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THE BLACK "GHETTO"—A COMMUNIST SANCTUARY

The communist strategy for the conquest of the U.S.A. becomes clearer every day. It was revealed at the Conference for a United Front Against Fascism called and conducted by the Black Panthers in Oakland, California, July 18-20, 1969. The most sinister and significant speech at this conference was made by a white attorney, William Kunstler, who has a long record of association with communist causes.

A successful revolution requires the creation of a sanctuary in which the revolutionary forces can operate without molestation by the forces of the government.

The plan is to convert the black "ghettos" into areas where the white police dare not enter. These areas will then be terrorized and "policed" by the Black Panthers. Through their association with the Black Panthers, the white communists will be able to operate freely within these areas, store arms within them, and use them as bases from which to launch civil war.

This is brought out lucidly in the speech of William Kunstler. He informed his audience that the blacks had a legal right to possess weapons and a political right to shoot any white policeman who sets foot in black territory. He uses the doctrine which the communists advanced during the 1930's. This doctrine teaches that the blacks are an independent nation which has been conquered and colonized by the Imperialist U.S.A. A white policeman in black "territory" is therefore an aggressive foreign invader who should be killed.

He chose the situation in Plainfield, New Jersey as the ideal example. He said no white policeman had set foot in the central ward of Plainfield, New Jersey since July, 1967, when a black mob stomped John Gleason, a white policeman, to death. The statement evoked prolonged applause from the audience. Kunstler lauded this lynching and presented Plainfield, New Jersey as the model for Oakland, Watts, Harlem, and Bedford-Stuyvesant. It is paradoxical that a man can publicly advocate lynching without trial and remain a privileged member of the American Bar.

The communists also plan to create additional sanctuaries in the Universities and the Colleges.

The full text of the speech of William Kunstler is presented with the hope that appropriate legal action may result.

Fred Schwarz

SPEECH BY ATTORNEY WILLIAM KUNSTLER TO THE CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

Oakland, California, Saturday, July 19, 1967

Tonight I was asked to talk about the right to self-defense from a legal point of view. Because I am not wholly a lawyer in a nonpolitical sense, I want to talk about it from two points of view: legal and political. The law is simple. The law is that every man has the right in every state to defend his home, his life, person, and the lives and persons of those he loves or has a duty to protect from any molestation by any person, whether he is wearing a uniform or not. That's the law, the simple law. It is in existence in the State of California, the State of New York, and all the states in

between and out to Hawaii, and up to Alaska.

Now from the political point of view the black communities around the United States have learned, and hopefully many more will learn, that this is a political weapon as well as a legal weapon. It does no good to hear a lawyer tell you, you have the right to self-defense if you do not understand politically what self-defense is.

One community in the United States learned this lesson well, and I think to talk about it, is to talk about Oakland, Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Watts, and so on. That community is Plainfield, New Jersey. You will remember during the Newark rebellion in Plainfield, New Jersey, some 40 Garand M1 rifles were found missing from the Armory. (Applaus) The governor of New Jersey, Richard Hughes, ordered the police to search every home in the central ward of Plainfield, the black ghetto of Plainfield, to find those missing Garand rifles. Three hundred police—state police, city police—broke into every black home in the central ward to try to find those guns. I am happy to say that not a single gun was found. (Applause) What happened after that was, with the exception of one more episode which I will tell you about in a moment, the police structure in Plainfield has not molested the black community. There has not beet a white policeman in the central ward of Plainfield since July of 1967. (Applause)

Now the other episode in Plainfield which made it certain that this would be so, occurred some weeks after the theft of the guns. One white policeman by the name of John Gleason moved into the central ward of Plainfield on a Saturday afternoon. He marched down a street leading under a railroad underpass and then he shot a black man by the name of Bobby Lee Williams through the stomach. Bobby Lee Williams fell to the ground at this intersection near the railroad underpass. Gleason began to retreat out of the ghetto. He was followed by a crowd of black men and women, and a block and a half past the intersection he was stomped to death. (Prolonged applause) In my opinion he deserved that death. (Applause)

Now these are words which I might never had said several years ago until I lived a little longer and spent a little more time watching what happens in the black ghettos of the metropolitan areas of this country. Gleason signed his death warrant when he shot Bobby Lee Williams, an unarmed man, through the stomach. The crowd, justifiably, without the necessity of a trial, and in the most dramatic way possible, stomped him to death. The reason was one that comes back from 400 years—from the pillaging and marauding of black communities throughout the United States and the world by white power structures that have preyed upon the ghettos the way vultures prey on meat. This is a sad story of the control of the black community. The right to self-defense legally is tied up intimately with the right of self-protection of the black ghetto. Without that self-protection, the black ghetto is at the mercy of whatever power structure happens to sit in the city halls throughout this country. The policeman, with the modern armory which he possesses, with his immunity, essentially, to prosecution for whatever he does, can only be stopped in one way: if he knows that he might fall like Gleason if he violates the right of black men, women, and children in the ghetto areas of the United States. (Applause) There is only one way to let him know that, and that is to be in a position to retaliate if the community is invaded.

