

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

BLACK STUDIES RESEARCH SOURCES

Microfilms from Major Archival and Manuscript Collections

General Editors: John H. Bracey, Jr. and Sharon Harley

THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

Part 2: The Papers of Robert F. Williams



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Cover: (Left) Robert F. Williams; (Upper right) from left: Edward S. "Pete" Williams, Robert F. Williams, John Herman Williams, and Dr. Albert E. Perry Jr. at an NAACP meeting in 1957, in Monroe, North Carolina; (Lower right) Mao Tse-tung presents Robert Williams with a "little red book." All photos courtesy of John Herman Williams.

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The Black Power Movement

Part 2: The Papers of Robert F. Williams

Microfilmed from the Holdings of the Bentley Historical Library,
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

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INTRODUCTION

Robert F. Williams and the African American Freedom Struggles

Robert Williams, born in Monroe, North Carolina, became one of the most influential African American radicals of his time, primarily for his advocacy of what he called “armed self-reliance” during the late 1950s and the 1960s. He engaged in a widely published written debate with Martin Luther King Jr. in 1960 and, though his leadership abilities were no match for King’s, he wielded an enduring influence. His life in the freedom struggles revealed the deep influence of black nationalism and armed self-defense. His influence might have been even greater had he not been forced to flee the United States in 1961 with his wife and two small children, a machine gun slung over one shoulder, foiling a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) dragnet. In Cuba and the People’s Republic of China, Williams shared podiums with Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse-tung. “Radio Free Dixie,” his regular program on Radio Havana from 1962 to 1965, blasted “rump-licking Uncle Toms” and “Ku Klux Klan savages” from Seattle to New York City. His 1962 book, *Negroes with Guns*, a decisive influence on the Black Panthers and a generation of young African American radicals, became a classic document of the Black Power movement. Just before his death on October 15, 1996, Williams completed a draft of his autobiography, “While God Lay Sleeping.” In its pages, in his life, and in the Robert F. Williams Papers, we find a distillation of the bitter history that shaped not only one of the South’s most dynamic race rebels but thousands of other black insurgents whose militant resistance helped end the racial caste system in the United States.

Robert Williams was born in 1925 to Emma C. and John L. Williams. His father was a railroad boiler washer in Monroe, North Carolina, a town of six thousand in the North Carolina piedmont. His grandfather, Sikes Williams, born a slave in Union County, had attended Biddle Institute in nearby Charlotte after Emancipation and became a Republican Party activist during the late nineteenth century. Sikes Williams also published a small newspaper called “The People’s Voice” and denounced the white supremacy campaign, which took the vote from black citizens at the turn of the twentieth century.

Robert’s grandmother, Ellen Williams, also born a slave, was a daily presence in his childhood: Williams remembered her as “my greatest friend.” He recalled that “she read *everything*” and that she “specialized in history.” She would point to the old printing press in the shed and tell the young boy stories of the crusading editor’s political exploits. Before she died, Ellen Williams gave young Robert a gift that symbolized much that slavery and the struggle for liberty had taught her: the ancient rifle that his grandfather had wielded against white terrorists.

During World War II, Williams moved to Detroit, where he worked at the Ford Motor Company, joined a militant labor union, and battled white mobs in the Detroit race riot of 1943. Drafted in 1944, Williams endured the ironies of marching for freedom in a segregated army. Though the racial discrimination in the army angered

Williams, military training gave him and a generation of African American veterans “some feeling of security and self-assurance,” he recalled. “The Army indoctrination instilled in us what a virtue it was to fight for democracy and that we were fighting for democracy and upholding the Constitution. But most of all they taught us to use arms.” Like thousands of other African American veterans, Williams came home unwilling to accept the South’s racial caste system.

Another returning African American veteran, a friend of Williams’s named Bennie Montgomery, killed his white landlord in a dispute over wages in 1946. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) wanted to lynch the black sharecropper, but instead state authorities whisked Montgomery out of town, tried and convicted him of murder, and ten months later executed him in the gas chamber at Central Prison in Raleigh. Robbed of their lynching, the local klavern of “the invisible empire” let it be known that Bennie Montgomery’s body belonged to the Klan. “They was gonna come and take Bennie’s body out and drag it up and down the streets,” J. W. McDow, another African American veteran, recalled. “I rather die and go to hell before I see that happen.” A group of former soldiers met at Booker T. Perry’s barbershop and made a battle plan. When the Klan motorcade pulled up in front of Harris Funeral Home, forty black men leveled their rifles, taking aim at the line of cars. Not a shot was fired; the Klansmen simply weighed their chances and drove away. Former U.S. Army Private First Class Robert F. Williams cradled a carbine that night. So did three of the men who would become key lieutenants in the “black militia” that Williams organized ten years later. “That was one of the first incidents,” Williams recalled, “that really started us to understanding that we had to resist, and that resistance could be effective if we resisted in groups, and if we resisted with guns.”

Williams soon left the South for almost a decade, working briefly at Cadillac Motor Company in Detroit before using his G.I. Bill benefits to write poetry and study psychology at three different historically black colleges: West Virginia State College, Johnson C. Smith College, and North Carolina Central College for Negroes. “Someday,” he vowed in a 1949 article for the Detroit edition of the *Daily Worker*, “I would return seasoned from the fight in the north and more efficient in the fight for the liberation of my people.” In 1952, Williams wrote an essay for Paul Robeson’s newspaper, *Freedom*, in which he predicted that African American college students would soon become “the most militant agitators for democracy in America today. They have nothing to lose and all to gain.” In 1953, Williams ran out of money for college and reenlisted in the armed forces, this time in the United States Marine Corps.

“Wherever he has gone,” an FBI observer noted during this period, “Williams has constantly complained, both in the Army and at previous places of employment, that he has been discriminated against.” The Marine Corps was no different. Objecting bitterly to racial discrimination, Williams clashed with his officers, spent much of his sixteen months in the Marine Corps in the brig, and received an undesirable discharge in 1955. His one bright moment as a marine came on May 17, 1954, when he heard that the U.S. Supreme Court had struck down school segregation. “At last I felt that I was a part of America and that I belonged,” he wrote. “I was sure that this was the beginning of a new era of American democracy.”

Upon his return to Monroe in 1955, Williams joined both the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a mostly white Unitarian fellowship. In a Sunday sermon delivered to his fellow Unitarians in 1956, Williams hailed the Montgomery bus boycott and celebrated what he called

“the patriots of passive revolution.” His bitter collision with the Marine Corps had not dampened his commitment to equal rights for all under the U.S. Constitution and to those elements in the American political tradition that he believed undergirded black liberation. Invoking “the spirit of Concord, Lexington and Valley Forge,” Williams declared from the pulpit that, as he put it, “the liberty bell peals once more and the Stars and Stripes shall wave forever.”

The atmosphere at the Monroe NAACP was less exuberant. In the wake of the *Brown* decision and the triumph at Montgomery, KKK rallies near Monroe began to draw crowds as large as fifteen thousand. Dynamite attacks on black activists in the area were common and lesser acts of terror routine. “The echo of shots and dynamite blasts,” the editors of *The Southern Patriot* wrote in 1957, “has been almost continuous throughout the South.” The Monroe NAACP dwindled to six members who then contemplated disbanding. When the newest member objected to dissolution, the departing membership chose him to lead the chapter. “They elected me president,” Williams recalled, “and then they all left.”

Finding himself virtually a one-man NAACP chapter, Williams turned first to the African American veterans with whom he had stood against the Klan that night back in 1946. Another veteran, Albert E. Perry, M.D., became vice president. Finding it “necessary to visit homes and appeal directly to individuals,” as Williams informed the national office, he painstakingly recruited from the beauty parlors, pool halls, and street corners, building a cadre of roughly two hundred members by 1959. The Monroe branch of the NAACP became “the only one of its kind in existence,” Julian Mayfield wrote in *Commentary* in 1961. “Its members and supporters, who are mostly workers and displaced farmers, constitute a well-armed and disciplined fighting unit.” The branch became “unique in the whole NAACP because of a working class composition and a leadership that was not middle class,” Williams wrote. “Most important, we had a strong representation of black veterans who didn’t scare easily.”

In response to the drownings of several local African American children whom segregation had forced to swim in isolated farm ponds, the Monroe NAACP launched a campaign to desegregate the local tax-supported swimming pool in 1957. Not surprisingly, the KKK blamed the affluent Dr. Perry for the resurgent black activism, and a large, heavily armed Klan motorcade attacked Perry’s house one night that summer. African American veterans greeted the night riders with sandbag fortifications and a hail of disciplined gunfire. The Monroe Board of Aldermen immediately passed an ordinance banning KKK motorcades, a measure they had refused to consider prior to the gun battle.

An even more remarkable local drama dragged Robert Williams onto the stage of international politics on October 28, 1958. Two African American boys, “Fuzzy” Simpson and Hanover Thompson, ages eight and ten, met some white children in a vacant lot. A kissing game ensued in which the ten-year-old Thompson and an eight-year-old white girl named Sissy Sutton kissed one another. The worldwide controversy that stemmed from the “kissing case” underlined the power of sexual questions in racial politics and demonstrated both the promise and the problems of cold war politics for the African American freedom struggle.

After the kissing incident, Sissy Sutton’s mother reported that “I was furious. I would have killed Hanover myself if I had the chance.” Sissy’s father took a shotgun and went looking for the two boys. Neighbors reported that a white mob had roared up to the Thompson home and threatened not only to kill the boys but also to lynch their mothers. Later that afternoon, police officers spotted Hanover Thompson and

Fuzzy Simpson pulling a red wagon loaded with soft drink bottles. “Both cops jumped out with their guns drawn,” Thompson recalled. “They snatched us up and handcuffed us and threw us in the car. When we got to the jail, they drug us out of the car and started beating us.” The local juvenile court judge reported to Governor Luther H. Hodges that the police had detained the boys “for their own good, due to local feeling in the case.”

Authorities held the two boys for six days without permitting them to see parents, friends, or attorneys. Passing gunmen fired dozens of shots into the Thompson home. Klan terrorists torched crosses on the lawn. Hanover’s sister found his dog shot dead in the yard. For many white citizens, the case seemed to resonate with the sexual fears that accompanied their vision of where school desegregation would lead. “If [black children] get into our rural schools and ride the buses with our white children,” one local woman wrote, “the Monroe ‘kissing’ incident is only a start of what we will have.” On November 4, Judge J. Hampton Price convened what he termed “separate but equal” hearings for the white parents and the black boys and sentenced the pair to Morrison Training School For Negroes. If they behaved well, Judge Price told the black boys, it might be that they could be released before they were twenty-one.

Robert Williams saw the “kissing case” as more than a local expression of the irrational sexual lynchpin of white supremacy; the bizarre clarity of the case and the strange politics of the cold war suggested a larger strategy. Like Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) would do in Birmingham four years later, Williams and his friends in Monroe set out to use international politics of the cold war as a fulcrum to push the U.S. government to intervene. Determined to make the “kissing case” a global metaphor for the American racial dilemma, they fired off press releases, pestered reporters, hounded the wire services, and put in motion what *Time* magazine called “a rolling snowball” of worldwide publicity.

This publicity campaign quickly attracted the support of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a Trotskyite group attempting to break with the American left’s tendency to subordinate race to class. Efforts for socialism and black liberation must meet as equal partners, C. L. R. James and Claude DeBruce had persuaded their SWP comrades. DeBruce, an African American member, saw the need for an independent black political leadership, preferably with ties to the NAACP, that could “project a program in the interest of the mass of Negroes.” Thus when Robert Williams emerged from the black South in 1958, the SWP stood poised to assist him on his own terms. Beginning in 1958, *The Militant*, the SWP’s newspaper, carried dozens of articles about Williams and Monroe—twenty-five on the “kissing case” alone—coverage that overshadowed their reports on the Cuban revolution, the anticolonial uprising in the Belgian Congo, and all the other developments in the African American freedom struggle combined. “They knew I wasn’t going to join any party,” he recalled, “because I had made that plain. I wasn’t interested in them.” The reverse, however, was not true. Robert Williams “has some audacious plans which I think are feasible,” SWP organizer George Weissman wrote. “Indeed, the more I see of him the more I think he has the possibility of becoming a *real* Negro leader.”

With logistical assistance from the SWP, Williams addressed audiences at labor halls, liberal churches, and college auditoriums across the country. Soon the “kissing case” emblazoned front pages around the globe. John Shure, head of the United States Information Agency at the Hague, reported that he himself had received over

twelve thousand letters “even though the response does not appear to have been organized.” While the White House and the State Department expressed alarm at the damage to U.S. foreign relations, Williams had a ready answer. “It is asinine for colored people to even think of sparing the U.S. State Department embarrassment abroad,” he replied. “If the U.S. government is so concerned about its image abroad, then let it create a society that will stand up under world scrutiny.” Three and a half months after Hanover and Sissy had kissed each other, Governor Hodges announced, under enormous political pressure, that the boys would be released.

“The kissing case,” activist lawyer Conrad Lynn observed years later, “was the case that got [Williams] in national and international attention.” The case furnished Williams not only with a network of seasoned activists in the American left but also with a growing number of supporters among black nationalists in Harlem. Audley “Queen Mother” Moore, an important figure in both communist and black nationalist circles in Harlem from the 1920s to the 1970s, organized support for Williams. He became a regular visitor to Louis Michaux’s National Memorial African Bookstore on Seventh Avenue off 125th Street, where Michaux welcomed Williams to the podium the store provided for the legendary Harlem street speakers of the day. The most important of Williams’s contacts among the Harlem nationalists was Malcolm X, minister at the Nation of Islam’s Temple Number 7. “Every time I used to go to New York he would invite me to speak,” Williams recalled. Malcolm would tell his congregation “that ‘our brother is here from North Carolina, and he is the only fighting man that we have got, and we have got to help him so he can stay down there,’” Williams recounted. Williams found ready support among Harlem intellectuals, including Julian Mayfield, John Henrik Clarke, John O. Killens, and other literary and political figures. “They all saw something in Monroe that did not actually exist—an immediately revolutionary situation,” Harold Cruse observed. Julian Mayfield later wrote an unpublished autobiography in which he disclosed that “a famous black writer made contact with gangsters in New Jersey and bought me two sub-machine guns which I took to Monroe.” Williams was not the best known black leader in the United States, but he may have been the best armed.

The “kissing case” recruited new allies for Williams, but it launched him on a collision course with the NAACP hierarchy. Since the Scottsboro trials of the 1930s, the NAACP had steadfastly shunned so-called “sex cases” and political alliances that might leave the organization open to red-baiting. Should the NAACP “ever get identified with communism,” Kelly Alexander, head of the North Carolina Conference of Branches, told a reporter, “the Ku Klux Klan and the White Councils will pick up the charge that we are ‘reds’ and use it as a club to beat us to death.” Differences over strategy became bitter: Alexander complained to the national office that Williams “has completely turned his back on the one organization that is responsible for him being in the spotlight today,” while Williams griped that Alexander “sounds more like a *Tom* than ever.” Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the national organization, began to refer to Williams in private as “Lancelot of Monroe.”

