

# ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher - IN EXILE -

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## THE FOURTH ESTATE: SAMBO JOURNALISM

Historically, on the whole, the Negro press has played an invaluable role as the foremost informant and uncompromising defender of the human rights of Afro-Americans and oppressed peoples throughout the world. Most of the Negro press could be counted on to always be in



Savage cops use a billy club in arresting Anna Puckett, 16, during violence in Atlanta's Summerhill section. Rufus Hinton

the forefront of the black man's perilous struggle for social justice and human dignity in rabidly America. racist Through some of the most desperate and dark days of the black man's oppresin barbaric America the Negro press served as the primary source for dissemination of what little institutionalized negritude our people were exposed to. The black press was an institution of colored nationalism in a hostile white man's white supremacy world that nei-ther respected nor concerned itself with the welfare and culture of its black peon class. The black press was an institution that promoted Negro History and maintained unofficial archives of the Afro-American cultural heritage. The militant segment of the Negro press was avidly anti-imperialist. Its stand was firm and consistent against colonialism. In many U.S. communities, and especially in the South, the black press was considered subversive and provocative by the white Power structure, and Afro-Americans read it at the peril of life and limb.

The black press was the primary organ functioning to expose brutal lynchings, sadistical violence, cruel racial discrimination, the crippling aspects of segregated school systems, unconstitutional disfranchisement and the savagery of America's kangaroo legal system. The black press incessantly pleaded for race unity and pride. Yes, truly the Negro press was what its name implied, a medium of expression through which the black man could air his grievances, preserve his heritage, educate and inform the race. It was called Negro press because it was owned by, supported by and served the cause of the black masses in a hostile white racist society wherein its white opposite smeared, insulted and degraded our people at every opportunity. With the exception of a handful of crusading Afro-American journals today, the so-called Negro press is a shameful compromised chorus of Uncle Tom Sambo journalism. The so-called Negro press is functioning as a running dog appendage of the oppressive white man's yellow reactionary journalism slanted to serve the cause of white supremacy, imperialism and international banditry. The so-called Negro press is a black echo of the sinister ofay's master voice of brain-wash. Time was when black journalists troubled themselves to write their own articles and news about the colored world. Now these compromised hacks quote their racist master's voice verbatim. They rush to print with distorted stories and lies hot off de boss's wire services. They proudly display the A.P. and U.P.I. labels as symbols of white man's truth, and proof that they have reached big time in nonpartisan journalism. Obviously, they consider this a status symbol. They don't even bother to rewrite whitey's stories that are deliberately slanted to distort the Afro-American's image. Negro journals became successful by exposing the fact that almost without exception white journals and their racist journalists were prejudiced and unfair in reporting matters relating to our people. They were right in stating that, as a rule, only a black journalist would truly have the welfare of our people at heart and would render just and unbiased reporting in situations of racial conflict.

The cold fact of the matter is that many black journalist today are being graduated from Mr. Charlie's schools of brain-wash. These schools are no more than psychological warfare academies preparing counter-revolutionaries to subvert freedom struggles being waged against racism and imperialism. These judas hacks no longer identify with the oppressed masses. They think of themselves as defenders of the "democratic" faith, they are the house niggers of the evil and cunning white power structure. Because they are reaping more crumbs from the slave master's table, they would delude us into believing that the ultimate day of freedom is at hand and that there is no further need for vigorous agitation and struggle. They are opposed to the militant suffering masses rocking the ofay's dream boat.

With the exception of Muhammad Speaks, The Herald Dispatch, Freedom Ways, The Liberator, a host of memeographed publications and "NOW" magazine one could easily get the impression that brutal racist tyranny is passe in racist America. One not directly touched by the brutal nature of racist America's oppression could be led to believe that the black man is an equal partner in the imperialist white man's affluent establishment. The judas hacks of the fourth estate are even

trying to glorify the oppressed black man's role in the genocidal ku klux klan campaign in Vietnam. These conscienceless pen pimps would have us believe that black peons from the hell holes of Mississippi, Watts, Harlem, Chicago and the width and breadth of an America notorious for oppressing and brutalizing colored people are honorably serving democracy by exterminating colored people in Vietnam who are waging a ferocious struggle to keep from becoming the Mississippi of Asia.

