
MAO TSE-TUNG

STATEMENT CALLING ON
THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNITE
TO OPPOSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
BY U.S. IMPERIALISM
AND SUPPORT THE AMERICAN NEGROES
IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

MAO TSE-TUNG

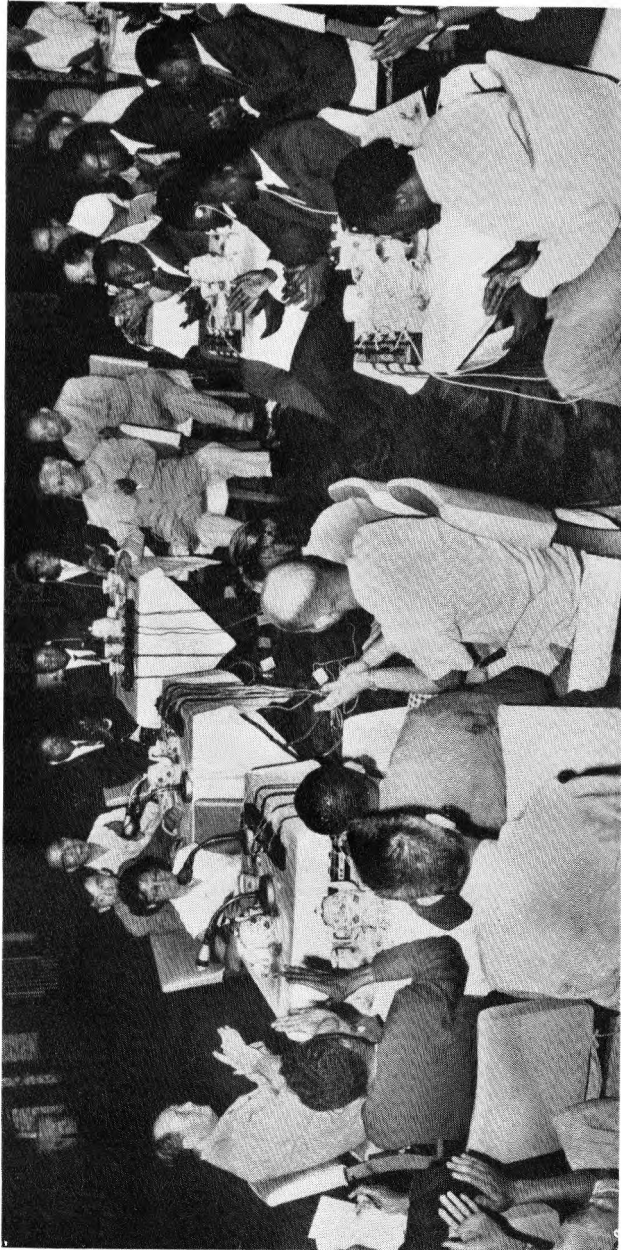
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Printed in the People's Republic of China



Chairman Mao Tse-tung receives the American Negro leader Mr. Robert Williams and Mrs. Williams (October 1, 1963)



On August 8, 1963, Chairman Mao Tse-tung made the statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle when receiving a group of visitors from Africa

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CONTENTS

STATEMENT CALLING ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNITE TO OPPOSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SUPPORT THE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION MAO TSE-TUNG	1
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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

I

From the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination (August 12, 1963)

Speech by Liu Ning-I <i>Representative of the People's Organizations of China and President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions</i>	9
Speech by Huang Yen-pei <i>Representative of All Democratic Parties of China and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce</i>	21
Speech by John D. Marks <i>Member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa</i>	24
Speech by Frank Coe <i>an American Friend Living in Peking</i>	30
Speech by G. Kahengeri <i>Chairman of the Union of Kenyan Writers</i>	37
Speech by Gedeon Dasoundo <i>Head of the Delegation of the Federation of Black African Students Studying in France</i>	41
Recorded Speech by Anna Louise Strong <i>American Writer</i>	45
Statement of the Delegation of the Basutoland Congress Party Concerning the Afro-Americans	52

Message Adopted at the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination 55

The Just Struggle of the American Negroes Will Be Victorious (*Renmin Ribao* Editorial, August 12, 1963) 58

II

From the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination (October 10, 1963)

Speech by Kuo Mo-jo *Chairman of the China Peace Committee* 65

Speech by Robert Williams *an American Negro Leader* 73

Message of Support to American Negroes *Adopted at the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination* 90

**STATEMENT CALLING ON
THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNITE
TO OPPOSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
BY U.S. IMPERIALISM
AND SUPPORT THE AMERICAN NEGROES
IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

MAO TSE-TUNG

August 8, 1963

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total

population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against—such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. In general, it is only the most backbreaking and despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are no more than a third or a half those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten up and murdered by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven states in the south of the United States, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is becoming stronger and stronger. In recent years there has been a continuous expansion in the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The

authorities used armed force against them, and there resulted the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held “sit-in” demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched a campaign of “freedom riders” to oppose racial segregation in transport, a campaign which rapidly spread to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enrol in colleges, and the authorities greeted them with a blood bath.

This year, the struggle of the American Negroes started early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed, bare-handed Negro people were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous suppression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Aroused to indignation and defying brutal suppression, these Negro masses carried on their struggle even more courageously and quickly won the support of Negroes and all sections of the people throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nation-wide struggle is going on in nearly

every state and city of the United States; and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety to U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against Negroes and their persecution; it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in its attempt to lull the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of the "defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes", is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom of the United

States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are inflicting oppression, aggression and intimidation on the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world,

the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

I

**FROM THE RALLY OF PEOPLE
FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN PEKING
SUPPORTING THE AMERICAN NEGROES' STRUGGLE
AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
(AUGUST 12, 1963)**

SPEECH BY LIU NING-I

*Representative of the People's Organizations of China and
President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions*

Comrades and friends,

Today the people from all walks of life in Peking are gathered here in a grand rally to voice support to the struggle waged by the Negroes in the United States against racial discrimination, for freedom and equal rights. On behalf of the Chinese people, I pay high tribute to the broad masses of American Negro brothers, who are waging heroic struggles under extremely difficult conditions, and sternly condemn and strongly protest the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the U.S. ruling class and the fascist atrocities committed by the Kennedy Administration in ruthless suppression of the Negroes' struggle.

On August 8, 1963, Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a statement calling on the people of the world to unite against the racial discrimination of U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against it. This statement fully reflects the common will of the 650 million Chinese people and has their warm support; it will surely gain the enthusiastic response of the people throughout the world.

During the last hundred years, the American Negroes have carried out unremitting struggles against racial dis-

crimination and racial oppression. In recent years, with the awakening of the American Negroes, their struggle has made rapid strides. After the Little Rock incident in 1957, the "sit-in" demonstrations which took place in more than twenty states in 1960, and the campaign of "freedom riders" in 1961, the Negroes' struggle has reached a new and higher stage of development this year. In early April, the Negroes in Birmingham in the southern state of Alabama held demonstrations in protest against the U.S. racists preventing them from registering for the elections. The local authorities sent out armed police for savage suppression. But the unarmed Negroes of Birmingham, in a dauntless militant spirit, launched a counter-attack with stones, bricks and bottles against their suppressors, the fully-armed police and racist gangsters. The heroic struggle of the Birmingham Negroes has raised the fighting morale of the Negroes throughout the United States. In eleven states in the South and in many big cities of the North and West, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles, Negroes held massive demonstrations and waged violent hand-to-hand fights against the police who were sent by the authorities to suppress them. In a very short time they won the support of all strata of the American people. At present the Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination has grown into a great torrential mass movement on a nation-wide scale, and is still surging forward. The rapid development of this struggle caused great alarm to the U.S. reactionary ruling circles. Kennedy, ring-leader of the U.S. reactionary ruling class, exclaimed that "the fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South", and grieved over the fact

that the Negro movement "cannot be met by repressive police action". A U.S. news agency also stated uneasily that indignation "burned furiously . . . symptomatic of mounting Negro determination to break down, at whatever cost, colour barriers dating back more than a hundred years". The heroic struggle of the American Negroes, undaunted by violence, has dealt and is still dealing heavy blows at the reactionary rule of the Kennedy Administration.

The current struggle of the American Negroes which started in Birmingham is a great revolutionary struggle for freedom and equal rights and for the liberation of the Negroes. It is unprecedented in the history of the American Negro struggle for its size, duration and bitterness. It demonstrates the new awakening of the Negroes and working people in the United States, their fighting determination and strength; it shows that the American Negroes have discovered a correct path in their struggle, that is, the path of unity and resolute struggle against the reactionary ruling class.

During the past century, in their fight against racial discrimination, for freedom and equal rights, the American Negroes have made different attempts, such as "protests in silence", "sit-in demonstrations" and reasoning things out with the ruling class and waging struggles in the courts. The reactionaries and the modern revisionists are doing their utmost to induce them to pin their hopes on the kindness of the U.S. rulers and refrain from waging struggles. But bitter reality has taught the American Negro masses that to win freedom, equal rights and their own liberation, they cannot simply bow to the reactionary ruling class, who will never grant them freedom and equal rights, and that merely through

legal struggle in the courts and Congress the Negroes will never extricate themselves from the tragic position of being discriminated against and enslaved. Just as Robert Williams, a leader of the American Negroes in exile in Cuba, has said, "The stranglehold of oppression cannot be loosened by a plea to the oppressors' conscience. Social change in something as fundamental as racist oppression involves violence. You cannot have progress here without violence and upheaval." Casting away their illusions about the reactionary ruling class, the broad masses of Negroes have moved from the courts to the streets and carried on resolute struggles. Here lies the real hope of the liberation of the American Negroes. Robert Williams said, "The future belongs to today's oppressed and I shall be witness to that future in the liberation of the Afro-American." We are convinced that this wish cherished by Robert Williams expressing the ideal of the American Negroes is sure to come true.

The flourishing development of the American Negroes' struggle is an expression of the daily sharpening class struggle in the United States. Since Kennedy came to power, the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups have launched more frenzied attacks against the American proletariat and the broad working masses, in order to push ahead with their policies of war and aggression and to exact greater profits. They have done their utmost to cut down or freeze wages, bring about the most serious unemployment since World War II, maintain the biggest reserve of unemployed and carry out unscrupulous repression of the workers' strike struggles. The position of the American working class is daily worsening, while the livelihood of the Negroes, being the lowest sections

of the American labouring class, is particularly wretched. Among the more than 19 million American Negroes, 99 per cent belong to the labourers' stratum with low wages. Of the two million Negroes engaged in industrial production, 92 per cent are unskilled labourers. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes take part in the heaviest manual work, yet they get the lowest wages. Their average wage is only between one-third and one-half that of the white men, and it is continuing to drop. With unemployment increasing daily in the United States, the Negroes are the first to be dismissed. According to U.S. official statistics the number of Negroes unemployed is two to three times that of whites. Even Kennedy himself cannot deny that the Negroes are suffering ruthless exploitation. In his speech on June 11 this year, he said that the Negro "has one-third as much chance" as a white man "of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed . . . a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much".

The American Negroes are not only suffering increasingly merciless economic exploitation; politically they are the victims of increasingly serious discrimination and oppression. The vast majority of the Negroes are deprived of the right to vote. In many places the Negroes cannot study in the same school, eat at the same table, ride in the same section of a bus, as the whites, even the dead cannot be buried in the same cemetery as the whites. With the connivance of the Kennedy Administration, such fascist organizations as the Ku Klux Klan and "Council of White Citizens" are rampant, wantonly arresting, torturing and killing Negroes. Cases of Ne-

groes being murdered in cold blood have taken place, one after another, in many places in the United States.