Just as the “kissing case” headlines faded in the spring of 1959, two news stories from other parts of the South gripped black America. One was the lynching of Mack Charles Parker, accused of raping a white woman in Mississippi. When Mississippi NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers heard that Parker had been dragged from his cell and murdered by a mob, he told his wife, “I’d like to get a gun and start shooting.” The other was the terrifying ordeal of four young black college students at Florida A&M. Their double date after a college dance was interrupted by

four white men with guns and knives. The drunken assailants, who had vowed, as one of them testified in court later, “to go out and get some nigger pussy,” forced the two eighteen-year-old black men to kneel at gunpoint while they undressed the two women and decided aloud which one they would kidnap and then gang-rape. In the wake of these highly publicized outrages, Roy Wilkins conceded in a letter marked “NOT FOR PUBLICATION” that “I know the thought of violence has been much in the minds of Negroes.” By early May, Wilkins admitted that the NAACP found it “harder and harder to keep feelings from boiling over in some of our branches.”

Right on the heels of the Parker lynching and the terrors in Tallahassee, two pressing local matters brought Robert Williams and a crowd of black women to the Union County courthouse. B. F. Shaw, a white railroad engineer, was charged with attacking an African American maid at the Hotel Monroe. Slated for trial the same day, Lewis Medlin, a white mechanic, was accused of having beaten and sexually assaulted Mary Ruth Reid, a pregnant African American woman, in the presence of her five children. According to Williams, Reid’s brothers and several of the African American women of the Monroe NAACP had urged that the new machine guns be tried out on Medlin before his trial. “I told them that this matter would be handled through the law and the NAACP would help,” Williams recalled, “that we would be as bad as the white people if we resorted to violence.”

The proceedings against the two white men compelled Williams to reconsider his assessment. The judge dropped the charges against Shaw in spite of the fact that he failed to appear for court. During the brief trial of Medlin, his attorney argued that he had been “drunk and having a little fun” at the time of the assault. Further, Medlin was married, his lawyer told the jury, “to a lovely white woman...the pure flower of life...do you think he would have left this pure flower for *that*?” He gestured toward Reid, who began to cry uncontrollably. Medlin was acquitted in minutes. Robert Williams recalled that “the [black] women in the courtroom made such an outcry, the judge had to send Medlin out the rear door.” The women then turned on Williams and bitterly shamed him for failing to see to their protection.

At this burning moment of anger and humiliation, Williams turned to wire service reporters and declared that it was time to “meet violence with violence.” African American citizens unable to enlist the support of the courts must defend themselves. “Since the federal government will not stop lynching, and since the so-called courts lynch our people legally,” he declared, “if it’s necessary to stop lynching with lynching, then we must resort to that method.” The next day Williams disavowed the reference to lynching. “I do not mean that Negroes should go out and attempt to get revenge for mistreatments or injustice,” he said, “but it is clear that there is no Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment nor court protection of Negroes’ rights here, and Negroes have to defend themselves on the spot when they are attacked by whites.”

Banner headlines flagged these words as symbols of “a new militancy among young Negroes of the South.” Enemies of the NAACP blamed this “bloodthirsty remark” squarely on the national office. That very morning, when he read the words “meet violence with violence” in a United Press International dispatch, Roy Wilkins telephoned Robert Williams to inform him that he had been removed from his post as president of the Monroe NAACP.

The fiftieth anniversary convention of the NAACP that summer of 1959 became a highly public show trial whose central issue was whether or not the national organization would ratify Wilkins’s suspension of Robert Williams. The national office printed up a pamphlet, “The Single Issue in the Robert Williams Case,” and

distributed it to all delegates. As part of the coordinated effort to crush Williams, Thurgood Marshall visited the New York offices of the FBI on June 4, 1959, and urged agents to investigate Williams “in connection with [Marshall’s] efforts to combat communist attempts to infiltrate the NAACP.” Wilkins twisted every available arm. Daisy Bates, the pistol-packing heroine of Little Rock, agreed to denounce Williams for advocating self-defense—after the national office consented to buy \$600 a month in “advertising” from her newspaper. “The national office,” Louis Lomax wrote, “subjected the Williams forces to a heavy bombardment from the NAACP’s big guns.” Forty speakers, including Bates, King, Jackie Robinson, and dozens of distinguished lawyers, rose one after the other to denounce Williams. But when the burly ex-marine from Monroe finally strode down the aisle to speak, he was neither intimidated nor penitent.

“There is no Fourteenth Amendment in this social jungle called Dixie,” Williams declared. “There is no equal protection under the law.” He had been angry, they all knew, trials had beset him, but never had he intended to advocate acts of war. Surely no one believed that. But if the black men of Poplarville, Mississippi, had banded together to guard the jail the night that Mack Parker was lynched, he said, that would not have hurt the cause of justice. If the young black men who escorted the coed who was raped in Tallahassee had been able to defend her, Williams reminded them, such action would have been legal and justified “even if it meant that they themselves or the white rapists were killed.” “Please,” he beseeched the assembly, “I ask you not to come crawling to these whites on your hands and knees and make me a sacrificial lamb.”

And there the pleading stopped. “We as men should stand up as men and protect our women and children,” Williams declared. “I am a man and I will walk upright as a man should. I WILL NOT CRAWL.” In a controversy that the *Carolina Times* called “the biggest civil rights story of the year,” the NAACP convention voted to uphold the suspension of Robert Williams. The day after Daisy Bates had urged the assembly to censure Williams for his vow to defend his home and family, she wired the attorney general of the United States to complain about dynamite attacks on her home in Little Rock. “We have been compelled to employ private guards,” she said. Williams wrote to Bates soon afterward, “I am sorry to hear that the white racists have decided to step up their campaign against you. It is obvious that if you are to remain in Little Rock you will have to resort to the method I was suspended for advocating.”

Against this backdrop of white lawlessness and political stalemate in 1959 and early 1960, Robert Williams moved to strengthen the local movement in Monroe and to reach out to a national audience. Though Williams underlined the fact that “both sides in the freedom movement are bi-racial,” his emerging philosophy reinvigorated many elements of the black nationalist tradition whose forceful reemergence in the mid-1960s would become known as “Black Power.” His militant message was neither racially separatist nor rigidly ideological. Williams stressed black economic advancement, black pride, black culture, independent black political action, and what he referred to as “armed self-reliance.” He connected the southern freedom struggle with the anticolonialism of the emerging third world, especially African nations. In the late 1950s, when other integrationists focused on lunch counters and voter registration, Williams insisted on addressing persistent black poverty: “We must consider that in Montgomery, where Negroes are riding in the front of buses,” he said, “there are also Negroes who are starving.” His approach was practical,

eclectic, and improvisational. There must be “flexibility in the freedom struggle,” he argued, and tactics must emerge from the confrontation itself. At the core of his appeal, however, stood his calls for absolute racial equality under a fully enforced U.S. Constitution, backed by an unyielding resistance to white supremacy.

In pursuit of this uncompromising vision of interracial democracy, Williams became an editor and publisher like his grandfather before him. Two weeks after the 1959 NAACP convention, FBI agents reported to J. Edgar Hoover that black children were “selling a newsletter known as *The Crusader* on the streets of Monroe.” Its title honored the late Cyril V. Briggs, Harlem organizer of the left-wing African Black Brotherhood in the early twentieth century. *The Crusader’s* self-proclaimed mission was “ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF RACE PRIDE AND FREEDOM.” Sample mailings yielded several thousand subscribers across the country. Williams’s newsletter fed a lively and important debate within the freedom movement about the meaning of nonviolence.

“The great debate in the integration movement in recent months,” Anne Braden of the Southern Conference Educational Fund wrote in late 1959, “has been the question of violence vs. nonviolence as instruments of change.” Harry Boyte, soon to be Martin Luther King Jr.’s first white aide, observed that “the idea of striking back...meets a steady response among the downtrodden, grass roots of the southern Negro population.” For several years, Boyte argued, Robert Williams “has succeeded in reaching these grass roots,” exercising “great influence in Union County and beyond because of his militant position and refusal to submit to intimidation.” Williams “poses a real threat to more peaceful and non-violent methods of solving our problems.” The FBI, too, remained uneasy about Williams’s expanding range of contacts. Hoover’s files, agents reported, “reflect numerous instances where groups in various sections of the country have proclaimed and demonstrated their sympathies with Williams and have sent him money.”

Not merely the FBI but also the most influential advocates of nonviolence felt compelled to deal with Williams’s growing reputation. In a series of public debates in New York City, Williams faced A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, and others. “Nonviolence is a powerful weapon in the struggle against social evil,” Williams conceded. “It represents the ultimate step in revolution against intolerable oppression, a type of struggle wherein man may make war without debasing himself.” The problem, according to Williams, was that the success of nonviolence depended somewhat upon the adversary; rattlesnakes, he noted, were immune to moral appeals, as were white terrorists in the South. “When Hitler’s tyranny threatened the world,” he argued, “we did not hear much about how immoral it is to meet violence with violence.” Williams “drew a large audience to his debate with the pacifists,” George Weissman of the SWP wrote to Carl Braden in Louisville, “and handled himself quite well.”

In a widely reprinted debate first published in *Liberation* magazine, Williams faced Martin Luther King Jr. Again careful to endorse King’s methods wherever they proved feasible, Williams advocated “armed self-reliance,” explaining that among well-armed white vigilantes, “there is open defiance to law and order throughout the South today.” Where law has broken down, he said, it was necessary and right to defend home and family. “Nonviolence is a very potent weapon when the opponent is civilized, but nonviolence is no repellent for a sadist,” Williams noted. “Nowhere in the annals of history does the record show a people delivered from bondage by patience alone.”

King conceded that white violence and white intransigence had brought the movement to “a stage of profound crisis.” African Americans were frustrated, he said, and the “current calls for violence” reflected “a confused, anger-motivated drive to strike back violently.” The Supreme Court’s 1954 mandate and even the triumph at Montgomery had yielded small tokens, elaborate evasions, and widespread terror. Only three responses presented themselves. One could practice “pure nonviolence,” King said, but this path “could not readily attract large masses, for it requires extraordinary discipline and courage.” A position that encompassed legitimate self-defense was more practical. King pointed out that “all societies, from the most primitive to the most cultured and civilized, accept [self-defense] as moral and legal. The principle of self-defense, even involving weapons and bloodshed, has never been condemned, even by Gandhi.” Here was where King the politician sensed his constituency. “When the Negro uses force in self-defense,” he continued, “he does not forfeit support—he may even win it, by the courage and self-respect it reflects.” This widely accepted position was, of course, precisely Williams’s view—which was King’s problem.

The third and most unacceptable position, King argued, was “the advocacy of violence as a tool of advancement, organized as in warfare, deliberately and consciously.” Here, then, was the pale beyond which King sought to cast his adversary. “Mr. Robert Williams would have us believe that there is no collective or practical alternative,” King insisted. “He argues that we must be cringing and submissive or take up arms.” Essentially, King had invented his own Robert Williams, a kind of black Geronimo plotting military strikes against the white man, and then responded to *that* Robert Williams. Lacking theological training and combative in his manner, Williams made himself vulnerable to this caricature. But the philosophical position from which King centered his own argument—preferring nonviolence, but endorsing “the principle of self-defense, even involving weapons and bloodshed”—was precisely the place where Williams had taken his stand. After the debate appeared in *Liberation* and began to resonate throughout the movement, W. E. B. Du Bois weighed in with a commentary, also entitled “Crusader Without Violence,” in which he discouraged applause for King’s critique of Williams. In Montgomery, he wrote, King had “stood firm without surrender,” but Du Bois considered it “a very grave question as to whether or not the slavery and degradation of Negroes in America has not been unnecessarily prolonged by the submission to evil.”

More than the persuasive skills of their elders, the bold actions of African American college students set these philosophical debates aside and gave the battalions of nonviolence their brief but compelling historical moment. On February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College walked into Woolworth’s in Greensboro, sat down at a segregated lunch counter, and asked to be served. Within two months, the sit-ins had spread to fifty-four communities across nine states of the old Confederacy, infusing the freedom movement with fresh troops and new tactics.

Soon after the sit-ins began, Robert Williams followed a dozen black youths into Gamble’s Drug Store in downtown Monroe and was the only person arrested. Marched down the street in handcuffs, a shotgun-toting guard on either side of him, Williams spoofed himself as “the dangerous stool-sitter bandit” and vowed that he had “never felt prouder in my life.” Young insurgents in Monroe mounted an aggressive campaign of sit-ins that displayed its own unique style. “The Negroes remained in each store only a short time,” the *Charlotte Observer* reported, “usually

until management closed the counters.” Under court orders to abide by the law or face imprisonment, Williams defied the judge and marched with his young troops. “We’re using hit-and-run tactics,” Williams told reporters. “They never know when we’re coming or when we’re going to leave. That way we hope to wear them down,” he said, managing to sound like a platoon leader even while participating in a passive resistance campaign. “They were always doing something,” the manager of Jones Drug Store recalled. “It’s a wonder somebody didn’t kill him.” It was no mystery to Williams; the main difference between the sit-ins in Monroe and elsewhere was that “not a single demonstrator was even spat upon during our sit-ins,” Williams claimed.

The uneasy peace in Monroe would soon be broken, in large measure by followers of King. In 1961, Reverend Paul Brooks of SCLC and James Forman, soon to become president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), came to Monroe in the company of seventeen Freedom Riders fresh out of jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The young insurgents arrived in Monroe to launch a nonviolent campaign in Robert Williams’s backyard, though Forman later denied any intention to undermine Williams. One of the Freedom Riders announced that he had come to Monroe because he considered “Mr. Robert F. Williams to be the most dangerous person in America.” Another proclaimed: “If the fight for civil rights is to remain nonviolent, we must be successful in Monroe. What happens here will determine the course taken in many other communities throughout the South.”

Williams welcomed the Freedom Riders warmly but had a similar understanding of the stakes. “I saw it first as a challenge,” he recalled, “but I also saw it as an opportunity to show that what King and them were preaching was bullshit.” Two weeks of picketing at the Union County Courthouse grew progressively more perilous for the Freedom Riders. Crowds of hostile white onlookers grew larger and larger. Finally, on Sunday afternoon, August 28, a mob of several thousand furious white people attacked the approximately thirty demonstrators, badly injuring many of them. Local police arrested the bleeding protestors. In his classic memoir, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, Forman later called this riot his “moment of death” and “a nightmare I shall never forget.” To the consternation of SCLC, the nonviolent crusade swiftly deteriorated into mob violence. Throughout the community, white vigilantes attacked black citizens and even fired fifteen shots into the home of former mayor J. Ray Shute, a white moderate who had befriended Williams.

At the height of this violent chaos, a white married couple entered the black community for reasons that are unclear and drove straight into an angry black mob milling near Williams’s house. “There was hundreds of niggers there,” the white woman stated, “and they were armed, they were ready for war.” Black residents, under the impression that the demonstrators downtown were being beaten and perhaps slaughtered, threatened to kill the white couple. Williams, though busy preparing to defend his home, rescued the two whites from the mob and led them into his house, where they remained for about two hours. White authorities later charged Williams and several other people with kidnapping, although the white couple met two police officers on their way home and did not report their alleged abduction. The woman later conceded that “at the time, I wasn’t even thinking about being kidnapped.... [T]he papers, the publicity and all that stuff was what brought in that kidnapping mess.” During a long night of racial terror, Williams slung a machine gun over his shoulder and walked several miles with his wife and two small sons to where Julian Mayfield waited with a car. The Williams family fled first to New York City, then to Canada, then on to Cuba to escape the hordes of FBI agents who

combed the countryside in search of them. One of the agents assigned to search locally for Williams reported his frustrations to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover: "Subject has become something of a 'John Brown' to Negroes around Monroe and they will do anything for him."

