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USA: STAND BY FOR VIOLENCE

For several years now the white supremacy hate groups have been organizing, securing military weapons and training for massive violence. These underground fascist groups are studying military science and tactics. They are training through field exercises which they operate from their own private military bases. Not only are they stock-piling weapons and ammunition but they have established light arms industries wherein they can manufacture light automatic weapons. These terrorists are well financed by wealthy ultra-rightists and the racist middle-class who are mobilizing and indoctrinating the poor white masses to use as shock troops against, what they call, the Black peril in America. White liberals and their Uncle Tom running dogs, while



trying to minimize this steady mounting threat, are still trying to foist Gandhism and non-violence on our people. Not a single non-violent task force has been sent to work among these violent white thugs. All of the Judas preachers who teach non-violence are directing their efforts towards the lambs instead of the wolves.

The Sambo liquidationists are more disposed to denouncing the Black Power of self-defense than the growing racist white power whose objective is to exterminate Black America. Who can doubt the motive behind the mustering of anti-Negro armies? What would a private citizen want with a bazooka, a machine-gun, a mortar and other military combat equipment? Do you think that these are mere toys for a father to amuse his children? Do you think that these are museum pieces to amuse the old ladies in their sewing circles? Do you know what live bullets and shells are for? These deadly instruments of death are not harmless scarecrows in a domestic corn field. This is not the manifestation of a citizenry indoctrinated in the power of non-violence and love. It is more than obvious that these reactionary fascists are well aware of the historical fact that parliamentary changes must be ratified by gun power. They know that what congresses legislate the gun can veto and negate. This was the case of the long night of terror that followed the changes of the Reconstruction Era. They hope to bring about a repetition of history.

While the most hardy of Black manhood is mobilized as cannon fodder to fight a racist white man's war of imperialism in colored Vietnam, defenseless Black women and children are being left to the mercy of heavily armed racist savages in the so-called free world of racist America. The brainwashed segment of the Black bourgeoisie are entertaining the same notions of folly that led their Jewish counterparts in Nazi Germany to such a shameful and tragic end. Racist cliques do not share their special privileges in a philanthropic gesture with "inferior humanity." When the wolf has devoured the most tasty and easy prey, his nature dictates that he must turn to what is available. The Black bourgeoisie cannot escape the destructive wrath of the white supremacists any more than bourgeois Jews could escape the brutally fatal clutches of Nazism. Whether the high brow Tom likes it or not, his fate is inextricably interwoven with that of the ghetto masses. There is nothing that his Black face can do that will allay the burning hatred the racists hold for Black people. No extent of appeasement will be successful.

Frustrated bitterness without positive direction is of no avail. Yes, our bitterness is justified but it must be transformed into constructive power. A people's power must flow from unity. This unity must have direction. It must have an objective. Organization is indispensable to a people's survival. If the Afro-American is to survive and not suffer the fate of the American Indian, he must work seriously and tirelessly along these lines. The civil rights pitch and the social integration mania have just about run the gamut. The new trend will develop more along the lines of bread and butter, self-determination, shelter, gainful employment, educational opportunities and human dignity. The most violent campaigns will be waged against police brutality and cruel dehumanization.

The first shock waves will be felt in the coming summer. Thereafter, they will become more and more intense. When an aroused force of those inspired by love of liberty confronts the cruel intransigence of tyranny, fierce violence is bound to ensue. The Afro-American is driven by an irresistible quest for the right to live as a human being, while the racist whites are dead-set on a reactionary policy of containment. White supremacy cannot afford to yield its master position without transforming its life. The status quo is life to it. Its survival means, in its warped concept, that the Black man must remain in chains. The Black man is a new concept of life struggling to be born. One force

represents the old struggling to survive, and the other is the new struggling to be born. This crisis is bound to be resolved through conflict and blood. When the lines of conflict are so sharply drawn and the contradictions are so great, it is sheer folly to rely on good will and benevolence. Freedom is not a welfare commodity to be dispensed through charitable agencies. Freedom is not alms to be begged for and received in meek gratitude. Freedom is to be seized and consolidated with gratitude owed only to those whose struggle and aid brought it about. It is not in the nature of the oppressor to voluntarily relinquish his strangle hold on the oppressed. He may resort to deceit. He may feign. He may relax his pressure in order to gain a more firm control of the situation, but always his design is the same. He may shift his tactics. He may engage in a diversionary manoeuvre, but his objective is the same. It is always to perpetuate and to consolidate his power and privilege to oppress.

