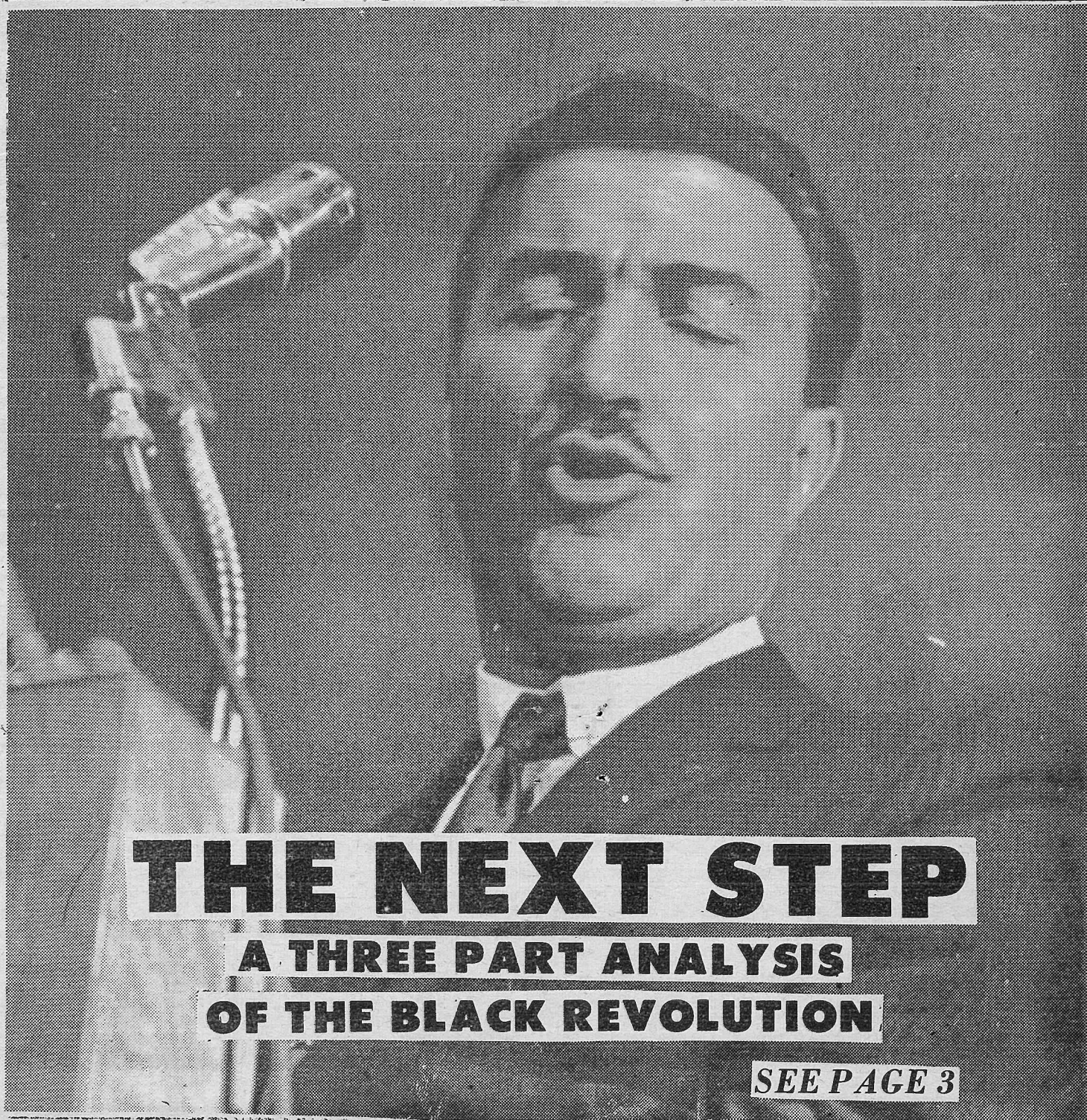


Vol. 3 No. 24

THE ILLUSTRATED NEWS

BI-WEEKLY CIRCULATION - 35,000



THE NEXT STEP

**A THREE PART ANALYSIS
OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION**

SEE PAGE 3

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We believe in Christmas, because it is the birthday of the Prince of Peace and Brotherhood; the birthday of the Christ who chased the money-changers from the temple; who said, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for such is the Kingdom of Heaven." This is the Christ we will celebrate; the great Jewish carpenter-philosopher who was born in a manger in Bethlehem.