When these Uncle Tom carpet-baggers appendage themselves to racist white imperialism they sell their mercenary souls to the devil. They stupidly hitch their wagons to a fading and doomed star. At a perilous time when it is one minute to zero in the final hour of racist America's imperialism, they stand fawningly with hat in hand at the barricaded door of Mr. Charlie's exclusive club of white power tyranny begging even limited and token admittance. Though having been an age-old victim of the white power establishment, and denied the most basic of human rights by it, they now foolishly seek a share in the impending consequences and horrible retribution for its savage crimes against humanity. They simply seek a nominal partnership in the oblivion ear-marked for tyranny. For as sure as tomorrow's sunrise, the meek shall inherit the earth.

These house nigger journalists are loud and shrill in denouncing the black power tendency. They are self-righteous fanatics in extolling the false virtues of non-violence and love on the part of brutalized Afro-Americans dealing with police brutality and white terrorists in the lion's den of U.S. racism, but they fawningly try to glorify violence on the part of black men serving as extremist, — savage killers of colored women and babies in Vietnam. Yes, they piously claim that violence is immoral if it is practised by black men in defense of black women and children who are victimized by white savages in the so-called free world of racist America. The fact is that this new breed of judas hacks who consider themselves to be the new junior partners of the white establishment are nothing but newly hatched parrots, a neo-black appendage to whitey's fourth estate of Sambo journalism.

#### THE SEVEN PLAGUES OF THE GHETTO

A dangerous, infectious germ threatens the black ghetto with a dreadful epidemic. This is a highly destructive germ incubated and planted through evil design. It represents a form of bacteriological warfare being waged against the rising militancy of the brutally oppressed black masses. The agents of this sociological bacteria are threatening to extend the white plague of oppressive death throughout the potential strongholds of black power. The minions of white power desperate to curb the new tendency of Black power have unleashed their infected zombie goons in hope of bacterizing the masses and returning them to the weakened state of spineless submission. The cry of Black power is the most electrifying cry to sweep black communities since Nat Turner's call for rebellion against slavery. And in the same fashion as the house niggers who took up the slavemaster's cudgel to crush the slave rebellion of Turner, White House sponsored niggers today have raised their infected hands and puppet voices against the ghetto captives' rebellion against brutal racist white power. These Judas nigras are straining might and main dashing through the ghettos like Typhoid Mary in a frenetic effort to spread their master's germs of defeatism and submission.

Mad dog killer Johnson is making it more and more obvious that he considers darkies highly expendable as cannon fodder in Vietnam. Grenada and other hallowed points of whitey's "free world" savagely brutalized women, children and emasculated black men are being tortured and liquidated like common household rats and the "responsible good nigra leaders" are piously involved in issuing "CRISIS AND COM-MITMENT" statements repudiating BLACK POWER and apologizing to white savages for the growing insolence on the part of the new breea of sassy Negroes. What can be the motive behind whitey's commissioned goon squad issuing a statement in an advertisement in the New York Times entitled "CRISIS AND COMMITMENT?" Yes, as it always is for the masses in the ghetto, this is a special time of crisis, but for whom? What is so special about this particular crisis? The fact of the matter is that the growing militant reaction, on the part of the black masses, to the perennial crisis of the ghetto is creating a menacing crisis for the black judas leadership. In as much as they are the appointed straw-bosses of Nigraville and the situation is not running according to Mr. Charlie's plans, the house flunkies want the boss to know that the field nigras are acting contrary. They are ratting to the big white boss that he needs to beat the black masses back into line and place the reigns back in their hands. They want it well understood that they are completely divorced from this unsubmissive black power tendency that refuses to bow to white supremacy authority. know that their only value to the power structure lie in their effectiveness in safeguarding its interest by maintaining the status quo. know that the boss will withhold the crumbs from his table or institute a new crew of flunkies altogether if they fail to keep the restless black masses infected with inferiority complexes, apathy and the germ of fear.