The Afro-American must not allow himself to be lulled to sleep. He must not allow himself to believe that the "Christian conscience" of America has been touched by a repentant mood. America is conscienceless as far as Black people are concerned. It will not of its own goodness stop being racist any more than it will stop being imperialist. It will get out of Vietnam only to save itself. It will abandon gun boat diplomacy only when it becomes too dangerous. It will love Negroes only when it will prove fatal to hate them. The power of love and non-violence is a farce. Massive violence is impending. Get organized and batten down, else it will take you like a thief in the night. Give your burning hatred for oppression constructive and logical direction and stand by for violence.

THE PLAGUE OF THE SUBVERSIVE SCARECROWS

There is a new breed of Uncle Tom journalists who are trying to project themselves onto the big stage of reporting by pandering to the Black peril hysteria now sweeping the ofay world. The growing instantaneous explosions taking place in the ghettos, and the fact that whitey dares not show his face during combat and when things are hot, paves the way for Black Judas stool-pigeons to unscrupulously exploit the situation. This new breed of pen pimps prostitute their services to the power structure. They deliberately play on the ofay's traditional fear of a Black uprising, throw out a few hints of myriad conspiracies being organized to whit his desire for more information, and convince the frightened racists that only a Black face can penetrate the inner sanctum of the smoldering Black Revolution. He sells the theme that only immediate exposure and containment will save the nation and the reactionary status quo. Mr. Charlie lives in terror from some inner intuition that keeps haunting him with the thought that his way of life may be approaching extinction. Out of desperation he hires the Black Judas stool-pigeon. This mercenary Sambo strives with all his might to sell the ghetto and revolutionaries on the idea that they need "objective" publicity in order to project a new image.

The proposed new image is supposed to change the fortune of the smeared and debased ghetto personality. The fact that racist white society in the USA has been the way it is since its very inception is completely overlooked. The fact that beastly racist tyrants never change of their own accord is of no moment. Oppressors and tyrants cannot be overcome by projecting an amiable and acceptable image in response to their barbarous brutality. The image that racist America has of Black people is an image that was tailored and designed to perpetuate white supremacy. It has nothing to do with reality or the collective conduct of our people. Prejudice is a vehicle by which the prejudiced can justify the distorted nature of things that their biased minds have reduced to the state they wish them to be. Only in cases of some minor exceptions

can prejudiced images be changed without first abolishing the need that brought it into being in the first place. The environment which nurtures prejudice must undergo drastic change. A new image in an unreceptive situation is of no avail.

After the sinister services of the stool-pigeon journalist are acquired, this Judas must prove his worth by uncovering sensational information that could only be obtained through dangerous encounters made possible through a Black face. The Uncle Tom pen pimp, realizing that he must produce in order to maintain his new status, becomes a conspirator instead of an investigator of conspiracies. He weaves a horrendous tale of insurrection and intrigue and masses an army of scarecrows on a mythological battlefield situated beyond the no man's land of the ghetto and the white world. This Judas, who sanctimoniously claims to be striving to project a new image on behalf of besieged freedom fighters, is a counter-revolutionary. His opportunism serves the power structure in its policy of containment. He represents a subversive element that alarms and triggers the intervention of the oppressor's brutal security forces prematurely. When violence does come to the ghetto the power structure is prepared to handle any situation that may arise. They are prepared for any eventuality. Thus freedom fighters lose the element of surprise.