The daily intensifying attacks of U.S. monopoly capitalist groups on the American people have aroused the strong resistance of the proletariat and working people, particularly the broad masses of Negroes. The struggle of the Negroes has seriously affected certain sectors of the U.S. economy, causing an instability to production and marketing in many areas in the United States. This state of affairs poses a grave threat to the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups. To relax the daily sharpening class contradictions within the country, they are more and more resorting to racial discrimination to whip up racial conflicts. Among the American proletariat and working people, they try to sow discord between the Negroes and the whites in an attempt to divert the attention of the proletariat and working people and weaken their fighting strength. The Kennedy Administration is using all sorts of deceptive tricks for the purpose of mollifying the Negroes' struggle. Kennedy himself hypocritically made many promises which he had no intention to fulfil, claiming that he will "wipe out any trace of racial discrimination", "protect the civil rights of the Negroes", provide "equal employment opportunities", etc. He disguised himself as the protector of the interests of the American Negroes, and time and again "urged" them to continue "to practise forbearance", saying that "it is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets". On June 19, in his so-called Message on Civil Rights addressed to Congress, Kennedy proposed a "civil rights bill". But facts completely belie his words. In the course of the recent struggle of the Negroes, it is the Kennedy Administration which openly declared that the

U.S. federal government "does not have direct jurisdiction" over the repression of the Negroes by local authorities; it is the Kennedy Administration which brazenly sanctions and tolerates U.S. racists and Ku Klux Klanners in murdering Negroes; and again it is the Kennedy Administration which despatched to Alabama infantry, parachutists and "riot squads" to take part in the suppression. This counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics of the Kennedy Administration will be thoroughly exposed sooner or later. The schemes of the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups to split the American proletariat and working people will never succeed. Their dual method of using both violence and deception and their intentions to undermine the struggle of the Negroes will surely end in ignominious defeat. In receiving some African friends visiting Peking, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out on August 8, "In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle." Despite the fact that the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups are trying by hook or crook to whip up racial conflict and divert the struggle of the American proletariat and working people from their target, we are convinced that the 19 million American Negroes and the rest of the American proletariat and working people will finally merge their forces and fight to the end against their common class enemy, the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups.

Comrades and friends! The fact that U.S. imperialism is pursuing a fascist policy and intensifying its suppression of the Negroes at home is closely linked with its efforts to push ahead with its policies of aggression and war abroad. Today, in order to realize its dream of world hegemony, U.S. imperialism is more craftily employing the two tactics of counter-revolution. On the one hand,

it is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, increasing its military budget to a level unknown in history, carrying out aggression and intervention everywhere in the world, making nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat and even launching inhuman "special warfare". On the other hand, it boasts with great fanfare its "peace strategy", infiltrating into countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America with the aid of the "peace corps", the "alliance for progress" and "kinship campaign". Recently, together with the leaders of the Soviet Union, it hatched a big fraud in Moscow aimed at deceiving the people of the world by signing the tripartite treaty on a partial nuclear test ban. That is a treaty which is exclusively in the interests of nuclear blackmail by U.S. imperialism and detrimental to the interests of the people of the world. When U.S. imperialism intensifies its counter-revolutionary global strategy, it inevitably strengthens its fascist rule at home and steps up its attacks on Negroes and working people. But the fascist atrocities committed by the Kennedy Administration in suppressing the struggle of the Negroes have again opened the eyes of the people of the world to the aggressive and deceptive nature of the policy of U.S. imperialism and again exposed the hypocrisy of its "kinship campaign" with Africa, thus heightening the vigilance of the people against U.S. neo-colonialism. No matter how hard those self-styled Marxist-Leninists try to absolve Kennedy of his crimes and whitewash him, the predatory nature of U.S. imperialism can never be camouflaged. No force can by any means put down the great struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression.

The struggle of the American Negroes against racial oppression and for freedom and equal rights is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over. This revolutionary struggle springing up in the heartland of U.S. imperialism is of very great significance to the common struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, and gives a powerful support to the fighting peoples of different countries. The workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether black, yellow, white or brown, should unite extensively and resolutely support the just struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination.

Racial discrimination exists not only in the U.S.A. but also in Africa, Asia and many other places in the world. Particularly in South Africa the colonial authorities pursue a brutal policy of racial discrimination and racial segregation, depriving 12 million people there of all rights and freedom. There a handful of imperialists occupy 87 per cent of the land and all of the mineral resources, while the people are leading an animal-like existence. All the fascist laws of the Verwoerd government are aimed at stifling resistance by the South African people, whatever form it may take. Thousands of people have been maltreated and arrested and a great many of them have been put in concentration camps. On July 11 this year, the reactionary government of South Africa again brutally arrested the leader of the African National Congress, Walter Max Sisulu, and seventeen other well-known fighters for freedom and independence, whose lives are still in danger. The Chinese people lodge strong

protest against this fascist crime of the Verwoerd government and pledge resolute support to the just struggle of the South African people demanding the release of the leader and freedom fighters of their national movement. Unable to bear the authorities' ruthless suppression any more, the South African people are fighting for their freedom with arms. The Spear of the Nation, the armed force of the South African liberation movement, has been formed. This heroic fighting contingent has boldly launched more than seventy surprise attacks upon the reactionary government. At the recent Summit Conference of African States the African National Congress of South Africa solemnly declared, "The African people have decided to meet the armed repression with armed revolt." This is the summation of the fighting experience of the South African people over the past three hundred years. It will carry their struggle to a new stage. The revolutionary struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination, imperialism and colonialism is also a powerful support to the struggle of the people of other countries. We are convinced that the heroic struggle of the South African people, enjoying the sympathy and support of all peace-loving peoples and progressive mankind, will certainly win final victory.

Comrades and friends! The Chinese people have always followed with deep sympathy the struggle of the American Negroes and the South African people against racial discrimination, and the liberation struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples the world over. We regard their struggles as our own struggles and their victories as our own victories. In his talk with African friends Chairman Mao Tse-tung sternly condemned the

racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism, the South African colonial authorities and in other parts of the world. The Chinese people will always stand by the oppressed nations and peoples to oppose our common enemy.

The Chinese people have always attached great importance to their friendship with the American people. It is only the handful of people of U.S. reactionary ruling groups who are hostile to the Chinese people and the people of the whole world, while the broad masses of the American people share the weal and woe of the people of China and the world. In our common struggle we shall for ever give each other encouragement and support. Although the struggle of the American Negroes will be protracted, complicated and tortuous, the dark night will eventually end. By relying on their firm unity and resolute struggle, on the support of the broad masses of American working people and progressives and on the sympathy and support of the world's people, our American Negro brothers will certainly win great victory in their just struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. The future of the United States definitely does not belong to the monopoly capitalist class and the racists but to the people, including the Negroes. The American Negroes as well as the rest of the American people will surely become the true masters of their country.

People of the whole world, unite! Stop the U.S. imperialists' fascist crime of persecuting and suppressing the American Negroes!

Long live the victory of the American Negroes' struggle against racial oppression!

Long live the friendship of the Chinese and American peoples!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH BY HUANG YEN-PEI

*Representative of All Democratic Parties of China and
the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce*

Chairman, comrades,

At present, the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights is surging ahead and spreading all over the United States. On behalf of all democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, I warmly support the statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all nationalities of China, strongly condemn the U.S. ruling class' crimes of discrimination against and persecution and suppression of our Negro brothers in the United States, and resolutely stand by them in their just struggles.

The more than 19 million Negro people who constitute one-tenth of the population in the United States have long suffered oppression, discrimination, humiliation and enslavement. They have been subjected to discrimination politically, economically and in social life, and even deprived of the minimal basic human rights. Each time when the Negro people rose to demand freedom and equal rights, the reactionary U.S. government immediately resorted to ruthless and barbarous suppression by sending out troops and police who unleashed police-dogs, used poison gas, beat them up, arrested and even

massacred them. However, the Kennedy Administration is shamelessly and glibly talking about "peace", "democracy" and "freedom" and has even usurped the name of American Negroes to launch a "kinship campaign". It is engaging in deceitful manoeuvres to lull the revolutionary will of the African people in their fight against imperialism and colonialism. The tail of a wolf cannot be covered up. The U.S. ruling class' ruthless exploitation and oppression of American Negroes and particularly the series of barbarous measures taken by the Kennedy Administration in recent months in suppression of the American Negroes' just struggle have torn away the disguise of U.S. imperialism and enabled the people of the world to see even more clearly its vile cannibalistic features. At the same time this has dealt a powerful blow to those who prettify and embrace the U.S. imperialists.

The struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination is inseparable from the struggle of the American people against the reactionary rule of U.S. monopoly capital, and is closely connected with the struggle of the oppressed nations and people of the world for independence, democracy and liberation. Racial oppression and racial discrimination are in accord with and serve the interests of the handful of monopoly capitalists in the United States. Taking advantage of racial discrimination, the U.S. monopolists ruthlessly exploit the cheap labour of the Negroes, whose average wage is only one-third to one-half that of whites, thus making maximum profits and accelerating their capital accumulation; at the same time, they make use of racial discrimination to fan inter-racial disputes and sow discord between Negroes and whites among the working people, attempting thereby to mitigate the class contra-

diction and class struggle at home. Therefore, the struggle of the Negroes against racial discrimination constitutes a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism; it is a tremendous source of encouragement to all the oppressed people. At the same time, the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and the surging national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America are inspiring and supporting each other; it will certainly win the sympathy and support of the people of the whole world. All members of our democratic parties and all the industrialists and businessmen of our country resolutely stand by the persecuted American Negroes and support their just struggle. We are fully confident that, with the support of the progressive people within the United States and the people of the whole world, the broad American Negro masses, who are daily awakening and getting united, will smash the shackles of racial discrimination and win final victory.

SPEECH BY JOHN D. MARKS

*Member of the National Executive Committee of the
African National Congress of South Africa*

Comrade chairman, organizers of this rally and comrades,

It is indeed a pleasure as well as an honour for me to join the leaders and millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers of the People's Republic of China in pledging their unswerving support to the 19 million Negroes in their heroic struggles against racial discrimination practised in the United States of America.

Coming from South Africa where racial discrimination is the most rabid, where hundreds of thousands of our people are persecuted and jailed because of their non-white colour, I am in a position to fully understand the misery, hardships, indignation, humiliation and exploitation the Negro people are subjected to. In South Africa where we have been for the last three hundred years under white rule and white domination, we are being discriminated against residually and territorially. According to the constitution of the country there shall be no equality between Black and White in the *church* and *state*.

In the country of our birth, we are regarded as beasts of burden by a minority white government. The black colour of the skin relegates Africans and other non-whites to a position of inferior human beings. South Africa

has a total population of 16 million; of these 13 million are non-whites, all of whom do not have the right to vote. Only the 3 million whites have that "sacred" right.

The different sections of the community, 11 million Africans, 1,500,000 coloureds and 500,000 Indians are squeezed into their own areas. These areas are known as Group Areas.

The non-whites in general and the 11 million Africans in particular are denied freedom of movement. All African males and females are subjected to the Pass Laws. In other words they have to have at all times in their possession their badges of slavery. Under these laws thousands go to prison daily.

The Africans are denied freedom of assembly and speech. All their organizations have been outlawed.

The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. The African people have a long tradition of struggle dating right back to the days when the white settlers first arrived three hundred years ago. This struggle has now grown fierce under the leadership of the African National Congress. The masses of South Africa have now chosen the revolutionary way out, and the day is not far distant when we shall have a free South Africa.