It is indeed a sad commentary that at a time when the racist power structure is heightening its drive to dehumanize and liquidate Afro-Americans that 7 so-called responsible leaders will indict the victims rather than the perpetrators of racism. The fact is that the cry for black power is simply a normal survival reaction to unyielding cruel and savage white power that daily grows more tyrannical in its attitude towards colored humanity. The seven so-called civil rights leaders whom the boss ordered to issue a statement repudiating Black power are no leaders at all, they are the rankest sort of pimps of the white power structure planted to bacterize the ghetto with the shameful germs of Uncle Tomism. No, they are not 7 leaders, but 7 plagues on the ghetto.

### ONLY IN AMERICA, MR. GOLDEN

Harry Golden, or Mr. Golden, as he is so fondly called by the "responsible" bourgeoisie nigra leaders, used to be a poverty-stricken champion of integration and the rights of "the colored folks." Harry was a poor liberal Jew of much humor and wit. He amassed a fortune by portraying the black man's arduous and poignant struggle for human rights and dignity as a national light-hearted comic drama. Yes, Mr. Golden the self-styled expert and self-appointed spokesman for quaint and romantic Black America just loved peaceful and non-violent darkies. As Harry's fortune and bank account changed, so did his view of the romantic souls of black folks. As his stature grew, he was much in demand by southern white gentry as a sort of court jester in easing the beastly racist conscience of the white power-structure.

Harry was one of the first white businessmen in Charlotte, N.C. to hire an Afro-American girl as a private secretary and receptionist. However, the more Mr. Golden became a part of the successful in-crowd the more responsive he became to the pressures of their racist mores and traditions. In deference to white supremacy the Afro-American girl was replaced by Miss Ann (a white girl). Humorous Harry was also the governor's back door running dog serving the cause of white supremacy dominated peaceful race relations. He was a big wheel in influencing N.C. NAACP policy.

Harry Golden was a good friend and ready adviser to our Union County branch of the NAACP until we got wise to the farce of non-violence and started arming for combat with the Ku Klux Klan. AMERICA, Golden publicly rebuked us for our self-defense stand. Even though the Klan was holding mass rallies with full press coverage (including pictures), running aggressive motorcades through our community and had constructed a Klan Klub House (Sportsmen Club) at Allen's Cross Roads, Harry, the apologetic whitewashing comic of white supremacy southern romanticism suggested that this Klan activity was more or less the figment of our quaint darky imagination. He insisted that violent-minded nigras were arming for the adventuristic thrill of setting off a race war. In Harry's Comic way of viewing the black man's struggle for human rights and survival as a romantic non-violent squabble between masters and slaves who simply did not understand their compelling love for each other, he saw militant blacks as the real enemies of southern peace, law and order. Mr. Harry went out of his way to protect the good name and race relations of the racist state of North Carolina by creating a national impression that the Ku Klux Klan was merely a part of historical Piedmont folklore and an "illusion" in the mind of bloodthirsty Robert Williams.

