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USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION PART III

In 1964 when I first advanced the idea of the potential of a minority revolution in the USA, among other things, I was called a "species of maniac out of touch with reality". Again in 1965 when I extended my discourse on the potential of a minority revolution there was very little change in attitude and response from certain "sane" quarters. Now in 1967 again I endeavor to provoke serious consideration of this highly emotional and controversial question. This time I write with certain



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knowledge and facts derived from Watts, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and more than a hundred other places. In this brief treatise it is not my objective to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. This is not meant to be a blueprint for revolution, but is meant to inject sobering thought into the minds of those jingoists who so arrogantly extol the myth of American invincibility. I want to explore America's weakness and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution.

Once again, I raise the question could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total revolutionary unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage, and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be some of the salient attributes for the success of a minority revolution. In keeping with the principles of people's war, wherein the great masses of exploited peoples of the world represent the rural masses surrounding the cities (the exploiting industrial countries) the Afro-American revolutionaries represent a mighty urban underground within the city. Our people must further develop and master people's warfare.

A high quality leadership would have to be developed. It must be wholly committed and devoted, selfless, devoid of ego, mentally alert, imaginative, fearless servants of the people acting as an instrument responding to the desires, necessities and aspirations of the revolutionary masses. All positions of leadership should be provisional on the basis of tried and proven performance in action. Selection on the basis of prestige is a form of accommodation that is inimical to effective struggle.

In racist, tyrannical and imperialist America the question of violence vs. passive resistance no longer confronts brutally oppressed black people. Savage and sadistical cops, racist terrorists and active bigots have already resolved the question of choices before us. They have decided for us in favor of violence. Now that violence is the only road left to brutally oppressed blacks, we have only to ponder the question of to what extent and methods we could respond in order to survive, in order to win. When one is forced to fight, he should fight desperately to win. If one is forced to resort to revolutionary violence to counteract tyranny, he should spare no effort to overturn the system and destroy the structure that serves as a medium for oppression and tyranny. Such an effort requires political theory, political guidance, and a dynamic nationalist spirit, fired and sustained by an endless torrent of propaganda. It is essential that armed resistance to tyranny be vigorously supported by that indispensable weapon common called psychological warfare.

We must analyze and probe in depth the situations and conditions underlying the plight of our oppressed people in racist America today. Kidnapped Africans were introduced into America's slave society as implements of agriculture and production. Captive black people, in the minds of the molders of American society, were never meant to enjoy the benefits of American society but were to be utilized as machines to

produce for its enrichment and glory. Capitalist America's transition from a primitive to an industrial state was greatly aided by its brutal exploitation and enslavement of savagely victimized black people. Sociologically speaking, the black man has never been respected as anything more than a machine of production and a vast reservoir for exploitation. Herein lies the great tragedy of our present miserable plight and the system's insoluble dilemma.

The capitalist system was predicated on the abuse and dehumanization of black people. It was partially designed and fashioned to glorify white supremacy and to liberate the European from feudalism at the expense of colored people. The pitiful cases of the American Indian and Mexico offer ample evidence that Americanism is an evilly constituted authority fashioned to generate brute power and to institutionalize the white man's right to exploit, rape, rob and plunder in the name of white civilization. Yes, poor whites are exploited too, but the supreme white authority has been careful, even from the beginning, to afford them escape hatches built into the system. Even their slavery, what little of it that existed, was not of a permanent nature. They elected to call it indentured. Even today a white skin still carries a certain significant premium. It is still a badge of status in the system of racial caste.

American racism is inherent in its economic and social system. This inherent social evil cannot be drastically rejected without completely altering the political, economic and social structure of the nation. White supremacy cannot afford to yield its master position without a complete transformation of its way of life. This means that it must discard its psychic make-up. It must discard its white supremacy arrogance and egotistical Americanism. The status quo is life to it. Its survival means, in its warped concept, that the black man must remain in the caste ascribed to him. It is not in the nature of the oppressor to voluntarily relinquish his stranglehold 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 maneuver, but his objective is the same. It is always to perpetuate and to consolidate his power and privilege to oppress.

Each year uprisings and rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, become more and more extensive and ferocious. The gap between black and white is becoming ever more wide. Massive unemployment and hunger are symbols of the American way of life for the great masses of our people. In relation to justice for the black man, the U.S. legal system is a white supremacy instrument of kangarooism that sanctifies and dignifies the mayhem and cannibalism of white savagery practiced against America's captive black humanity. No sober thinking Black American can fail to see that fascist groups, with both overt and covert support on the part of the U.S. Government, are gearing for a vicious campaign against our people. In the sense of the black man's original role as a machine of production, because of automation, he is becoming obsolete and the need for his labor and production is diminishing as rapidly as that of the ole mule in this modern age of mechanized farming.