At present the minority government, in an attempt to halt the struggles of the peoples, has resorted to mass arrests, imprisonment without trial, banishments, torturing and what not. But all these criminal methods are failing to dampen the militant spirit of the people.

I also fully appreciate the militant support the People's Republic of China under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao is giving the Negro people of America. Afro-Americans have risen

against oppression since the days of slavery in the United States. Today, as the racial struggle becomes more intense, many young Blacks are unwilling to become the passive martyrs of white hatred. They are determined to fight back reaffirming their rights as citizens of the leading nation of the so-called "Free World" and asserting their human dignity.

Among those who have led in this battle is Robert F. Williams, a thirty-eight-year-old black worker from Monroe, North Carolina. Returning from a war against fascism he found his own people terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan, who were aided and abetted by the white police and the white courts of law. Where Justice was far from colour blind, Williams called on Afro-Americans to meet violence with violence, if necessary, to protect their lives and property. Elected president of the Monroe Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Williams formed the first black militia in southern United States inflicting a stunning defeat on the local racists. He founded a newspaper, the *Crusader*, which soon had readers throughout the United States and abroad. Realizing that the struggle of the Blacks in the United States formed an integral part of the world-wide struggle of peoples against oppression, Williams spoke out in solidarity with those who fought against racism and imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This did not add to his popularity with the U.S. government.

In September 1961, after a series of clashes in Monroe which began when racists attacked a non-violent demonstration, Kennedy's federal government intervened, joining with the local racists in accusing Williams of "kidnapping" a white couple. "Wanted" posters with

Williams' photographs were put in post offices throughout the United States and the Federal Bureau of Investigation swore it would bring in Williams "dead or alive". There was little doubt that they preferred him dead. But Robert F. Williams still lives and is a free man. He managed to reach safely in Cuba, where the Revolution had wiped out centuries of racism within weeks after its triumph. It is in response to an appeal from Robert Williams that Comrade Mao has issued a statement of profound political significance calling upon the progressive and freedom-loving peoples of the world to resolutely oppose the racist policy of the Kennedy Administration.

Under the pretext of championing democracy and equal human rights, the Kennedy Administration increasingly and arbitrarily interferes in the internal affairs of other countries; it upholds and supports the most reactionary and undemocratic governments in the world — the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in south Viet Nam, the reactionary government of south Korea, the Phoumi clique in Laos, the Thanarat dictatorship in Thailand and the reactionary Dominican and Ecuador governments, to name just a few. Whereas in the heart of the United States — this so-called homeland of democracy and freedom — the most vicious forms of racism and oppression are being practised daily.

In the deep South — the land of big-plantation and cotton-field owners who are the big supporters of Kennedy's Democratic Party — Negroes are subjected to medieval forms of persecution. Lynching by white thugs and K.K.K. gangs is the order of the day. All these horrors are being perpetuated with the connivance and active assistance of the U.S.A. authorities. Jails are crowded to over-capacity with Negro freedom fighters.

Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. They are blatantly discriminated against politically, socially and economically. This hypocritical love for democracy and human dignity of the Kennedy Administration is also manifested in the U.S. imperialists' attitude towards white minority rule in South Africa. In the U.N.O., Adlai Stevenson glibly condemns the racist policies of the South African fascists whereas in practice the United States continuously supplies them with big loans and modern arms.

To Africa, Soapy Williams, Kennedy's ambassador at large, loudly proclaims the "beauty" of American democracy, whereas in New York, Washington and other cities, African envoys and diplomats are refused services because of the colour of their skin. What further examples does one need to illustrate this double-faced stand of the Kennedy Administration?

The mask has been ripped off, and the true features of American imperialism have been exposed to the American Negroes and to the world at large. The struggle of the Negroes for complete political, economic and social equality is gaining in momentum.

This struggle is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The growing intensity of the struggle in the deep South is indicative of the realization by the Negro masses that the only way open to them is the revolutionary way. The ever increasing violence and viciousness directed against them by the American capitalists and big land-owners offer them no peaceful way out.

The struggle of the American Negroes is directly linked up with the general struggle against imperialism

headed by the United States of America and therefore the realization of their victory is only possible with the final defeat of American imperialism. Because the struggle of the Negro peoples for political, economic and social equality is a just struggle, and has the support of all the peoples of the socialist camp, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and those progressive forces inside the capitalist countries including the United States, their victory is inevitable.

Long live the struggle of the American Negroes!

Long live the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples!

Down with American imperialism, the arch enemy of mankind!

SPEECH BY FRANK COE

An American Friend Living in Peking

Comrades, friends!

All the American people will be happy over this great meeting of ten thousand people in Peking to support the struggle of the American Negroes.

All our people will likewise be grateful for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's historic statement on this struggle. This is the first time a world leader, and a very great one, has called on the people of all countries to unite against the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against it. So far as I know, it is also the first time that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has personally issued a statement of this kind. Rest assured, his inspiring statement will reach its target.

The struggle of the heroic American Negroes has been a very long and bloody one. For two and a half centuries they were chattel slaves on southern plantations, barbarously treated. Their struggle for freedom took every form and was marked by countless insurrections. Their emancipation occurred during the revolutionary Civil War, exactly a hundred years ago. The legal abolition of slavery was buttressed by every law the people of that time could think of. Despite all these laws, the reactionary capitalists of the North soon restored control of

the South to the plantation owners, and the Negroes were again forcibly reduced to servitude — this time as share-croppers, tenants, day labourers and the like.

Since then, there has been another century of struggle, taking many forms. There have also been great upheavals in the life of the Negro. Millions have migrated to the big cities of the North and West, especially in the last twenty years. In the same period Southern agriculture has been transformed, and millions expelled from the land, so that now only one out of nine Negroes is in agriculture. But none of these changes has significantly reduced the discrimination against the Negro. In the North segregation is supposed to be illegal, but in fact is universal. There, too, the Negro holds the worst-paid jobs, lives in the worst houses at the highest rents, and sends his children to the worst schools. Unemployment is chronic; once a reserve labour force for agriculture, the Negroes have now become the most important part of the industrial reserve army.

In view of the Negroes' long history of resistance to oppression, it was to be expected that after World War II they would intensify their struggle. They have, and in its strength, in scope and depth the present struggle of the American Negroes exceeds anything in the past hundred years.

It is no accident that this upsurge of the American Negroes has coincided with the tremendous national liberation revolutions which have been sweeping across Asia, Africa and Latin America. The American Negroes were naturally stirred when 650 million Chinese people won their freedom. And they have been still more deeply stirred by the successive victories of the African people in their national liberation struggles.

The postwar movement of the U.S. Negroes against racial discrimination began in the courts, but it has moved to the streets. In 1954, a lengthy court fight for desegregated schooling was ostensibly won. But the actual desegregation of the Southern schools was very slight and painfully slow. In some cases the enrollment of one or a few Negroes in previously white schools led almost to civil war; for instance, in 1956 in Alabama, in 1957 in Arkansas, and last year in Mississippi. In hundreds of communities the Negroes found that enrollment in white schools was still impossible without prolonged litigation in the courts.

The Negro masses were not long in perceiving the true state of affairs, they called the integration which took place in isolated schools "token integration", and they demanded more than "tokenism". The masses decided on genuine action. Hence the sit-ins, freedom rides, bus boycotts, strikes, parades and other demonstrations. The vigor of the Negro masses has created scores and hundreds of new organizations and forced the older ones to join the mass movement, which has spread to every part of the country.

Time after time, unarmed Negro demonstrators in the United States have had to brave armed police, troops and mobs. They have to cope with constant provocations. Even children have to face police dogs, armored cars and tear gas. To be jailed is a matter of course. At one point, the jails of Birmingham were filled with young girls, whose crime had been to march and sing.

The Negro demonstrators must constantly brave beatings, arson and murder. The whites who participate run great risks. Negro children who enter white schools

endanger not only themselves but also the jobs and even the lives of their parents.

Despite all this, the Negro demonstrations have moved from peak to peak.

This growing mass movement frightens the rulers of the United States. Why? The Negroes do not advocate the overthrow of capitalism but only ask for equal rights. Why then should the U.S. monopolists be afraid? All the Negro children do is sing such songs as "I want to be free . . ."; why should this worry the Kennedy Administration, the self-styled leader of the "free world"? The Negroes are not advocating violence. Why should the U.S. rulers be afraid of peaceable people?

The answer is clear. Such a mass movement does threaten the established order of oppression in the United States; it does threaten U.S. monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, and from within. These peaceable masses may get out of control. This is a conflict between rulers and ruled. Although the American Negroes do not talk about monopoly capitalism, they do speak of the "white power structure", meaning the leading U.S. capitalists, their politicians, their lawyers, etc.

The current objective of big capital in the United States is to control, curb and break up this mass movement. That is Kennedy's No. 1 domestic task. As he and his brother, the Attorney-General, have frankly admitted, they want to get the Negroes "off the streets and back into the courts". Kennedy's new legislation of "civil rights" is designed to induce the Negro leaders and masses to pin all their hopes on the new law, to lull and divert the mass movement and meanwhile to divide and disintegrate it from within.

For a century now the U.S. Negroes have had more than enough laws supposedly guaranteeing their freedom and rights. The new law is not needed, it is a hoax. If the Negroes fall for this cheap way of winning their votes, they will find themselves "back in the courts", as Kennedy wants.

The American Negroes know from bitter experience that it is the U.S. government which sanctions, stands behind, tolerates, and enforces all the oppression and all the discrimination to which they are subjected. And who is the head of the U.S. government? President John F. Kennedy. He is the executive agent of the biggest U.S. capitalists. He is the executive in charge of all the force used against the Negroes, the highest agent of their persecution.

Kennedy personifies and represents the two tactics which U.S. monopoly capital is using to keep the American Negroes in their position of especial servitude. On the one hand, he uses armed force against them. On the other, he promises to negotiate with them a life that will eventually be free of racial discrimination.

There is an exact parallel between these two tactics which Kennedy is using to repress the Negroes and the two tactics which he has openly declared as U.S. foreign policy — on the one hand, increased armed strength for U.S. imperialism; on the other, the pretence of constantly seeking peace and disarmament. Thus the test-ban treaty recently negotiated with the Soviet Union is represented at one and the same time as (a) an important step towards disarmament and peace and (b) a measure to insure the continued nuclear superiority of the United States.

In this great struggle of the American Negroes the modern revisionists in the United States are on the side

of Kennedy. Believe it or not, they paint him as a true friend and brave champion of the Negroes. They hail his new law as a revolutionary event which will insure the freedom the Negroes have so long fought for. While lauding Kennedy as pro-Negro, these revisionists denounce some of the militant mass organizations as "too extreme" and therefore "reactionary" and anti-Negro. Fortunately, this revisionist rubbish has no influence on the American people, Negro or white.

The Negroes have forged a remarkable degree of unity among their own people, a unity in which the masses are ahead of their leaders. Many white people have joined in the struggle, and the overwhelming majority sympathize with it. But the united front of the American people needs to be immensely broadened. The white people of the United States must take to heart what Marx said a century ago: "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." What Marx said of chattel slavery is no less true of wage-slavery.

The discrimination against the American Negroes, the exploitation of the U.S. people as a whole, and the aggression and oppression practised by U.S. imperialism abroad are three aspects of one and the same thing — class exploitation and oppression by U.S. monopoly capital. They are not something accidental, they are the very core of U.S. monopoly capitalism. We cannot get rid of these deadly evils without destroying U.S. monopoly capitalism itself. And it must be destroyed at home as well as abroad.