One should not get the impression that every person who writes about the combat forces in the ghetto is motivated by ulterior motives. There was a time when this sort of writing was very important. In the days when our people were being so grossly misled by the advocates of turn-the-other-cheekism, and the masses were slow to grasp the idea of collective self-defense, the idea of putting a scare in Charlie in order to wring a few more meagre concessions from him was a constructive tactic. This tactic has now run its course. The man has made it clear that he understands that token concessions will not solve the problem. He has come to realize that those who negotiate for token concessions and integration do not represent and cannot satisfy the restive masses. The emphasis now has shifted to brute force.

Those who still try to employ the old gimmick of, "if you don't deal with the non-violent forces you will have to face the wrath of the violent forces who are waiting in the wing, organized, armed and just waiting for the cue to turn the country upside down," are out of step with time and conditions. We are facing a changed situation now and it requires unadvertised true power. Evil forces inside the USA are mobilizing to annihilate the Afro-American. The Afro-American is facing a brutal and bloody struggle for survival. Attempts at infiltration and subversion will be myriad. The Judas pen pimps will play a major role as a deadly weapon in the power structure's search and destroy operations. In order for the Afro-American to survive the coming storm, now is the time to muster actual power and to hell with the subversive scarecrows.

USA: THE LEGACY OF KANGAROOISM

From the very first instant the Black man was brought as a captive to the so-called new world (it was not new at all, the Indian was already there), he was excluded from the white man's version of civilization and he was a victim of, rather than a beneficiary of, his law. It is no mere figure of speech when it is said that the Black American has no right that the white man is bound by law to respect. 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? Most U.S. communities compose their jury rosters from the property tax lists. This means that the very poor propertyless citizens, of whom the Afro-Americans rank lowest, are systematically excluded from juries. Inasmuch as the very poor are the ones most frequently brought to trial, they cannot possibly expect to face a jury of their peers because of discrimination based on property ownership. This is systematic exclusion based on both race and class. If jury duty is a special "privilege" extended only to the propertied class, then those of the community whose circumstances of life have not allowed them to accumulate property are relegated to limited community participation. This discriminatory system places a stigma on them and labels them as inferior citizens. The propertyless can be adjudged by the propertied, but the propertied cannot be adjudged by the propertyless. An accused without property can be tried in such a stacked court, but his peers without property cannot sit to render a verdict. Under these conditions all men cannot be said to be equal before the bar of justice. Does this infer that a citizen who has not acquired property is less capable in administering the affairs of the state? It is past time to destroy such a feudalistic practice. Why do those legalistic organizations, that place so much stock in the legal approach, not endeavor to abolish this discriminatory practice of systematic exclusion? Because Afro-Americans are denied fair employment and equal educational opportunities they are the most systematically excluded. The selection of juries from tax lists is a method by which bigoted officials can stack and rig juries. Even though the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that all designations of race on tax lists, from which juries are drawn, are unconstitutional; the southern racists are still able to practise exclusion by virtue of the geographical designation of race and class. Racist Court officials know which is Black town and which is white town and from this point of view they stack their juries in deference to white supremacy.

Afro-Americans who serve on juries must be just as determined not to serve the cause of white supremacy as whites are to serve it. Afro-Americans must stop serving as yes men in court proceedings rigged against Black people. They must stand up at any cost to spare innocent Black people from being legally lynched in the racist white man's kangaroo courts. It is past time to destroy the tragic legacy of kangarooism.

THE GOOD OF THE EARTH

The brutal trigger-happy head-whipping sadist cops of New York have been defused and civilized. Now they proudly function as their brother's keepers. . . . The killer mobsters of Chicago have laid down their guns and vice and have volunteered to join society and work for the reconstruction of the community. . . . The juvenile delinquents of Philadelphia are sweeping the streets, cultivating the parks and policing the litter. . . . In Los Angeles the winos, perverts and derelicts have turned respectable and are working feverishly to create a better society. . . . In Birmingham and in Jackson, Mississippi race hatred and discrimination have been completely abolished and the whites are working in the Autonomous Black belts in a crash program to wipe out the