It is a great myth to believe that the surplus black man is needed by the big boss to threaten the jobs of the poor whites. There is also

developing a surplus of white workers with which to threaten whites. As far as necessity is concerned, blacks are not even considered in the picture any more. The power structure is moving might and main to develop a black bourgeoisie Uncle Tom buffer group to inhabit the schizoid no man's land between America's black and white worlds. This new class of nigra zombies is supposed to represent America's show case of democracy and multi-racial affluence. The power structure is stupid enough to believe that a crash program, aimed at integrating and elevating a small clique of good responsible nigras, will serve as a pacifier and sedative that will lull the ghetto masses to sleep until the pogrom is over and the race problem is solved through intimidation, token integration and extermination. The white power forces in racist America are asinine enough to think that the black masses are so fantastically childish that they will be content to enjoy food, shelter, dignity and security vicariously; and that as long as they have examples of vulgarian Toms, who have made the suburban set, that this phenomenon within itself will allay the restive black masses' feeling of frustration, neglect and denial. White America feels no urgent need to relieve the oppressive and stifling colonial conditions of the black masses. The white man's relations with the black man in America are governed by an imperialist mentality. He sees no need to respond humanely to the black man's cry of anguish. His response is the club and the bullet. The masses are brutally subjected to the club while a microscopic, obedient and dog-loyal elite is transformed from peons to compradors. This old imperialist line of building a buffer class of petty bourgeoisie among the natives of the colony is a bankrupt policy. It is already obsolete and represents that stupid kind of folly hatched in reactionary minds haunted by the exigency of social change.

Dire poverty, dehumanization, brutal oppression, ruthless exploitation, terror and tyranny constitute the motive force that drives the victimized masses to a state of last resort. Man's final and ultimate response to the tyrannical intransigence of an insensate power structure is revolution. Revolution is a final spark of hope that flares in the ashes of despair and the devastated faith in the institution of parliamentary buffoonery and demagoguery. Revolt is a natural human response to brutally sustained tyranny. The adamant colonial attitude of the racist, imperialist American power structure leaves the Afro-American but one of two choices; he must either meekly submit to tyranny and risk ultimate extermination or invoke the natural law of survival and resort to revolutionary resistance. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that he will turn to revolution and be determined to obtain victory at any price.

Theoretically, if the black man in America should elect to pursue the final course, what would he have to do in order to overturn tyranny? America's strength and weakness should be carefully analyzed. Strategically speaking America is a mighty giant with an exposed Achilles heel. The key to America's strength is its almost unlimited industrial capacity. Its staggering production is its life blood. From a military point of view it is also its greatest weakness. The American society is the most automated society in the world. It has become addicted to machinery. It has become enslaved by it. Without it it would soon wither and die like a green melon whose vine is severed from its roots.

Without consideration of the social and political ramifications of the evil systems of Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan, and strictly from a military point of view, we should study the causes of racist America's advantage during the Second World's War. Aside from the effectiveness of dauntless allies, one very salient point is the fact that U.S. and allied air power was able to pulverize enemy production, communications and to greatly disrupt the normal scheme of life. While the enemy was made to suffer this disadvantage, American industrial power was allowed to intensely mobilize its abundant human and natural resources, rapidly expand and to fiercely feed the war effort unhampered. The American scheme of life was never violently disrupted and, relatively speaking, the civilian population was merely inconvenienced as a result of the war. In the past American production has been fortunate enough, because of technical limitations and geography, to escape the devastation of war. The fear of such devastation is the very reason the power structure is so hysterical about the proliferation of H-bombs and intercontinental rockets. Massive devastation of America's industrial centers would reduce it to a primitive nation.

The Afro-American is in range of the American giant's Achilles heel. American production, communications and the normal function of the affluent society are exposed to the Afro-American's natural revolutionary reaction to tyranny and oppression. A united, well organized, armed and trained Black America is a potential force to be reckoned with in its own right. The American case is a unique case. Any Afro-American revolt would consequently constitute a unique form of urban guerilla warfare. The match and gasoline would be his most effective weapon. Four hundred years of violent deprivation can be transformed into an indomitable fighting spirit that may burst forth on the American scene with an intensity more fierce than a hundred hydrogen bombs. The black man will have nothing to lose but his chains, while America has its very existence at stake. For it is better to live just 30 seconds in the glory of human dignity and freedom than to live a thousand years crawling in terror beneath the brutal foot that savagely maintains the tyrant's yoke of tyranny.