The movement of the U.S. Negroes against racial discrimination is necessarily a part of the world-wide united front against U.S. imperialism which is taking shape in

many countries and on all continents. The vigor and power of this movement in the United States is yet another proof that this international united front is inevitable. This united front is bound to achieve victory.

Long live the heroic American Negro people!

Long live the great friendship between the Chinese people, the Negro people and all the people of the United States!

People of the whole world, unite to support the American Negro people in their struggle against racial discrimination!

People of the whole world, unite to overthrow the common enemy, U.S. imperialism!

SPEECH BY G. KAHENGERI

Chairman of the Union of Kenyan Writers

Chairman,
Comrades,
Brothers and sisters,

I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to speak to you all here today.

I have come to China to pay a visit to fellow writers, as well as the people of China in general. This afternoon, I beg to bring to you fraternal greetings from the people of Kenya.

On the 10th of this month, I addressed a rally here in China, at which I discussed various items in connection with our struggles against colonialism and imperialism. Today, I have chosen one item to discuss; and to discuss it seriously with you as champions of freedom, peace and perpetual happiness of the human race.

If you are good readers of current news, you have no doubt read of Chairman Mao's statement on racial discrimination against our Negro brothers in the U.S.A.

Racial discrimination has been a headache to our Negro brothers in America and the progressive people of South Africa.

Chairman Mao's statement has come at the right time when every human effort of the progressive peoples should be directed to the heroic struggles against all

atrocities of imperialists, at a time when imperialism is on its death-bed and approaching complete destruction in the face of all peace-loving peoples in the world.

Our role now is to take courage as our precious possession. For effective results, we must come out in our struggles against racial discrimination wherever we can find it; and brothers, let us come out in our true colour.

I can remember, during the height of the colonial rule in my country, we suffered untold difficulties of racial discriminations. We found it everywhere we went. For example, you could find open racial discrimination in schools, in buses, in hospitals, in hotels, and my dear friends, even in toilets.

To make the Africans lag behind economically, certain trade facilities were not allowed to Africans, and so on and so forth.

The people's voice is the mightiest. No millionaire and no king will be able to defeat the wishes of the people!

With or without the bomb, the voice of the people will not die! It is immortal! It will always prevail!

If we get together today and awaken our forces against racial discrimination, I feel confident that the colonialists and imperialists, who believe in white supremacy, will fail and completely be defeated as they were during the Opium War of 1840, the Sino-French War of 1884 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, here in China.

They have lost their grip in every post of the world, and have been defeated in many wars waged against their atrocities and enslaving administrations, like that of the U.S. government. For example, in Kenya, in Algeria and in many other progressive countries people have united to struggle against their No. 1 Enemy, the colonialists and imperialists.

As human beings, we want to live happy lives! We want to preserve our national as well as individual dignities.

We shall not tolerate, at this time when colonialism is being overthrown, any kind of discrimination based on colour, race or any other arrogance or bullying of imperialists headed by the U.S. government.

We are human, we deserve human rights!! And it must be known to all that each one of us is a requisite to the others' existence.

A glutton can never see beyond his meal!! Knowing that they are becoming weaker each day, the imperialists are still trying to penetrate into new and old independent states, to stir up things under the cloak of "Peace Corps". Look at the Congo! They have engaged in all sorts of intrigues in an effort to overthrow the representative government of the people. This is not the 1700s! Asia, Africa and Latin America are awake, we will oppose colonialism and imperialism tooth and nail.

Before I close my speech, let me draw your attention to the fact that since the time of the slave trade, the American Negroes have made notable contributions to the development of the U.S.A. in all walks of life. They should all equally enjoy the fruits of these developments.

There are 18 million Negroes in America. Shall we leave them at the mercy of the hungry wolf? No, of course not! Let us join their struggles today and render them a hand whenever possible.

It is our duty, as freedom fighters and peace-lovers, to raise high our anti-imperialist banner for the total liberation of the human race.

Down with the imperialists and their lackeys!

Down with racial discrimination the world over!
Long live the peace-loving peoples!
Long live the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin
America!

SPEECH BY GEDEON DASOUNDO

*Head of the Delegation of the Federation of Black
African Students Studying in France*

Dear comrades and friends!

People from all walks of life in Peking are assembled here today to express their complete solidarity with the courageous struggle of the American Negroes against the odious practice of racial segregation. The Chinese people and their government are hereby expressing once again their constant and steadfast support of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. It is a real pleasure for our delegation in China and a great honour for our Federation to be able to speak at this great meeting.

For more than two centuries the European colonists, in search of manpower to plunder the wealth of the New World and in collusion with the shipping companies interested in superprofits, imposed on the African peoples that abominable draining away of blood which was the slave trade. More than one hundred million of Africa's best sons were thus torn away from their homeland, dragged into ship's holds where they were crammed together, their personality flouted and humiliated. This shameful trade and the sweat the Negroes poured out in hard labour under the lash of Yankee masters, made an

immense contribution to the primitive accumulation of capital in Europe and America.

In this, the slave trade is a glaring manifestation of the exploitation of man by man. The Negro slaves always lived under the most wretched conditions in the United States and the fruits of their labour always went to the profit of their Yankee masters. That is why, in spite of the emancipation accorded them after the American Civil War, their former masters, desiring conditions of the past, continued to adopt a class attitude towards them and to see them only as slaves and instruments of production. Thus, even more than skin colour, which may add something to racial discrimination, the basic explanation is to be found in the position the Negro occupies in economy, hence in society.

Today, the 18 million Negroes who constitute ten per cent of the population in the United States, are beset with the greatest injustices and with poverty. The so-called Free World has granted them many rights on paper, but in everyday life nearly all of these rights are contested. They are hit the hardest by unemployment. Numerous restrictions prevent them from actually exercising the right to vote. Equality before the law is nothing but pure illusion for, in the country of the Statue of Liberty, the law's severity is toned down in view of money and one is all the more a criminal the poorer one is. Most schools are closed to Negroes. The U.S. government abets private firms to practise segregation in public transport and restaurants; what is more, it encourages a free development of the American Nazi Party and especially of the criminal and ultra-reactionary organization the Ku Klux Klan, which has its champions and supporters in the upper strata of the United States.

All this shows that the U.S. government is taking no effective steps to stop racial segregation. We know very well what it does when it represses patriotic and revolutionary struggles, as in south Viet Nam. This also shows its actual solidarity with the position of former slave-owners who not only refuse to reform their class attitude but seek to impose segregationist standards on society by every means.

Today, Kennedy is trying to come closer to the African States under the smokescreen of the so-called economic aid so as to appear as the friend of the African peoples. But in reality, his hypocrisy and treachery has been fully exposed before the people of the world, and the African peoples will not be duped.

Just recently, through his representative Adlai Stevenson at the U.N., this bogus friend of the African peoples and defender of the Declaration of Human Rights doggedly opposed the correct position taken by the Addis Ababa Conference in fighting against the fascist rule of the Verwoerd government of South Africa. This is flagrant support of the South African racists against the African peoples. Doubtless, Kennedy would like the 12 million Negroes of South Africa to be exterminated as were millions of American Indians. His only concern is to maintain NATO's aggressive bases in that country.

All these facts show that the problem of racial segregation is closely linked with that of the exploitation of man by man. The fight against racial segregation is a concrete manifestation of the struggle of the working people, for viewed from the perspective of history, the basic contradiction between oppressors and the oppressed in society is expressed partially in the form of racial antagonism. The Algeria of yesterday and South Africa's

situation today are perfect illustrations of this. That is why the struggle against racial segregation is part of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and all reactionaries. It is merged with the general struggle of the oppressed peoples and the working people throughout the world for a bright future.

Our Federation is convinced that every new right won by the Negroes from the handful of racists of the United States heightens the consciousness of all the American working people and contributes to strengthening the broad front of the struggle of the oppressed peoples. Our Federation also knows that every victory over imperialism won by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America contributes to abolishing racism in the world.

This is why the Federation of Black African Students Studying in France energetically supports the American Negroes' fight against the handful of imperialists and racists, who are also the worst enemy of the American working people.

Together, let us unfailingly give support to the Negroes' courageous struggle against the U.S. reactionaries, for social justice and the right to a better life.

Let us fight to the end against imperialism, colonialism, old and new, and all the world's reactionaries.

Long live the struggle of the oppressed peoples!

Long live the friendship and solidarity of the working people of the world!

RECORDED SPEECH BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

American Writer

This is Anna Louise Strong, sending a tape-recorded greeting to the Peking Rally for Support of the American Negroes' Struggle on behalf of the following four Americans and one Canadian living and working in China, at present in Peitaiho:

Talitha Gerlach, of the China Welfare Institute, Shanghai;

Dr. George Hatem (Ma Hai-teh), for thirty years in China's Public Health Service;

Bertha Hinton, of the Peking Institute of Foreign Languages;

Dorise Nielsen, wartime progressive member of the Canadian Parliament; and

Anna Louise Strong, writer.

As five North Americans living and working for a considerable time in China, we send our greeting from Peitaiho to your rally. We heard by radio the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the people of the world to support the American Negroes' struggle for freedom. We are glad to declare that we are a hundred per cent behind this struggle. We want to bear witness that we, Americans living, working and travelling extensively in China, have seen for ourselves how widely the Chinese people of all

walks of life and of all ages are interested in the American Negroes' struggle for Freedom and give it their full support. Everywhere the Chinese people follow through their press the details of this struggle and discuss it in conversation. Even the children's magazines publish the story of the heroic Negro children in Birmingham, who are much admired by Chinese youth.

We think it important to say this, because we are constantly told by the foreign press, and even by letters, that the Chinese "hate America" and even have "hate-America campaigns". This is an utter lie, and we are glad of the chance to contradict it. Chinese indeed do hate American imperialism, which is the enemy of all the world's peoples and of the American people themselves, and which threatens the entire world with nuclear war. But Chinese show great respect and love for the American people, and show interest in anything that affects their welfare; they believe that one day they will find the American people their ally in making a better and a peaceful world. So they greet the great Negro struggle for Freedom with sincere hopes.

Second, we wish to inform the American Negroes that China herself is an example that shows that racial discrimination and inequality can be abolished, since the peoples of many different nationalities, even the most undeveloped which for hundreds of years have lived as illiterate slaves — wild tribes in the hills, without even a written language, not even knowing the methods of farming, but living on wild roots — even such peoples have actually in recent years gained freedom, equality and access to all the culture known to man. These peoples have awakened and come into the light. Not only do they live without discrimination, they get fraternal

help in gaining education and in learning the techniques of modern farming and industry.

What we have seen in China proves that racial equality can be achieved, discrimination can be abolished, political, economic and social equality can all be attained, with good and friendly relations between different races with different cultures. It is being done successfully in China and this should give hope to the American Negroes too. Today all racism and racial discrimination is alien to the liberated Chinese.

However, the experience of the Chinese people suggests that the American Negroes will not gain the full benefits under the present social system in America. Very many gains can be made under the American social system by determined and united struggle, but we do not believe that complete freedom and equality can be attained under American capitalism. It is necessary for the monopoly capitalists of America to have a subject class which can take the shock of the ups and downs of the capitalist economy on their own bodies, letting the capitalists profit. This is the use they make now of the Negroes. So, while we are proud of your present victories, we think and hope you also realize that final victory cannot be won until you overthrow the monopoly capitalism of America, your final enemy, and also the enemy of the American people and of the people of the world.

We are glad to note that the Negro fighters for Freedom now are not being fooled by President Kennedy nor by his brother Bobby. You will be able to pry some rights from them by pressure, but these rights are gained not from their benevolence, but by your own struggle and power and not in any other way.