Thousands of atrocities committed against humanity and the Negro people from slavery to the present time, have gone unpunished. And now we are mocking the Prince of Peace; throwing bombs in the Holy Place of God; blasting the brains of His children against the high walls of His Tabernacle in Birmingham; turning His day of days into a sabbath ritual of blood and destruction. We are guilty. Not only those who planted the bomb, but those who condone injustice and segregation and thereby give it sanction; those who profit from it and those who do not work to eradicate it. We are all guilty.

And who among us can participate in life as usual, in business as usual, or even Christmas as usual?

Let us celebrate Christmas this year in a way that will bear witness to the life and love of Jesus. Let us re-create from His Life that image including all the Adams and Eves and their countless generations. Let us repent this most recent of our crimes against humanity and God; the murder of our tender six of Birmingham, with the fervent determination that it will never be sixty, or six hundred, six thousand, or another six million.

This year we will give our children the profoundest gift of all; the gift of truth, which is the gift of love. And we will have the duty to tell them that Santa will not come this year because he is mourning for the children of Birmingham, who will get no gifts this year or the next year or the next. And for the children too young to understand we will make gifts and toys with our hands from boxes and cans and

string and last year's toys and paste and paint and wood and love.

To the sellers of trees and trains and pins and pianos, we urge you to understand and to pledge with us, that this Christmas shall come from our hearts and minds, not from our pocket-books. To the ones who must give *something*, notwithstanding, we urge you to give to the organizations and institutions working to build and strengthen the moral and religious fibre of our nation.

It is in this spirit that we ask all Americans of all colors, creeds and religions, to join us in this determination to put Christ back into Christmas and His Great Life back into moral and religious perspective.

JAMES BALDWIN
OSSIE DAVIS
RUBY DEE
ODETTA GORDAN
JOHN O. KILLENS
LOUIS LOMAX

THE NEXT STEP

A THREE PART ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION

PART I

By Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., Contributing Editor



The much publicized "Black Revolt of 1963" has been only a "prelude to revolution." Upon occasion it has shocked and even terrified the white man out of his customary complacency by presenting the awesome spectacle of mass hysteria resulting from total frustration caught up in acts of total futility. "How much can they take?" the white man wondered in amazement in Albany, Georgia, in Greenwood, Mississippi, and in Birmingham, Alabama. "How much can they take?" the white man wondered, as black men, women, and children lay bleeding in the streets, as they were dragged to make-shift paddy wagons to be herded into hastily improvised concentration camps and compounds because the jails were jammed to overflowing, when they were set upon by snarling dogs, and swept from the streets by powerful bruising pressure hoses. "How much can they take?" the white man wondered when millions of dollars were required for bail and legal fees, and still black men, women and children came on unafraid in waves like the ocean, screaming "lock me up", "lock me up."

"How much can they take?" the white man wondered as he spit upon black men, women and children, beat them and kicked them, because they asked for service at a lunch counter. "How much can they take?" the white man wondered as he burned the buses which black men called "Freedom Buses." And when the organized protests were over, and the television crews, the radio announcers, and the newspaper reporters went home, and the unreported reign of terror set in, the white man watched black men stagger into the night still bleeding from the castrator's knife, he watched black men's crops rotting in the fields, and he wondered, "How much can he take?"

Much of this prelude to revolution in 1963 has hinged upon HOW MUCH THE BLACK MAN CAN TAKE – HOW MUCH PUNISHMENT CAN HE ABSORB. Deliberately in a macabre declaration of war the black man has pitted his defenceless body and those of his women and children against the sadistic violence of the white community. In no uncertain terms he has declared his intention to be free, but certainly he has fared poorly in devising a strategy of struggle. It is not enough to talk of "redemptive suffering," and the sacrifice which Jesus made upon the Cross, unless the black man seeks his freedom in a great spiritual hereafter – because Jesus as a man, died upon that Cross, and following his resurrection

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Dan Watts, Editor of the Liberator Magazine, Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr. Pastor Wilford X, and Malcolm X of New York City

The status quo and the old guard received a horrible shock the other weekend. I mean the Conference week-end. The Detroit Council For Human Rights conference and the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) Northern Grass Roots Leadership Conference. The militants organized in three days a workshop and a conference that put the old guard "way up the creek."