economic, educational and political lag created by ancient disfranchisement and oppression. . . . Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer is a Congress woman and the Muslims have their land. . . . Johnson attends a rally of two million citizens from all walks of life. . . . An advocate of Black power is allowed to speak uncensored. . . . There is not a single pick-pocket or drunk in the crowd. . . . Unemployment in the nation is no longer an incurable social ill. . . . Everyone is working not for personal profit or gain but unselfishly for the collective good of the many, and the glory of the country. . . . The philosophy of the masses is to serve the cause of mankind. . . . The individual ego is being subdued and work is considered an honor rather than an undesirable task thrust by fate on those born into the unfortunate circumstances of poverty. . . . The Metropolitan communities are no longer rife with crime. . . . There are no muggings, no prowling thieves, no robberies and a woman can walk the streets at any hour of night without fear of purse snatchers or rapists. . . . In the hotels of Miami it is not necessary to lock the rooms. . . . If you should lose your wallet with your pay-roll in it, there is no feeling of desperation on your part because you know that the finder will promptly return it. . . . There are no slave-driving bosses on the job. . . . Millions of teen-age girls, young boys and soldiers are hiking across the country together without swelling the population with illegitimacy. . . . Millions of youth are marching across the country voluntarily disseminating the writings and teachings of Johnson. . . . (Well, never in a million years, but we must twist our imagination) Yes, and Johnson is writing and saying something worth disseminating. . . . He is the beacon light of all the people. . . . There is no draft. It is a high honor to volunteer and be accepted by the armed forces. . . . The people are not afraid of death. . . . They are not afraid of atomic war. . . . America supports revolutions of liberation and social justice throughout the world. . . . The highest officials of Washington can be called on the carpet by ordinary citizens and made to give account of their conduct and policies. . . . American cops and soldiers do not use their billy clubs and firearms to bully and intimidate the people. . . . Over a hundred million workers are in the militia as proud volunteers and they are armed to defend the country. . . . Hustlers, pimps, sharpies, prostitutes and dope addicts are extinct. . . . Drunkenness, knifing, shooting, evictions, mob violence, Jim Crow and flim-flam are social evils that strange savages from a strange jungle far across the sea indulge in. . . . Sounds utopian, the dreams of an idealist crack-pot. . . . That proves what happens to a people who are isolated by narrow minded mad men. Yes, the butchers and cynics in Washington say there is no such place. That's why Rip Van Winkle Rusk still calls Peking, Peiping. He has been asleep so long that he doesn't even know that the Chinese people have changed governments and capitals. . . . The mad dogs in Washington tell me that such a place as this does not exist, but I am living here as a result of being chased out of their GREAT SOCIETY. This is not one of Martin Luther King's dreams, it is real. Since America claims all of the virtues of life, I substituted it for China and I find that no stretch of the imagination could allow us to logically and morally compare the two.

CUBA: THE TRAGEDY OF NO PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Cuban Revolution was a revolution that inspired and captivated just-minded peoples everywhere. Revolutionaries throughout the world looked upon the Cuban Revolution not merely as a Cuban Revolution, but as a revolution that symbolized the aspirations of oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere. Cuba attracted the attention of freedom fighters like the valence of a powerful magnet. The name of Fidel Castro became synonymous with liberation. He was lionized as a great

champion of the dehumanized and oppressed. Fidel and "Che" brought a new breeze of hope to the Western Hemisphere. A new breed of youth was fired by the glory of a revolution of youth who dared challenge and topple a U.S. supported beastly tyrant. Fidel was the personification of a modern day Little David.

The Cuban Revolution brought sweeping reforms and a bold new political system to a small country long plagued by a brutal system dominated by U.S. imperialism. Brave little Cuba, practically sitting on the back steps of a fierce and colossal U.S. imperialism, declared herself socialist, and daringly informed the big Yankee bully that if it didn't want to live next to socialism, it could "move somewhere else." Cuba not only talked Revolution, she meant it. She lived revolution and declared herself in solidarity with all who struggled against imperialism, tyranny and racism. The Cuban Revolution gave the Cuban people a new lease on life. It brought dignity to the poor peasants, the toiling masses and the Black victims of racial discrimination. It eradicated illiteracy, extended medical attention to those who had never enjoyed it before and brought full employment to a populace long stricken with chronic unemployment.