When the Ku Klux Klan was after Afro-Americans and making special and repeated attempts on my life, in Mr. Golden's obsequious effort to curry favor with the local gentry for Jews by siding with the Klan against "colored boys", he shrugged the whole sordid affair off as my "illusion". Unfortunate for Harry, Uncle Tom Jews in fascist America can no more buy immunity by pawning others off to racist beasts than they could in fascist Germany. They must take their cue from Afro-Americans and fight the common enemy, not try to appease him. My "illusion", Mr. Golden? Who is having "illusions" Now? No doubt, the race issue is no longer a comic scene by which Harry can pun his way into the hearts and wallets of southern white gentry. The southern gentry has taken off the kid gloves and is playing for keeps. They are in no mood for Jewish humor about their racist relations with their niggers. Mr. Golden has sadly reported to the UPI that there is a great Ku Klux Klan resurgence in "liberal" North Carolina. Taking note of the apparent increased violence, the 63-year-old publisher of the Carolina Israelite said he is "very disturbed" by the recent threats against him . . . "I am terribly sorry to say I am deeply chagrined, I am very sad that for the first time in 25 years I have found it necessary to put my important papers in a vault, to leave all my lights on at night in my home, and to be thinking of moving to a hotel." Harry says he is even considering buying himself a gun to defend himself against the same "illusion" that he criticized blacks for Sad Harry whose chickens have come home to roost arming against. charges that the Ku Klux Klan has accumulated guns, ammunition and even light artillery. Continued the great illusionist, "The Klan has a case in this sense when the direction has been set. They have more or

less of a green light by the direction of a society which is dedicated to violence, terror and intimidation."

Oh no, Mr. Golden, ONLY IN AMERICA could an Uncle Tom Jew apologist for fascist terrorists slander an Afro-American for calling a Jewish "illusion" klansmen, and then the same apologist who helped to silence the alarm of the Afro-American scream that the same "illusion" is trying to murder a Jew, namely the same Jew who is trying to distillusion the same people about the same "illusion". Now Mr. Golden, I do declare, poor little old me would have never believed the big white bogeys we saw with smoking guns were real honest-to-goodness klan terrorists if we hadn't been told by a real honest-to-goodness white man... Now ain't that just like a you and a you know what. Real poetic justice.

#### THUNDER IN THE EAST

The sensation-seeking western press and the pseudo-Marxist-Leninist sycophants are straining might and main to muffle, distort, discredit and to ignore the revolutionary sounds emanating from the mighty People's Republic of China. The deliberate lies they tell, and the weird tales they concoct from the twisted logic of omission and half-truth is the manifestation of anxiety based on wishful thinking. In the concept of their warped thinking, the great Chinese proletarian Cultural Revolution is not what impartial observers know it is, but what Washington and its satellites wish it were. According to the calumnies of the pathological liars, shameless detractors and wicked enemies of the liberation struggles of the world, the glorious Red Guard is not a proletarian movement of students, workers, peasants and soldiers, but a strange breed of inanimated objects summoned from outer space to reek havoc on the purveyors of "civilizing" western influence on a romantically primitive and quaint China. This is evil-crooked and wishful thinking made of the same substance of what the pigeons left on the flag pole.

The Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a mass movement of the people, for the people and by the people determined to enhance and consolidate people's power. Unlike the long suffering and victimized Afro-American's cry for "black power", the Cultural Revolution is assertion of people's power. It is a vibrant movement to sweep away the last vestiges of class privileges, the abuse of power by a handful of reactionaries, the cultural aspect of imperialism, lingering feudalism, capitalism and social injustice. Who would mount such a daring and profound campaign for a classless society based on social justice but those who would be emancipated by such a democratic new order? It is not a power struggle between leaders, but a struggle for the consolidation of people's power in opposition to insensate bourgeoisie power concentrated in the hands of the few. If the Great Chinese Cultural Proletarian Revolution were not a revolution of the toiling masses, would it view the struggles of the poverty-stricken and oppressed masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world as its very own? Would I, a black refugee and fugitive from oppressive white supremacy terror in racist America be granted asylum here?