The FBI dragnet never snared Williams, but it did not take Hoover long to hear from him. Every Friday night from 11:00 to midnight on Radio Havana, Williams hosted "Radio Free Dixie," a program that could be heard from 1961 to 1964 as far away as New York and Los Angeles. From Cuba, Williams continued to edit *The Crusader* for a circulation that eventually grew to forty thousand. In 1962, his book *Negroes With Guns*, published from Cuba, became the single most important intellectual influence on Huey P. Newton, soon to found the Black Panther Party in Oakland. Copies of *The Crusader* traveled down the Mississippi back roads with SNCC organizers: "this leaflet is being distributed by SNCC and COFO [Council of Federated Organizations] workers among U.S. Negroes," the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission complained in the spring of 1964. Later that year, when SNCC began to veer away from nonviolence, members cited Williams approvingly in the fierce internal debates.

As black activists began to reject even the tactical pretense of nonviolence, the influence of Robert Williams continued to spread. "Armed self-defense is a fact of life in black communities—north and south—despite the pronouncements of the 'leadership,'" a North Carolina activist wrote to Williams. Long before Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks led the chants of "Black Power" that riveted national media attention in the summer of 1966, most elements of that ambiguous slogan already were in place. "Your doctrine of self-defense set the stage for the acceptance of the Deacons For Defense and Justice," Lawrence Henry told Williams in the spring of 1966. "As quiet as it is being kept, the Black man is swinging away from King and adopting your tit-for-tat philosophy."

Williams's influence was not limited to the South. "As I am certain you realize," Richard Gibson, editor of *Now!* magazine in New York, wrote to Williams in 1965, "Malcolm's removal from the scene makes you the senior spokesman for Afro-American militants." *Life* magazine reported in 1966 that Williams's "picture is prominently displayed in extremist haunts in the big city ghettos." Clayborne Carson names Williams as one of two central influences—the other being Malcolm X—on the 1966 formation of the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense in Oakland, "the most widely known black militant political organization of the late 1960s." The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) exaggerated considerably in 1969 when it reported that Williams "has long been the ideological leader of the Black Panther Party." It is closer to say that the Panthers were "a logical development" from the philosophy of Williams, as Reginald Major asserted in his 1971 book, *A Panther Is a Black Cat*. According to Williams, he "talked to Bobby Seale and Mrs. [Kathleen] Cleaver by telephone when I was in Africa" in 1968 and the leadership "asked me to become Foreign Minister of the Panthers." At that moment, Williams had already been named president-in-exile of two of the most influential revolutionary nationalist groups: the Revolutionary Action Movement, which the CIA believed to be "the most dangerous of all the Black Power organizations," and the Detroit-based Republic of New Africa. "Despite his overseas activities," the CIA reported in 1969, "Williams has managed to becoming an outstanding figure, possibly *the* outstanding figure, in the black extremist movement in the United States."

Even though he became friends with Che Guevara and Fidel Castro himself, Williams grew uneasy in Cuba: he yearned to return home. As the Soviet strings on the Cuban revolution shortened, Williams resisted pressure to make his own politics conform to the Soviet line. "I am under constant attack by the [Communist Party of the United States]," Williams wrote to a friend in the mid-1960s. "They are trying to cut off my facilities here in Cuba. One would think I am Hitler and Wall Street combined." An FBI informant as early as 1962 stated that Williams "has stubbed his toes" with Cuban Communists through his "criticism of [the] Communist Party for barring Negroes from leadership" and that he "may not be able to regain his footing." The Stalinists were "getting worse than the crackers in Monroe," Williams complained in 1964. "Things are about to the stage when I had to leave Monroe in a hurry." Williams persuaded Castro to let him travel to North Vietnam in 1964, where he met Ho Chi Minh and wrote antiwar propaganda aimed at African American soldiers. In 1965, the Williams family relocated to Beijing, where Williams was "lionized and feted by top Peking leaders," according to CIA intelligence reports. The Williams family dined with Mao Tse-tung and moved in the highest circles of the Chinese government for three years. Like the Black Power movement itself, as Williams got farther away from his roots in the South he sometimes drifted into apocalyptic nonsense. His 1967 essay, "The Potential of a Minority Revolution," for example, depicted a scenario in which black saboteurs and guerrilla enclaves could bring down the U.S. government. Though Williams had been one of the best organizers in the black freedom movement, his isolation from any local constituency made him vulnerable to the same frustrations and delusions that plagued the rest of the movement in the last half of the 1960s.

In the late 1960s, when the Nixon administration moved toward opening diplomatic relations with China, Williams bartered his almost exclusive knowledge of the Chinese government for safe passage home and a Ford Foundation–sponsored post at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan. Not that the entire federal apparatus was happy to welcome him home: the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice observed that "Williams could be the person to fill the role of national leader of the black extremists. We should offset attempts by him to assume such a position." Williams, however, wrote to a friend that "a lot of people are going to be surprised after my arrival not to find me fighting for leadership the way many others are doing." Returning to family ties and local activism, Williams spent the last twenty-seven years of his life in the small, trout-fishing village of Baldwin in western Michigan and died on October 15, 1996.

A week after his death, Rosa Parks climbed slowly into a church pulpit in Monroe, North Carolina. Beneath her lay the body of Robert F. Williams, clad in a gray suit given to him by Mao Tse-tung and draped with a black, red, and green Pan-African flag. Parks told the congregation that she and those who marched with Martin Luther King Jr. in Alabama had always admired Williams "for his courage and his commitment to freedom. The work that he did should go down in history and never be forgotten." Her presence in that pulpit, nearly inexplicable when viewed through the traditional narrative of "the civil rights movement," demonstrates in almost poetic fashion that historians should reexamine the relationship between "civil rights" and "Black Power." Our vision of the postwar African American freedom movement prior to 1965 as one characterized solely and inevitably by nonviolent "civil rights" protest obscures the full complexity of racial politics. It idealizes black history, downplays the oppression of jim crow society, and even understates the achievements of

African American resistance. Worse still, our cinematic “civil rights movement” blurs the racial dilemmas that follow us into the twenty-first century.

The life of Robert Williams underlines many aspects of the ongoing black freedom struggle—the decisive racial significance of World War II, the impact of the cold war on the black freedom struggle, the centrality of questions of sexuality and gender in racial politics, and the historical presence of a revolutionary Caribbean. But foremost it testifies to the extent to which, throughout World War II and the postwar years, there existed among African Americans a current of militancy—a current that included the willingness to defend home and community by force. This facet of African American life lived in tension and in tandem with the compelling moral example of nonviolent direct action. No doubt those who began to chant “Black Power” in the mid-1960s felt that slogan with an urgency specific to their immediate circumstances. But then, as now, many aspects of its meaning endure as legacies from earlier African American struggles. Above the desk where Williams completed his memoirs just before his death, there still hangs an ancient rifle—a gift, he said, from his grandmother.

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The Robert F. Williams Papers cover Williams's career from his leadership of the Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch in the 1950s and early 1960s, through his life in exile in Cuba and China between 1961 and 1969, to his return to the United States in 1969, and his local activism in Baldwin, Michigan, from the mid-1970s until his death in 1996. The collection spans from 1951 to 1996 and includes documentation on each of the major episodes in Williams's career. A significant portion of the collection consists of items in Williams's own words, including correspondence written by Williams and writings and speeches, particularly in *The Crusader* newsletter and "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts. The Robert F. Williams Papers were donated to the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan in several different accessions, and the collection is arranged in two groups based on the dates of accession. The first group consists of materials donated between 1976 and 1979. The second group of materials were donated between 1983 and 1997.

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979

The correspondence series is particularly valuable because it contains both incoming correspondence addressed to Williams and outgoing correspondence written by Williams. The correspondence covers many of the most important events in Williams's career. For example, the collection includes a letter protesting his 1959 suspension from the NAACP; several letters pertaining to the 1961 kidnapping case that forced Williams to escape from the United States and seek asylum in Cuba; letters about conditions in Cuba and China, the two countries in which Williams lived during his eight-year exile from the United States; and public reaction to *The Crusader* newsletter and "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts. Other topics covered in the correspondence series include the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., the urban riots of the mid-1960s, the war in Vietnam, and the Republic of New Africa movement. The correspondence series begins at Frame 0001 of Reel 1 and continues through to Frame 0346 of Reel 5.

Group 1, Series 2: Manuscripts and Writings, 1961–1970

This series primarily consists of items written by Williams while he was living in Cuba and China from 1961 to 1969. This series reveals that, despite his exile from the United States, Williams remained a careful observer of the black freedom struggle in the United States. For example, the series includes an article critical of John F. Kennedy's civil rights policies as well as an article on the civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, entitled "Birmingham: Symbol of Representative Democracy in the U.S.A." There is also a piece entitled "History of a Self-Styled Savior of the World" in which Williams recounts many episodes of lynching and racial violence in the twentieth century. These articles are indicative of

Williams's scathing criticisms of U.S. politics and race relations, a style that also manifests itself in the pages of *The Crusader* newsletter and in the typescripts of "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts. Williams saw a close connection between racial discrimination in the United States and U.S. foreign policy, which he frequently characterized as racist and imperialist. This series contains several articles in which Williams writes about U.S. foreign policy. Other writings by Williams in this series discuss his time in China; Mao Tse-tung; his ten-day, seven-hundred-mile motorcycle journey from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to Zambia; and a pamphlet entitled "Listen, Brother" in which Williams advised African American military personnel to abandon the fight in Vietnam and to aid the black freedom struggle in the United States. The series begins at Frame 0347 of Reel 5.

Group 1, Series 3: Public Statements and Publicity, 1956–1979

Document types in this series include correspondence, speeches, press releases, and political flyers. The two folders of speeches contain addresses by Williams on the fourteenth and seventeenth anniversaries of the People's Republic of China, on the second anniversary of the Patriotic Front of Thailand, and on the Republic of New Africa movement in the United States. There is also a 1956 speech on racial discrimination in the United States entitled "Colonel JC's Last Stand." In the press release section, there is a release pertaining to the banning of *The Crusader* by the U.S. Postal Service, in which Williams warns, in characteristically vivid language, that the ban was "yet another warning of an ominous nightmare of fascism hovering over America" (Reel 6, Frame 0771). The press releases also include a 1967 statement on the arrest of RAM leaders for their alleged involvement in an assassination plot against American civil rights leaders. Commenting on this plot, Williams wrote, "It is not my policy nor RAM's to kill condescending Uncle Toms. We are not an organization advocating pointless assassinations. We are dedicated freedom fighters stressing armed self-defense. Our objective is to make America a just and decent place to live" (Reel 6, Frame 0828). Other press releases cover the assassination of Malcolm X, Williams's assessment of the United Nations, and his comments on Chinese accomplishments in agriculture and industry. This series concludes with political flyers on various causes central to Williams's career.

Group 1, Series 4: Biographical Material, 1962–1979

This series begins at Frame 0293 of Reel 7 with a folder on the Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case, a case in which Williams was accused of kidnapping a Ku Klux Klan member and his wife. Within this folder of materials is a speech by John H. Morgan of First Unitarian Congregation of Toronto, Canada, entitled "From Civil War to Civil Liberties." This is followed by an article by the historian Truman Nelson, entitled "People With Strength: The Story of Monroe, N.C.," and an article by Julian Mayfield. The folder also contains documents issued by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants and the Monroe Defense Committee, the two organizations that formed to fight the kidnapping charges against Williams, Willie Mae Mallory, Richard Crowder, and Harold Reape. The Biographical Material series also includes the full testimony given by Williams in three different sessions of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The testimony covers the major episodes in Williams's career, particularly his time in exile. The subcommittee members also asked Williams about several Black Power organizations. The series concludes with over two reels

of newspaper clippings about Williams. The newspaper clippings begin at Frame 0785 of Reel 7 and continue through to Frame 0103 of Reel 10.

Group 1, Series 5: Republic of New Africa, 1968–1970

The Republic of New Africa was founded in March 1968. Its leaders planned to establish an independent nation for African Americans in the five states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Although Williams was living in China at the time of its founding, he was elected president-in-exile. Milton Henry was elected first vice president, and he and his brother Richard B. Henry (Brother Imari) were the main, day-to-day leaders of the organization. The materials in this series include items such as the Republic of New Africa's pledge of allegiance, its declaration of independence, the basic policy of the government, the organization of the government, the definition of a citizen of the Republic of New Africa, a copy of the official newsletter, and several issues of *The New African*, the Republic of New Africa's newspaper.

Group 1, Series 6: *The Crusader* (Newsletter), 1959–1969, 1980–1982

A complete run of *The Crusader* newsletter is the sixth series in Group 1. Williams and his wife Mabel, together with other Union County NAACP members, began publishing *The Crusader* in June 1959. In its beginning issues, the newsletter focused on local Monroe stories, but later it also had news about the NAACP and civil rights movement, as well as national and international news. The early issues had a column by Mabel, entitled "Looking Back," in which she focused on a topic in African American history. The columns ranged from Williams family history to chronicles of Harriet Tubman. A column by Asa Lee (Ethel Azalea Johnson), entitled "Did You Know," occasionally discussed African American history, African history, and other topics such as employment, housing, and education. *The Crusader* was also Robert F. Williams's primary mouthpiece. He had a regular column in which he often discussed his philosophy of armed self-defense. He also frequently wrote about other important topics of the period, such as the Vietnam War, Muhammad Ali, and the Republic of New Africa. The pages of *The Crusader* are an excellent source for tracing the evolution of Williams's thought from his days as an NAACP leader through his time in Cuba and China.

Group 1, Series 7: "Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, 1962–1966

The Crusader newsletter is followed by a nearly complete series of transcripts of Williams's radio show, "Radio Free Dixie." This program aired from Havana, Cuba, between 1962 and 1966 and was beamed to the United States in an effort to promote Williams's philosophy in America during his exile. The broadcast included a mix of music (particularly jazz), news, and a weekly address by Williams. The news section of the program is particularly interesting because it consisted of detailed reports on both civil rights initiatives and racial violence against African Americans. The news reports also covered international politics. This news section indicates the extent to which Williams remained dedicated to and closely involved in both the African American freedom struggle and international liberation movements. This series begins at Frame 0490 of Reel 11 and continues through to Frame 0755 of Reel 13.

Group 2, Series 1: Calvin Cunningham Case, 1983–1996

The second group in the Robert F. Williams papers contains materials that overlap with the chronological period in the first group and additional materials from the mid-1970s through Williams's death in 1996. This group consists of twelve series. The first series in Group 2 is the Calvin Cunningham Case, 1983–1996. Cunningham was convicted of killing a Charlotte, North Carolina, policeman in 1990. Cunningham maintained his innocence throughout his trial and claimed that, at the time the officer was shot, he was handcuffed in the backseat of a police car. Williams became involved in the case and attempted to secure capable legal assistance for Cunningham. The series includes a letter from Williams to Alan Dershowitz asking for his help in the case. There is also correspondence between Williams and Cunningham and between Williams and Gloria Jean White, Cunningham's domestic partner. This file provides one example of how Williams maintained his activism long after his return to the United States.

Group 2, Series 2: Clippings, 1961–1996

This series includes several articles pertaining to Williams's activism in Monroe, North Carolina, but the majority of the clippings cover Williams's time in exile between 1961 and 1969, his return to the United States in 1969, and the long legal battle over his extradition to North Carolina that finally ended in January 1976 when the Union County district attorney dismissed the kidnapping charges against Williams. There are also several articles on Williams's activities in Lake County, Michigan, where he settled in the mid-1970s following a brief stint as a research associate at the University of Michigan's Center for Chinese Studies.