Dauntlessly, the Cuban people fought off every spiteful form of aggression that the reactionary and brutal U.S. could fabricate and hurl at her. From sheer courage and determination Cuba won every round against the dirty big bully champion of fascist causes and social reaction.

Yes, the glorious Cuban Revolution triumphed in every phase of struggle but one. Unfortunately, this was the essential and most basic on the long laborious road of the consolidation of people's power. The petty bourgeoisie has regained the reins of power in Cuba. The Revolution was a people's revolution, but its growth is now being stunted. The abolition of private property and a partial destruction of the old system was considered sufficient for the construction of a new society. To deprive the bourgeoisie of its dear property rights is but a single battle in a bitter protracted war. Property does not constitute a society. A society consists of people divided into many social and economic strata. Cuba changed the property structure, but it failed to change its human resources. In order to salvage what it could of the old order and to qualify for favorable positions from which to subvert the trend towards a new social order, the bourgeoisie submerged its old image and feigned assimilation into the new society. Its experience, education, executive practice, and natural adeptness in cunning and scheming made it likely candidates for essential and bureaucratic offices. From this vantage point, the petty bourgeoisie moved into the vacuum created by the exiting traditional bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie always aped and dreamed of attaining the status of the traditional bourgeoisie. They were always their faithful servants. They admired everything they stood for. Now that they are in power, they long for the good old days when riches made one a king in paradise and money was power no matter how it was accumulated. They are finding ready allies and cohorts in the petty bourgeoisie-minded Russians. With the blessings of Moscow, they are moving might and main to emasculate the people's power, sabotage world-wide liberation movements and to reach a detente with the big racist and imperialist American monster. The great Cuban people are becoming captives of the enemies of people's power, world revolution and classless society. There is a latent conspiracy to even destroy the once glorious image of Fidel Castro. Fidel is being tricked into betraying, alienating and crushing his most loyal comrades-in-arms and supporters. The gang of unscrupulous vipers around him have succeeded in isolating him from the masses and those who strive for the best interests of the masses. Some of his aides and confidants have so stacked the deck against him and the toiling masses that they now feel secure

enough to openly engage in counter-revolutionary activity, graft, piracy and all manner of subversion. In many instances the CIA can operate with an open hand. Their nefarious handiwork is covered by officials of the security police whose devotion extends only to themselves.

The Cuban story is a great revolutionary tragedy of this age. It is not a tragedy born of too much revolution, but because it had too little of it. It is a revolution laboring mightily under the strain of both internal and external subversion. It is a revolution falling short of the full cycle that all successful revolutions must traverse. There are three basic and profound stages of a successful people's revolution. The first stage is violence and the seizure of power, the second is the abolition of private property, special privileges and land reform and the third stage is psychological, of which the bourgeois influence is destroyed and the thought of man is transformed. The tragedy of Cuba is that the revolution, as of yet, has not reached or vigorously struggled to reach the third stage. An old bourgeois cultural pattern in a new society is a barrier to genuine people's power. Such traits are the hallmark and perpetuator of the stratification of class injustice. Only a thorough proletarian cultural revolution can truly consolidate people's power.

The rise of the petty bourgeoisie to the fore of Cuban socialism is returning many of the social evils inherent in a reactionary and oppressive class society. The people are again losing their voice and influence in governmental affairs; the workers are again losing their power to forge their destiny as their worker's and peasant's movements are becoming impotent and sterile. The Negro is again becoming a pathetic victim of race prejudice and discrimination. Bourgeois power and control of a multi-racial state apparatus invariably means social ills peculiar to the thought and class interest of that particular group. Afro-Cubans are beginning to feel the pinch of subtle but fast returning racism that was part and parcel of the old order. The face of the Cuban Government is becoming whiter and whiter. Those Black girls in offices, banks and public administration that the Cuban people once so proudly alluded to are becoming less and less evident. Many Cuban delegations sent to foreign countries are fast approaching the lily-white stage. The students sent abroad to study more and more give evidence of a rigid quota system placed on Black youth. This is very significant because the students represent those who will inherit the responsibility as the vanguard in the future course and continuation of the revolution.