You have a perfect right legally to posses certain weapons. I won't go into the nature of each one—you know it as well as I do, but in most states a weapon that cannot be hidden on the person, with the exception of certain automatic rifles, can be legally maintained by you. That goes for semi-automatic carbines, ordinary rifles, of whatever caliber. If the power structure knows that you are determined to use that piece if your community is invaded, if people you love or respect or who are merely your sister and brothers are being unjustly persecuted, victimized and destroyed by police, you have the right to use whatever force is necessary to prevent that depredation of human rights. (Applause)

It is hard for lawyers sometimes, like myself, who come out of the middle class, who have come out of an environment which is one in which language such as I am using tonight was not what we learned. But life teaches many lessons, as most of you know, and after you have lived awhile and after you have seen what happens in ghetto after ghetto, then you begin to understand sometimes that fear of retaliation is possibly, until we reach the millennium, the only fear that prevents those who prey on the oppressed from going to far. It won't stop them entirely, that would be asking too much, but it will slow them down, and in Plainfield it did stop them. It cost a grievous bullet wound in Bobby Lee Williams' stomach; it cost the conviction for murder of a man and a woman who were convicted for the murder of John Gleason and whose appeals are pending. Bobby Lee Williams, because he refused to testify for the

state at those trials, has just been indicted for an attempt to murder John Gleason, although it is hard to realize how you can attempt to murder somebody when you are lying on the ground with a 38-caliber bullet in your guts, which is exactly what the position of Bobby Lee Williams was. That case goes to trial this September.

I would just like to add a few words before I quit, on this subject of self-defense. The Black Panther Party, as you all know, is named the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; one of the cardinal principles which I have learned to regard as one of the most important, because it is most important, is to secure your community. Sometimes it is difficult to march ahead when you have a fear-ridden community that winces every time a siren goes down the street. Sometimes it is difficult to operate as human beings when every knock on the door might bring the pig inside. Often it is almost impossible to live knowing that you are almost an outlaw in the old English sense where every man could take your life without penalty or fear. It is difficult to live that way, and yet as most of you know much better than I, that is the way of life in the ghetto runs in this day and age, in America 1969. If you have the power to defend yourself by weapons that are legal, then you have the power to start to rid the ghetto of the overriding fear of invasion that paralyzes so much action. You have the power to put an end to one of the chief drawbacks of all black communities—the control of the black community by the white policeman.

Now I say to you, and I'm speaking both as a lawyer and as a human being, that what I am advocating here is perfectly legal; it is perfectly in the American tradition; it is in the tradition of all men who respect themselves and their families and their friends and those who share their common scene in society; that you must stand ready until a better age arrives to protect yourself, your community, your friends, your lives, your property, and the very things that give life meaning. You must be able to stand as a man and a woman, and if you have to, it is better where it is necessary to retaliate, than to bend the head or bare the back for one more minute. One more minute of back bending, one more minute of scraping to the voice of white authority, is one minute too much. You cannot afford to spend that minute. You must stand up to defend yourself. And if you are ready, I hope that you won't have to. But don't shrink if you have to. It is almost worse to be ready and able to defend yourself, and to freeze on the trigger when the time comes, because then you will have told the power structure that they need not fear you, and you open up the whole sad trail of misery and depredation that has characterized life on this continent for so many years. Power to the people! (Applause)

ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS ON URBAN GUERRILLA WAR

The summer edition of the CRUSADER, the newsletter published by Robert Williams has arrived. As usual, its contents are informative and frightening. Since Robert Williams was the first to advocate armed violence by the blacks of the United States, he may be regarded as the father of the present black rebellion. This gives him stature among the black militants, and he tries to play the role of elder statesman advising the black organizations on their programs.

Robert Williams continues "in exile." He fled this country to escape arrest and persecution on the charge of kidnapping. His exile has been spent in Cuba, Communist China, and various countries of Africa. A year ago he announced that he was returning to the United States to face trial on the kidnapping charge. He advocated that thousands of blacks should surround the courthouse while the trial was in process. Prior to this newsletter, he was last heard of in Tanzania, allegedly on his way back to the United States, but his plans now appear vague and indefinite. He writes:

"This is my eighth year of exile from racist USA. I agitated for and initiated armed self-defense to white supremacy racist terror more than twelve years ago, consequently, my frame-up greatly preceded the current crop being leveled against black militants.