Group 2, Series 3: Correspondence, 1961–1996

The Correspondence series in Group 2 also dates between 1961 and 1996; however, the majority of the correspondence in this series is from the 1970s and 1980s. This series provides further documentation on and insight into Williams's activism and life following his return to the United States in 1969. Topics covered include the Ruby Nelson case; the People's Association for Human Rights; job training programs in Baldwin, Michigan; and a protest by Williams regarding Michigan's automobile "Lemon Law." This series also reveals that Williams maintained his interest in international affairs during this period. There are letters on the Iranian hostage crisis, the 1989 student demonstrations in China, and the Ethiopian drought crisis.

Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981

This series consists of eight different subseries based on the government agency that produced the documents. There are two subseries of FBI files: one organized by the FBI filing system and the second organized chronologically. This chronological arrangement was utilized by the Bentley Historical Library in cases where the FBI filing system was disorganized or unclear. The FBI files include FBI reports, newspaper clippings, press wire reports, and correspondence. Included among the FBI files is a Naval Intelligence investigation of Williams that was initiated because of a letter Williams sent to President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1955 complaining of racial discrimination in the Marine Corps and informing Eisenhower that he wanted to give up his U.S. citizenship so that he could obtain a discharge

from the Marine Corps. The FBI files also include two important documents assessing Williams's position as a Black Power leader. The first is a May 1966 report summarizing an article by Ralph Matthews Jr. that appeared in the Baltimore *Afro-American* newspaper (Reel 20, Frames 0439–0440). The second is an August 28, 1969, report that characterizes Williams as a “powerful and influential, if behind-the-scenes, figure in the most powerful of the black militant groups in this country; and it would seem that he may well be emerging as the overall acknowledged Black Militant leader of the future” (Reel 20, Frames 0519–0521). Following the FBI files, there are several short subseries of documents collected by other government agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency, Internal Revenue Service, Michigan State Police, Post Office, State Department, and Treasury Department.

Group 2, Series 5: Lake County, Michigan, 1977–1994

Williams moved to Lake County in the mid-1970s and became active in local politics. This series includes a detailed report on community–police relations in Lake County and a file on the Lake County empowerment zone, a project designed to promote economic development in the county.

Group 2, Series 6: Memorials, 1996

This series contains obituaries and newspaper clippings, a program from a conference in honor of Williams, a state of Michigan tribute to Williams, a Detroit City Council resolution honoring Williams, and several letters of condolence.

Group 2, Series 7: Personal, 1961–1996

This series contains several articles assessing Williams's career. The first of these is a draft of a chapter on Williams by Ron Karenga. In this chapter, Karenga discusses Williams's philosophy of armed resistance, particularly focusing on the evolution in Williams's thought from armed self-defense to revolution. Karenga's article is followed by a draft of two chapters on the history of Monroe and Williams's life in Monroe by Timothy B. Tyson, author of *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The series also includes another article by Tyson that appeared in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine, an article by Marcellus Barksdale on the civil rights movement in Monroe, and a memorial pamphlet entitled “Legacy of Resistance” that includes comments and reminiscences on Williams's life and legacy. The Personal series concludes with several folders of materials written by Williams. Among these writings are a 1988 article on Jesse Helms and a 1993 statement on gun control. About twenty-five pages of Williams's memoir in manuscript form, in which he discusses Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnam War, Cuba, and the 1965 Watts riot, completes the series.

Group 2, Series 8: Political Organizations, [1960]–1984

This series consists of files on three different political organizations. The AD-NIP Party (African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party) was philosophically related to the Republic of New Africa in its call for self-determination for African Americans and the creation of an independent black republic. The file includes a copy of the 1973 AD-NIP manifesto defining the boundary lines for the new nation and demanding five hundred trillion dollars in reparations from the U.S.

government. The file on the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) consists of FBI documents on the Socialist Workers Party and CAMD. The Spartacist League file contains copies of *Workers Vanguard*, the newsletter of the Spartacist League. The issues collected by Williams include an article on African American soldiers that mentions Williams; comments by Williams on the Socialist Workers Party, and a pamphlet on “Black History and the Class Struggle.”

Group 2, Series 9: Press Releases and Publicity, 1963–1985

This series includes two articles on Williams’s Monroe activism, but it primarily focuses on topics relating to his return to the United States. Excerpts from an interview with Richard B. Henry (Brother Imari) cover the Republic of New Africa, particularly the part it played in bringing Williams back to the United States. There are press releases on Williams’s extradition to North Carolina and commentary by Williams on Ronald Reagan, Mao Tse-tung, the Confederate flag, and the drug trade. By the mid-1970s, Williams was also much in demand as a speaker, both on U.S.–China relations and on the black freedom struggle, and there are several documents in this series pertaining to Williams’s speaking engagements.

Group 2, Series 10: Print and Broadcast Material, 1965–1991

In 1980, Williams attempted to resurrect his newsletter, *The Crusader*. This series includes copies of the Spring 1980, Winter 1980, and Winter 1981 issues. Topics covered in these issues include Ronald Reagan, Haitian refugees, drug trafficking, the moral majority, and social conditions in Lake County, Michigan. This is followed by a 1965 transcript of a “Radio Free Dixie” broadcast and drafts of several speeches given by Williams. An interview with Williams on the radio show, “Like It Is,” and a copy of a December 1970 issue of *Asahi Journal* containing an article by Williams translated by Yoriko Nakajima complete this series.

Group 2, Series 11: Photographs, [Undated]

This series consists of photographs taken during Williams’s travels in China, Africa, Cuba, and Vietnam. There are also several photographs of Williams in the United States.

Group 2, Series 12: Petitions, 1970–1973

Williams developed a fairly significant following among the Japanese left, and in the early 1970s, the Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams sent petitions containing over ten thousand signatures to Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Michigan Governor William G. Milliken protesting Williams’s extradition to North Carolina. This series also includes a letter from Tohoru Takahashi of the Japanese Committee to President Richard Nixon explaining the petitions sent to Mitchell and Milliken and requesting that Nixon drop all charges against Williams. Other documents pertaining to Japanese support for Williams, particularly his correspondence with Yoriko Nakajima, can be found in other parts of the collection.

Related Collections

UPA has also microfilmed many other collections that provide documentation on the Black Power movement. These include:

The Black Power Movement, Part 1: Amiri Baraka from Black Arts to Black Radicalism

Centers of the Southern Struggle: FBI Files on Selma, Memphis, Montgomery, Albany, and St. Augustine

Civil Rights During the Johnson Administration, 1963–1969

Civil Rights During the Nixon Administration, 1969–1974

Congress of Racial Equality Papers, 1959–1976

The Martin Luther King Jr. FBI File

The Papers of A. Philip Randolph

Papers of the NAACP

Records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1954–1970

The Bayard Rustin Papers

SOURCE NOTE

The material reproduced in this microfilm edition consists of the Robert F. Williams Papers held by the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Robert F. Williams Papers were donated to the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan between 1976 and 1997. The Bentley Historical Library arranged the collection into two different groups based on the dates of the accession. The materials in Group 1 were donated between 1976 and 1979. The materials in Group 2 were donated between 1983 and 1997. Group 1 consists of seven series and Group 2 consists of twelve series. UPA's microfilm of this collection has maintained the collection in the original order with one exception. Group 2 of the collection concludes with an Audio Visual Series. UPA did not microfilm the sound recordings or the videocassette portions of this series. The photograph portion of this series is included in this edition, however.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following acronyms and abbreviations are used throughout this guide.

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPUSA	Communist Party, United States of America
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
HUAC	House Un-American Activities Committee
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NRA	National Rifle Association
PRC	People's Republic of China
RAM	Revolutionary Action Movement
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
TWA	Trans World Airlines
U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

REEL INDEX

The following is a listing of the folders comprising *The Black Power Movement, Part 2: The Papers of Robert F. Williams*. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame at which a particular file folder begins. This is followed by the file title, the date(s) of the file, and the total number of frames. Substantive issues are highlighted under the heading *Major Topics*. Major correspondents are highlighted under the heading *Principal Correspondents*. Unless otherwise stated, all major topics entries listed as “Williams” refer to Robert F. Williams.

Reel 1

Frame No.

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979

- 0001 **Correspondence, Undated (1)**. 46 frames.
Major Topics: Ruby Nelson Legal Defense Committee; Chinese support for civil rights movement; John F. Kennedy.
Principal Correspondent: Robert F. Williams.
- 0047 **Correspondence, Undated (2)**. 41 frames.
Major Topics: Communism; Willie Mae Mallory.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Jo Salas.
- 0088 **Correspondence, Undated (3)**. 35 frames.
Major Topics: Robert F. Williams Legal Defense Fund; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case and Williams’s extradition to North Carolina; Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams.
Principal Correspondents: Gary Green; Robert F. Williams.
- 0123 **Correspondence, Undated (4)**. 41 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
Principal Correspondents: LeRoi Jones; Robert F. Williams.
- 0164 **Correspondence, Undated (5)**. 67 frames.
Major Topics: Williams’s return to United States; Black Panther Party; Ruby Nelson Legal Defense Committee.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams.
- 0231 **Correspondence, 1956**. 4 frames.
- 0235 **Correspondence, 1959**. 10 frames.
Major Topics: Williams’s NAACP suspension; 1959 NAACP national convention.
Principal Correspondents: Robert A. Fraser Jr.; Conrad J. Lynn; Richard A. Lowe.
- 0245 **Correspondence, 1960**. 14 frames.
Major Topic: Cuban revolution.

Frame No.

- 0259 **Correspondence, January–September 1961.** 41 frames.
Major Topics: Freedom Riders; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Monroe Defense Committee; Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Conrad J. Lynn.
Principal Correspondents: Paul Brooks; Calvin Hicks; Paul Deitrich; Albert E. Perry.
- 0300 **Correspondence, October–December 1961.** 48 frames.
Major Topics: Williams family escape from United States; Monroe Defense Committee; KKK.
Principal Correspondents: Gerald Quinn; Conrad J. Lynn; Gloster B. Current; Yoriko Nakajima; Robert F. Williams; Len Holt; John Boardman.
- 0348 **Correspondence, January–June 1962.** 89 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; arrest of William Worthy.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Julian Mayfield; Conrad J. Lynn; William Worthy; Walter S. Haffner.
- 0437 **Correspondence, July–December 1962.** 100 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
Principal Correspondents: Charles Anderson; Robert F. Williams; Walter S. Haffner; Merle E. Byers; Vernal Olson; Richard Gibson; Wilford Lee Berry; Willie Mae Mallory; Conrad J. Lynn; Albert E. Perry; James H. Williams; LeRoi Jones.
- 0537 **Correspondence, January–March 1963.** 76 frames.
Major Topic: Reactions to Williams’s writings.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Wilford Lee Berry; James H. Williams; Conrad J. Lynn; William K. Jackson.
- 0613 **Correspondence, April–June 1963.** 90 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Fair Play for Cuba Committee; Conrad J. Lynn’s HUAC hearing; public reaction to *The Crusader*; murder of Medgar Evers.
Principal Correspondents: Willie Mae Mallory; Conrad J. Lynn; Robert F. Williams; Tom Sanders; James H. Williams; Berta Green; Clyde Appleton.
- 0703 **Correspondence, July–December 1963.** 105 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kissing case; U.S. policy toward Cuba; Thomas E. Colgan; social and economic conditions in Cuba; Chinese support for civil rights movement; nuclear weapons conference; PRC; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; John F. Kennedy assassination; armed self-defense.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Vernal Olson; Robert F. Williams; Slater H. King; Jo Salas.
- 0808 **Correspondence, January–April 1964.** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; public reaction to “Radio Free Dixie”; Williams family escape from United States; social conditions in Cuba.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Anne Olson; Jo Salas; Conrad J. Lynn; Dick Bayer; Julian Mayfield; Albert E. Perry.
- 0883 **Correspondence, May–August 1964.** 67 frames.
Major Topics: CPUSA in Cuba; *State of North Carolina v. Williams*; Mothers’ Defense Committee.
Principal Correspondents: Clyde Appleton; Conrad J. Lynn; Edward Weber; Robert F. Williams; Mrs. C. L. R. James; Yoriko Nakajima; Anne Olson; Julian Mayfield.
- 0950 **Correspondence, September–December 1964.** 33 frames.
Major Topics: Public reaction to *The Crusader*; Vietnam War.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Madalyn Murray.

Reel 2

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, January–February 1965.** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Washington, D.C., home rule; *State of North Carolina v. Williams*; Malcolm X.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Conrad J. Lynn; Willie Mae Mallory.
- 0053 **Correspondence, March–April 1965.** 67 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Vietnam War.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Conrad J. Lynn; Anne Olson; H. W. Edwards.
- 0120 **Correspondence, May–June 1965.** 67 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Clyde Appleton; Vernal Olson; Ernie Allen; Anne Olson.
- 0187 **Correspondence, July–August 1965.** 60 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Charles Sims; Deacons for Defense and Justice; Martin Luther King Jr.; CPUSA in Cuba.
Principal Correspondents: Frank Greenwood; Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson.
- 0247 **Correspondence, September–December 1965.** 85 frames.
Major Topics: Public reaction to *The Crusader*; 1965 Watts riot; anti–Vietnam War movement; communism; Committee for the Establishment of a Black Liberation Front.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Clyde Appleton; Anne Olson; Yoriko Nakajima; Williams; Frank Greenwood; Ernie Allen.
- 0332 **Correspondence, Undated 1966 and January 1966.** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Travel to Cuba; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Federal Fugitive Act.
Principal Correspondents: Milton Henry; Laurence Henry; Yoriko Nakajima; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Anne Olson.
- 0384 **Correspondence, February–April 1966.** 44 frames.
Major Topics: Forged issue of *The Crusader*; white workers and black freedom struggle.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson; Yoriko Nakajima; Laurence Henry; Ernie Allen.
- 0428 **Correspondence, May–June 1966.** 30 frames.
Major Topics: Translations of *Negroes with Guns*; shooting of James Meredith.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Yoriko Nakajima; Richard B. Henry; Robert F. Williams.
- 0458 **Correspondence, July–August 1966.** 68 frames.
Major Topics: Cultural Revolution; Williams's complaints about treatment in Cuba.
Principal Correspondents: John Chalmers Williams; Yoriko Nakajima; Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams.
- 0526 **Correspondence, September 1966.** 33 frames.
Major Topic: Social conditions in Cuba.
Principal Correspondents: Laurence Henry; Carlos More; Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson.

Frame No.

- 0559 **Correspondence, October–November 1966.** 53 frames.
Major Topics: Georgia gubernatorial nomination of Lester Maddox; U.S. Postal Service; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; publishing of *The Crusader*; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; escape from United States; “Radio Free Dixie”; CPUSA; PRC; Mao Tse-tung; Cultural Revolution.
Principal Correspondents: Anne Olson; Timothy J. May; Conrad J. Lynn; Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Richard B. Henry; Mabel Williams.
- 0612 **Correspondence, December 1966.** 32 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; KKK.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Cedric Belfrage; Robert F. Williams; Pete Young.
- 0644 **Correspondence, Undated 1967 and January 1967.** 70 frames.
Major Topics: Black America Cultural Committee; Williams’s meeting with U.S. prisoner in Hanoi; racism in Cuba; Ernesto “Che” Guevara; D. H. Mansur; USSR–PRC relations.
Principal Correspondents: Pete Young; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Bill Lewis; Richard Gibson; Robert Carl Cohen; Cedric Belfrage.
- 0714 **Correspondence, February 1967.** 29 frames.
Major Topic: Cultural Revolution [in Chinese].
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Willie Mae Mallory.
- 0743 **Correspondence, March–April 1967.** 80 frames.
Major Topics: Publicity for *Challenge of the Congo* by Kwame Nkrumah; Israel; anti–Vietnam War demonstration.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Wilbur Grattan; Shirley Graham Du Bois; Len Holt; Yoriko Nakajima; Conrad J. Lynn; Shurli Grant; V. T. Lee; Duane Price; Akbar Muhammad.
- 0823 **Correspondence, May–June 1967.** 86 frames.
Major Topic: Forged issue of *The Crusader*.
Principal Correspondents: Anne Olson; Clyde Appleton; Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Pete Young.