In culture and the arts, the tendency is to ape Europe. Early in 1966 one of the Czars responsible for Cuban dance and ballet informed lower echelon directors and mentors to "whiten-up" the dance troupes to Europe, because too many Blacks were being integrated into them and that might create a bad image of Cuba in Europe. It was stated that Europeans may get the erroneous impression that Cuba is a Black or African nation. The internationally famous Afro-Cuban poet, Nicolas Guillen, has been somewhat relegated to a back seat in Cuban cultural affairs. Some Cuban high brow European culturalists think that his artistic themes reflect too much Negritude.

It has always been my policy to oppose racism to the nth degree wherever I encountered it. This charge against the bourgeois pseudo-socialists of Cuba by no means leaves margin for the reactionaries of U.S. imperialism to level criticism against the island Republic. From the standpoint of comparison, as for brutal racism, the savage USA still outstrips Cuba by a distance comparable to that from earth to moon.

Strange things are taking place in Cuba. I talked to "Che" Guevara for more than two hours shortly before his disappearance. He told me that he knew I was having problems in Cuba and that he was going to see to it that I got more assistance. "Che" had a copy of the

newspaper HOY of that day and asked me if I had read the editorial in praise of and support for Rev. Martin Luther King. I had not, "Che" indignantly threw the newspaper down on his desk. He reflected for a moment, regained his composure and said that there was a disagreement in the government. "We all don't agree," he said. After our long conversation about my problems and the world situation, "Che" said that he was assigning an official to help me with my immediate problems during his absence. He said that he was going to the interior of Cuba for a period of one month after which he would return to Havana and personally assume responsibility for helping me. He said that as soon as he returned he would call me by telephone so that we could take up where we left off. It was already dark and the building was deserted with the exception of the armed guards assigned to guard the Ministry of Industry and his own guards. That was the last I heard from revolutionary "Che" Guevara. While the Cuban press tries to smear and slander the great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, world revolutionaries can only look on in sadness and dismay and hope that the Cuban people and Fidel will awaken before another imperialist sinister masterwork of subversion materializes. So is the fortune of shallow and half-way revolution, and so is the tragedy of Cuba.

WHAT COLOR UNITY?

Since the advent of the neo-Black Power tendency, the question arises from many quarters as to revolutionary whites' roles in the new scheme of things. Some persons feel that the Black Power struggle excommunicates the white radical from the fellowship of rebellion. Many justifiably, but overly bitter from whitey's treachery and betrayal in the past are resolutely opposed to even limited concerted action with members of the special privileged race. Unfortunately, the great multitude of whites in racist America are addicted to rabid racism. This is an all time national tragedy that cannot be glossed over and taken lightly.

However, the fact remains that there are always exceptions to the rule. Though our people are engaged in an eternally fierce struggle for human rights and survival, our ranks are infested with Judas Blacks. They do not identify with our cause, but with the cause of our oppressors. Many of these Black mercenaries would sell their mummies for thirty pieces of silver and a slap on the back from white gentry. They are the worse sort of human swine to ever walk the earth. They, too, are to witness a harsh judgment in the day when the meek shall inherit the earth. On the other hand there are exceptional whites willing to put their lives and fortunes on the line for social justice and equality. No man can question the sincerity of John Brown, and only the vilest sort of cynic would ever want to. There is a small band of hard core whites who supported our struggle in Monroe, N. C. When I stood among leaders practically alone and called for armed self-defense on the part of Afro-Americans some of our first guns were bought by money contributed by principled whites. When I turned outspokenly Black Nationalist, though some parted company with me, a handful remained. They have supported me in every way and they have never tried to dictate my policy. They have consistently supported me in what I advocate without trying to change me or without displaying paternal chauvinism.