You remember, the DCHR originally called a Freedom Now conference of leaders across the North. Rev. L.C. Franklin then decided to limit the conference to his own safe point of view. Rev. Albert B. Cleage resigned and GOAL issued a call for its own workshop and conference. GOAL invited all Negroes in the civil rights fight to participate and exchange ideas and plans.

You know what happened. Franklin's workshop was a big nothing. GOAL had 160 delegates from 14 states. The Northern Grass Roots Leadership Conference was established as a separate body and a meeting scheduled for Chicago in the spring. G.M.Boycott was arranged. A Christmas Boycott was endorsed. The Freedom Now Party was endorsed. The International All Trades Union of the World was endorsed and lots of good things were done.


The most important thing about these happenings, in my opinion, is the shift it suggests in the power structure of the Negro Community. This shifting has been going on quietly for a couple of years and those who would like to understand the ways of the world would do well to study this microism of revolution.

In a general sense the facts are simple. DCHR was at its advent a usurper. Its organization of the June 23 March in Detroit was done over the protests and in spite of the original old guard leaders. These leaders tried to take the march away from the DCHR but were unsuccessful. They tried to kill it and they were unsuccessful. Finally they were forced to join it.

The march was a large success. The official CBS estimate was that one quarter million people participated. The success was due to many things. But for our consideration one important reason for success was that the organizing group was a NEW group - not a part of the old guard leadership. It was a new group not contaminated and so gave heart not only to the thousands of uncommitted Negroes in our city but also allowed enthusiastic participation to thousands of committed Negroes in Detroit who up to that time had not been acceptable to the old guard mainly because they were militant and because they were by and large, black nationalist.

The DCHR then became a success but not understanding the nature of its resources decided to play it safe and become old guard leaders themselves. They planned the Freedom Now Rally and the Northern Leadership Conference. If this move had been a sincere effort to

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OLD GUARD LEADERS STAND ALONE

BLACK MILITANTS HAVE SUPPORT OF NEGRO COMMUNITY

By Atty. Henry W. Cleage, Editor

evaluate the Negro's position and map his course it would have been a success. But somewhere, sometime, someone got frightened. The scope of the conference was limited. No discussion of anything that could mean anything would be permitted. No Black Nationalist No Freedom Now Party .. so they cast out their strength. Rev. Cleage resigned in protest - GOAL called its own conference - the rest is history.

The power house that emerges in Detroit is GOAL with its supporters, the militants and the Black Nationalists.

The original old guard leaders are still making noises like leaders, but they're lost. True, they have the white folks blessing, the white folks jobs and the pages of the Negro Weekly in which to preen themselves. But what have they done except support Van Antwerp and Swainson and Edwards. They have done nothing and will do nothing in the future because they have no commitment, no ideas and are not free. One of the blessings of life is that in times of great change the ones who are being unseated are the most inept actors on the stage. These original old guard leaders are in truth the first victims of the Negro Revolt. In truth they are the ones we are forced to hurl our first thunderbolts against for they are the bullets the whitey has aimed at our hearts. They cannot take part in the struggle for they are against the struggle. They have sold out the struggle in an effort to preserve their image. They fight a personal fight with each other and the white man tells them who wins. Their goal must, therefore be the white mans goal. Thus in this situation they are immobilized.

The new old guard DCHR is just as bad off. They also have no commitment, no guide lines to show the way. They dont even have the white man's help because they haven't proven themselves safe. Just as they were about to, the roof (Goal and the militants) fell in.