The American Negroes learned a bitter lesson by the way their hopes were betrayed a century ago. What happened? A civil war was fought between the industrial, capitalist northern states, whose rising industry was based on cheap immigrant wage-labour from Europe, and the feudal ruling class of the southern states, who lived on the Negro slave labour on plantations. This war was at first nearly a draw. Then President Abraham Lincoln announced the "Emancipation" of the Negroes as a war aim; thus he won a powerful ally. When the war was won by the North the Negroes were "free" and some were even given land and sat in legislatures in equality with whites. But all this was short-lived. For the northern capitalists feared the power of the people thus released and so they soon joined hands with the southern feudal powers to suppress the Negroes again, using new forms to maintain the old enslavement.

Today, by the power of united mass action, which terrifies the Kennedy Administration, the Negroes may gain several rights: the right to vote, some rights in schools, some in restaurants and buses, and some right to a few jobs in offices and commercial establishments. These are gains promised in the Birmingham negotiations; they are intended to satisfy the well-to-do educated Negroes. And possibly some of the Negro leaders will be satisfied and say: "We can't expect everything at once." They will make their peace with Kennedy. This would be the same kind of betrayal that the northern capitalists made a century ago after the civil war.

For this would sell out the great mass of Negroes, the illiterate, the unskilled, the dispossessed. These are the men thrown out of jobs in every wave of unemployment. They are thrown out by automation in industry and by

modernization in farming. The Kennedy Administration will never give job-equality to these men because it cannot. This is the class needed by monopoly capital, to serve as a buffer against all changes in the economy, so capitalists may still keep their profits. They can never get job-security and equality without the complete re-organization of the economic and social system of the United States.

These are the men and women, in the South and in the North, whom the Kennedy Administration fears. It was the dispossessed of Birmingham who fought the final battle with the police. They cannot get job-security and equality short of a new social system. Even beyond that, they need long struggle to develop literacy and skills.

If the well-to-do and educated Negroes desert these allies, their own gains will soon be lost. But if the entire Negro people stand together and continue their fight for equality and freedom, this may light the struggle of the entire American working class to overthrow the monopoly capitalism of America.

There are signs already that this is occurring. All over the United States, the "Freedom Marches" are taking place in the big cities, led and organized by the Negro people but with white workers and progressives beginning to join in. When twenty thousand people marched in San Francisco up Market Street to hold a rally in the Civic Square, the two men who led the march were a Negro leader and Harry Bridges, a white man, the most famous progressive labour leader in America. This cooperation of the white working class and progressives with the Negroes already goes so far that some of our friends in America, in writing to us, speak of the "Negro Revolution" as the center of all progressive activities.

It is, indeed, revolutionary in significance and in potential when the hitherto suppressed Negro people take to the streets to fight for their rights.

Why, let us ask, is it just now that the American Negroes are rising, after the suppressions of a hundred years? Many reasons may be found inside America, but is it not also true that a basic reason lies in the world situation? Imperialism decays. All over the earth the long suppressed nations and peoples rise in revolutionary struggles. These struggles for national liberation and independence already shake three continents; in all of them the demand for racial equality plays a basic part.

This reflects itself in the struggle of the American Negroes. They gain self-respect and hope from the rising of the African peoples. This international factor gives them encouragement.

It is significant that Robert Williams, a Negro leader now in refuge in Cuba, has appealed to Mao Tse-tung of China for a statement. This is because China is recognized as the clearest voice in today's upsurge of long suppressed peoples.

Mao Tse-tung speaks of the "links" which the present struggle reveals between the reactionary policies of the American government at home and its policies of aggression abroad. All around the world today, American monopoly capital maintains its hold on undeveloped nations by cash and violence, all of which grow ever more restive under its yoke. Every nation that breaks from its control, weakens the power of U.S. imperialism. The united action of the world's peoples is the force that will end this imperialism, and ensure a stable world peace.

This struggle now finds a parallel link inside the U.S.A. in the Negro struggles, which have the same enemy.

U.S. monopoly capital can only flourish at the expense of the labouring people, of whom the Negroes are the most cruelly suppressed. Now they begin to resist this exploitation in the very stronghold of U.S. imperialism, undermining monopoly capital from within.

This Negro struggle is not yet the American Revolution but may spark it. As more and more of the American working class and progressives join to support the Negro movement for "Freedom Now", this may win a new birth of freedom for all exploited Americans and reinforce the anti-imperialist struggles of the world.

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE
BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY CONCERNING
THE AFRO-AMERICANS

We are glad to join the Negroes in the demonstration against discrimination practised in the United States.

The position of the people of African origin in the United States deserves the attention of all democratic, freedom- and peace-loving people all over the world. The discrimination practised against the people of African origin in America is an instrument of oppression and exploitation such as is practised by the imperialists in Africa, Asia and Latin America against the indigenous people.

The barbarous indignities to which Negroes are subjected, the humiliations they suffer, the injustice and intolerance meted out to them are shameful. The actions taken by the Kennedy Administration to meet the demands of the people of African origin in America do not go far enough to make their lot really better.

The present struggle is a phase in the bitter fight of persons of African origin in the United States. Their ancestors were men and women who were forcibly removed from their homes in Africa and sold as slaves in the New World as America was then called. They were the strongest and most powerfully built members of the society which struggled in vain against a superior technique and the smuggling of humanity. They were from

the very beginning victims of imperialist exploitation which they resisted. Many rebellions of the early slaves against their slave masters are untold.

Their love for freedom and dignity led them to participate in the American Civil War in the hope that they would gain their freedom. They were a decisive factor in this war for the victory of the northern states. Many Negroes were freed but many had to buy their freedom. They realized that by emancipation, the form of slavery had changed but not its substance. Freedom was only nominal. They were not recognized, as they are not even now, by the constitution of the United States as citizens. Great names arose among the valiant slave fighters such as Simon Attacus, Frederic Douglas Barbarossa, Ann Hathaway and Booker T. Washington and many others who have animated the struggle of the people of African origin in America. The struggle continues vigorously up to today.

The Kennedy Administration can only convince the struggling people of Africa and Asia of its sincerity if the United States gives the Negroes their rightful place as human beings in the American society. More convincing still will be the withdrawal of American bases from Africa and Asia, and the conversion of money employed for this purpose and for the manufacture of nuclear weapons to the improvement of the conditions of the people of the United States as a whole.

The people of Basutoland support whole-heartedly the rightful struggle of the Negroes in America.

We could list a thousand actions of barbarism which have been conducted against the people of African origin in America, which actions are cursed by all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

We call on the Kennedy Administration to heed the voices of the 250 million Africans, the 650 million Chinese people and the other millions and millions of peace-loving peoples of the world who have already expressed their indignation at the discrimination against and lynching of the Negroes, and to implement to the letter the colourful preamble of the United States constitution which recognized the equality of all men.

MESSAGE ADOPTED AT THE RALLY OF PEOPLE
FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN PEKING SUPPORT-
ING THE AMERICAN NEGROES' STRUGGLE
AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Peking, August 12, 1963

More than ten thousand people, representing all people's organizations and democratic parties of China as well as people from all walks of life in Peking, gathered in a huge rally today to voice resolute support to the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights, and to condemn strongly the U.S. imperialists for their crimes of racial discrimination.

The struggle waged by the more than 19 million American Negroes is an entirely just one. It enjoys the sympathy and support of the Chinese people and all honest people of the world. Since last April, the Negroes in the United States have launched a powerful nation-wide struggle on an unprecedented scale, dealing a heavy blow to the U.S. imperialist policy of racial discrimination and serving as a strong support and encouragement to the people of all countries who are fighting against imperialism headed by the United States. The Chinese people deeply admire their American Negro brothers for their dauntless and indomitable spirit and most resolutely support their just demands.

The American Negroes have for a long time been subjected to oppression and enslavement. They have been deprived of elementary human rights and thrown in the depth of miseries. Since the inauguration of the Kennedy Administration, fresh shocking crimes of brutal oppression of the American Negroes have occurred one after the other. This completely lays bare the hypocritical character of the so-called "democracy" and "freedom" in the United States and explodes Kennedy's lies about "wiping out any trace of racial discrimination" and "protecting the civil rights of the Negroes". At the same time, it effectively exposes the "sympathy", "aid", "progress" and "peace" which Kennedy has been peddling among the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America as pure deception. Facts prove that the Kennedy Administration, which represents the big monopoly groups in the United States, is the chief culprit of the ruthless persecution of the Negroes, the defender of the system of racial discrimination and the arch-criminal for pushing ahead with the policy of national oppression and aggression throughout the world.

The struggle of the American Negroes is not an isolated one. Their struggle is closely linked with the struggle of all American people and the people of the whole world against imperialism headed by the United States and these struggles are inspiring and supporting each other. We are firmly convinced that, as long as they close their ranks and persevere in the struggle, our Negro brothers and sisters in the United States will triumph no matter how arduous the struggle and how tortuous the path may be. The American Negro people and the oppressed

nations and peoples throughout the world will surely achieve complete emancipation!

**The Rally of People from All Walks
of Life in Peking Supporting the
American Negroes' Struggle Against
Racial Discrimination**

THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES WILL BE VICTORIOUS

(*Renmin Ribao* Editorial, August 12, 1963)

On August 8, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a statement appealing to the people of the world to unite to oppose racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against such discrimination. Today, the people from all walks of life in the Chinese capital will hold a grand rally in support of the American Negroes' just struggle against racial discrimination. Chairman Mao's statement and the mass rally in Peking reflect the Chinese people's profound sympathy for the American Negroes' aspirations for freedom and equal rights and also their resolute support for the latter's struggle against the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism.

Since the Negroes of Birmingham, Alabama, voiced their furious protests against racial discrimination in early April this year, the American Negroes' struggle for freedom and equal rights has risen wave upon wave and has developed extensively and on an ever greater scale. This struggle has not only swept many southern states, but has extended to many industrial cities in the North as well as to other parts of the United States. The number of Negro people participating in each petition, demonstration or other kind of struggle has increased

from scores to several thousand and then to more than a hundred thousand. Unarmed as they are in the face of brutal force, they have displayed courageous, stubborn and unyielding fighting spirit and resisted at the peril of their lives the armed repression by the U.S. authorities and the racists' savage attacks.

The Negroes are the largest minority nationality in the United States. They are discriminated against, ostracized and subjected to various inhuman treatments for no other reason than that the colour of their skin is different from others. The U.S. ruling circles maintain racial discrimination in every sphere of life because this vicious system brings huge superprofits to U.S. monopoly capital. Of the more than 19 million U.S. Negroes, over 90 per cent belong to the exploited class. U.S. monopoly capital utilizes specially this unequal political, economic and social status of the Negro people to exploit them in a most savage manner. It is thus clear that the contradictions of the racial question in the United States are in effect the contradictions between the broad masses of the Negroes and the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. Just as Chairman Mao points out in his statement, "In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle." The U.S. Negroes' struggle for equal rights, therefore, cannot but be a severe struggle against the U.S. monopoly groups' brutal exploitation and reactionary rule.

The American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination is an important component part of the American people's revolutionary struggle. The ruling clique in Washington has felt increasing uneasiness over the Negro people's mounting struggle. In a recent despatch describing the seething campaign against the colour bar,

UPI wrote that the anger against racial oppression "burned furiously . . . symptomatic of mounting Negro determination to break down, at whatever cost, colour barriers dating back more than a hundred years". These words fully show how terror-stricken the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups are at the struggle of the Negroes. This persistent struggle has laid bare before the whole world the ugly features of American society, exposed the hypocrisy of Kennedy's much-vaunted "peace", "democracy", "freedom" and "justice" and dealt a heavy blow to the deceptive policy pursued by the Kennedy government abroad, particularly its neo-colonialist policy in Africa. This struggle of the American Negroes on a scale unknown before also threatens the foundations of the Kennedy government. Not long ago, Robert Kennedy, U.S. Attorney-General, expressed his anxiety with the outcry that "this is a terribly dangerous situation".