Reel 3

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, July 1967.** 57 frames.
Major Topics: Arrest of RAM members for assassination plot; Democratic People’s Republic of Korea; 1967 Newark riot.
Principal Correspondents: Max Stanford; John Watson; Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson; Julian Mayfield.
- 0058 **Correspondence, August 1967.** 49 frames.
Major Topics: Division between U.S. left and African American activists; Stokely Carmichael; urban riots.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Norodom Sihanouk; Carlos More; Wilbur Grattan.
- 0107 **Correspondence, September 1967.** 91 frames.
Major Topics: Martin Sostre Defense Committee; Williams’s return to United States; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Shurli Grant; Robert F. Williams; Frank Greenwood; Carlos More; Mabel Williams.

Frame No.

- 0198 **Correspondence, October 1967.** 88 frames.
Major Topics: Banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Ernesto “Che” Guevara; Williams’s return to United States; 1967 Detroit riot; New Detroit Committee; Albert Cleage.
Principal Correspondents: Timothy J. May; Robert F. Williams; Shurli Grant; Ramon Acevedo; Conrad J. Lynn; Richard Gibson; Viola Parker.
- 0286 **Correspondence, November 1967.** 83 frames.
Major Topic: Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson; Carlos More; Alfred Bingham.
- 0369 **Correspondence, December 1967.** 72 frames.
Major Topics: PRC; Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Shirley Wood; Albert E. Perry; Ramon Acevedo; V. T. Lee; Robert F. Williams; Daniel L. Mahony; Richard Gibson.
- 0441 **Correspondence, Udated 1968.** 33 frames.
Major Topic: Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Charles X. Kenyatta; Robert F. Williams.
- 0474 **Correspondence, January 1968.** 87 frames.
Major Topics: Williams’s return to United States; public reaction to *The Crusader*.
Principal Correspondents: Charles Darby; Audley Moore; Robert F. Williams; Richard Gibson; Talitha Gerlach; Conrad J. Lynn.
- 0561 **Correspondence, February 1968.** 72 frames.
Major Topic: Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Roy Brown; Willie Mae Mallory; Robert F. Williams; Calvin Cobb; Alfred Bingham; V. T. Lee; Conrad J. Lynn; Shurli Grant.
- 0633 **Correspondence, March 1968.** 56 frames.
Major Topic: Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Robert F. Williams; Milton Henry; Ray Mungo; Richard Gibson.
- 0689 **Correspondence, April 1968.** 108 frames.
Major Topics: Rape case; Republic of New Africa; assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Roy Brown; Richard Gibson; Anne Olson; Len Holt; Johnny E. James; Al Plummer.
- 0797 **Correspondence, May 1968.** 119 frames.
Major Topic: Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Calvin Cobb; Robert F. Williams; Al Plummer; Mabel Williams; Ramon Acevedo; Richard Gibson; Yoriko Nakajima.
- 0916 **Correspondence, June 1968.** 31 frames.
Major Topics: Vietnam War; Williams’s return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Roy Brown; Ray Mungo; Reginald E. Carles.
- 0947 **Correspondence, July–August 1968.** 54 frames.
Major Topics: Black Panther Party; Martin Sostre Defense Committee.
Principal Correspondents: Willie Mae Mallory; Reginald E. Carles; Anne Olson; Robert F. Williams; Robert Carl Cohen; Roy Brown; Viola Parker.

Reel 4

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, September–December 1968.** 70 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; motorcycle trip in Africa; Republic of New Africa; translations of Williams's writings.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Shurli Grant; Robert Carl Cohen; Laurence Henry.
- 0071 **Correspondence, Undated 1969.** 23 frames.
Major Topic: Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Bill Lewis; Robert F. Williams.
- 0094 **Correspondence, January 1969.** 55 frames.
Major Topics: Union County, North Carolina, schools; Ritsumeikan University Caravan Club; Cultural Revolution.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Shurli Grant; Robert F. Williams; Shizuo Mizui.
- 0149 **Correspondence, February 1969.** 59 frames.
Major Topics: Progressive Labor Party criticism of Ron Karenga and LeRoi Jones; Republic of New Africa; Japanese student movement.
Principal Correspondents: Richard Gibson; Robert F. Williams; Robert Carl Cohen; Roberto Kaffke.
- 0208 **Correspondence, March–April 1969.** 42 frames.
Major Topics: Black Panther Party; US Organization.
Principal Correspondents: Bradley Polk; Richard Gibson; Shurli Grant; Robert F. Williams.
- 0250 **Correspondence, May–June 1969.** 46 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Black Panther Party.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Anna Louise Strong; Reginald E. Carles; Al Plummer.
- 0296 **Correspondence, July–August 1969.** 67 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; White Panther Party; Caribbean area politics.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Rod Knight; James Forman; Mary Kochiyama; Julian Mayfield; C. L. R. James.
- 0363 **Correspondence, September 1969.** 36 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Mary Kochiyama.
- 0399 **Correspondence, October 1969.** 73 frames.
Major Topics: Asian Americans; Organization of African Unity; Republic of New Africa; Williams's criticism of Fidel Castro and CPUSA.
Principal Correspondents: Mary Kochiyama; Yoko Kitazawa; Brother Imari (Richard B. Henry); Robert F. Williams.
- 0472 **Correspondence, November 1969.** 37 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; Milton Henry; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall.
- 0509 **Correspondence, December 1969.** 31 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's request for release of American prisoner of war in Vietnam; Republic of New Africa.
Principal Correspondents: Mary Kochiyama; Robert F. Williams; Reginald E. Carles.

Frame No.

- 0540 **Correspondence, January 1970.** 25 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
Principal Correspondents: Conrad J. Lynn; John Conyers Jr.; Allen S. Whiting.
- 0565 **Correspondence, February–March 1970.** 58 frames.
Major Topics: Brandeis University; Williams's college speaking engagements; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
Principal Correspondents: Christopher Douglas; Allen S. Whiting; Robert F. Williams; Floyd B. McKissick; Mabel Williams; Conrad J. Lynn; Richard Gibson.
- 0623 **Correspondence, April–June 1970.** 53 frames.
Major Topics: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies; *United States v. Williams.*
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Rhoads Murphey; Mary Kochiyama; Mabel R. Williams.
- 0676 **Correspondence, July–December 1970.** 82 frames.
Major Topics: Racial discrimination; PRC; U.S.–PRC relations; Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle East.
Principal Correspondents: Mabel Williams; Robert F. Williams; Harrison E. Salisbury; Paul B. Boutelle.
- 0758 **Correspondence, Undated and January–February 1971.** 55 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; PRC.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Yoko Kitazawa; Taketomo Takahashi; Ichiyō Muto; Conrad J. Lynn; John M. Lawrence.
- 0813 **Correspondence, March–April 1971.** 48 frames.
Major Topics: PRC; Republic of New Africa.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams.
- 0861 **Correspondence, May–June 1971.** 27 frames.
Major Topic: PRC.
Principal Correspondents: Yoriko Nakajima; Rinjiro Sodei; Robert F. Williams.
- 0888 **Correspondence, July–August 1971.** 32 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
Principal Correspondents: Rinjiro Sodei; Mary Kochiyama; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall.

Reel 5

Group 1, Series 1: Correspondence, 1956–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, September–December 1971.** 74 frames.
Major Topics: Crispin Campbell essay on Williams; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
Principal Correspondents: Allen S. Whiting; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Thelma Reece; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall.
- 0075 **Correspondence, January–February 1972.** 50 frames.
Major Topics: Draft resistance; *Association for Grand Jury Action, Inc. v. Staggers* (congressional powers); *Boryszewski and Kesel v. U.S. Supreme Court*; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; KKK.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Yoriko Nakajima.
- 0125 **Correspondence, March–June 1972.** 25 frames.
Major Topic: Translations of Williams's writings.
Principal Correspondents: Rinjiro Sodei; Yoriko Nakajima; Noboru Miyata; John Henrik Clarke.

Frame No.

- 0150 **Correspondence, July–December 1972.** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Williams’s petition for writ of habeas corpus; *Williams v. Trans World Airlines*; Brandeis University Transitional Year Program.
Principal Correspondents: Yoriko Nakajima; Robert F. Williams.
- 0202 **Correspondence, 1973.** 11 frames.
- 0213 **Correspondence, 1974–1975.** 22 frames.
- 0235 **Correspondence, 1976.** 53 frames.
Major Topic: Dismissal of kidnapping charges.
Principal Correspondents: V. T. Lee; L. D. Reddick.
- 0288 **Correspondence, 1977.** 8 frames.
- 0296 **Correspondence, 1978.** 23 frames.
- 0319 **Correspondence, 1979.** 28 frames.

Group 1, Series 2: Manuscripts and Writings, 1961–1970

- 0347 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, Undated (1).** 80 frames.
Major Topics: U.S. foreign policy; racial violence; Diane Nash Bevel; PRC; armed self-defense; Willie Mae Mallory; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; criminal justice system.
- 0427 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, Undated (2).** 71 frames.
Major Topics: Racial violence; nonviolence; U.S. foreign policy; lynching.
- 0498 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, Undated (3).** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Birmingham, Alabama, civil rights demonstrations; racial violence; intimidation and harassment; U.S. foreign policy.
- 0550 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, Undated (4).** 54 frames.
Major Topics: Racial discrimination; African American press; PRC; CIA; RAM; revolutionary violence.
- 0604 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, 1961–1962.** 73 frames.
Major Topics: Nonviolence; armed self-defense; police brutality; Montgomery bus boycott; African American women; NAACP; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; Albert E. Perry; KKK; Monroe, North Carolina, kissing case; Williams’s escape from United States.
- 0677 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, 1963–1964.** 40 frames.
Major Topics: Racial discrimination; Cuban refugees in Florida.
- 0717 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, 1965–1967.** 17 frames.
Major Topics: Racial discrimination; Lyndon B. Johnson’s civil rights policies.
- 0734 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, “From Peking, I Speak Again” (Addition to *Negroes with Guns*), [1967].** 65 frames.
Major Topics: Cuban revolution and social conditions in Cuba; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; SNCC; communism; lynching; murder of Vernon Dahmer and Wharlest Jackson.
- 0799 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, “The World Black Revolution,” [Undated].** 39 frames.
- 0838 **Manuscript Articles by Williams, “Listen Brother,” 1968.** 51 frames.
Major Topic: African American military personnel.
- 0889 **Miscellaneous Notes and Other Writings, [1959–1962 and Undated].** 141 frames.
Major Topics: W. E. B. Du Bois on China and Africa; Chinese Communist Party; nonviolence; Nation of Islam; labor unions.

Reel 6

Group 1, Series 2: Manuscripts and Writings, 1961–1970 cont.

- 0001 **Published Articles by Williams (Newspapers and Periodicals), [1961–1991].** 204 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; Williams's escape from United States; Martin Luther King Jr.; John F. Kennedy; Nation of Islam; nonviolence; armed self-defense; Montgomery bus boycott; communism; Japanese support for Williams; Mao Tse-tung; PRC; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Chinese People's Rally for World Peace; Williams's travels in Africa; RAM; racial violence; drugs.
- 0205 **International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace, 1964.** 239 frames.
- 0444 **James Boggs and Robert F. Williams, *La Revolution aux Etats-Unis?* 1966.** 114 frames.

Group 1, Series 3: Public Statements and Publicity, 1956–1979

- 0558 **Letters to Newspaper Editors by Williams, [1961–1969].** 50 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; criminal justice system; Vietnam War.
- 0608 **Speeches (1), [1963–1978 and Undated].** 95 frames.
Major Topics: PRC; African American military personnel; Patriotic Front of Thailand; U.S. foreign policy; Republic of New Africa; U.S. bicentennial; role of whites in black freedom struggle; lynching; John F. Kennedy's civil rights policies; African American press; drug abuse.
- 0703 **Speeches (2), [1956–1967].** 68 frames.
Major Topics: Jim crow; lynching; John F. Kennedy's civil rights policies; Mao Tse-tung; arts; Vietnam War; U.S. foreign policy.
- 0771 **Press Releases (1), [1962–1969].** 57 frames.
Major Topics: Banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Williams's exile in Cuba and PRC; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Albany Movement; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; RAM.
- 0828 **Press Releases (2), 1963–1969.** 88 frames.
Major Topics: Willie Mae Mallory; arrest of Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor in Clarksburg, Mississippi; Clyde Kennard; Operation Freedom (voter registration); Chinese support for civil rights movement; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; African American Party of National Liberation; United Nations; assassination of Malcolm X; U.S. invasion of Dominican Republic; Chinese nuclear bombs; Williams's return to United States; Vietnam War; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Martin Luther King Jr.; National Black Power Committee; RAM; Palestine National Liberation Movement.
- 0916 **Press Releases (3), [1962, 1979, and Undated].** 54 frames.
Major Topics: Albany Movement; William Worthy; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; communism; shooting of civil rights workers in Ruleville, Mississippi; Fidel Castro.

Reel 7

Group 1, Series 3: Public Statements and Publicity, 1956–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Miscellaneous Statements, Press Releases, and Other Writings (1), [1963–1972].** 87 frames.
Major Topics: Deng Xiaoping; Williams's travels in Africa; PRC; Williams's arrest in London and TWA's refusal to transport him to United States; Mao Tse-tung; American Indians.
- 0088 **Miscellaneous Statements, Press Releases, and Other Writings (2), [1963–1969].** 72 frames.
Major Topics: Racial violence; PRC; civil rights legislation; Rhodesia; Willie Mae Mallory; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch.
- 0160 **Political Flyers (1), [1961–1970].** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case and Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Black Action Movement; Ahmed Evans; anti-Vietnam War statements; Republic of New Africa.
- 0212 **Political Flyers (2), [1961–1971].** 29 frames.
Major Topics: RAM; Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Monroe Defense Committee; Black Liberation Week.
- 0241 **Political Flyers (3), [1976–1979].** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's speaking visits; Wilmington 10.

Group 1, Series 4: Biographical Material, 1962–1979

- 0293 **Monroe, North Carolina, Kidnapping [Case], [1961–1963, 1972, and Undated].** 74 frames.
- 0367 **Miscellaneous (1), [1965–1976].** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars; Willie Mae Mallory; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Black Liberation Party; National Student Coalition Against Racism; Boston busing case; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Black Panther Party; RAM.
Principal Correspondent: Huey P. Newton.
- 0442 **Miscellaneous (2), [1970–1972, 1991].** 15 frames.
Major Topics: John Brown Gold Medal Award presented by John Brown Society; Black Arts Festival.
- 0457 **Personal Miscellaneous Items, [1965–1969].** 40 frames.
Major Topics: Travel documents; foreign assets control.
- 0497 **Legal Papers and Government Testimony (1), [1970].** 176 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee testimony regarding escape from United States, time in exile, writings, political thought, return to United States, and Black Power organizations.
- 0673 **Legal Papers and Government Testimony (2), [1961–1971 and Undated].** 45 frames.
Major Topics: *State of North Carolina v. Williams*; Pete Young statement on KKK; *State of North Carolina v. Crowder et al.*; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Frame No.