The lesson in all of this is that the strength of the Uncle Toms and Old guard white dominated leaders in any American Community is pure fiction. The Black Nationalists and militants can beat the socks off them any day in the week. All they need to do is realize their strength. The strength is there - all the time. It needs some group or circumstance to get it together. Detroit has GOAL (God Bless Em)



Mrs. Gloria Richardson,
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Continued from Page 3

"ascended into heaven to sit upon the right hand of God the Father, Almighty." The masses of Negro people do not struggle, suffer and sacrifice for a freedom to be realized in heaven upon the right hand of God the Father, Almighty, but for FREEDOM NOW right here upon this good green earth. It is not enough to talk of "redemptive love" because the American white man's mind, distorted and brutalized by generations of violence and hatred, can not be redeemed by a black man's love, any more than a black man's mind can be washed clean of centuries of oppression, frustration and anger to make possible anything resembling love for his white enemy.

The black man's commitment to suffering in this prelude to revolution - his willingness - almost eagerness to suffer has not been rational but emotional. It was more of a boast than a protest spoken in an unmistakable language, "Look, I'm no longer afraid of you, and there is nothing you can do about it - and I'm going to be free - and there's nothing you can do about that either!" The "leaders" did not understand. They propounded elaborate philosophical explanations for the thing the black man was doing spontaneously and almost gleefully. They spoke loftily of the disciplines of "non-violence" and the power of "redemptive love," not realizing that neither meant anything to the people they were "leading." Because they did not understand it, they wasted this emotional prelude to revolution without developing any real strategy or organizational structure for the basic struggle which must follow.

Strangely the "Black Revolt" began quietly, almost somberly, and relatively free of emotionalism and mass hysteria with a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. The Negro people of Montgomery decided to walk, and not to ride the buses, until the Bus Company met certain specific demands. This was not a revolutionary protest against conditions in Montgomery nor against second-class citizenship in general. It was a simple demand for certain basic changes in the racial policy of the bus company. It was revolutionary only to the extent that any Negro demand for justice is interpreted as a revolutionary attack upon the status quo. Negroes promised to withhold patronage until their demands were met. The Bus Company could not remain solvent without Negro patronage so the outcome was inevitable. The Bus Company capitulated and the demands of the Negro community were met. The Negro saw not the success of a method but the weakness of the enemy, and moved one step nearer to the black revolution.

Other southern Negro communities tried economic sanctions in specific situations with varying degrees of success depending in general upon the percentage of Negroes in the total population and the percentage of support which the Negro community gave the undertaking. In some Negro communities specific stores which discriminated were boycotted. In other communities the stores on certain streets or in certain districts were boycotted. In most instances these specific campaigns brought results. At the same time the NAACP and other civil rights organizations continued to demand the Negroes' constitutional rights in specific court cases with the result that Autherine Lucy was temporarily forced into the University of Alabama and a handful of Negro children were forced into an all white school in Little

Rock. This was a slow process, the attacking of specific ills, case by case, boycott by boycott. It seemed that there ought to be some way of striking out at the very fabric of racial segregation and discrimination. There must be some way of attacking the total system of racial oppression. There must be some way of staging a real "revolution." The Negro was in a mood to experiment with methods and so the Sit-in Demonstrations and the Freedom Rides came into being. With these new methods the Negro turned his back upon a case by case attack upon specific ills and began his inevitable move towards the revolutionary "Protest demonstration" which seeks to undercut the foundations of his second-class citizenship. The Sit-in Demonstration and the Freedom Ride appear to demand compliance with specific constitutional rights in specific situations, but actually the Sit-in Demonstrator does not expect to eat nor the Freedom Rider to ride. Both are using a specific situation to make a revolutionary protest, and so both prepared the way for the revolutionary Mass Protest Demonstrations which the Reverend Martin Luther King launched in Albany, Georgia, Greenwood, Mississippi and Birmingham, Alabama.