As the power structure applies ever more brutal repressive measures in response to the black man's just petition for social justice, a precision type urban guerilla warfare is the prerequisite for the black man's survival and liberation in racist America. Such a campaign must be well organized and coordinated. There must be a vast network of communications and central planning. No matter how primitive, black freedom fighters must establish their own coded and clandestine communications system. There must be central planning and a national supreme command. Afro-American revolutionary forces must create a top-notch security agency. This agency must be responsible for the establishment of an efficient and extensive intelligence network. It must infiltrate the armed forces, the National Guard, the police, the FBI, the CIA, public utility services and all political groups, right, center and left. The power structure's facilities must be utilized to advance the cause of Afro-American liberation.

Such a revolutionary organization would require many facets. Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. A tightly organized and highly mobile under-

ground guerilla force would have to be clandestinely organized. This well disciplined force would play a more aggressive role. It would be well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when deployed as snipers. Its mission would be retaliation, to visit attrition upon the enemy and to pin down and bring about a dispersal of his concentrated forces. This guerilla force must operate in small bands and know every inch of that part of the city where it is to operate. It must control its fire and use its ammunition sparingly. It must be highly mobile and constantly shift its position when sniping to avoid detection, death or capture. It must have a perfect understanding of its mission at all times. When operating in full view of great throngs of people, its members should cover or mask their faces to prevent revealing identity. It should handle its weapons with gloves, especially the captured ones, so as not to leave incriminating finger-prints on weapons that may later fall into the hands of repressive authority. These groups, while sniping and performing other missions of sabotage, should be extremely careful in avoiding death and injury to the friendly black population. Friendly property should be diligently protected and safeguarded. The guerilla forces must be so organized, coordinated and equipped as to prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle with repressive forces by ambushing, sniping, bombing and sabotaging roads. These people's warfare tactics must be executed in a fashion that will reek frustration and exhaustion on the oppressive enemy forces.

A welfare corps would have to be formed. Persons with medical knowledge should be recruited and mobilized to care for the wounded during uprisings when many white hospitals and medical centers refuse or half-heartedly treat wounded black casualties. It should distribute food, aid victims of fire and look after the general welfare of the people. Such a corps should serve to build morale, encourage and educate the people to support the resistance fighters of the uprising and to maintain tight security about what takes place in the ghetto and as to what roles are played by certain individuals. It should raise funds in preparation for legal defense for those who fall into the vicious clutches of the kangaroo white supremacy law in the early stages, before the legal system is completely paralyzed.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. The fire teams mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their immediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement and would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would often times masquerade as super patriots and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. There would be no official meetings and discussions, only emergency calls and sudden missions.

The mission of these thousands of active five teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags, allowing enough air at the bottom to allow

the flame to burn until it burned to dry leaves and grass, thus devastating the forests. The length of the candle would be determined by the amount of time needed to clear the scene. At night the bag would conceal the light of the flame. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that belongs to the enemy in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the miles of fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troop re-enforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive manpower, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more accessible. A few teams could start miles and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect the holocaust and emit a feeling of impending doom.

What types of weapons should be in the arsenals of the Black Revolution? Guerilla forces should rely heavily on simple and even homemade weapons. Much stress should be placed on obtaining highly portable weapons that are easily concealed. Soldiers on leave, AWOL or recently discharged should be induced to play a very active part in the Black Revolution. Full use should be made of this personnel's military training and experience. They can give invaluable instructions in the use of heavy machine-guns, hand-grenades, anti-tank guns bazookas and demolitions. Militant minded brothers in the service will be able to aid in securing weapons of all descriptions. Revolutionaries must keep a sharp look out for hustling troops whose greatest pre-occupation in life is to play the chicks and the night life; for a few bucks they can become a great source for supplying much needed military gear.

There is a great need for the black revolutionary to become proficient in ambushing and seizing arms and equipment from the enemy oppressor. This includes even the capture and use of tanks and armoured cars. Special effort should be made to locate and seize Minutemen and rightist fascist groups' arms caches. When U.S. Government surplus military and sporting goods stores are peopled (looted), first aid packets, gas masks and helmets should not be overlooked. When stocked, the heavier type of model airplane equipped for remote control can play a big role in urban guerilla warfare. These model planes can be used to deliver hand-grenades to targets. Firing pins or mechanisms can be so constructed that the impact of a direct head-on collision will set off an explosion. Dynamite and other explosives and deadly chemicals can be utilized from these heavy model planes. These model aircraft can also be used to reach fenced in and inaccessible targets like oil storage tanks, industrial chemical tanks, high tension power installations, armoured cars, and troop carriers. They can also be used against inaccessible buildings and other targets that may require special attention.