Under these circumstances, the Kennedy Administration seeks to sap and put down the revolutionary movement of the American Negroes through its two-faced tactics of suppression and cajolery. While conniving with the local authorities' repressive measures against this just struggle, Kennedy tries to use all kinds of fine words to paralyse the militancy of the Negroes and mislead the world public. Posing as a righteous man, he says hypocritically that he will help work out a peaceful solution and calls upon the Negroes to exercise "restraint" and "to help move disputes from the streets to the courts". For this purpose, he is taking pains to compound a legislative fraud which he titles civil rights, and has submitted to the Congress a "civil rights bill", demanding that the Negroes believe in his "bill", place all their hopes on it and stop their struggle.

We shall not discuss here whether this programme of Kennedy's will be passed in the Congress or not. Even if this legislative procedure were accomplished, would it mean any real change in the Negroes' status of being humiliated and oppressed? Everybody knows that the United States is not in want of legislation against racial discrimination. But all such laws are worth nothing more than the paper on which they are written, and the history of the tragic sufferings of the Negroes is evidence of this. While he was in office, Dwight Eisenhower introduced in 1957 and 1960 two "civil rights bills", assertedly for the protection of the Negroes' right to vote. The U.S. Congress passed the bills. But the 1961 report of investigation of seventeen counties in the South, prepared by the official Civil Rights Commission, conceded that 97 per cent of the Negro electors there were still deprived of the right to vote. It is well known that in many of the northern states, the state laws clearly provide for racial equality. Nevertheless, appalling racial discrimination and segregation have not disappeared for all these "sacred laws". Even Robert Kennedy admits that the question of racial discrimination in the United States cannot be solved "by government edict". The American Negroes certainly see this point more clearly than anyone else. No fraudulent measures can possibly deceive them, because they have suffered enough from them. In recent demonstrations in Washington, the participants carried placards reading "Mr. President, don't play politics with human rights!" They called out, "We want freedom now!" Instead of following Kennedy's "admonition" "to exercise restraint", Negroes in all parts of the United States are carrying on their vigorous struggle with strong determination to tear down the

barriers of racial discrimination in the United States. The course of events in the past four months shows that, as long as barbarous racial discrimination exists, the Negro people's struggle will continue, despite armed suppression and deception.

The American Negro people's struggle for equal rights is an inseparable part of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. Every success in the American Negroes' movement provides vigorous support and inspiration for the revolutionary movement of the people in other parts of the world. The revolutionary people everywhere firmly stand on the side of the American Negroes and evaluate highly their just struggle. The struggle of our American Negro brothers will be extremely arduous and they still may meet various kinds of setbacks. But as Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out in his statement: "... with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people."

II

**FROM THE RALLY OF PEOPLE
FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN PEKING
OPPOSING U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SUPPORTING
THE AMERICAN NEGROES' STRUGGLE
AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
(OCTOBER 10, 1963)**

SPEECH BY KUO MO-JO

Chairman of the China Peace Committee

Comrades and friends,

I now declare open this Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination.

We are highly honoured to have with us here today a famous leader of the American Negro people, Mr. Robert Williams, and Mrs. Williams. Allow me on behalf of our rally to express a hearty welcome to our distinguished guests.

Attending this rally are also many friends from the United States who live in Peking and friends from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. Let us give them a hearty welcome.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the American people as well as of the people of the whole world. The Kennedy Administration is carrying out a programme of extremely reactionary domestic and foreign policies. To make its dreams of world domination and world enslavement come true, U.S. imperialism is using with increasing subtlety the two tactics of counter-revolution. Behind a smokescreen of "peace", it is carrying out frantic arms expansion and war preparations, toughening up its policies of aggression and war. It has been occupying our ter-

ritory of Taiwan and wildly attempting to turn it into a nuclear base. It is bent on turning south Viet Nam into its colony and another of its military bases in Southeast Asia. It is also planning to extend its so-called "special warfare" and massacre, still more people in south Viet Nam. The U.S. aggressor troops are still occupying south Korea, making it a hotbed of tension in Asia and the Far East. And now again, the 18th session of the U.N. General Assembly, under U.S. control, openly interferes in the internal affairs of Korea. U.S. imperialism has crudely violated the Geneva agreements on the Laotian question, and continuously stepped up its intervention in Laos. The so-called Malaysian Federation was formed with the support of U.S. imperialism as a new threat to peace in Southeast Asia and the whole of Asia. The Kennedy Administration has been steadily tightening the encirclement and blockade of Cuba and plotting a new invasion to strangle and subvert the revolutionary government of Cuba. The acts of U.S. imperialism completely expose its mask of peace and its true nature of viciousness and treachery.

While U.S. imperialism vigorously enforces policies of aggression and war abroad, it intensifies its attacks and oppression of the working people at home, particularly of the Negroes. It was in these circumstances that since last April there has flared up and grown the powerful struggle of the American Negro masses against racial discrimination and persecution and for freedom and equal rights.

As we all know, the American Negroes have made a great contribution to the development of American society. But in spite of that fact, they have suffered all kinds of racial discrimination and class oppression from

generation to generation. They have waged a courageous and unyielding struggle against their ruthless rulers for equal rights, democracy and freedom. History records many magnificent and moving deeds performed in this struggle, and it has given birth to many outstanding and admirable figures. Mr. Robert Williams himself is a courageous fighter and a contemporary leader of the American Negroes. He has learned from his own experience that "the stranglehold of oppression cannot be loosened by a plea to the oppressor's conscience". In his *Negroes with Guns*, the book which created a sensation in our country, he wrote:

Social change in something as fundamental as racist oppression involves violence. You cannot have progress here without violence and upheaval, because it's a struggle for survival for one and a struggle for liberation for the other. Always the powers in command are ruthless and unmerciful in defending their position and their privileges.

Mr. Williams is keenly aware that self-defence is an American tradition. He points out that self-defence "is not an abstract rule to be meditated upon by Americans. This is a truth that was revealed at the birth of America, and has continued to be revealed many times in our history". In 1957, in the famous "Monroe Case" against racial oppression, Mr. Robert Williams led the broad masses of Negroes to take up arms and heroically beat back the fascist attacks of the fully-armed U.S. racists, troopers and police. The repercussions of the "Monroe Case" have been extremely far-reaching in the United States. It has revived the spirit of self-defence in the U.S. tradition, and has opened a new chapter in the libera-

tion struggle of our American Negro brothers. As Mr. Williams points out, it is high time for the American Negroes to take action. Their national consciousness and fighting spirit are on the rise.

We are glad to see that the struggle of the American Negroes is developing with full speed. A powerful movement of demonstrations has swept the United States like a storm, particularly after the persecution of the Negroes in Birmingham in early April. Defying the intimidation and suppression by the Kennedy Administration's fully-equipped troops and police forces, thousands upon thousands of Negroes took to the streets, shouting their fighting slogan, "Freedom Now!" So great has been the impact of the struggle, so broad its scale and so long its duration that there is hardly anything to match it in the history of the American Negro struggle. This is a telling blow to U.S. imperialism's policy of racial discrimination, and it exposes before the people of the world the deception of the American "democracy" and "freedom" and the "sympathy" which Kennedy and his like expressed with the Negroes.

In his statement calling on the people of the world to unite against U.S. imperialism's racial discrimination and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination, Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out, "In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle." He added, "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people." The struggle of the American Negroes is a component part of the American people's revolutionary struggle, and of the world-wide struggle of

the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and for emancipation. The struggle of our American Negro brothers strikes at U.S. imperialism from the heartland of this common enemy of the people of the world. Every victory they win supports and inspires the revolutionary movements of the people of all countries. Similarly, the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States, gives powerful support to the struggle of the American Negroes. As Mr. Robert Williams has correctly pointed out, "When Afro-Americans resist and struggle for their rights they also possess a power greater than that generated by their will and their hands. . . . People everywhere in the world would be ready to support our struggle."

The Chinese people firmly support the American Negroes in their just struggle against racial discrimination and oppression and for freedom and equal rights. The Chinese people, the American Negroes and all American people stand together on the same battle line against U.S. imperialism, represented by Kennedy. We are deeply concerned for the revolutionary struggle of the American Negroes and the American people, and we regard their struggle as our own, their victory our victory. We solemnly reiterate here that the 650 million Chinese people will always support the struggle of the American Negroes and the American people as a whole, until they win the final victory.

People who suffer from aggression and oppression invariably rise and resist. Wherever freedom and peace are threatened, there we find a people's struggle. We are glad to see that the national and democratic revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are

developing vigorously, shaking the imperialist rule. The struggles which the working class and the broad masses of the people in Western Europe, North America and Oceania wage against monopoly capital and for a better life, democracy and social progress are mounting every day. U.S. imperialism is committing evil deeds everywhere, pushing neo-colonialism and stepping up war preparations, thus endangering world peace. The people of the whole world are aiming their struggle at this common enemy. U.S. imperialism and its stooges are facing ever deepening crises; their doom is sealed.

People of all countries always encourage and support each other in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for national liberation. The Chinese people are deeply grateful to the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the oppressed peoples of the whole world for their support to the revolution and construction in our country. At the same time, we consider it our unshirkable international duty to support all just, revolutionary struggles of the peoples throughout the world. We firmly support the people of south Viet Nam and south Korea in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and for the peaceful reunification of their motherlands; we firmly support the Laotian people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention and for the maintenance of the independence and neutrality of Laos; we firmly support the patriotic struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism; we firmly support the Indonesian people in their struggle against the aggression and threats of imperialism led by the United States, and against Malaysia, a product of neo-colonialism; we firmly support the people of South Africa, Angola, Portuguese Guinea and

other African countries in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, to strive for and safeguard national independence; we firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle for their Five Demands, against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the defence and development of their revolution; and we firmly support the people of the Latin American countries in their revolutionary struggle to safeguard their national independence and oppose U.S. imperialism and its stooges. Together with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Chinese people will unswervingly carry out their task of combating imperialism and old and new colonialism, and make their contribution to the cause of world peace and human progress.

In the common struggle against imperialism, mutual support and close unity of the people of all countries is the wellspring of our strength, indispensable for defeating the enemy. The imperialists, headed by the United States, and all sorts of reactionaries mortally fear this unity. They try everything in their power to undermine it. The modern revisionists do not support the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but help imperialism and the reactionaries by spreading ideas of what they call the "fraternal love among all mankind". They try in vain to undermine the revolutionary unity and the fighting will of the peoples, on the pretext of breaking down barriers of nationality, colour and geography. But the people of the world see clearly. Their unity forged in the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism cannot be destroyed. All the schemes and intrigues of the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists

are bound to fail ignominiously in the face of the unanimous opposition of the revolutionary people of the world.

Comrades and friends:

The present international situation is favourable to the people of the whole world and unfavourable to the imperialists and the reactionaries. The oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have awakened, the oppressed people of Western Europe, North America and Oceania have awakened, and our American Negro brothers have awakened as never before. Their struggle for independence, freedom and liberation represents a great tide of history, which decaying, moribund imperialism and reaction are powerless to stop. We firmly believe that the criminal colonialist and imperialist system will be buried, and in its place, a new world will rise from the flames of revolution, a world without imperialism, without oppression and without the exploitation of man by man.