"In the wake of this glaringly reprehensible fact, the question arises as to what reaction I expect on the part of the gods of Americanism when I return. A mad dog can always be expected to act like a mad dog. . . It is excessive asininity for black people to expect justice in a hostile white jungle society.

"The most positive aspect of the my possible return to racist America will be an opportunity to demonstrate the extent of the black man's commitment to our ever widening struggle for liberation. I hope to set an example that will serve notice that in face of white supremacy terror, unjust and cruel imprisonment and threats of coldblooded and savage death, the black man can no longer be intimidated. I hope to bring home the point that the day has gone forever

when the bullying white man can frighten the black man out of existence. He has the power to assassinate but not to intimidate.” Page 22.

He fails, however, to give any indication concerning when his return will take place.

The CRUSADER is full of advice for the black militants. He discusses many subjects of interest to black people and informs them what the correct attitude is. Subjects which receive attention are:

1. Black capitalism.
2. Black morality.
3. Black studies.
4. Integration.
5. Birth control.
6. Hijacking of planes.
7. Infiltration of white industries.
8. The Sino-Soviet dispute.
9. Urban guerrilla warfare.

Black Capitalism

“Capitalism is the thing that has enslaved and dehumanized our people. It is the cause of our present misery. Our people are not being offered justice, they are being offered a bigger dose of what already ails them. The establishment full well knows that small time capitalism is doomed.

“The concept of black capitalism is tantamount to the urban advance of Afro-America communities across the race line into deserted white areas that are already in a state of deterioration.

“This new myth has been designed to create superficial class divisions and ultimately to deepen the inferiority complexes that are beginning to dangerously wear thin in Black folks. Black quasi-capitalism is nothing more than pocket coins or pin money tossed contemptuously to the more sophisticated version of the white man’s idea of Little Black Sambo to have him scramble and dance a jig while pandering his self-respect to the white man’s ego.” Pages 5-6.

Robert Williams advocates socialism according to the prescription of Mao Tse-tung.

Black Morality

He urges a stringent code of revolutionary morality for black youth:

“It is imperative that revolutionary youth undergo personal and moral transformation. There is a need for a stringent revolutionary code of moral ethics. Revolutionaries are instruments of righteousness. Violence applied in the pursuit of justice is what distinguishes revolutionary violence from that which is committed by tyrants and villainous thugs. Clean up the ghetto. Stop fratricidal warfare and conflict. Discourage the agents, provocateurs, Judases and criminal elements. Prepare for a struggle of survival.” Pages 7-8.

Black Studies

He appears ambiguous in his attitude to black studies. He resents the present picture of black life presented by black authors and film stars as much as he resents the old stereotype of “Little Sambo.” He says:

“The black and white students are right to rebel against the rigidly sterile and reactionary system of ante-bellum brainwash.

“The image of the pious little Sambo, submissive God-fearing Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus nigra is being changed to that of the vulgar, tough talking welfare-made and white subsidized nigger, who is even of less value to white civilization than his hat in hand predecessor.” Pages 10-11.

Integration

He warns against integration in the United States and claims that school integration is a farce. He says:

“We must seriously examine rash proposals of school integration that require the complete abolition of school facilities in the black community. The school should be a community institution that reflects local tradition and culture. . . Now that there is a growing spirit of Black Nationalism and a growing demand for self-determination, coupled with unveiled coercion, the phasing out of black schools and the shift to total and arbitrary integration is more punitive and spiteful than progressive. As the black school in the South is being slyly phased out, so is the black teacher. The hardest hit victim of all is the black student.” Page 11.

Birth Control

He views birth control as part of a wide conspiracy for the extermination and genocide of the black race:

“Despite constant efforts at extermination and genocide, on the part of our great ‘Christian benefactors’ the black population is increasing faster than any other ethnic group in racist America. As a result of this phenomenon, there is growing interest in a campaign to arouse Afro-Americans to the need of birth control. Yes, Afro-Americans are being sold the idea of birth control while white so-called refugees and immigrants are being welcomed to America with open arms. . . This is another indication of how the black man’s fate in the social jungle of racist America rests on the white man’s whim and fancy. They man speaks of a welfare burden and a negative factor on the tax system. . . What a niggardly complaint on the part of one who has picked decaying flesh from the myriad bones of a plundered and raped humanity that he savagely victimized in his Christian endeavor to build an affluent society divorced from what he considered the trivialities of social responsibility.” Pages 11-12.