The black revolutionary must become creative, must use his imagination, talent and training in the sacred cause of liberation. He must become consciously constructive in devising ways and means of harassing, bankrupting, exhausting, demoralizing, injuring, and destroying the enemy. He must not expend himself, his forces and supplies foolishly. While soberly respecting and analyzing the strength of the enemy, he must never fear him. He must seek the advantage of battle and be as certain as the realm of possibility will allow that skillfully planned and executed actions will heap great injury upon the enemy. Revolutionary forces must save themselves while destroying the enemy. Revolutionaries must make a strong bid for dramatic victories that will inspire the people, encourage them to want to participate in a war of dignity, retribution and liberation. At the same time the urban guerilla must strike terror into the hearts of the enemy forces. He must be well disciplined, of high morale, devoid of ego and be able to work and think collectively. He must at all times project a double image. To the masses of the community he must project an image of a race conscious politically mature brother whose unshakable mission is to defend the human dignity of our downtrodden masses. His image should be that of a liberator rather than one of a thug rioter engaged in an orgy of pointless plunder. He should be seen as a Black patriot and savior who is convinced that it is more honorable to fight and die in battle against oppression and tyranny directed against the black people of the ghettos than to die in white men's wars of imperialism and the repression of freedom loving colored peoples abroad. He should equate his revolutionary actions, not to "looting" and "rioting", but to the spirit of the Boston Tea Party, the battles of Concord, Lexington and Valley Forge. He must feel and understand the nobility of his historical role; a role that affords him the opportunity of forging his own destiny and of bringing new direction to the world.

The fact that the power structure has called for an integrated National Guard that will be specially trained and equipped for counteracting urban guerilla warfare will provide black revolutionaries with a never-before-opportunity to infiltrate the first line of the power structure's repressive arm and acquire the latest professional skills in military science and tactics and the handling of weapons. This is a golden opportunity that should be seized upon to the fullest extent. When security is tight and every individual concerned has been checked and double checked as a security risk, newly acquired tactical knowledge must be discussed and disseminated among small secret groups. Marksmanship and the handling and manipulation of weapons can be taught through the use of air rifles and pellet guns. Dummy rifles can also be used to improve marksmanship, by cutting slots in cardboard boxes that will hold a rifle snugly in position. The box can be mounted on a chair or table facing a small target tacked to a wall. The trainee sights the rifle in on the bullseye of the target and leaves it in the position he thinks to be accurate. The experienced shooter or instructor looks down the gun sights of the weapon just as it was placed by the trainee and can ascertain to a certain degree the marksmanship of the trainee. This exercise is repeated until accurate sighting comes naturally to the pupil. This exercise must be supplemented by a series of exercises in the practice of trigger squeezing. The trainee can be taught the proper method of trigger control by slowly squeezing triggers on empty rifles until he perfects a method of sniping that requires an

ability to squeeze the trigger with the minimum of jerk. The shooter should not anticipate when the rifle is going to fire. The shot should come as a surprise to him. A jerk or impatient pull of the trigger throws the rifle off target and makes for poor marksmanship.

Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size or the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armoured troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are 3 or 4 stories high. The jumbo size of the gasoline bomb can be made by using an empty syrup bottle of one gallon capacity. These gallon sized glass jugs are usually available around confectionaries, drug stores, restaurants and warehouses. Each is equipped with a screw-on cap and is fitted with a finger grip or a built-in ring by which to handle the bottle or jug with a single finger. This type of jug can be filled with almost three-fourths gasoline, about one-fourth extra heavy motor oil with lubrication grease added. The screw-on cap should be tightened after which a tampax, well soaked in gasoline, should be securely taped or wired to the jug. The soaked tampax or well soaked rag is lit when the individual is ready to heave the Black Power Bomb. The glass jug or container breaks on impact thus igniting the gasoline, oil and grease resulting in a napalm-like effect. This is highly effective when heaved from a roof top into personnel (troop) carriers. It can also be thrown as a satchel charge against tanks and other armoured vehicles. Satchel charges can deal deadly blows to armoured vehicles. U.S. regulation type and instructions can be obtained from U.S. service men.