People of the world, unite against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism!

Long live the unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH BY ROBERT WILLIAMS

An American Negro Leader

Greetings, revolutionaries and patriots of the People's Republic of China and of the world!

In the name of the savagely oppressed and brutally dehumanized Afro-American citizens and civilized whites of the United States of America, I offer thanks to Chairman Mao and the great Chinese people for your support in our struggle to civilize the racist jungle of the so-called Free World. We, the oppressed and captive people of the "representative democracy of the Christian U.S.A.", are deeply grateful to all the noble and civilized peoples of the world who have been humane enough to respond to the appeal of Chairman Mao for universal support for our struggle for human justice.

It has been a great honour for me to participate in the celebration of your fourteenth year of liberation. Yes, and it gives me great joy to be a guest of the friendly and revolutionary people of liberated China. After coming to China, I can very well understand why the government of the racist U.S.A. is afraid to allow my fellow countrymen to see the great feats of your revolution with their own eyes. Yes, it is more than obvious to me now why the fascist U.S.A. dares not allow its deliberately deceived citizens to experience the warm friendship of the people of liberated China. Beyond the

shadow of a doubt, to be in China is to be impressed. To be in China, with an open mind and eyes, is to be infected with admiration for a dauntless people with a warm love for humanity and world peace. It is significant to me that, as a captive African of the racist U.S.A., China and Cuba are forbidden territories for my fellow countrymen, yet as a black man, I find that for the first time in my life in these two countries I enjoy the splendid feeling of belonging to the human race. I have experienced for the first time in all my life the lifting of the horrible burden of racial tyranny and the stress of being born black in a white-supremacy world.

The land of my birth has proclaimed itself the leader of the so-called Free World. It has elected itself the guardian of the universal rights of man. It has proclaimed itself king of all dominions, policeman and law-giver to the entire world.

It seeks to usurp all the powers of heaven and earth and to canonize itself Holy Deity of all the known world and all of that yet to be known. And what is the nature of such a would-be savior and divine ruler of the world? And what are the qualifications of this would-be God who maintains that it, alone, is holy enough to design and control the political and social morality of the world? The greatest reference of qualifications is given by this egomaniac itself. And what does this great hypocrite claim as proof of its holiness and democratic standard? It claims to be a Republic that places its respect for the rights of man above all else. It claims to be a land of equality for all men. It claims to be a Christian nation. It claims to be a land of peace—the mixing pot of the world with liberty and justice for all.

Patriots of the civilized world; let me, a refugee, a black refugee, an exile who escaped death and terror in that racist jungle called the Free World, tell you something about its actualities, rather than its deceptive pretensions. The government of the U.S.A. is the world's greatest hypocrite. It is the world's greatest enslaver and dehumanizer of the human race. It is a disgrace and a horrible shame to all mankind. It is a threat to the peace and security of the world. It has forfeited its right to even exist on the face of the earth, let alone rule it. The life of a black human in the racist jungle of the U.S.A. is less respected than that of a common street dog. All non-white persons are considered no more than a cut above the fowl and beast of the forest.

Patriots of the world, I do not propose to merely generalize about the conduct of this savage would-be ruler of the world. For fear that I may be thought to be merely an embittered refugee, out to cast vengeful aspersions rather than fact, let me be more specific and cite a few symbolic cases of barbarism indicative of the much-boasted-about way of life. I feel that it is not necessary to start with the most brutal form of chattel slavery the world has ever known, but let us bear in mind that the U.S. slave-holder, grandfather of the present-day would-be enslaver of the world, was a racist so devoid of human decency that he raped his slave women, forced them to bear children for him, then sold his own flesh and blood into slavery in order to enrich his coffers. This was carried out in the same evil spirit of a jungle society that so glorifies money, that even today its citizens are sometimes driven to the extreme of placing bombs on airplanes to destroy their children,

wives, mothers or grandmothers in order to collect benefits from insurance policies.

The hypocritical Kennedy Administration has just released a report on civil rights in the U.S.A. It is a document called *Freedom to the Free* and is designed to whitewash the Kennedy Administration and the representative democracy of the racist U.S. Government. It attempts to give the impression that U.S. racism is a thing of the past. Page 89 of Kennedy's *Freedom to the Free* mentions a race riot of June 1917. I quote excerpts from this "great book of liberty":

. . . indiscriminate shooting of Negro homes triggered general rioting, resulting in hundreds of deaths. Almost without exception the death toll was confined to Negroes, and several days elapsed before order could be restored. . . . The Governor of Kansas wrote to President Wilson to recommend that the Department of Justice conduct a thorough investigation of the riot. Representative L. C. Dyer, of Missouri, wrote to tell the President that more than 500 people had been murdered in East St. Louis and that he had received many letters from citizens of the city, who begged the Government to take immediate action to relieve the situation. When the President asked the Attorney General to advise him whether the disturbances in East St. Louis did not "under existing law" fall within Federal jurisdiction, the latter replied: "Up to this time no facts have been presented to us which would justify Federal action though it is conceivable that a condition which would justify it may develop later on."

Can one imagine a government pleading impotence when more than 500 of its peaceful citizens have been murdered in cold blood on its streets?

The newspaper *Chicago Defender* of April 5, 1919 reports:

Private William Little, a Negro soldier returning from the war, arrived at the railroad station here several weeks ago. He was encountered by a band of whites. The whites ordered him to doff his Army uniform and walk home in his underwear. Several other whites prevailed upon the hoodlums to leave Little alone and he was permitted to walk home unmolested. Little continued to wear his uniform over the next few weeks, as he had no other clothing. Anonymous notes were sent him warning him not to wear his Army uniform "too long" and advising him to leave town if he wished to sport around in khaki. Little ignored the notes. Yesterday Private Little was found dead on the outskirts of this city, apparently beaten by a mob. He was wearing his Army uniform.

In describing a lynching of a Negro, the *Washington Eagle* of July 16, 1921 states:

. . . They tore the Negro's clothing off before he was placed in a waiting automobile. This was done in broad daylight. The Negro was unsexed and made to eat a portion of his anatomy which had been cut away. Another portion was sent by parcel post to Governor Dorsey, whom the people of this section of Georgia hate bitterly. The Negro was taken to a grove, where each one of more than 500 people in Ku Klux ceremonial had placed a pine knot around a stump, making a pyramid to the height of ten feet. The Negro was

chained to the stump and asked if he had anything to say. Castrated and in indescribable torture, the Negro asked for a cigarette, lit it and blew the smoke in the face of his tormentors. The pyre was lit and a hundred men and women, old and young, grandmothers among them, joined hands and danced around while the Negro burned. A big dance was held in a barn nearby that evening in celebration of the burning, many people coming by automobile from nearby cities to the gala event.

Another example of the democratic heritage of the American way of life is recorded in the *Chicago Defender* of February 17, 1923:

Dateline, Ga. Fingers and ears of two Negroes lynched near this city last week are on display in a large bottle filled with alcohol on the counter of the town's only drugstore. An inscription beside the bottle reads: "What's left of the niggers that shot a white man."

The *Washington Eagle* of August 11, 1923 reports from Yazoo City, Mississippi:

Ten thousand coloured people, including men, women and children, are said to have left the vicinity of Yazoo City since Sunday following the burning at the stake of Willie Minnifield in a swamp near here. The emigrants left in all sorts of conveyances, railroads, automobiles, oxcarts, and some on foot. Few of them remained long enough to dispose of their possessions, some even leaving crops on the ground. Minnifield, who was found fishing in the swamp, was accused of attacking a woman with an axe at a point 26 miles

distant. There was no indication to prove that he was the criminal. When the posse discovered him, he was in company with another man. Both were seized and charged with the crime. Minnifield's companion escaped. Angered because he had slipped from their clutches, the mob prepared to burn Minnifield. He was dragged to a cleared space in the swamp, and a stake was driven into the ground, to which he was tied. Fire was then set to the brushwood, and as the flames crackled around the man, the woods resounded with the shouts of the mob. As the flames died down, leaving the victim's charred skeleton lying upon the embers, the mob took up the chase for the man who had escaped.

The Vicksburg *Mississippi Evening Post* reports:

An eyewitness to the lynching of Luther Holbert and his wife, Negroes, which took place in Dodsville gave the *Evening Post* the following details concerning retribution exacted from the couple prior to their cremation yesterday. When the two Negroes were captured, they were tied to trees and while the funeral pyres were being prepared, they were forced to hold out their hands while one finger at a time was chopped off. The fingers were distributed as souvenirs. The ears of the murdered were cut off. Holbert was beaten severely, his skull was fractured and one of his eyes, knocked out with a stick, hung by a shred from the socket. Some of the mob used a large corkscrew to bore into the flesh of the man and woman. It was applied to their arms, legs and bodies, then pulled out, the spirals tearing out big pieces of raw quivering flesh every time it was withdrawn.

As another case of humanity in America, I quote now from the *New York Times* of July 27, 1946:

Monroe, Ga. Two young Negroes, one a veteran just returned from the war, and their wives were lined up last night near a secluded road and shot dead by an unmasked band of twenty white men. The ghastly details of the multiple lynching were told today by Loy Harrison, a well-to-do white farmer who had just hired the Negroes to work on his farm. Harrison was bringing the Negroes to his farm when his car was waylaid by the mob eight miles from Monroe. Questioning of one of the Negroes by the mob indicated, Harrison said, that he was suspected of having stabbed his former employer, a white man. The Negroes, Roger Malcolm and George Dorsey, both 27, were removed from the car and led down a side-road. The women, who were sisters and who had just recently married Malcolm and Dorsey, began to scream. Then a mob member said that one of the women had recognized him. "Get those damned women, too," the mob leader shouted. Several of the men then came back and dragged the shrieking women from the automobile. A few moments later Mr. Harrison heard the shots—many of them and the mob dispersed. The grotesquely sprawled bodies were found in a clump of bushes beside a little-used side-road, the upper parts of the bodies scarcely recognizable from the mass of bullet holes. Dorsey's mother, Monia Williams, said that her son had just been discharged after five years in the Army and that she had received his discharge button in the mail just this week.

In a follow-up story the following day the *New York Times* states:

Close relatives of two of the four Negroes killed by a white mob here Thursday failed to appear at funeral services today and friends voice the belief that they were too frightened to appear.

The *Washington Post Times Herald* of September 1, 1955 reports from Green-Wood, Mississippi:

The body of a 14-year-old Chicago Negro who had disappeared after he allegedly made fresh remarks to a white woman was found floating in the Tallahatchie River today. He had been shot through the head. 14-year-old Emmett Till was accused of insulting the wife of a white merchant who alleges that he whistled at her and waved good-bye.

The *Birmingham News* (Alabama) of March 8, 1960 reports from Houston, Texas:

Four masked white youths hung a Negro man from a tree by his heels last night and carved two series of KKK's into his chest and stomach after beating him with chains, allegedly in reprisal for recent sit-in demonstrations by Negro students at Texas Southern University.

I have cited but a few cases of the thousands recorded in journals of the U.S.A. There are millions of cases of savage persecution never recorded. No record can ever be brought up to date because these horrible crimes against black humanity are continuous. Racist America is loud and vain about its respect for human rights. We have covered a few symbolic cases of the past, but

what about today? What is the story under the Kennedy Administration that has declared itself ready and willing to resort to nuclear war in defense of democracy throughout the world? Patriots and friends: leopards never shed their spots. Oppressive governments never voluntarily refrain from crimes of tyranny against a subject people.