Those who have been with me from the very beginning, know that my Black Nationalism developed as a result of the dismal failure of integration. They know that it developed in the wake of a long series of failures suffered as the result of white liberal betrayal. My first experiences came through my activity in the NAACP, Human Relations Councils and the integrated Unitarian Church. Through these endeavors I first learned the true nature and treachery of latent white nationalism. I came to realize that the overwhelming majority of white

liberals and pseudo-leftists did not view our bitter suffering in the light of primary significance, as a result they were not willing to resort to the severe methods that are needed to bring relief to our brutally oppressed people. They were only interested in making legalistic and moral appeals to the conscience of a nation already waxed callous from centuries of barbarianism.

As the oppressed, I realized that we had to take our destiny into our own hands. We must fight for ourselves and we must devise and determine our own methods of struggle. It is no mere accident that since many white liberals have been deposed as our leaders that our struggle is becoming more and more militant and that we are more and more beginning to identify with the revolutionary peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. If we are going to strive to change the old order that is racist and oppressive, first of all, and essentially, we must rely on our own efforts. We must lead ourselves. We must be willing to carry it alone if necessary, but we need allies and we must seek them. We are weary of big white daddies and bosses. We have had enough of them.

There are a few whites in racist America who personify the spirit of John Brown. Some whites have been able to transcend the psychological barrier of racism and white nationalism. The Afro-American is facing some difficult and bloody days in racist America. Our people must explore new areas for friends and allies. There are whites in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Europe who are just as opposed to Yankee Mr. Charlie's wicked ways as we are. The tragedy is that there is no liaison between the Afro-American and these people. As Black Nationalism develops, we are more inclined to view the image of the white man as an enemy instead of his thoughts and deeds. The Afro-American's scope and contact are limited because of his long captivity in savage America. To a certain extent the Black American's personality has become distorted as a result of living in a jungle society where almost every white individual is a committee-of-one, avidly devoted to the task of preserving a status quo that dehumanizes and brutalizes all people of color. Racist America is a place where white nationalism transcends the class, political and religious lines. As a result of living in such a hostile environment, as a matter of survival the Black American has developed certain defense mechanisms. Having been the helpless and defenseless victims of white tyranny and betrayal so long, he is naturally suspicious and afraid of the white image.

On the question of integrated and collective black and white unity in racist America, this is not feasible at this time. At this juncture of America's historical development, the psychological, sociological, economical and cultural gap is too great between the races. The Black psyche is one formulated through aeons of oppression, based on inferiority, while the white one is based on aeons of abuse and oppression of Blacks as superiors. Most whites still identify with the racist and imperialist power structure, while most Blacks have become disillusioned and want to change or destroy it. White presence or participation in militant Black activity has a restraining effect. This does not mean that there is no place or task for the white radical in the freedom struggle. Because of bitter intolerable oppression, Blacks are more inclined to accept revolutionary remedies as cures for the social ills that now plague decadent imperialist society. At this stage, considerably more agitation and education are needed among the white masses. Inasmuch as the great majority of whites harbor intensely rabid contempt, prejudice and hatred for Blacks only whites can possibly conduct campaigns of agitation and education among them. The greatest assistance at this stage that white radicals can render Black militants is to condition whites for future united action with Blacks

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on an equal basis in the rapidly approaching future. Whites are reluctant to work among their own people while displaying an over anxious passion to converge on the Black ghetto in a missionary spirit. The compulsion to perform a missionary task among the oppressed rather than among the oppressor is a negative reaction to social injustice. It is an act of responding to symptoms rather than to causes. Unity should be based on common objectives and mutual respect.

Whites abroad can give immediate and concrete support by exposing the racist crimes of U.S. imperialism and by inviting grass roots representatives of the ghetto to explain the true nature of the problem and struggle. They can offer an international forum for the Black masses, help to publicize the struggle, engage in supporting demonstrations at U.S. Embassies, initiate united activities and render financial and moral support where possible.