During the time of all out conflict selective fires must be set over a wide area. This spreads the enemy forces thin and makes the situation more difficult for him to control. During the height of the fire offensive, car patrols should roam widely separated sectors of the city with heavy duty adjustable wrenches. All fire hydrants in safe, isolated or deserted places should have their caps removed and valves completely opened. This will hamper and sometimes completely negate the power structure's fire fighting capacity. Fire is the black man in racist America's most effective weapon. It can be just as devastating as a hydrogen bomb. America is the black man's battleground and he cannot afford to hesitate to use whatever means necessary to remove the bitter and tragic consequences of almost 400 years of unmitigated white supremacy tyranny.

After initial incidents that trigger conflict with brutal police forces, Afro-Americans must more and more avoid massive congregation for confrontation. Fighters must quickly disperse and keep out of range of chemical sprays used to immobilize and identify freedom fighters. Some sprays can render the individual unconscious. Some types may result in permanent injury and may be used by the power structure unsparingly in a surreptitious campaign of genocide against the restive black masses. Snipers must always be conscious of the fact that even during night hours the sniper-scope, consisting of infra-red telescopes, can be used by enemy forces to zero in on their positions. The only defense against this is to fire and shift positions and to keep shifting positions and firing only at worth-while targets. The urban guerilla fighter must rely on the elements of mobility, speed, surprise, terror, a friendly environment, knowledge of the community, concealment and cover when possible. He must consciously concentrate on the enemy's weakness, attack him at his weakest point and avoid becoming a target of his massive power.

Possibly, if the brothers should want to devise an effective defense against the thug cops' chemical warfare, club attacks and vicious close range shooting, it may be necessary to send special representatives to Africa for specialized training in the manufacture and use of the poisonous dart. This simple, silent but deadly technique was highly successful when used by the Congolese revolutionaries against Tshombe's butchers. This could become a highly effective secret weapon in the arsenal of the Black Revolution in racist America. It could be most potent at night during confrontations with killer cops. These vicious mad dog butchers would never realize what hit them. This type of warfare must be waged under top secret conditions.

The "honky" cops and the racist power structure are deadly serious in their war against black people. Afro-Americans can expect no humane considerations from such insensate savages. They are cold-blooded killers and they have no qualms what-so-ever about massacring our helpless and defenseless people. We must respond in kind. During all confrontations with racist thug cops and their loyal black running dogs, black freedom fighters must realize that it is a do-or-die situation and must fiercely act in the most violent and desperately daring fashion as a matter of survival. The thug cops are devoid of all mercy. When they have the upper hand they will not hesitate to viciously butcher black people. Revolutionaries must remember that there is no second chance or appeal from death. In situations of such savage confrontations what is to be done must be carried out instantly before the beast squeezes the trigger. It is better to die in action and to take at least one of the enemy along, than to die as butchered swine by an unscathed sadistical beast who lives to kill again and again.

No method of terror or destruction against the oppressor should be overlooked in urban guerilla warfare. Freedom fighters should always try to invent and develop new methods of sabotage that can be carried out against targets of opportunity in particular areas. Students of electronics, chemistry and science should be organized and mobilized in a way that they can contribute greatly to the arsenal of the urban guerilla fighter. Fighters should also be able to obtain an almost unlimited supply of plastic bombs. When hardware stores and tool centers in department stores are raided compact sets of acetylene torches should rate high on the list of most desired weapons of struggle. These small portable sets can be ignited, set for slow cutting with the intense flame fixed to remain directed against gas mains, oil pipe lines, gas and oil storage tanks to effect explosions. If this is done at night the flame should be covered leaving a small space at the bottom of the cover for air while the flame is concealed to prevent detection. This set-up must be completed swiftly and the fighters must get as far away from the scene as fast as possible in order to avoid being caught in the explosion.

Revolution is not a festival and it must be approached with the utmost seriousness. Freedom is not a welfare commodity to be doled out as charity. It must be seized and taken with the ferocity of a wounded tiger. Nobody is going to give the black man freedom. Nobody is going to give him justice. He must take it. America's brutal oppression of the black man justifies any means that he may find it necessary to resort to remove the consequences of the savage legacy of slavery and dehumanization. Relentless oppression breeds hatred,

violence and war. America more than deserves all that is coming to her. Those who insist on following an evil road of tyranny and injustice must ultimately expect to meet a harsh judgment of retribution.