In the racist U.S.A. at this very moment the most noble of her citizens languish in prison dungeons and makeshift concentration camps for no greater crime than trying to enforce her own constitution. Her streets are becoming crimson with the purest blood of the land. The cry of terror and the smoke of violence are a way of life. The fires of discontent and rebellion are sweeping the land like a raging firestorm. And what is the attitude of slick John Kennedy, the self-styled savior of the world? A pregnant Negro mother, Mrs. A. D. King, who was praying for freedom in the streets of Albany, Georgia, U.S.A., was viciously clubbed to the ground by two brute policemen and while she lay on the ground she was viciously kicked in her pregnant stomach. When a Negro lawyer went into court to protest the illegal arrest of hundreds and police brutality against women and children, in the presence of a racist judge, he was unmercifully beaten down to the floor of the courtroom by a sheriff. The Kennedy Administration was asked to uphold its sworn constitutional duties by indicting the savages who mauled and maimed the coloured mother and the lawyer in violation of the U.S. Constitution and it refused to raise a finger. Mr. Kennedy, the self-appointed defender of the so-called Free World, insisted that this was a local matter out of the jurisdiction of the federal government. Corporal Roman Duckworth, a black soldier, wearing the uniform of the United States Army,

so-called defender of the "Free World", was savagely gunned down by a trigger-happy racist officer of the law. Corporal Duckworth was murdered in cold blood because he refused to surrender his bus seat and his dignity to the white supremacists in the "Free World" of the U.S.A. Corporal Duckworth was en route to a hospital to visit his ailing wife. He never made it. When Negroes appealed to the Kennedy Administration to punish the hate-crazed killer of Corporal Duckworth, an active member of his armed forces, Kennedy replied that he had no jurisdiction and that it was a matter to be handled by the local racist officials.

Black women and children are being gunned down on the streets of America like wheat before a threshing machine. Black women are being shot in the back by racist thugs, simply for being born black in the racist U.S.A., and Kennedy's only answer is that this is not in his jurisdiction, that this matter should be taken up with the same racist officials who are responsible for the conditions which lead to these acts of savagery. While Mr. Kennedy refuses to protect the lives of black women and children in America, and even whites who support them in their struggle for human dignity, he proposes to send a Peace Corps to educate and what he calls civilize coloured peoples abroad. What kind of a government is it that refuses to protect such basic rights of its citizens while boasting about defending democracy throughout the world?

This same hypocrite, who claims to be a friend of the Negro, has not appointed a single Negro judge to the South. All of his appointees have been outspoken white supremacists. Out of all the injustices visited upon our people by racist policemen and officials of the South, not

a single one has been indicted by the Kennedy Administration. Four out of every five unemployed workers in the U.S.A. are black Americans. Afro-American homes and churches have become targets of racist terrorists. Shot-gun attacks and bombing raids have reached the proportions of warfare. The government of the United States moves only when our people resort to self-defense. It moves then to crush resistance and to make the black citizens easy prey for racist white savages. Our people are being murdered in the streets just for the sport of racist beasts, and slick John Kennedy always sends his regrets to the survivors of the victims.

Six Afro-Americans were massacred recently on one Sunday alone in Birmingham, Free World U.S.A., and Kennedy consoled the black community by making a phoney grandstand play before the world in publicly stating how sorry he was about the whole affair. . . . Savage Governor Wallace also expressed his regrets. At this very moment a representative of the Ku Klux Klan sits in the White House as Kennedy's adviser. His Federal Bureau of Investigation is busy tracking down black freedom fighters for southern racists while racist beasts run wild.

I am aware of the fact that U.S. racism grew out of capitalist exploitation, but today it has become a part of the American way of life. It is a part of the nature of a Yankee. This is not to say that all American whites are racist. Some of them are our brothers and allies, but they are much too few in numbers. No, not all Americans are savages, but we must ask ourselves where are the decent people of the U.S.A. while all of these atrocities are being committed in the name of their cause of white supremacy and representative democracy?

American imperialism is a racist imperialism. It cannot be viewed in any other light. There should be no doubt in our minds that the U.S.A. is out to conquer the world and to establish a new world order of racist democracy, exemplified by Birmingham justice. Those who speak of peaceful co-existence with such savage beasts cannot sincerely have the best interest of all humanity at heart. Those who are being taken in by such a cunning beast should remember that there is no Alliance for Progress or Peace Corps for 11 million illiterate Americans. There are no mutual assistance pacts for the 20 million persons who, Kennedy says, "go to bed hungry" each night in the racist U.S.A. There is no mutual defense pact for the besieged black people of the U.S.A. There is no bomb agreement for those Americans who live in terror of the H-bomb of race hate. Negroes like Ralph Bunche, the so-called black peacemaker of America, have not brought peace to the terrorized black citizens of the U.S.A. Carl Rowan, the roving ambassador now assigned to Norway, cannot even use a public toilet in many communities, because of his race, in his native U.S.A. Mrs. Edith Sampson, the U.S. government's former black window-dressing to the United Nations and the State Department apologist, who was sent to India to whitewash U.S. racism, had her husband die in an automobile on a lonely Illinois road because hospitals refused to admit him because his skin was black.

How can the coloured peoples of the world accept such a racist savage as a savior and a friend? How can racist America hate the black captive Africans at home and love them abroad? Three students of Ghana were recently severely beaten by racists in the U.S.A. and, as always is the case, the hypocrite, slick John Kennedy expressed

regret. Regretful Kennedy is never regretful enough to eliminate the cause of his pretended regret.

It is tragic how many of the coloured peoples of the world are being deceived by the cunning Yankee. It is shameful some people are literally falling over each other for the Yankee dollar and so-called American friendship. The recipients of Yankee dollars today will be the victims of neo-colonialism and U.S. chains and barbarism tomorrow. It is tragic that they have thrown off the old yoke of colonialism and are inviting new colonialism by prostituting national sovereignty for the Yankee dollar. A Yankee military base today becomes an oppressive Yankee police station tomorrow. The U.S.A. denies justice to its own people, how can foreigners be so asinine as to expect such a beast to grant them justice?

An editorial in the Bristol (England) *Western Press* of October 1, 1926 states:

The Negro question in the United States is undoubtedly at the root of much of the violence and intimidation that is practised there. We in Europe can show nothing to match the dementia of a mob that still tears a Negro to pieces or burns him alive for his alleged crimes. . . . It is an odd illustration of the difference between theory and practice of democracy in the United States.

These words are just as true today as ever. Is it any wonder that the United States is the most outspoken advocate of the right of South Africa and Portugal to sit in the United Nations? Racist nations, like birds of a feather, flock together.

Patriots and friends, it fills my heart with joy for so many of us to join together in a common cause against

a common enemy. I am gladdened by such an occasion, and yet this afternoon in this great hall of the great people of China and of the world, the enslavement of my people still burns in my memory. The echoes of their broken and maimed bodies dragging their chains across America falls over me like a mournful song of sorrow.

For almost two hundred years under the present U.S. Government my people have known only terror and slavery. A great revolution was fought for independence and in the history of the world there never was such a noble revolution so grossly and wantonly betrayed. There never was such a cruel hoax perpetrated on a revolutionary people. There are many facts deliberately played down or deliberately obscured by the white-supremacy historians of the U.S.A. Out of all of the glorious tales written about the U.S. revolution for independence from Britain, the fact is hardly known that a black man was the first to die for American independence. Yes, Chrispus Attucks, a black man, was the first to fall for a freedom that almost two hundred years later arrests little black girls, as young as eight years old, for begging for human rights. Such a lover of freedom died almost two hundred years ago and yet today the streets of America are filled with ferocious police dogs, sadistical racist policemen, water hoses and tear gas to brutally crush the spirit of freedom.

Many shocked freedom-lovers of the world are saying that the U.S.A. is becoming more and more like Hitler's Nazi Germany. This is not true. Hitler's Germany became like the United States. In 1935 his Nuremberg race laws were patterned after those of the racist U.S.A. The Nazis thanked the Americans for providing them

with such splendid examples like the laws of the state of Virginia.

The same savages who rain death and destruction on the innocent women and children of Cuba, the same savages who rain death and destruction on the helpless women and children of south Viet Nam, the same savages who supply the implements of death and destruction to South Africa and Portugal, are the same who blow off the heads of little black girls in the homes and churches of Birmingham, Free World U.S.A. U.S. racism is a cancerous sore that threatens the well-being of humanity. It can only be removed and a cure effected by a surgical operation performed by the great masses of the world.

As a victim who has personally experienced the brutality of so-called American democracy, my foremost wishes are that others of my brothers will not become the unwitting dupes of Yankee hypocrisy — that my brothers of Latin America, Asia and Africa will not, in the lust for the Yankee dollar, deliver themselves up like cattle to be added to the American stockyard of human bondage. The government of the U.S.A. is an enemy to all the world. Freedom in the U.S.A. is a farce. Yes, a common street dog has more rights in the racist U.S.A. than a black American. However, I take heart in the fact that our people, like the other oppressed peoples of the world, are fighting back. We are bound to win because we are a part of the world struggle of all the oppressed peoples.

In the name of the African captives of racist America, I thank you for your support of a common struggle against a common enemy. Again, I thank Chairman Mao for his appeal for universal support of our struggle.

Patriots, in unity and solidarity with our oppressed brothers, let our battle cry be heard around the world:
Freedom! Freedom! Freedom now or Death!

MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO AMERICAN NEGROES

*Adopted at the Rally of People from All Walks of
Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and
Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle
Against Racial Discrimination*

Peking, October 10, 1963

American Negro Brothers and Sisters
Care of Mr. Robert Williams

People from all walks of life in Peking are gathered here once again today in a great assembly to pledge resolute support to American Negro brothers and sisters in their struggle against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

Since last April, a movement of demonstrations launched by the American Negroes has swept rapidly over the whole of the United States. The Freedom March on Washington on August 28, in which more than 200,000 Negroes and many honest white men participated, marks a new upsurge in the American Negroes' struggle. Your struggle jolted the ruling circles of U.S. monopoly capitalists, dealt blows to the U.S. imperialist policy of racial discrimination and, before the people of the whole world, gave the lie to the so-called democracy and freedom of the U.S. ruling circles and unmasked the fraudulent nature of the "sympathy" given by Kennedy and his ilk to the American Negroes. Your struggle has also given

support and encouragement to the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism.

Aided and abetted by the Kennedy Administration and with its participation, the American racists have intensified their persecution of the Negroes. The Birmingham bombing on September 15 which caused the death of many Negro children was most shocking. The Chinese people indignantly condemn such heinous crimes of racial discrimination and persecution perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists.

The American Negroes' struggle is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the American people and of the liberation struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples. It has the sympathy and support of the just people in the United States and throughout the world. The Chinese people will always stand by their American Negro brothers and sisters as well as the American people as a whole in the fight against U.S. imperialism and its policy of racial discrimination.

U.S. imperialism, which maintains a rule tending more and more towards fascism at home and pursues a policy of aggression and plunder abroad, is opposed by the people of all countries and is finding itself increasingly isolated. The struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of the world will surely continue to grow in strength and magnitude. U.S. imperialism is doomed to extinction. The just struggle of the American Negroes, which has the support of over ninety per cent of the people of the world, is sure to triumph in the end.

**The Rally of People from All Walks of
Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism
and Supporting the American Negroes'
Struggle Against Racial Discrimination**

毛澤東
呼吁世界人民联合起来
反对美国帝国主义的种族歧视、
支持美国黑人反对种族歧视的斗争的声明

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外文出版社出版（北京）
1964年第一版
编号：（英）3050—861
00077
3—E—610P