The revolutionary Mass Protest Demonstration mobilized an entire Negro community to protest against total racial discrimination. A series of demands covering the general conditions of second-class citizenship were made to the leaders of the white community. It has been argued that the Mass Demonstrations would have collapsed without the opposition of white law enforcement agencies. Certainly it would seem that without Bull Connor the Birmingham Protests would have fallen apart. But to say this is to deny the reality of the Negroes' oppression in the South. The Mass Protest Demonstration was revolutionary because it threatened every sacred racial tabu in a southern community. The law enforcement agencies were "forced" to "contain" the demonstrations. The

Continued on Page 7

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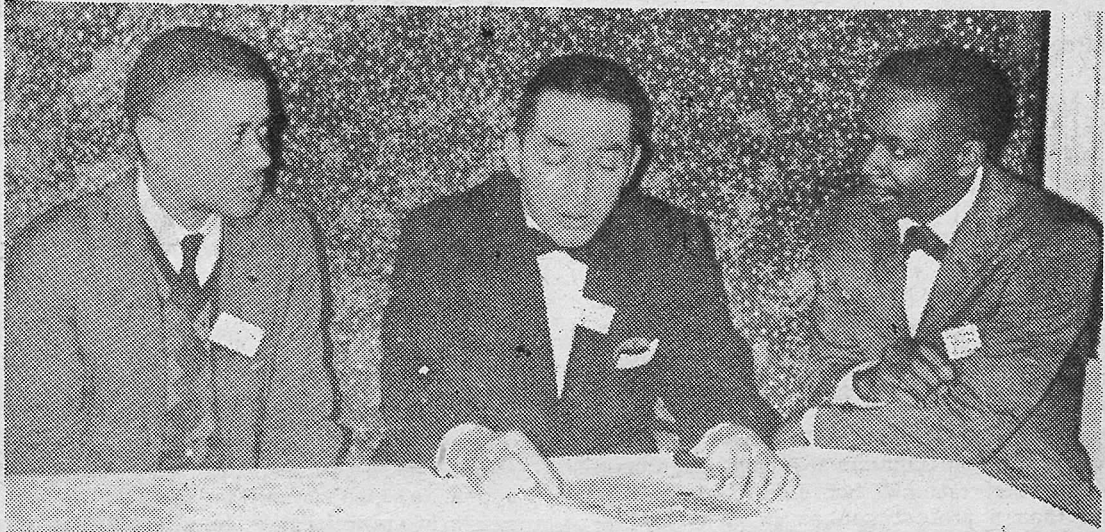
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GOAL GRASSROOTS CONFERENCE LEADERS: WILLIAM WORTHY OF NEW YORK, REV. ALBERT B. CLEAGE, JR. AND RICHARD B. HENRY, PRESIDENT OF GOAL.

Continued from Page 6

Negroes' very threat to march out into the white community was an implied threat to invade the parks, the stores, the lunch counters, everything. They had to be held back behind an arbitrarily established line with clubs, fire hoses and police dogs or the entire fabric of southern life would have been destroyed! So the revolutionary Mass Protest met the Negroes' need to attack the total conditions of second-class citizenship. It had only one major shortcoming. No matter how many men, women and children were willing to be beaten, and bitten by dogs, and punished by pressure hoses, and go to jail, there was no possible way to "win" beyond the moral victory of having dramatized to the world the conditions under which the Negro must live in America. A non-violent redemptive revolution was doomed to failure! The method could not force a white community to change its treatment of the Negro. All of the revolutionary Mass Protests failed to secure any tangible results despite the thousands injured and jailed and the thousands of dollars spent. Even such meaningless demands as the establishment of a bi-racial committee were usually denied.

The Federal government refused to protect the Negroes' constitutional right to peaceful assembly. It refused to prosecute southern officials for the denial of constitutional rights to Negro citizens under Federal criminal statutes. The Federal government stood by as a disinterested spectator refusing to take any action which would contribute to the success of the black revolution. This was not by accident. The Federal government by design and conscious intent refused to offer the necessary support to enable the revolutionary Mass Demonstrations to overthrow the southern patterns of racial discrimination. If the Federal government had given constitutional support to the black revolution, non-violent direct action would have won. The Federal government carefully selected the times and places for its intervention. It was willing to intervene Federal power only in instances where the Negro's objectives were limited and Federal support would not help the basic revolutionary attack upon the total southern system of racial preju-

dice and discrimination. The Federal government could send troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, into Alabama and Mississippi to force the entrance of a specific Negro into a specific school, but it refused to take any action to support the revolutionary Mass Protests against segregated education in general. The Federal government could act in a specific situation designed to deprive a specific Negro of his constitutional right to vote, but it refused to support the revolutionary Mass Protests against the South's refusal to let Negroes register and vote.