Americanism or American capitalism is synonymous with brutal exploitation and is motivated by a ruthless drive for super profits, wealth and power. American society is a caste in which the black man is psychologically molded as a sub-human. He is expected to faithfully play the part of a sub-human and to show gratitude to his white deformer and mental mutilator for even extending the meager generosity of allowing him to breathe the oppressive air of the master's slave kingdom. The black man is expected to passively submit to all debasing and aggressive liberties that the racist white man sees fit to take against his life, limb and fortune. The black man is not expected to entertain any principle or cause of his own that is worth making war for, that is worth dying for. The long suffering and brutally oppressed black man is expected to meekly and dutifully make war and die in response to the white man's orders. This slave mentality must be cast away forever. If he is to know justice and prosper, the black man must take up the sword in his own hand and in his own cause. With the sword of war he must hew liberty and justice out of the social mountain of oppression and tyranny. He can wash away the evil filth of America and cleanse its soul with the sacred blood of martyrs whose highest calling is revolution.

More and more the most thinking element of white America is beginning to concede the fact that the Afro-American is capable of a potential that could very well lead to the destruction of racist, imperialist America. However, the question is invariably asked: "How can such a small minority expect to control and reconstruct a vast nation wherein the oppressors constitute such a great majority?" The fact of the matter is that the tyrannical conspirator has already offered a solution to this problem through negative example. The plundering white head-hunter first appeared in the Indian's America as a very small minority. Once he broke the resistance of the courageous Indian, he solved the imbalance in red-white population by massive immigration. He encouraged everything with a white face to settle on the land that he had just robbed from the Indian. This same method of solving the racial imbalance was successful in Australia and New Zealand, and Zionists conquerors appear to have the same thing in mind in the Middle East today. For the first time in history, why can't America be opened to unlimited colored immigration? Why can it not logically pass from colored back to colored? It is a foregone conclusion, that even if whites were welcomed with open arms in such a just society, the overwhelming majority would resent living in an environment justly guided by colored power.

All degrees of white supremacists and their Uncle Tomboes and some honest, but retarded thinkers, are more than zealous in pointing out that a Black Revolution in racist America can never succeed because of the numerical superiority of white racists and the concentration of state power in the hands of the majority. These dismal hawkers of defeatism unwittingly concede the fact, through this argument, that America is a hopelessly racist country and that all whites can be counted on to fight to the death for the evil cause of slavery and tyranny. What scientific laws reserve the victory of battle for the majority? If revolu-

tions should only be undertaken under conditions wherein the insurgents hold the advantage of numbers and the edge in power, what is the need for revolution? Such conditions would be conducive to parliamentary change. Revolution is the medium 'hrough which the underdog can overturn the top dog villian.

Capitalism operates on the profit system. Profit is the motive force that nurtures its growth. Profit is the reason for its existence. Without profit it would eventually wither and die. The life blood of U.S. Capitalism is its productive capacity and its extensive commerce. If these two factors were to become paralyzed and rendered sterile the orderly function of the governmental establishment would degenerate into a state of chaos, and the superstructure of the system would collapse. The American economy and its delicate and automated society cannot withstand any sustained and violent dislocation. Massive, violent disruption would set off a chain reaction that would fragment the entire nation and usher in an all-consuming state of anarchy. Out of the ashes of anarchy and chaos a new order could be reconstituted.

The more automated a society is the more vulnerable it is to forces of calamity. The American society's better half is the machine. The modern machine has become a soulless extension of the American anatomy. It is the indispensable crutch on which a lame American society limps toward human sterility. The machine has transformed the American society to that of a collective semi-invalid, greatly dependant on it for mobility. What would highly mechanized America be without electrical power? What would it be without modern transportation? What would it be without its industrial capacity? Yes, what would it be without the modern and luxurious facilities that it has grown so accustomed to?

The insensate power structure realizes its vulnerability. It realizes the potential consequences of a Black Revolution. The very thought of such a possibility throws it into panic and hysteria. No oppressive system wittingly and willingly goes to its doom passively. It fights desperately and brutally for its existence. It does not hesitate to unleash frantic pogroms and campaigns of genocide. It has no compunction about resorting to extreme measures of fascist repression. America is no exception. The alternatives ahead for Black America are bloody and violent revolution or meek submission to tyranny and Nazi-like extermination. Revolution is a serious and costly endeavor. In America it would claim untold numbers of human lives. Property damage would be immeasurable, but in the final analysis submission to tyranny would be an even more expensive proposition for the black population. The power structure has an alternative to the approaching holocaust. Its only hope is an intense crash program of total justice and equality and possibly a geographical separation. It is not the nature of tyrants to honor the petitions of their victims. The tyrant's response to such just demands is always unmitigated force. Tyrants always entertain the illusion that brute force is a panacea for social ills. They inevitably make the fatal mistake of thinking that violence is an invincible pillar of state hegemony.