Hijacking of Planes

He opposes hijacking of planes except where a criminal is faced with the consequences of a serious crime. He points out that the hijacker of a plane is eliminated as an active agent in the revolution:

“Aircraft highjacking should be discouraged among black militants. Such antics should be looked upon as negative factors in the Black liberation struggle unless activists are forced to flee for their lives or are desperately trying to escape an acute felony frame-up. Black militants would be reminded of the fact that highjacking entails a serious felony that contributes nothing to the liberation struggle. This act is no way to defeat or escape U.S. racism. This type of action neutralizes the militant and completely isolates him from his people and their struggle.” Page 12.

Infiltration of White Institutions

He advocates this as an effective tactic of struggle:

“It is a grave error for militant and just-minded youth to reject struggle-serving opportunities to join the man’s government services, police forces, armed forces, peace corps and vital organs of the power structure. . . Meaningful change can be more thoroughly effectuated by militant pressure from within as well as without. We can obtain invaluable know-how from the oppressor. Struggle is not all violence. . . Without the threat of extermination looming menacingly before Black Americans, it is pressingly imperative that our people enter the vital organs of the establishment.” Page 14.

Sino-Soviet Conflict

Since Williams writes from China, it is natural that he should take the side of the Chinese Communists in their conflict with the Soviet Union. He does this without reservation. He parrots the line of Mao Tse-tung with precision:

“The ruling hypocrites of the USSR have been ardently vocal in singing the peace parody tune that ‘war is unthinkable’. . . They disclaimed violent struggle and brayed of how they were righteous champions of peaceful coexistence. . . They sang love songs to savage America and made vows never to betray her imperialist cause. . . Now the capitulationists have become aggressors. In regards to their socialist neighbor, People’s China, they have changed their tune of ‘war unthinkable’ to a land grabber’s ballad of armour and bullets. . . The defensive bullets of socialist China kill just as deadly as those of imperialist America. Why is war not ‘unthinkable’ on the Chinese border? . . . People’s China is not Czechoslovakia! Aggression against one quarter of the world’s population is the iniquity of madmen indulging in the folly of fools.” Page 21.

Urban Guerilla Warfare

The new feature in this issue of the CRUSADER is the emphasis on urban guerilla warfare. Previously, Robert Williams stressed warfare in the rural areas through wandering fire teams creating a conflagration from coast to coast. This time he urges urban guerilla warfare and points out that the blacks have already achieved one of the great objectives of every attacking military force. They are already in the heart of the enemy’s territory. They do not need to breach the external fortifications or to employ the stratagem of the “trojan horse.” He writes:

“The question now is not one of whether there will be violence but the type and extent of it. The question is no longer one of whether the deprived will resort to violence as a means of social change, but it is rather one of whether the establishment elects to make a suicidal last ditch defense of the doomed status quo or grudgingly resigns itself to a new structure of social order.

“Not only are the deprived peoples of the world becoming more and more convinced that because of violent repression they must express themselves through violence, but they are now devising new concepts of violent resistance and struggle. The concept of urban people’s war is sweeping over the earth like an uncontrollable fire storm. Urban guerilla warfare is being perfected to a most effective and decisive point. . . Recently, in many cities of the world we have witnessed a limited application of urban guerilla warfare, or street combat. In these mere skirmishes we have been given some idea of the colossal potential of what could really happen, and how, in such a conflict. Conventional military science and tactics can be rendered ineffectual in massive people’s war. A poor man’s arsenal of light arms and home-devised weapons can wreak havoc on a nation. Extensive dispersal of combatants makes it impossible for repressive forces to concentrate the necessary power to quell the resistance. When thousands of freedom fighters fan out over a city in a campaign of obstruction and destruction, paralysis prevails. A salient feature of this type of conflict is that all of its destructive action takes place right on the enemy’s own premises. Both offensive and defensive combat extract a heavy toll from the establishment. . . Less than ten percent of a given population can bring a highly mechanized and industrialized tyranny to its knees in a surprisingly short span of time if the ten per cent is well organized and devoutly committed to all-out urban guerilla warfare. Urban guerilla warfare does not mean that the countryside is completely neglected; it means that most mass activity would be concentrated in urban communities because most of the population is there. It means that rural campaigns would be conducted on the basis of targets being selected out of the dictates of necessity, overall strategy and diversionary tactics.” Pages 17-18.

The writings of Robert Williams often provide a preview of what is about to take place. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.