor in the arrogant spirit of brutal conquest, but in the righteous cause of survival and self-determination. We must see our psychopathic adversary as he really is. It is not possible for our people to survive and thrive in his racist jungle society. The exigencies of self-preservation will no longer allow us to delude ourselves with dreams of peaceful integration as welcomed equals in the white god's stolen heaven. The wisdom in dealing with rabid wolves lies not in the remote chance that some divine power may restrain their urge to devour you, but in the fact that you deliberately render them incapable of responding to their natural predatory reflex actions. Yes, Black people, wake up! It is 30 seconds to zero. Now is the time for disciplined, deliberate and well-planned united action. It is time for reveille for Black folks throughout the world.

### **EUROPE: LIBERAL TOWARDS WHOM?**

There is hardly an Afro-American who has not been affected by the profusely disseminated evidence of the liberality of Europe.

When Afro-Americans think of Europe, we like to think of a predominantly white society that sympathizes with Black America in its bitter struggle for emancipation from white slavery in the U.S.A. We have a tendency to forget what white Europe has done to Black Africa. We have had more than enough contact with racist America to have all hope of the possibility of receiving justice from it dashed in horrible situations of concrete actuality. In the past, we have viewed Europe's attitude towards Africa more from negritude based on sympathetic abstraction than on concrete experiences. We have been so preoccupied with the Yankee that we have allowed our attitude towards Europe to be influenced by an imagination fired by a desperate desire to convince ourselves that the overwhelming majority of white humanity is not motivated by white power and racism. By the same token and vice versa we have come to realize that for the same reasons and similar conditions, some of our African brothers who have suffered the yoke of European colonialism feel towards Europe what we feel towards America and towards America what we feel towards Europe.

There is a steady crescendo of whispers, fast becoming complaints, emanating from many Afro-American brothers who are discovering that Europe is not the equalitarian paradise we once believed it to be. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the European is more and more identifying with and aping his blood brother in racist America. More and more those of us who keep abreast of world news are discovering that the racial situation there has deteriorated to a point wherein the press even feels obliged to publicly comment. Perhaps it is pure folly for us to expect more from Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and Holland, but now the finger of accusation is pointing more and more in the direction of some of the countries without a record of colonial rape and plunder.

The more the world shrinks as a result of modern technology the more the Afro-American will feel the impact of European white nationalism. To my great disappointment, I have personally discovered that the Governments of Sweden and France are more inclined to support the doctrines and designs of the American Ku Klux Klan than the freedom struggle of brutally oppressed Afro-America. Sweden has refused to grant me permission to speak against and to expose American racism to interested youth there. France has refused to issue me a visa to meet my lawyer there in preparation for a return to the U.S.A. While the racist power structure in the U.S.A. is busying itself with eliminating Black leadership, it is obvious that France is certainly not going to do anything inimical to the interest of white supremacy in America. Of course, Europe will welcome some Blacks with open arms. Perhaps it is still liberal, but towards whom?

### **COMMUNICATIONS FROM ROBERT F. WILLIAMS**

**To: The Detroit Conference: A cable of greetings —**

THROUGH WISDOM UNITY PERSEVERANCE STRUGGLE AND SACRIFICE THE SEEDS OF DETROIT CONVENTION CAN MATURE TO BLACK NATIONHOOD. YOU STAND UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT IN CORRIDORS OF HISTORY. MAKE THE MOST OF IT. HAIL THE INVINCIBLE SPIRIT OF OUR EMERGING NATION.

\* \* \*

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. 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**

**To: Robert F. Kennedy: A cable to a hypocrite—**

AS ATTORNEY GENERAL YOU SUPPORTED THE MONROE NORTH CAROLINA KU KLUX KLAN WHO ATTEMPTED TO MURDER ME AND SENT ME INTO EXILE BECAUSE OF MY STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS FOR BLACK AMERICANS. YOU HAVE DONE NOTHING TO RECTIFY THIS INJUSTICE. WHAT MOTIVATES YOUR PRETENTIOUS CONCERN FOR OUR PEOPLE NOW?