The shrill voices of white supremacy fools are rising from the turmoil of social dislocation and hysterically calling for extermination of that segment of America now called the Black peril. They want America's consequences of long standing racial injustice solved by wiping the victim from the face of the earth. They are overwrought

with the white man's self-appraisal of invincibility. They have no conception of the world today. They don't know what time it is. The vicious power structure can murder, maim, imprison and plunder but it cannot destroy Black America without destroying white America. The two are joined together in a forced and incompatible wedlock, they have been unable to learn to love each other and the head of the household is unwilling to make a property settlement. The head of the household wants to have his cake and to eat it too. This is scientifically impossible.

Newark and Detroit were merely skirmishes of protest. Complete alienation is imminent. The black man is in for some rough days ahead. He will experience some jolting setbacks, but he will learn the hard way. Through negative examples he will learn the art of warfare. He will become steeled in his determination to overcome, and the conditions of battle will transform him into a fierce fighter. Great loss of life will not serve as a deterrent, but as a propellant. More and more the masses will come to realize that their greatest chance of survival lies in collective and fearless struggle. Anger will descend on the collective masses like a great torrent that flows from a crumbled dam. Such a force will be invincible. It will be powerfully driven by the fact that it has nothing to lose and a whole new world to gain. The great masses of Black Americans have nothing to lose, the power structure has everything that a ruling class can ever lose.

The cynics, the Uncle Toms, the capitulationists, the timid, and those socialists who disguise their white supremacy precepts behind a facade of pseudo-Marxism are more than blunt in reminding Black Americans that a minority revolution of black people cannot succeed in racist America. From a faulty dialectical point of view they have all of the stereotyped answers as to why such a noble undertaking is bound to fail. This prejudiced point of view is in the same vane as proclaiming that the Black African cannot run Africa without the white man. It is like saying that a youth is not mature enough to manage a responsible position. This negative view is the manifestation of either subconscious white supremacy or contempt for the black man's ability to match the white man in wit or revolutionary capacity. It can be said to be tantamount to a white man approaching an all black work crew, being directed to a black supervisor, but instead turns to a white bystander and asks if he is in charge of these black boys. He just cannot understand how a job can be carried out without the inevitable white brain and authority. We are invariably told that we cannot succeed without the master race.

Seven million Cubans can take a stand against the powerful USA and the whole world cheers and inspires them to resist. Fourteen million people in South Vietnam stand up to U.S. aggression and become the "Little David" against Goliath among the nations of the world. Two million Jews unleash aggression against one hundred million Arabs and the whole reactionary world cheers the success of their imperialist inspired aggression. More than twenty-two million Black Americans, who are massed in racist America's most sensitive regions, speak of massive resistance to genocide and tyranny and we are greeted with only the demoralizing words that "you can't win because you don't have a majority. You must have the good white folks on your side." And when we ask where are the good white folks and what is the formula

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

Mao Tse-tung

for winning them to our side, there are no positive answers. In short, what we are being told is that we must have the white folks, and inas-much as there is no possibility of their joining us, our cause is lost. In other words, we should do nothing other than to passively protest and make love to our oppressors and wait for them to fall in love with us on some vague and mythological date in the future.

Why should the black man in racist America love the white man? Why should the black man in racist America trust the white man? Is not the white man the one who created the hate barriers? Is he not the one who has betrayed and abused the black man? We know that there are white exceptions in racist America, but if we are going to be realistic we must concern ourselves with the rule rather than with the exception. Those who so readily proclaim to us that we cannot win such a conflict are sometimes actually expressing a secret wish. This is what they really hope. The same individuals who wish to convince us that we need the great white folks are also some of the very first ones to express a fear that the white masses will side with the power structure. The fact of the matter is that racism is a grand part of the American way of life. The great majority of the American working class constitutes a great manpower pool for world fascism and imperialism. They cannot be expected to change until the conditions that molded them are shattered. So long as the great majority of them remain the cream of the world's working class they cannot be expected to manifest any strong altruistic drive in the formulation of meaningful solidarity ties with their less fortunate and oppressed fellow workers throughout the world. The overwhelming majority of the American working class, at this historical moment, must be seen as the conservatives and, to a great extent, as the counter-revolutionaries that they are.