Racist Whitey is dispatching his emissaries, both black and white, throughout the world to whitewash his racism. He wants to cover his heinous crimes against the American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Afro-Americans and other minorities. He is battling for the minds of the colored peoples of the world and he is attempting to create a universal white fellowship based on white nationalism. He has even been able to enlist the Russian Big Charlies in the great white alliance to remould the world in the image of Mississippi. This is a part of racist and imperialist America's psychological warfare to support its military design for world conquest. Black Americans must resolutely counteract this evil design, unite with those who are willing to unite with us, regardless of nationality or color, and meet Mr. Charlie's challenge by exposing his sinister and savage nature to the whole wide world. The Afro-American has an advantage that most anti-imperialist foreigners have never had, our people have lived with the white supremacy Yankee beast and have been his long suffering victims, when he did not feel cause to display false modesty and hypocritical protocol. Savage Charlie is deceiving the world at large. He has awed it with his technological achievements and productive capacity. Many dupes think these materialistic qualities reflect the ultimate in civilization. These dazzling achievements have obscured the moral, cultural and spiritual degeneracy of barbaric America.

Our brutally oppressed people must stop seeing racist and imperialist America as THE WORLD. Our struggle and ties must extend beyond the borders of white supremacy America. This is our greatest hope for survival and salvation. This is our great key to victory. We must set ourselves to the task. We are Black Nationalists because racist America's white nationalism has excluded and abused us for centuries. We are Black Nationalists because this is the only banner under which we can unite our people to counteract and defeat white nationalism. Black Nationalism is the only common denominator that will solidify our dehumanized and fragmented people. White nationalism has dehumanized our people and given us inferiority complexes. Black Nationalism will restore our pride and resurrect our decaying and lifeless bodies from the racist white devil's graveyard. Only those who have a vested interest in the status quo, or derive a sadistical thrill from seeing our wretched people squirm from the torture of white terror and brutality, will oppose our utilizing the only escape hatch left to us in racist America. Revolutionary Black Nationalism manifests an internationalist outlook, it is anti-imperialist. Progressive Black Nationalism is opposed to the exploitation of man by man and detaches itself from the horrible crimes committed by imperialist America in its savage and cunning campaign to dominate the world. Black Nationalism is for Black liberation power to stand up to ruthless and oppressive racist white power. Black Nationalism cannot expect sincere sympathy from a white supremacy power structure in racist capitalist America nor from

the sycophantic Brezhnev-Kosygin clique of Russia. It can expect it from Albania and the John Brown's of the entire white world and even from those in white supremacy America.

MARZANI & MUNSELL, MOSCOW ORIENTED ROGUES

If our people harbor any doubts about the sinister character of the Moscow oriented running dogs, who deceptively pretend to be friends of Black people, they should apprise themselves of the facts surrounding Marzani & Munsell's publication of *Negroes with Guns*. Acting in league with the so-called U.S. Communist Party's Moscow line, of subversive conspiracy against revolutionaries and nationalist oriented Blacks, Marzani & Munsell publishers have contemptuously refused to pay me even a single cent of royalties on *Negroes with Guns*. These unethical running dogs of Moscow and the U.S.C.P. are highly indignant and peeved because I am outside the orbital sphere of Russian satellites. How dirty can these racist reactionaries get? They are working hand in glove with whitey power structure to prolong my exile, hoping that I will never be able to return and expose the skeletons in their closet. They hope to continue feigning love and sympathy for our people until such time that we can be unwittingly delivered into the Johnson-Kosygin bag of tricks. They are grossly mistaken.

AGENT AT LARGE: REVOLUTIONARIES BEWARE!

D. H. Mansur, operating out of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, is a self-avowed running dog of British and American agents of imperialism. Mansur is a confidence man and a flim-flam artist who has stolen money from the Afro-American freedom struggle. He has betrayed Revolutionaries in the Congo and Angola. He is a counter-revolutionary with close contacts with high reactionary officials of the Cuban Government who are part of an international conspiracy to sabotage revolutionary movements. Mansur is an enemy to all revolutionaries and to the government of President Nyerere.

CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is not an impetuous reaction to the exigencies of an unexpected situation, but is an integral part of revolutionary development as pointed out in Mao Tse-tung's summations on continuous class struggle. The following quotation elucidates the necessity for and the objective of the Cultural Revolution: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."

— Mao Tse-tung

(On the Correct Handling of Contradictions
Among the People. February 27, 1957)

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China
Order copies of *The Crusader* to pass along.