If this Cultural Revolution Movement were not in the cause of humble people, how could its conductors emotionally identify with the disinherited, brutally oppressed and exploited share-croppers of Mississippi? How could they identify as brothers, with the victims of police brutality in Watts, Chicago, Harlem and Detroit? Who are those who hate and detract from the glory of the meek inheriting the earth? Why are they opposed to a revolution that gives the most ordinary of a citizenry the right to question authority that cannot hide behind congressional immunity? Why are they so spitefully opposed to the poorest of peasants having an equal right to attend universities? Why are they so avidly opposed to the thought of a Mao Tse-tung who teaches that the human being should dedicate his life to the service of humanity without consideration of status or gain? It was the great thought of Mao Tse-tung that lifted a starving, dehumanized China from the misery and mire of the dark ages to the benefits of the 20th Century in 17 short years. Why do the scorners and detractors seek to ridicule and dishonor the great thought of a man who has bestowed such a divine gift upon humanity? Pure and simple, it is because they hate progress, liberty and justice for the masses. They hate and despise the saviours and champions of the poor. This has always been the case, today is no exception. Mao Tse-tung's thought is successful thought. It has been proven in application and by results. Who belittles results and success but spiteful cynics who sarcastically glory in human adversity and failure?

No, the thunderous rumblings in China are not the sound of aimless and confused disorder. It is not the groans of the people's misery and failure. It signifies a life-giving storm ridding the people of a long and desolate human drought. It is an invincible new wind blowing in a new order of a just humanity. It is the harnessing of nuclear power both physical and spiritual and the production and perfection of powerful rockets to defend People's Power in this new era when the meek shall inherit the earth. It is the mighty brothers of all of the oppressed shaking the earth with progress. Yes, it is mortally terrifying to the enemies of the meek as they desperately try to muffle, distort, discredit and ignore this boundless thunder in the East.

### THE FRONT LASH OF U.S. RACISM

The tall tale of a so-called white back lash haunts racist America like the myth of some evil sphinx of Greek mythology. topic of conversation among white reactionaries and their black judas running dogs is how the advocates of black power, symbolized by Stokely Carmichael, is damaging the legitimate civil rights struggle. We hear individuals of great airs and pretentious authority self-righteously bemoaning the erroneous belief that black extremist advocates of black power are angering the "good white folks" to the point of a white back lash against human rights for black Americans. To hear the self-righteous liberals and their fellow-travelling samboes talk, one would think that the slogan Black Power ushered in the advent of racial injustice in racist America. These devious apologists for the racist system would have us believe that the ofay oppressive devils were on the verge of ushering in a new era of social justice and democracy until certain militants cried Black Power causing them to change their racist minds and to set about penalizing the entire race by spitefully extending the barbaric status quo.

The current U.S. racist campaign of intensified hatred and contempt for black humanity is by no means the result of a white back lash. It is the front lash of the eternal racism of a white supremacy society. Those hypocrites and dupes of hypocrites who maintain that the cry of black power arouses the base elements of white supremacy

society are nothing but apologists for the inhuman conduct of racist white savages. Since the very beginning of the black man's captivity in racist America there has always been an unrelenting chorus of rationalization and invalid justification of the white man's brutal subjugation and treatment of black humanity. What was the cause of the white back lash that provoked the self-styled master race into kidnapping Africans and placing them in cruel bondage in his stolen new world? What was the cause of the white back lash that has led to 400 years of misery and hell at the hands of the good Christian whites? What was the cause of the white back lash that brought about the cruel lynchings, dehumanization, rape, murder, court frame-ups, starvation and brutalization of our people? White supremists, imperialists and fascists always have ready excuses to victimize the weak. They will go to any extent to justify their savage conduct. They make the rules for justifying the master race theory and they implement these rigged rules with brute force.

It is the height of folly for a brutally oppressed class or race that is savagely exploited to believe that liberation rests in the whims and good nature of the master group. It is the height of folly for such a victimized people to believe that freedom is to be bestowed like a medal or badge for good conduct and pleasing personality. In fact, the more submissive the conduct of the slave towards his oppressor the more stable the rotten system of slavery becomes. Conduct pleasing towards the slave holder is the greatest guarantee of longevity for his slave Slavery, oppression, brutal exploitation and imperialism can be abolished only after it is no longer a firm pillow of the evil system, after it becomes a liability and is too expensive to maintain. Dissension, insurrection, resistance, hostility and violence that bring about a state of alienation between the oppressed and oppressor is the only reliable condition that sets the stage for liberation for an oppressed people. There can be no common ground for reconciliation and amiable relations between oppressed striving for liberation and oppressor brutally exerting himself to protect his interest that is part and parcel of the unjust status quo.