In a minority Black Revolution in racist and imperialist America, the best our people can hope for, as far as the white working class is concerned, is the strategic neutralization of a great portion of these unreliable racist masses. The black man cannot leave such an accomplishment to chance either. This is why any all-out minority revolution must create a state of crisis wherein almost all of the white male population would be forced to remain in their homes to protect their property and families. A great factor in favor of the Afro-American is the fact that the middle class is very large. It is not accustomed to deprivation and terror. Because of its affluence, it has waxed soft. It has no stomach for massive fire, blood and violence. The motive force behind its life drive is its endless pursuit of prestige, conspicuous consumption and sensual pleasures.

A few years of violent, sporadic and highly destructive uprisings will set the stage for the grand finale. After the stage is properly set, through protracted struggle, big bad racist and imperialist America could be brought to her knees in 90 days of highly organized fierce fighting, sabotage and a massive firestorm. This would be a unique type of urban guerilla warfare that is only applicable to a highly industrialized and urbanized country like racist America. Such a campaign could only be mounted by a desperate and frantic people struggling for survival. This type of warfare must be based on the expediency of the last resort. This is the final hope of the brutally oppressed wherein intolerable misery has closed the hopeful gap between life and death.

The day of such a confrontation draws near. Time is running out. The power structure prepares to respond to just and prayerful petitioning with more brute force, armour and steel. It has not learned its lesson in Vietnam. It has no understanding of the relativity of resistant violence to applied violence. Relative to revolutions and rebellions it is like a child who does not yet understand where babies come from; for it does not yet seem to know where rebellion comes from. Rebellion is born of oppression. Tyrants are the progenitors of revolution. Conditions of tyranny constitute the womb of revolution. Revolution is a Caesarean operation to facilitate the deliverance of the child of peace. It is the surgery needed to master the complications developed by a malfunctioning parliamentary delivery system.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist and imperialist America. Its chances of success today are better than at any previous time in history. America is an imperialist power with its tentacles spread around the world. Its greed makes it want to dominate the world. It has arrogantly proclaimed its hypocritical self savior of the entire world. The fact of the matter is that it can not even save itself. The American black man holds the balance of power in the world today. He holds the fate of America in his hands. The only thing left to the power structure is an alternative that its actions show that it has already rejected. Is there cause for a Black Revolution in racist and tyrannical America? Even by the evil white man's standard there is. And for the sake of those "responsible" wise men who are so prone to invoke the extremist indictment against those who believe in revolution and violence as the only forceful response to tyranny, I finally take refuge in a quote from that extremist document called THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:

"... Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Coming soon:

AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND. A book by the editor of THE CRUSADER dealing with the experiences, propaganda, motivations and philosophy now transforming a non-violent civil rights struggle into a national liberation movement based on urban guerilla warfare.

PROTEST THE BAN

The banning of THE CRUSADER Newsletter from the U.S. mails is yet another warning of an ominous nightmare of fascism hovering over America. The fact that Lyndon B. Johnson personally ordered a probe of the "content and mailability" one week prior to the summary and arbitrary ban offers undisputable evidence of the dictatorial nature of the Johnson regime. It constitutes a graphic example of Johnson's callous disregard for civil liberties and constitutional guarantees. The fact that the Johnson regime is openly and shamelessly soliciting the aid of postal authorities in Hongkong in the enforcement of its fascist ban also proves that the Johnson gang expects the whole wide world to respond like ever-loyal running dogs to its every whim and command.

Since its inception nine years ago, as an organ of the Union County, North Carolina Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, THE CRUSADER has pursued an uncompromising policy of advocating armed self-defense for brutally oppressed and terrorized black Americans. It has never wavered in its stand against imperialism, fascism, racism and the enemies of freedom, peace and justice. THE CRUSADER has always been a staunch advocate of the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution and equality for all Americans irrespective of race, creed or political persuasion, and from the very beginning maintained that the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The summary punitive action taken against THE CRUSADER is an alarming indication of the rapid erosion of civil liberties in racist America. As a matter of constitutional preservation, it warrants the protest and active opposition of all Americans who believe in the right to dissent and freedom of press and speech.

Send a protest against the banning of THE CRUSADER to: Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

Help devise ways and means to frustrate postal authorities' ban on THE CRUSADER. Order copies today to pass along and to send to the brothers all messed up in the U.S. Armed Forces. THE CRUSADER is hurting the man, you dig? KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, 1 TAI CHI CHANG, PEKING, CHINA