When the Federal government refused to support the black revolution in the South the Mass Demonstrations were doomed to failure. Negroes could suffer and bleed and pay millions of dollars to secure release of Negro demonstrators from jails, but victory was impossible. Without returning violence for violence, and without the protection of the Federal government, revolutionary Mass Demonstrations became only a prelude to revolution. Everywhere throughout the country the Negro is

looking to his leaders for the next step. Non-violent direct action has failed — where do we go from here?

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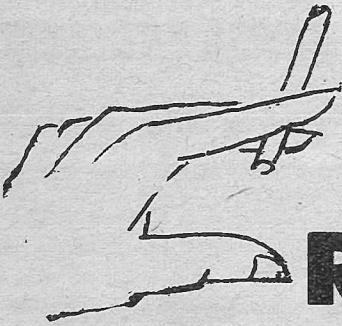
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SMOKE



RINGS

Congressman Powell sure had Cavanagh's number! Cavanagh's goat was got; but I thought Mr. Powell was very lenient.

Hizzoner said his respect for "Powell" (not Congressman Powell) has never been high.

White folks find it hard to respect a Negro anyhow.

How - be - ever "we" respect Mr. Powell and "we" know he was right as far as he went.

He just forgot to mention how Cavanagh dismissed the shooting of Cynthia Scott - in the back - as self defense.

Cavanagh said he will let his record in civil rights serve as his answer to "Powell."

All I got to say is that he has a mighty poor answer. what part of his record is he proud of?

Police brutality? Cynthia Scott? Negroes beat up on their own front porch - resisting arrest? or his Negro appointments.

I have seen better records in Mississippi !!!

The Mayor has at least 64 paying appointments. It aint no accident that Negroes got two instead of 20 or 30-

He aint got respect for any of the rest of us either - I do believe.

And the feeling is mutual.

When a man's record speaks for him, it tells a whole lot.

Cavanagh's record says he dont even count Negroes - why else would he deny them a fair share of appointments.

There aint no way in the world any Tom can bring Cavanagh to the Negro community for re-election.

Cynthia Scott clinched the deal.

Cavanagh's two little appointments aint even tokenism its simply "scandalous."

If in this city of over 1/3 Negroes; he cant give 1/3 of his appointments to Negroes, he is living in the past.

The appointments had to be made on race. If left to chance, we might have had 40.

Whenever a white man is not considering race - that's when we really get it.

The white folks accuse Cavanagh of making Democrat appointments to build up the Democratic machine in Michigan.

Someone ought to tell him that a Democrat cant carry Michigan unless he gets "all" the Negro vote in Detroit.

He is playing it cozy like Swainson did before he got defeated.

ADDRESS

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I hope he does run for a state office - I'll bet he will get enough of Cynthia Scott and his 2 Negro appointments to get him back into private law practice.

Some folks are just too little for the job - Sad but true.

The white man who thinks a Tom can deliver the crowd, ought to open his eyes and see whats happening.

When is the last time that a Tom carried any weight with the masses ?

It's been a long long time !

It was upon the advise of Tom that the Olympics were lost.

The white papers just name them for us, now... We dont go their way.

When we got a right to expect 20 appointments and get only 2 - white man, you are holding back our rights not your favors.

The White Citizens Councils are out to praise the Detroit Police Department - They should - if you know what I mean - Especially Edwards.

He handled Cynthia's illegal arrest better than they do in Mississippi.

Its getting so that even a false alarm has a color line, a white kid gets a lecture; a Negro kid gets "life."

A fire engine kills a man and the Negro kid standing at the fire box gets "life."

Thats more than the white kids get for running over folks and killing them - after all the kid didnt turn over the fire engine.

They are so fast to try a Negro child as an adult. But they shave up the white murderers and try them as kids.

Oh! how long lawd? how long?

The white man's justice is an awful thing.

Thats because when it comes to justice white folks aint got no shame at all...

Its all for the Cause..

Michigan my Michissippiii!!!

THE ILLUSTRATED NEWS

Published Bi-Weekly

Contributions should be directed to the Illustrated News .. 5385 Lovett - Detroit (10) Ty 5-7930

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