Justice for the Afro-American is a political and moral question. When a group is resolved to be just, it is not in the spirit of a passive whim. It is a deep-seated will with an unshakable determination to express itself. Those racist mad dog imperialists in the United States are not so hypersensitive that the cry of Black power throws them into temper tantrums that deprive them of their rationality in dealing with black people. The whole affair is a phoney act. When the long suffering black people of racist America cry black power, racist whitey spitefully pretends that he cannot stand to live next to him any more. He pretends that this is cause to renege on even token integration. He pretends that this is cause not to hire black people he has never bothered to hire anyway. He piously and hypocritically pretends that black power is so undesirable that its advocates are unworthy of everything white and American. He swears that the cry black power justifies the black man's exclusion from human and civil rights as American citizens. The cardinal shame of these pretentious excuses of exclusion is the fact that gullible and judas blacks are taking up the evil racist white man's phoney hue and cry. If the cry Black power embodies the magic of exclusion on the part of black humanity, when is the racist power structure going to become so irked by it that it is going to exclude the Black power advocates, and the race as a whole, from conscription for the white man's imperialist war in Vietnam? If the

cry Black power places the black man outside the realm of civil rights it also, consequently, should place him outside the realm of the draft.

No, a thousand times no, there is no such thing as a white back lash precipitated by a Black power tendency. There is no such thing as civil rights, being withheld because of a black power slogan. fact of the matter is that the black American has never had any civil rights in racist America and the racist power structure has never been on the verge of granting him such either. It didn't grant freedom and justice to black people after the civil war and it has no intentions of doing so now. The excuse of exclusion is being used to project the blame on a scapegoat, and to divide and confuse the black masses. Through this devious manœuvre, old whitey devil hopes to divert the rebellious wrath of our people away from himself and to direct it towards our own people. He wants Carmichael to bear Johnson's guilt. The so-called white back lash is the front lash of a long standing U.S. racism that is desperately struggling for its life in a world that is more and more rejecting racist and imperialist America's warped concept of freedom and democracy.

#### CRITICS WITH UNSOILED HANDS

Criticism and self-criticism promoted from a constructive point of view is a boon to progress and success. In order for criticism to be positive its motive must stem from a sincere and profound desire for and improved mode or product. There is no doubt that Afro-American freedom fighters and the movement are sorely in need of soul-searching Sound criticism and penetrating analysis should rank examination. among the first order of things. However, there is a type of critic and criticism newly arrived on the scene that the movement could do without. This new type of professional armchair critic is an expert with clairvoyant powers, he is critical of everything and most cynical in his role as a self-righteous judge with the cleanest of hands. He is a great general who has never been to battle; he understands everything but how to get involved in the struggle. To his way of thinking everything is wrong, but he has nothing better to offer. He wants to lead the leaders and influence the movement, but he doesn't want to suffer the penalty of leadership. He wants to have his say in the movement without casting his lot for better or worse with the daring masses.

In this critic with unsoiled hands' book, if a leader is not publicized by the master's press, it's because his accomplishments are not noteworthy. If a leader is given note in the boss's press, the witty critic says this is because he is loved for his latent services to the power-structure. To be respected by a single hireling of the boss is different from being lionized by all the mass media of the power structure. Some of these critics are just plain soreheads, some have no knowledge of the function of the power-structure's news media and some are outright agents planted in the ghetto to create suspicion and dissension.

Be a CRUSADER pusher. Order copies to pass along to the brothers, sisters and others. Newspapers, clippings and material of general interest to bloods will be greatly appreciated.

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