\* \* \*

**To: Governor McNair: A cable to a white savage—**

SOUTH CAROLINA'S SAVAGE MASSACRE OF VALIANT BLACK STUDENTS AT ORANGEBURG OUTRAGES CIVILIZED WORLD. SUCH RACIST TYRANNY HASTENS AMERICA'S DOOM.

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**To: The Justice Department: A cable denouncing Union Busting—**

HUMAN DECENCY, JUSTICE AND DOMESTIC PEACE DEMAND YOUR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF BESIEGED FARMERS ASSOCIATION OF WEISER, IDAHO WHERE TYRANNY HAS USURPED LEGALITY.

\* \* \*

**To: Weiser, Idaho: A cable in support of oppressed Farmers—**

CABLED CLARK. AIRMAIL FULL DETAILS OF FARMER'S TROUBLE. EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY ESSENTIAL. SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE.

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**To: Afro-American People's Association: A cable to brothers in Canada —**

IN THE SPIRIT OF BROTHER MALCOLM BEST WISHES FOR AN INSPIRING MEMORIAL AND NEW DETERMINATION FOR THE UPLIFTING OF OUR DOWNTRODDEN HUMANITY.

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**A cable of condolence was also sent to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

**NOTE OF APPRECIATION:**

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the brothers and sisters who have elected me president of THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (U.S.A.) and to all the brothers and sisters who have given me a vote of confidence in my mode and motive of struggle for Black liberation. My heart goes out to the brothers of the Black Panthers, SNCC, Mau, Mau and to all those resolutely striving to reclaim the dignity of downtrodden Black humanity. I shall never cease striving to prove worthy of the great trust you have invested in me. It is my fervent and determined hope that I shall walk among you again soon.

**R.F.W.**

**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 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!

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'.

## THE NATIONALIST ANTHEM

Oh, say can you see by the devil's dim light  
What so proudly he hailed at his twilight's last gleaming?  
Whose blood stripes and deep scars, thru our perilous fight  
O'er the ramparts they watched so arrogantly dreaming?  
And the killer cop's cold glare, violence bursting in air,  
Gives proof day and night that Jim Crow is still there.  
Oh, say does that blood-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of white hate and the home of the slave?

And where is that klan who so vauntingly swear  
That havoc of war and the battle's confusion,  
A home and a country shall lead us nowhere!  
Their blood shall wash out their foul deeds pollution.  
No refuge can save whitey's flight from the slave  
From the terror of the night or the doom of the grave;  
And the blood-spangled banner no longer will wave  
O'er the land of white hate and the home of the slave!

Oh! thus be it ever, when bondmen shall stand  
Between their loved homes and the city's desolation!  
Blest with courage and anger, gas bombs firm in hand  
Praise Black Power, the battlecry sweeping the nation.  
Burn baby we must, insurrection is just,  
And this be our cry: "In Guns is our trust."  
And our glorious new flag in triumph shall wave  
O'er a Black people free never more to be slave!

**R.F.W.**

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*The Following Item by Bob Riche Is Excerpted from: Liberation  
News Service, 3 Thomas Circle N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005*

"... despite all the singing and clapping of hands, the anti-war struggle in this country has not even begun to get going yet. Not as a meaningful mass movement that means shit to anybody, it hasn't. At the very moment when the cry of mass resistance has been raised, and could, one suspects, have a real chance for success, the movement may be in danger of losing all momentum. Why? Simply because it lacks the content for mass resistance—a content, paradoxically, that exists in plenitude; in fact, it's been exploding right in our faces for the past five years, but so far up to the present moment has been completely ignored.

"Well, where does it exist? Obviously, it has to exist in the radical and resistant power of the black revolution. And, yes, the black revolution—which is the only movement in this country that scares

anybody—is about as close to the essentially white middle class anti-war movement as Rapp Brown is to Ellsworth Bunker, and that's what's wrong with the white middle class anti-war movement; why, in fact, it has no impetus; it has no blacks; it has no balls.

"Oh, Lordy! One can hear the hue and cry. 'Defamer! Nasty! Hitter below the belt! It's not that we don't welcome black participation; but the blacks refuse to come into the peace movement. We urge them. They promise, but don't show up. Their interests are narrow. They won't participate.'