- 0718 **Speeches about Williams by Chinese Leaders, [1963–1968].** 67 frames.
Major Topics: Mao Tse-tung on racial discrimination and black freedom struggle; Kuo Mo-Jo on imperialism and black freedom struggle; Chou En-lai and Peng Chen on fourteenth anniversary of PRC.
- 0785 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (1) [Japanese, Chinese], [1967–1970].** 63 frames.
- 0848 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (2) [Chinese, Japanese], [1963–1970].** 113 frames.

Reel 8

Group 1, Series 4: Biographical Material, 1962–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (3) [Chinese], [1969].** 49 frames.
- 0050 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (4) [Chinese], [1963–1969].** 73 frames.
- 0123 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (5) [Chinese], [1963–1967].** 45 frames.
- 0168 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (6) [Spanish, German, French, and Dutch], [1960–1965].** 43 frames.
- 0211 **Articles about Williams in Foreign Language Newspapers (7) [Spanish], [1960–1964].** 41 frames.
- 0252 **Itineraries [Speaking Visits], [1978–1979].** 35 frames.
- 0287 **Miscellaneous Black Publications (1), [1964–1975].** 73 frames.
Major Topics: RAM; black united front; Republic of New Africa; Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement; *Black Student Voice*; Black Youth Liberation Movement; Michigan Alliance Against Repression.
- 0360 **Miscellaneous Black Publications (2), [1968–1972].** 65 frames.
Major Topics: Black Panther Party; Republic of New Africa; Audley Moore; *Black Student Voice*; H. Rap Brown; Stalinist Workers Group; CPUSA; Cyril Briggs; African American students; Carl Braden on North Carolina law enforcement.
- 0425 **Miscellaneous Black Publications (3), [1966–1967 and Undated].** 23 frames.
Major Topics: Black Power in Britain; Universal Coloured People's Association; Stokely Carmichael on Black Power.
- 0448 **Miscellaneous Cuban Publications, [1962].** 15 frames.
- 0463 **Miscellaneous Chinese and Asian Materials (1), [1963–1970].** 38 frames.
Major Topics: Patriotic Front of Thailand; anti-U.S. demonstration in Philippines; Anna Louise Strong; Chou En-lai speech on fourteenth anniversary of PRC; Liu Ning-yi speech at Peking demonstration to support black freedom struggle.
- 0501 **Miscellaneous Chinese and Asian Materials (2), [1963–1968].** 118 frames.
Major Topics: Mao Tse-tung on black freedom struggle; Chinese translation of *Negroes with Guns*.
- 0619 **Miscellaneous Chinese and Asian Materials (3), [1968–1969].** 45 frames.
- 0664 **Miscellaneous, [1962–1975 and Undated].** 63 frames.
Major Topics: Statement by Max Stanford to National Black Power Conference; Vietnam War; role of youth in black freedom struggle; Mao Tse-tung on black freedom struggle.

Frame No.

- 0727 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1957–1958.** 8 frames.
Major Topics: Albert E. Perry; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; school desegregation request.
- 0735 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1959–1960.** 13 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's Monroe mayoral candidacy; Williams's suspension by NAACP.
- 0748 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1961.** 24 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Williams's escape from United States.
- 0772 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1962.** 57 frames.
Major Topics: Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; Monroe, North Carolina, kissing case; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; social conditions in Cuba; Monroe Defense Committee.
- 0829 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1963.** 27 frames.
Major Topics: Jackson, Mississippi, stores boycott; review of *Negroes with Guns*; Monroe Youth Action Committee; Socialist Workers Party.
- 0856 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1964.** 21 frames.
Major Topics: "Radio Free Dixie"; Williams's 1964 visit to PRC; William Worthy on black freedom struggle.
- 0877 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1965.** 32 frames.
Major Topics: Review of Frank Greenwood's play, *If We Must Live*; Williams's 1964 visit to PRC; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; RAM.
- 0909 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1966.** 78 frames.
Major Topics: CPUSA; Dick Gregory; RAM; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; PRC; debate about Black Power among civil rights leaders; Chinese support for black freedom struggle; James E. Groppi; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Martin Sostre; Williams's speech on seventeenth anniversary of PRC; Williams's complaints about Cuba; Cultural Revolution.

Reel 9

Group 1, Series 4: Biographical Material, 1962–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1967 (1).** 79 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's complaints about Cuba; CPUSA; RAM; forged issue of *The Crusader*; urban riots; Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dallas County Independent Free Voters League; Meredith March against Fear; Muhammad Ali.
- 0080 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1967 (2).** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's complaints about Cuba; Cultural Revolution; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service.
- 0132 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1968 (1).** 81 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; ACLU; RAM; red-baiting of Black Power movement; Republic of New Africa.
- 0213 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1968 (2).** 67 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; William Worthy on Martin Sostre; Willie Mae Mallory; National Black Power Conference; red-baiting of Black Power movement; RAM; National Black United Front; Williams's travels in Africa; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.

Frame No.

- 0280 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1968 (3).** 38 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; labor unions; Black Panther Party; revolutionary violence; Max Stanford; Martin Sostre.
- 0318 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (1).** 51 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; Williams's detention in London; Williams's return to United States; TWA.
- 0369 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (2).** 34 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's complaints about Cuba; Williams's return to United States; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Republic of New Africa.
- 0403 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (3).** 20 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Williams's resignation as Republic of New Africa president.
- 0423 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (4).** 27 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's resignation as Republic of New Africa president; Williams's return to United States.
- 0450 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (5).** 20 frames.
Major Topics: Cultural Revolution; revolutionary violence.
- 0470 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (6).** 39 frames.
Major Topics: Detroit mayoral candidacy of Richard H. Austin; revolutionary violence; United Automobile Workers; League of Revolutionary Black Workers; Martin Sostre; Williams's return to United States; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0509 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (7).** 12 frames.
Major Topic: Revolutionary nationalism.
- 0521 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1969 (8).** 26 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0547 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1970 (1).** 31 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's time in exile; Republic of New Africa; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Williams's complaints about Cuba; Mabel Williams.
- 0578 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1970 (2).** 16 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
- 0594 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1970 (3).** 14 frames.
Major Topics: Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Williams's return to United States.
- 0608 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1971 (1).** 37 frames.
Major Topics: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies; Black Revolutionary Party; Afro-Asian–Latin American People's Solidarity Movement; Williams's speech on fourteenth anniversary of PRC; Williams on Nixon's China policy; Republic of New Africa; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0645 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1971 (2).** 21 frames.
Major Topics: PRC; University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies.
- 0666 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1972 (1).** 16 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; KKK; FBI involvement in Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; review of Williams biography by Robert Carl Cohen.
- 0682 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1972 (2).** 12 frames.
Major Topics: KKK; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Frame No.

- 0694 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1972 (3).** 27 frames.
Major Topics: KKK; Republic of New Africa; Yoriko Nakajima; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0721 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1973–1975.** 7 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0728 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1976.** 27 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Wilmington 10.
- 0755 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1977.** 3 frames.
Major Topic: PRC.
- 0758 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1978.** 13 frames.
Major Topics: Education; Ruby Nelson.
- 0771 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), 1979.** 19 frames.
Major Topic: PRC.
- 0790 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), Undated (1).** 47 frames.
Major Topics: "Radio Free Dixie"; Julian Mayfield on Williams; revolutionary violence; Monroe Defense Committee; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; review of *Negroes with Guns*.
- 0837 **Articles concerning Williams (Newspaper and Periodical), Undated (2).** 55 frames.
Major Topics: KKK; TWA; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; RAM; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP, branch; Monroe, North Carolina, urban renewal plans; Williams's complaints about Cuba.
- 0892 **Miscellaneous Newspaper and Periodical Articles (1), [1962–1970].** 28 frames.
Major Topics: Urban riots; KKK; PRC.
- 0920 **Miscellaneous Newspaper and Periodical Articles (2), [1962–1969 and Undated].** 47 frames.
Major Topics: Detroit police; RAM; urban riots; National Black Power Conference; Milton Henry.

Reel 10

Group 1, Series 4: Biographical Material, 1962–1979 cont.

- 0001 **Miscellaneous Newspaper and Periodical Articles (3), [1965–1969].** 57 frames.
Major Topics: American Federation for Negro Affairs; National Black Power Conference; Republic of New Africa; Detroit police; repression of Black Power activists; Stokely Carmichael; RAM; anti-Vietnam War movement; murder of Phyllis Whittler; SNCC.
- 0058 **Miscellaneous Newspaper and Periodical Articles (4), [1967–1969].** 31 frames.
Major Topics: Repression of Black Power activists; arrest of Norman 3X Butler for Malcolm X assassination.
- 0089 **Miscellaneous Newspaper and Periodical Articles (5), [1965–1968, 1975].** 15 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.

Group 1, Series 5: Republic of New Africa, 1968–1970

- 0104 **Republic of New Africa (1), [1968–1970].** 84 frames.
- 0188 **Republic of New Africa (2), [Undated].** 56 frames.

Group 1, Series 6: *The Crusader* (Newsletter), 1959–1969, 1980–1982

- 0244 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), June–September 1959.** 125 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Williams's family history; Williams's suspension from NAACP; KKK; education; Daisy Bates; labor unions.
- 0369 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), October–December 1959.** 119 frames.
Major Topics: Highlander Folk School; labor unions; Williams's suspension from NAACP; Monroe urban renewal plans; Albert E. Perry; Cuba; urban renewal plans in southern states; wages.
- 0488 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), January–March 1960.** 133 frames.
Major Topics: Assassination of Harry T. Moore; armed self-defense; Cuba; education; Monroe urban renewal plans; wages; employment; Carl Braden; Albert E. Perry; 1960 election; *State of North Carolina v. Perry*; labor unions; nonviolence; sit-ins; South Africa.
- 0621 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), April–June 1960.** 113 frames.
Major Topics: Puerto Rico; *State of North Carolina v. Perry*; South Africa; Fair Play for Cuba Committee; White Citizens Council; Monroe urban renewal plans; sit-ins; Cuba.
- 0734 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), July–September 1960.** 82 frames.
Major Topics: Sit-ins; Albert E. Perry; NAACP national policy; Cuba; Fidel Castro; Congo; Monroe urban renewal plans; recreational facilities.
- 0816 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), October–December 1960.** 89 frames.
Major Topics: Employment; recreational facilities; Fidel Castro; Cuba; 1960 election; nonviolence; Liberation Committee for Africa; labor unions.
- 0905 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), January–August 1961.** 137 frames.
Major Topics: Fidel Castro; Monroe urban renewal plans; education; Fair Play for Cuba Committee; murder of Patrice Lumumba; wages; Kwame Nkrumah; Cuba; Martin Luther King Jr.; recreational facilities; attempts to kill Williams; nonviolence.

Reel 11

Group 1, Series 6: *The Crusader* (Newsletter), 1959–1969, 1980–1982 cont.

- 0001 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), October 1961–May 1963.** 80 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's escape from United States; racial violence; W. E. B. Du Bois; Crusaders Association for Relief and Enlightenment; rape cases.
- 0081 ***The Crusader* (Newsletter), July 1963–1969, 1980–1982.** 213 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting black freedom struggle; PRC; International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defense of Peace; revolutionary violence; Vietnam War; Cultural Revolution; African American press; Cuban revolution; anti-Vietnam War movement; Muhammad Ali; forged issue of *The Crusader*; RAM; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa; Williams's travels in Africa; Lake County, Michigan, social conditions; drugs.
- 0294 **Subscription Lists, [Undated].** 196 frames.

Frame No.

Group 1, Series 7: "Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, 1962–1966

- 0490 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, July–August 1962.** 129 frames.
Major Topics: Cuban revolution; police brutality; FBI; armed self-defense; racial violence; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement.
- 0619 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, September[–October] 1962.** 92 frames.
Major Topics: U.S. foreign policy; racial violence; lynching; intimidation and harassment.
- 0711 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, October 1962.** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Racial violence; police brutality.
- 0786 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, November 1962.** 113 frames.
Major Topics: Willie Mae Mallory; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; police brutality; African American military personnel; John F. Kennedy.
- 0899 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, December 1962.** 63 frames.
Major Topics: Police brutality; racial violence.

Reel 12

Group 1, Series 7: "Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, 1962–1966 cont.

- 0001 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, January 1963.** 77 frames.
Major Topics: Police brutality; Clyde Kennard; lynching.
- 0078 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, February 1963.** 56 frames.
Major Topics: Lynching; John F. Kennedy; police brutality; coal miners strike in Hazard, Kentucky.
- 0134 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, March 1963.** 77 frames.
Major Topics: John F. Kennedy; racial discrimination in Monroe, North Carolina; violence against voter registration workers; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Willie Mae Mallory.
- 0211 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, April 1963.** 53 frames.
Major Topics: Civil rights demonstrations; racial violence; rape case.
- 0264 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, May–June 1963.** 130 frames.
Major Topics: Civil rights demonstrations; racial violence; John F. Kennedy; police brutality.
- 0394 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, July 1963.** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Racial violence; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; nonviolence; Cuban revolution.
- 0446 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, August–September 1963.** 81 frames.
Major Topics: Police brutality; armed self-defense; civil rights demonstrations; March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Monroe, North Carolina, school boycott; bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.
- 0527 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, October–December 1963.** 82 frames.
Major Topics: Assassination of John F. Kennedy; FBI; racial violence.
- 0609 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, January 1964.** 63 frames.
Major Topics: Cuba; U.S. foreign policy; Willie Mae Mallory; revolutionary violence; intimidation of voter registration workers.
- 0672 **"Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts, February 1964.** 51 frames.
Major Topics: Willie Mae Mallory; armed self-defense; Mabel Stegall; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; nonviolence.

Frame No.

- 0723 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, March 1964.** 64 frames.
Major Topics: Civil rights demonstrations; civil rights legislation; Charles Evers; armed self-defense; racial violence.
- 0787 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, April 1964.** 64 frames.
Major Topics: Mary Peabody; civil rights demonstrations; Bruce Klunder; armed self-defense; African American Party of National Liberation; civil rights legislation.
- 0851 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, May 1964.** 62 frames.
Major Topics: Nonviolence; rape case; civil rights legislation; civil rights demonstrations.
- 0913 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, June–July 1964.** 103 frames.
Major Topics: Barry Goldwater; George Wallace; Martin Luther King Jr.; nonviolence; African American military personnel; civil rights workers in Mississippi; civil rights legislation; racial violence.

Reel 13

Group 1, Series 7: “Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, 1962–1966 cont.

- 0001 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, August–November 1964.** 90 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; police brutality; Chinese support for civil rights movement; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; racial violence.
- 0091 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, January–February 1965.** 66 frames.
Major Topics: Civil rights legislation; armed self-defense; dismissal of charges in Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0157 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, March 1965.** 49 frames.
Major Topics: Selma voting rights demonstrations; civil rights legislation.
- 0206 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, April 1965.** 51 frames.
Major Topics: KKK; *If We Must Live* by Frank Greenwood; Vietnam War.
- 0257 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, May–June 1965.** 66 frames.
Major Topics: Murders of James Reeb and Jimmie Lee Jackson; U.S. foreign policy; Deacons for Defense and Justice; armed self-defense; second indictments in Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0323 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, July 1965.** 43 frames.
Major Topics: Police brutality; armed self-defense.
- 0366 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, August–September 1965.** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Civil rights legislation; armed self-defense; Chinese support for civil rights movement; 1965 Watts riot; international support for civil rights movement; racial discrimination.
- 0441 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, October 1965.** 70 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Vietnam War; racial violence; 1965 Watts riot; criminal justice system.
- 0511 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, November–December 1965.** 72 frames.
Major Topics: Martin Luther King Jr.; nonviolence; police brutality; Rhodesia; Vietnam War; armed self-defense.
- 0583 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, January 1966.** 25 frames.
Major Topics: Afro-Asian–Latin American People’s Solidarity Conference; 1965 Watts riot.