"Yeah, sure. Now, dig it, Carlyle. Them niggers in the streets been doing more all along to stop the war than the whole white middle class anti-war movement put together. They are the anti-war movement in this country. What you may have been seeing as riots and looting have been insurrections against a nation at war, and if you don't think that lays a restraining hand on the arm that aims the gun, forget it. Or better, consider: What combination of peace struggle actions in this country has accomplished so much for peace as was accomplished in one day of black insurrection last summer:

1) pointing up the hypocrisy of Johnson's pious shit about America the custodian of democracy world-wide—

2) sharpening the contradiction between moneys needed to fight the war and moneys needed to attack the nation's accelerating international deterioration—

3) most importantly, threatening the government with actual internal guerilla opposition which ultimately—and one suspects sooner, rather than later—could require at home the very same garrisons now busy "pacifying" the populace of Vietnam. (Witness the numbers of paratroops, National Guard, State cops, etc., in one city, Detroit, last summer.)

"In all honesty, does anyone doubt that the thrust of the black revolt in this country has a devastating anti-war content; that the seditious reality of the black revolt does more to force Johnson to end the war than all other actions combined—protestant and/or resistant—of the white middle class peace movement?

"The fact is, it is not the blacks who have been avoiding the peace movement; it is the white middle class anti-war effort that has been unwilling or unable to see—and to join with—an opposition which has the muscle one used to look for in the working class (probably because the black population is today's working class in America), and which is the only kind of opposition that can be effective against arrogant, anti-democratic regimes such as the one in Washington today.

"The point is being made here that the center of the peace movement, in fact, lies within the black revolution, and that the 'traditional' middle class peace movement has as its obligation to link up with it.

"Yeah, but goshamighty and leaping lizards, they won't let us work with them. You know, Black Power. Eek! Black separatists. They won't cooperate with whites.

"Yeah, so how come Stokely is the featured guest at Castro's forest conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity?

Is Castro a spade? Rapp Brown addresses a peace meeting—a 90 per cent fay audience—in the East Village. Floyd McKissick is indefatigable in his appearances on white television. These are the leaders, right? The ones who hate whites. Yeah. They may hate whites, but not as much as they hate bullshit, you can bet on it. And this country, from Lyndon Johnson on down to too much of the white anti-war movement is bullshit.

“The burden, bullshitters, is upon us—us whiteys. They, the blacks, got the real resistance going against the machine. We’re sitting around saying they won’t help us. If we want to give impetus to the so-called anti-war movement—if we want to help ourselves—it’s time we helped them—by getting our lily white asses into their fight, the most meaningful anti-war struggle in this country. There are a lot of additional virtues to that, too, not the least of which is it gets a lot of the bullshit out of our systems.

“Does anyone really think they don’t want us? Is that what they say? Or is that what Huntley-Brinkley say that they say? Why do we invite Rapp Brown ‘downtown’ and go to hear him speak if we don’t listen to what he says to us? What he says is, the blacks got plenty of reason to oppose the war. Even more reason than whites. For one thing, all them spades are gettin’ shot up over there. So come on all you bullshit artists, we don’t want you marrying our sisters (heh, heh) but we don’t mind cooperating with you to stop the war.

“They’ve been saying this for five years! Malcolm said it so loud and clear he got burned. Because if a certain kind of militant unity ever really was organized it could be devastating to the war machine.

“To this same point, there’s been exactly one peace slogan since the beginning of the movement that’s in everybody’s mind: ‘Hell, no, we won’t go!’—first enunciated by Stokely. And there’s another cat who probably has more worshippers among black kids than any other man in America, Muhammad Ali, and he says to the draft board: ‘I got nuthin against those people over there.’ And he’ll go to jail, if necessary, rather than join the Army. But of course, every bullshit artist knows that the Nee-groes aren’t interested in the peace movement.

“If there’s one reason why the blacks have avoided the white middle class so-called peace movement in this country it’s probably because they don’t trust it; don’t really believe that Whitey is as serious as they are about opposing the Johnson war machine government. . . .”

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Nobody, in fact, in the Democratic or Republican Parties will withdraw from Vietnam, just as nobody in either party will support self-determination for black communities, end U.S. hegemony over the third world and imperialism the world over, or abolish the draft.

Tom Hayden

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