Frame No.

- 0608 **“Radio Free Dixie” Broadcasts, February–March 1966.** 54 frames.
Major Topics: Police brutality; 1965 Watts riot; SNCC statement on Vietnam War; anti–Vietnam War movement.
- 0662 **“The Robert Williams Hour,” 1962 and Undated.** 94 frames.
Major Topics: Nonviolence; armed self-defense; John F. Kennedy.

Group 2, Series 1: Calvin Cunningham Case, 1983–1996

- 0756 **Calvin Cunningham Case, 1983–1992.** 40 frames.
Major Topic: Murder case.
Principal Correspondents: Calvin Cunningham; Robert F. Williams.
- 0796 **Calvin Cunningham Case, 1991–1992.** 24 frames.
Major Topic: Murder case.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Gloria Jean White; Calvin Cunningham.
- 0820 **Calvin Cunningham Case, 1991–1992.** 91 frames.
Major Topic: Murder case.
Principal Correspondents: Gloria Jean White; Calvin Cunningham; Robert F. Williams.
- 0911 **Calvin Cunningham Case, 1992.** 43 frames.
Major Topic: Murder case.
Principal Correspondents: Calvin Cunningham; Robert F. Williams; Arthur L. Campbell.
- 0954 **Calvin Cunningham Case, 1994–1996.** 36 frames.
Major Topic: Murder case.
Principal Correspondents: Gloria Jean White; Robert F. Williams.

Reel 14

Group 2, Series 2: Clippings, 1961–1996

- 0001 **Clippings, [1952], 1957.** 12 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, recreational facilities; historically black colleges and universities.
- 0013 **Clippings, 1961–1984.** 53 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; John F. Kennedy; PRC; RAM assassination plot; “Radio Free Dixie”; Williams’s extradition to North Carolina.
- 0066 **Clippings, 1963–1966.** 97 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Williams’s travels in Africa; PRC; Williams’s complaints about Cuba; urban riots; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; debate on *Negroes with Guns*.
- 0163 **Clippings, China, [1964]–1969.** 68 frames.
Major Topics: Cultural Revolution; Mao Tse-tung; Chinese support for civil rights movement.
- 0231 **Clippings, [1966]–1990.** 58 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; criminal justice system; Williams’s return to United States; Martin Luther King Jr.; Eldridge Cleaver; armed self-defense.
- 0289 **Clippings (Korean, Japanese, Chinese), [1968–1977, 1986].** 94 frames.

Frame No.

- 0383 **Clippings, 1969–1975.** 11 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; FBI harassment of Socialist Workers Party.
- 0394 **Clippings, 1969–1985.** 25 frames.
Major Topics: TWA; FBI.
- 0419 **Clippings, 1970–1976.** 56 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's complaints about Cuba; reparations; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Odis Hyde; crime in Lake County, Michigan.
- 0475 **Clippings, 1970–1992.** 69 frames.
Major Topics: U.S. Marine Corps; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Republic of New Africa; New Afrikan People's Organization; New Afrikan Independence Movement; death of Robert F. Williams Jr.; Calvin Cunningham; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0544 **Clippings, 1975–1976.** 77 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; West Central Michigan Employment and Training Consortium; Martin Sostre; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0621 **Clippings, 1975–1986.** 19 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0640 **Clippings, 1980–1995.** 19 frames.
Major Topic: Baldwin, Michigan, schools.
- 0659 **Clippings, [1960], 1983–1986.** 26 frames.
Major Topics: People's Association for Human Rights; police brutality; African American military personnel.
- 0685 **Clippings, 1993–1996.** 36 frames.
Major Topics: Obituaries of Williams; Boris Yeltsin; Cuba.
- 0721 **Clippings, Libya (Arabic).** 18 frames.

Group 2, Series 3: Correspondence, 1961–1996

- 0739 **Correspondence, Anne Olson, 1961–1966.** 69 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Vernal Olson; Anne Olson; Robert F. Williams.
- 0808 **Correspondence, [1961]–1965 and Undated.** 67 frames.
Major Topics: African American Captive Nation; People's Association for Human Rights.
Principal Correspondents: Julian Mayfield; Willie Mae Mallory; Anne Olson; Robert F. Williams.
- 0875 **Correspondence (in Chinese), ca. 1963–1967.** 66 frames.
- 0941 **Correspondence, 1966–1969.** 113 frames.
Major Topics: Cultural Revolution; forged issue of *The Crusader*.
Principal Correspondents: Walter Bryant; Robert F. Williams; Anne Olson; Carlos More; Willie Mae Mallory; Yoriko Nakajima.

Reel 15

Group 2, Series 3: Correspondence, 1961–1996 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, 1970–1972.** 64 frames.
Major Topic: *Negroes with Guns* royalties and reprinting.
Principal Correspondents: Carl Marzani; Sunao Suzuki; Robert Carl Cohen; Carl Braden; Thelma Reece.
- 0065 **Correspondence, 1973–1975.** 45 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
Principal Correspondents: Akiko Kurita; Albert Feuerwerker; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; William M. Kunstler.
- 0110 **Correspondence, 1973–1988 and Undated.** 94 frames.
Major Topics: Killing of Peruvian prisoners; FBI harassment of Socialist Workers Party.
Principal Correspondents: Carl Braden; Thelma Reece; Marilyn Wilson; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; Vicki Garvin; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams.
- 0204 **Correspondence, 1976.** 74 frames.
Major Topics: National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
Principal Correspondents: Charlene Mitchell; Ben Chavis; Robert F. Williams; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; Tohoru Takahashi; Jodie Vernon Austin; Thelma Reece.
- 0278 **Correspondence, 1977.** 69 frames.
Major Topic: Southern League of Black/Afrikan Organizations.
Principal Correspondents: Yoriko Nakajima; Joan V. Feeney; David Simpson.
- 0347 **Correspondence, 1978.** 63 frames.
Major Topics: U.S.–China Peoples Friendship Association; Ruby Nelson case.
Principal Correspondents: Susan Ezell; Robert F. Williams; Yoriko Nakajima; Catherine Grant.
- 0410 **Correspondence, 1978–1996.** 33 frames.
Major Topic: People's Association for Human Rights.
Principal Correspondents: Hosea L. Williams; Robert F. Williams.
- 0443 **Correspondence, 1979.** 33 frames.
Major Topics: Conviction of Amiri Baraka for resisting arrest; People's Defense Committee.
Principal Correspondents: Hunter Huang; Antonio Zamora; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; Robert F. Williams.
- 0476 **Correspondence, 1980.** 57 frames.
Major Topics: Iranian hostage crisis; North Michigan statehood movement.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Amiri Baraka; V. T. Lee; Coleman J. Chauncey.
- 0533 **Correspondence, 1980–1983.** 10 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's arrest for traffic violation, dismissal of case, and charges of police brutality.
Principal Correspondent: Robert F. Williams.
- 0543 **Correspondence, 1980–1985.** 12 frames.
- 0555 **Correspondence, Notes, 1980–1995 and Undated.** 38 frames.
Major Topics: Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Elombe Brath; Calvin Cunningham case; Confederate flag.
Principal Correspondents: Vicki Garvin; Robert F. Williams.

Frame No.

- 0593 **Correspondence, 1980–1996.** 34 frames.
Major Topics: People's Association for Human Rights; Louis Farrakhan.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Vicki Garvin; Timothy Tyson.
- 0627 **Correspondence, 1981.** 79 frames.
Major Topics: Cultural Revolution; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; Jackson State Prison, Michigan.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Thomas W. Mosley; Mabel Williams; Coleman J. Chauncey; Mary Kochiyama.
- 0706 **Correspondence, 1982–1983.** 78 frames.
Major Topics: Lake County Jail, Baldwin, Michigan; National Black United Front; Nigeria; Darnell Summers case.
Principal Correspondents: Amiri Baraka; Amina Baraka; Coleman J. Chauncey; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; Mary Kochiyama; Robert F. Williams; Conrad J. Lynn; Herbert Daughtry; Susan Skinner.
- 0784 **Correspondence, 1984.** 41 frames.
Major Topic: Ethiopian drought crisis.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; James Jackson; Marcellus C. Barksdale; Coleman J. Chauncey; Kenneth O'Reilly; Guy Vander Jagt.
- 0825 **Correspondence, 1985.** 70 frames.
Major Topics: Building African American Leadership Conference; job training programs; Michigan's Lemon Law.
Principal Correspondents: Coleman J. Chauncey; Larry Lawrence; Michael Simanga; Marcellus C. Barksdale; Guy Vander Jagt; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams.
- 0895 **Correspondence, 1986.** 94 frames.
Major Topics: Conference on African American families; Chinese People's Rally for World Peace.
Principal Correspondents: Walter Bergman; Pat Bergman; Robert F. Williams; Joseph H. McMillan; Mabel Williams; Robert A. Hill.
- 0989 **Correspondence, Michigan Department of Civil Rights (Re: Lake County Star Lawsuit), 1987.** 13 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Ernest Goodman; Robert F. Williams.
- 1002 **Correspondence, Felon Flyers Inc., 1989–1990.** 5 frames.
Major Topic: Transportation of prisoners.
Principal Correspondent: Robert C. Redman.
- 1007 **Correspondence, Desoto Productions, 1989–1992.** 4 frames.
Major Topic: Film research for Monroe, North Carolina, kissing case.
Principal Correspondent: Laura Mola.
- 1011 **Correspondence, 1989.** 47 frames.
Major Topic: Chinese students' demonstrations.
Principal Correspondents: Guy Vander Jagt; Connie Williams Sparks; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Coleman J. Chauncey; Vicki Garvin.

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Group 2, Series 3: Correspondence, 1961–1996 cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence, Ora Mobley, 1989–1992.** 10 frames.
- 0011 **Correspondence, 1990.** 20 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Ila Warner; Mabel Williams; Vicki Garvin.
- 0031 **Correspondence, 1990–1996 (a).** 31 frames.
Major Topics: Oprah Winfrey show; death of Robert F. Williams Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Muhammad Ahmad; Mabel Williams.
- 0062 **Correspondence, 1990–1996 (b).** 35 frames.
Major Topics: NAFTA; Calvin Cunningham case; NRA.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Timothy Tyson; Vicki Garvin; Mabel Williams.
- 0097 **Correspondence, 1991.** 27 frames.
Major Topics: Most-favored-nation status for PRC; death of Robert F. Williams Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Guy Vander Jagt; Ila Warner; Mabel Williams.
- 0124 **Correspondence, 1992.** 42 frames.
Major Topic: Death of Robert F. Williams Jr.
Principal Correspondents: Vicki Garvin; Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Mary Kochiyama; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; Ila Warner.
- 0166 **Correspondence, 1993–1997.** 38 frames.
Major Topics: Drugs; Williams's death.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Mabel Williams; Arthur L. Campbell; Oprah Winfrey; Gloria Jean White; John Chalmers Williams.
- 0204 **Correspondence, 1995–1996.** 16 frames.
Major Topic: NRA.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Luke Tripp; Andrew H. Myers; Mabel Williams; Mildred M. Ransom.

Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981

Subseries 1: FBI Files, Organized by FBI Filing System

- 0220 **FBI Files, Section 1, 1951–1960.** 69 frames.
Major Topics: Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Williams's escape from United States; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Willie Mae Mallory.
- 0289 **FBI Files, Section 2, 1955–1960.** 112 frames.
Major Topics: U.S. Marine Corps; employment history.
- 0401 **FBI Files, Section 2, 1960.** 65 frames.
Major Topics: Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; travel in Cuba.
- 0466 **FBI Files, Section 2, 1960–1961.** 93 frames.
Major Topics: Fair Play for Cuba Committee; travel in Cuba; Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch.
- 0559 **FBI Files, Section 3, 1961.** 58 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's escape from United States.
- 0617 **FBI Files, Section 3, 1961.** 55 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's escape from United States.
- 0672 **FBI Files, Section 3, 1961.** 75 frames.

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- 0747 **FBI Files, Section 3, 1961.** 75 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe Defense Committee.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0822 **FBI Files, Section 5, 1961.** 127 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's escape from United States.
- 0949 **FBI Files, Section 5, 1961–1962.** 148 frames.
Major Topics: Americans living in Cuba; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Williams's escape from United States.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 1: FBI Files, Organized by FBI Filing System cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, Section 4, 1962–1963.** 137 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Williams's escape from United States.
- 0138 **FBI Files, Section 5, 1963–1965.** 133 frames.
Major Topics: Travel to PRC; "Radio Free Dixie."
- 0271 **FBI Files, Section 6, 1962.** 128 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0399 **FBI Files, Section 6, 1964–1965.** 113 frames.
Major Topics: Travel in PRC; civil rights legislation.
- 0512 **FBI Files, Section 7, 1963.** 115 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's escape from United States.
- 0627 **FBI Files, Section 8, 1964–1969.** 165 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0792 **FBI Files, Section 8, 1967.** 71 frames.
Major Topics: 1965 Watts riot; Williams's return to United States.
- 0863 **FBI Files, Section 9, 1968–1969.** 205 frames.
Major Topics: SNCC; Williams's travel in Africa and receipt of new U.S. passport; Williams's return to United States; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 1: FBI Files, Organized by FBI Filing System cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, Section 11, 1968.** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Travel in Africa; Republic of New Africa; SNCC.
- 0076 **FBI Files, Section 11, 1969.** 89 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
- 0165 **FBI Files, Section 12, 1969.** 119 frames.
Major Topics: TWA; Williams's arrest in Detroit by FBI agents.
- 0284 **FBI Files, Section 13, 1969–1970.** 171 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Black Panther Party.
- 0455 **FBI Files, Section 14, 1970–1971.** 122 frames.
Major Topic: TWA.

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- 0577 **FBI Files, Section 15, 1961–1973.** 93 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; *Williams v. Milliken.*
- 0670 **FBI Files, Section 16, 1971.** 101 frames.
Major Topics: Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Williams's complaint regarding Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case and Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0771 **FBI Files, Section 16, 1972.** 109 frames.
Major Topics: Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams; KKK; PRC; Yoriko Nakajima.
- 0880 **FBI Files, Section 17, 1973–1974.** 128 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's extradition to North Carolina.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 1: FBI Files, Organized by FBI Filing System cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, Section 18, 1974–1976.** 86 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; dismissal of Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.

Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 2: FBI Files, Chronological

- 0087 **FBI Files, 1952–1965.** 59 frames.
Major Topics: Cuba; Cultural Revolution.
- 0146 **FBI Files, 1952–1970.** 147 frames.
Major Topics: Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Monroe Defense Committee; Williams's return to United States.
- 0293 **FBI Files, Civil Rights Division, 1955–1970.** 97 frames.
Major Topic: Student Organization for Black Unity.
- 0390 **FBI and Michigan State Police Files (1), 1955–1969.** 94 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kissing case; Monroe, North Carolina, civil rights demonstrations.
- 0484 **FBI and Michigan State Police Files (2), 1955–1972.** 86 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's escape from United States; Williams compared to Malcolm X.
- 0570 **FBI Files, 1955–1972 (1).** 75 frames.
Major Topics: Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle East; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case.
- 0645 **FBI Files, 1955–1972 (2).** 37 frames.
Major Topics: Cuba; Williams's passport.
- 0682 **FBI Files, 1959–1968.** 79 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; RAM.
- 0761 **FBI Files, 1959–1973.** 77 frames.
Major Topic: Armed self-defense.
- 0838 **FBI Files, 1960–1961.** 94 frames.
Major Topic: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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- 0932 **FBI Files, 1960–1975.** 13 frames.
Major Topic: Williams compared to Malcolm X.
- 0945 **FBI Files, 1961 (1).** 95 frames.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 2: FBI Files, Chronological cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, 1961 (2).** 86 frames.
- 0087 **FBI Files, 1961 (3).** 96 frames.
- 0183 **FBI Files, 1961 (4).** 28 frames.
Major Topic: Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement.
- 0211 **FBI Files, 1961–1969.** 53 frames.
Major Topic: Japanese student movement.
- 0264 **FBI Files, 1961–1971.** 80 frames.
- 0344 **FBI Files, Passport Material, 1961–1971.** 37 frames.
- 0381 **FBI Files, 1961–1973 (1).** 52 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Yoriko Nakajima.
- 0433 **FBI Files, 1961–1973 (2).** 57 frames.
Major Topic: Williams compared to Malcolm X.
- 0490 **FBI Files, 1962–1966.** 10 frames.
- 0500 **FBI Files, 1962–1975.** 16 frames.
- 0516 **FBI Files, 1962–1976.** 45 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's influence on Black Power organizations; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; RAM.
- 0561 **FBI Files, Radio Broadcast Transcripts, "Radio Free Dixie," 1962–1963.** 60 frames.
- 0621 **FBI Files, Radio Broadcast Transcripts, "Radio Free Dixie," 1963–1965 (1).** 55 frames.
- 0676 **FBI Files, Radio Broadcast Transcripts, "Radio Free Dixie," 1963–1965 (2).** 67 frames.
- 0743 **FBI Files, Press Clippings, 1963–1968.** 10 frames.
Major Topics: PRC; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Williams's return to United States.
- 0753 **FBI Files, 1963–1970.** 125 frames.
Major Topics: Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Republic of New Africa; PRC; Williams's return to United States; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0878 **FBI Files, 1963–1972, [1983].** 60 frames.
Major Topics: Lake County, Michigan, Sheriff Department; Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams.
- 0938 **FBI Files, 1963–1976 (1).** 112 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; Republic of New Africa.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 2: FBI Files, Chronological cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, [1961]–1976 (2).** 99 frames.
- 0100 **FBI and CIA Documents, 1964–1966.** 49 frames.
- 0149 **FBI Files, 1964–1968.** 66 frames.

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- Major Topics:* Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; William Worthy; PRC; RAM; subversive activities.
- 0215 **FBI Files, 1964–1970.** 96 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa.
- 0311 **FBI Files, 1964–1973.** 95 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa.
- 0406 **FBI Files, 1965–1966.** 108 frames.
- 0514 **FBI Files, 1965–1970.** 86 frames.
Major Topics: Fair Play for Cuba Committee; "Radio Free Dixie"; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Mao Tse-tung; Republic of New Africa.
- 0600 **FBI Files, 1966–1971.** 82 frames.
Major Topic: Armed self-defense.
- 0682 **FBI Files, 1967.** 123 frames.
- 0805 **FBI Files, 1967–1968.** 147 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; National Lawyers Guild; Organization of Afro-American Unity.
- 0952 **FBI Files, 1967–1970.** 62 frames.
Major Topics: Revolutionary violence; Republic of New Africa.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 2: FBI Files, Chronological cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, 1968 [1961–1969].** 96 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; CPUSA.
- 0097 **FBI Files, 1968–1969 [1961–1970].** 51 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
- 0148 **FBI Files, 1968–1969 (2).** 77 frames.
Major Topics: Union County, North Carolina, NAACP branch; Williams's return to United States; PRC.
- 0225 **FBI Files, 1968–1970.** 89 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's return to United States; Republic of New Africa.
- 0314 **FBI Files, 1968–1971.** 85 frames.
Major Topic: Republic of New Africa.
- 0399 **FBI Files, 1968–1972.** 89 frames.
Major Topic: Republic of New Africa.
- 0488 **FBI Files, 1968–1973.** 92 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
- 0580 **FBI Files, 1968–1975.** 74 frames.
- 0654 **FBI Files, Correspondence regarding Williams, 1969.** 77 frames.
- 0731 **FBI Files, 1969 (a).** 99 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
- 0830 **FBI Files, 1969 (b).** 59 frames.
Major Topics: ACLU; Williams's return to United States.

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- 0889 **FBI Files, 1969–1970.** 64 frames.
Major Topics: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Williams's resignation as Republic of New Africa president; Williams's return to United States.
- 0953 **FBI Files, [1968]–1970.** 72 frames.
Major Topic: Mabel Williams's diary.
- 1025 **FBI Files, [1955]–1971.** 76 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; Fair Play for Cuba Committee; RAM.

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Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 2: FBI Files, Chronological cont.

- 0001 **FBI Files, 1969–1971.** 64 frames.
Major Topic: Public reaction to Williams's return to United States.
- 0065 **FBI Files, 1969–1971.** 88 frames.
Major Topics: Republic of New Africa; public reaction to Williams's return to United States; Williams compared to Malcolm X.
- 0153 **FBI Files, 1969–1971.** 61 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
- 0214 **FBI Files, 1969–1972.** 95 frames.
Major Topic: Williams's return to United States.
- 0309 **FBI Files, 1969–1973.** 100 frames.
Major Topic: Public reaction to Williams's return to United States.
- 0409 **FBI Files, Letters from the Public to Government Offices Demanding Prosecution of Williams, 1969–1973.** 33 frames.
- 0442 **FBI Files, 1970–1972.** 52 frames.
Major Topic: *Williams v. Blount* (banning of *The Crusader*).
- 0494 **FBI Files, 1971.** 22 frames.

Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 3: CIA Documents

- 0516 **CIA Documents, 1961–1968.** 118 frames.
Major Topics: RAM; Republic of New Africa; anti-Vietnam War movement; Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Martin Sostre; urban riots.
- 0634 **CIA Documents, 1962–1968.** 133 frames.
Major Topics: Urban riots; RAM; SNCC; armed self-defense; H. Rap Brown; PRC; banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service; Republic of New Africa; "Radio Free Dixie"; Cuba; forged issue of *The Crusader*.

Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont. Subseries 4: IRS Documents

- 0767 **IRS Documents, 1962–1972.** 129 frames.
Major Topics: Finances; income taxes; Williams's extradition to North Carolina.
- 0896 **IRS Records, 1969–[1974].** 31 frames.
Major Topic: Income taxes.
- 0927 **IRS Files, 1972–1973.** 21 frames.
Major Topic: Income taxes.

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**Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont.
Subseries 5: Michigan State Police Documents**

- 0948 **Michigan State Police Documents, 1968–1971.** 16 frames.
Major Topic: Surveillance of Williams.
- 0964 **Michigan State Police Documents, 1969.** 100 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's extradition to North Carolina; Republic of New Africa.

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**Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont.
Subseries 6: Post Office Documents**

- 0001 **Post Office Documents, 1967–1968.** 37 frames.
Major Topic: *Williams v. O'Brien* (banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service).

**Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont.
Subseries 7: State Department Documents**

- 0038 **State Department Documents, 1960–1975.** 101 frames.
Major Topics: Williams compared to Malcolm X; "Radio Free Dixie"; *Williams v. Trans World Airlines*; PRC.
- 0139 **State Department Documents, 1961–1971.** 9 frames.
- 0148 **State Department Documents, 1961–1973.** 92 frames.
Major Topics: Williams compared to Malcolm X; Williams's return to United States; PRC.
- 0240 **State Department Documents, [1960], 1967–1972.** 30 frames.
Major Topic: Cuba.
- 0270 **State Department Documents, 1968–1969.** 45 frames.
- 0315 **State Department Documents, Justice Department Documents, and Freedom of Information Act Correspondence, 1968–1980.** 65 frames.
Major Topics: Senate Internal Security Subcommittee testimony; Williams in Tanzania; passport for Williams to return to United States; RAM.

**Group 2, Series 4: Government Files, 1951–1981 cont.
Subseries 8: Treasury Department Files**

- 0380 **Treasury Department Files, 1967–1981.** 20 frames.
Major Topic: Banning of *The Crusader* by U.S. Postal Service.

Group 2, Series 5: Lake County, Michigan, 1977–1994

- 0400 **Lake County, Michigan, Miscellaneous Clippings, 1948, 1952.** 5 frames.
Major Topic: Percy Langster.
- 0405 **Lake County, Michigan, Community–Police Conflict, 1977–1983.** 132 frames.
- 0537 **Lake County, Michigan, Empowerment Zone, [1991], 1994.** 44 frames.

Group 2, Series 6: Memorials, 1996

- 0581 **Obituaries, Memorials, 1996.** 24 frames.
0605 **Letters of Condolence, 1996.** 24 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Jan Bailey; Yoriko Nakajima; Betty Anderson; Vicki Garvin; Larry Lawrence; Kip Waldo; Qi Huai Yuan; Louis Farrakhan; Jackie Vaughn III.
0629 **Memorial Clippings, 1996.** 11 frames.
0640 **Memorial Materials, [Obituaries], 1996.** 56 frames.

Group 2, Series 7: Personal, 1961–1996

- 0696 **Ron Karenga Book, Draft of Section on Williams, [1979].** 44 frames.
Major Topics: Armed self-defense; revolutionary violence.
0740 **Personal, Tim Tyson Manuscript, Undated.** 43 frames.
0783 **Biographical Material, [Memorials, Obituaries, Scholarly Articles], [1984, 1992–1999].** 107 frames.
0890 **Financial Statements, 1961–1969.** 10 frames.
0900 **Contracts and Agreements [and Other Correspondence], 1961–1986.** 44 frames.
Major Topics: Lake County Employment and Training Program; Williams's protest regarding motor home; finances; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; Progressive Labor Party.
Principal Correspondent: Robert F. Williams.
0944 **Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan Fellowship, 1970–1973.** 16 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Rhoads Murphey.
0960 **Personal, Miscellaneous, 1960–1997.** 8 frames.
0968 **Personal, Miscellaneous, 1965–1983.** 38 frames.
Major Topics: Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice; Ho Chi Minh; Afro-American Marxist-Leninists Abroad.
Principal Correspondent: Anne Braden.
1006 **Personal, Notes, Correspondence, and Clippings, 1969–1975.** 36 frames.
Major Topics: Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Washington, D.C., City Council resolution saluting Williams; Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping case; FBI; Socialist Workers Party; Republic of New Africa.

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Group 2, Series 7: Personal, 1961–1996 cont.

- 0001 **Miscellaneous Personal Material, 1981–1990.** 64 frames.
Major Topics: Travel to Libya; Michigan Department of Civil Rights; Jesse Helms; Israel.
Principal Correspondents: Robert F. Williams; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall; James Ingram; Melissa Zakiya El.
0065 **Miscellaneous Personal Material, 1995–1996.** 46 frames.
Major Topics: Williams's reinstatement by NAACP; Mabel Williams's retirement as project director for St. Ann's Lake County Meals and Human Services; NAACP.
0111 **Poetry, 1983–1984, 1986.** 14 frames.

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- 0125 **Personal, Writings, 1993.** 27 frames.
Major Topics: Gun control; PRC.
- 0152 **Personal, Memoir Manuscript, Undated.** 29 frames.
Major Topics: Ho Chi Minh; Vietnam War; Ernesto “Che” Guevara; 1965 Watts riot; Cuba.

Group 2, Series 8: Political Organizations, [1960]–1984

- 0181 **AD-NIP Party [African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party], [1960–1973].** 109 frames.
- 0290 **Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants [and Socialist Workers Party], 1962–1975.** 64 frames.
- 0354 **Spartacist League, 1978–1984.** 120 frames.

Group 2, Series 9: Press Releases and Publicity, 1963–1985

- 0474 **Press Relations, 1963–1985.** 130 frames.
Major Topics: Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Mao Tse-tung’s statement on civil rights movement; Williams’s return to United States; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; Republic of New Africa; Williams’s extradition to North Carolina; National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; Michigan Civil Rights Leadership Day; U.S.–China Peoples Friendship Association.
- 0604 **Speaking Engagements, 1972–1984.** 35 frames.
- 0639 **Speaking Engagements, Publicity, 1976–1979.** 82 frames.
- 0721 **News Releases, Speeches, and Notes, 1979–1983 and Undated.** 65 frames.
Major Topics: Ronald Reagan; PRC; Head Start program; Lake County, Michigan, police; Moral Majority; Mao Tse-tung; drug trade; Cuba.
- 0786 **Speeches and Press Releases, Undated.** 37 frames.
Major Topics: Calvin Cunningham case; PRC; George Bush’s use of word “liberal”; Confederate flag; senior citizens; John Brown Society.

Group 2, Series 10: Print and Broadcast Material, 1965–1991

- 0823 **Printed Material, *The Crusader*, 1980.** 127 frames.
Major Topics: Lake County, Michigan, social conditions and schools; Haitian refugees; Ronald Reagan; drug trade; Cuba; Moral Majority; Mao Tse-tung; migration of industry to southern states.
- 0950 **“Radio Free Dixie,” 1965 and Undated.** 56 frames.
Major Topics: U.S.–China Peoples Friendship Association; PRC; U.S. Marine Corps; Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement; Williams’s escape from United States; CPUSA in Cuba; Republic of New Africa; Williams’s extradition to North Carolina.
- 1006 **Radio Transcript, “Like It Is,” November 10, 1991.** 8 frames.
Major Topics: Interview with Walter Sisulu, deputy president of African National Congress; interview with Williams on Monroe, North Carolina, freedom movement and time in exile.
- 1014 ***Asahi Journal*, 1970.** 7 frames.

Group 2, Series 11: Photographs, [Undated]

- 1021 Photographs, Vietnam, [Undated]. 3 frames.
- 1024 Photographs, Africa and Cuba, [Undated]. 4 frames.
- 1028 Photographs, China, Official and Formal Groups, [Undated]. 12 frames.

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Group 2, Series 11: Photographs, [Undated] cont.

- 0001 Photographs, China, Informal Groups, [Undated]. 11 frames.
- 0012 Photographs, Miscellaneous and Unidentified, [Undated]. 9 frames.

Group 2, Series 12: Petitions, 1970–1973

- 0021 Postcards [from Japan] regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina, 1973. 16 frames.
- 0037 Letters to President Nixon and to Stephen Fleck [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina], 1971–1972. 6 frames.
Principal Correspondents: Tohoru Takahashi; Yoriko Nakajima.
- 0043 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 1, 1970. 29 frames.
- 0072 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 2, 1970. 44 frames.
- 0116 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 3, 1970. 44 frames.
- 0160 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 4, 1970. 45 frames.
- 0205 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 5, 1971. 45 frames.
- 0250 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 6, 1971. 45 frames.
- 0295 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 8, 1971. 62 frames.
- 0357 Petition [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 9, 1971. 42 frames.
- 0399 Petitions [from Japanese Committee for the Defense of the Life and Fundamental Human Rights of Robert F. Williams, regarding Williams's Extradition to North Carolina]. Role 11, 1971. 47 frames.

PRINCIPAL CORRESPONDENTS INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major correspondents in this microform publication. The first number after each entry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file folder containing correspondence by the person begins. Hence 3: 0198 directs the researcher to the folder that begins at Frame 0198 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher will find the folder title, inclusive dates, and a list of Major Topics and Principal Correspondents, arranged in the order in which they appear on the film.

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