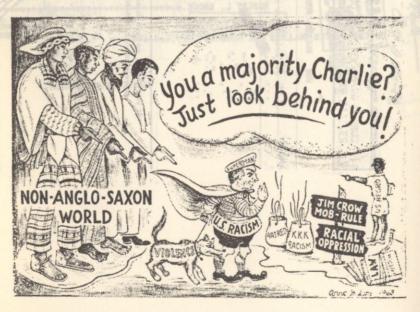
APPENDIX VIII



ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher —IN EXILE— VOL. 5 — No. 2 FEBRUARY 1964

REVOLUTION WITHOUT VIOLENCE?

WE ARE an oppressed and dehumanized people, who have been long suffering and much too patient and tolerant of our status in America. We have begged and prayed for justice to no avail. Are we to forever remain aloof to the



logic of history? History is a mirror of the human facts of life. History bears out the fact that oppressors never voluntary relinquish their tyrannical grip on the oppressed. The

oppressed, themselves, must break the strangle hold of their oppressors.

There are no "give away programs" and "get free quick tricks" for true freedom. Brutal oppression and race hatred are forms of social maladies. These syndrones are reflections of a sick society. The collective personality of a society, riddled with ingrained and perennial prejudices and hatreds, signifies psychiatric ills as well as economic ones. A malignant cancerous sore on a society, like the cronic race hatred that infects the United States of America, cannot be cured by mild medications. For psychiatric ills, in cases where the patient has completely divorced himself from the logic of reality, when he is beyond the realm of response to normal stimuli, the shock treatment is the best treatment. In most cases it is considered a highly successful remedy.

A cancerous sore requires a serious physical operation. In the U.S. race problem, anything less is simply to play the element of time, and time alone is tantamount to a sort of spiritual faith healing that presages a rendezvous with

disasier.

The present hope of Afroamericans to cure the malignant ills of savage racial oppression, by so-called peaceful methods, approximates mild medication where surgery is needed. Turn-the-other-cheekism is tantamount to treating psychotics with homicidal tendancies by playing a childish game of "tag" or touch foot ball when a dose of electrical shock is needed.

I do not mean to convey the impression that I am against non-violent tactics when feasable. I advocate "peaceful demonstrations" when conditions permit. The possibility of this type of struggle succeeding diminishes daily. What Negro leaders call "peaceful" is more realistically being viewed as a guarantee of immunity from just retribution for sadistical brutes. "Nonviolence" is fast becoming a sophisticated term for self-imposed paralysis of the natural human nerve system and its automatic reflexes of self preservation.

Many "nonviolent" proponents are advancing the theory that violence is "immoral." They speak of all forms of violence in the same terms. They fail to distinguish between the righteous violence of the noble patriots of Concord, Lexington, Valley Forge, Gettysburgh, Harper's Ferry, Richmond and the great revolutionaries throughout the history of the world, and that of the savages who murdered William Moore, Medgar Evers, and the innocent children of Birmingham. The word "nonviolence" is being used too loosely and mechanically in a decep-

tive way.

Negro leaders are too prone to committ the masses of our people to battle in untenable positions by swearing to forego self preservation, simply for the sake of praise and donations from white liberals. In many of these situations it is more than obvious that these liberals' humanitarianism extends to the white race only. These liberals can tolerate the heads blown off little black girls. They can look with impassion at the black being maimed and slaughtered. They are willing to hold a rally of protest and hypocritically denounce heinous crimes against our people, but this is the limit to which they are prepared to go. The more they protest the more victous the violence seems to become. Is it not strange that they become more emotional about the possibility of black Americans defending themselves than when savage whites practice mayhem against them? These socalled liberals are quick to exclaim that they are equally opposed to violence, no matter what side or reason it may stem from. Let us be more concerned with their action than words. Many of these so-called liberals either own or hold stock in sweatshops. Some hold supervisory or positions of influence in their communities. Some carry insurance with racist companies. Many rate high in the field of education, medicine and commerce. The list of their exploits is endless. In short, many are in position to take punitive action or cause punitive action to be brought against brutal racists. These so-called liberals can find a thousand excuses to justify their not taking action against barbaric racists. But oh let a poor downtrodden, brutalized black speak of self-defense! They speak of punitive action.

They are more than willing of withdraw their support. They are more than willing to make a public statement denouncing so-called "violent Negroes." Oh, their conscience and principles will just not allow them to coopera'e with anything so immoral as a black, bringing into play the natural reflex action of self defense.

These charlatans, who claim to be friends and counselors in our struggle for liberation, are in actuality the fifth column allies of the most bru'al and savage advocates of white supremacy. Their real loyalty, either consciously or subconsciously, is to the racist premise that no black man should ever be able to find justification for defending himself against the violence of the white man. These self-righteuos moralists deceive obsequious Negroes into believing that they have been divinely commissioned to introduce the superior conduct of latent masochism to a violently wicked jungle. While the whites, in their homes, schools and churches, teach their children to honor violent warriors and uncompromising rebels, they brainwash the black to accept the tenets of pacifism. All life is geared to the acceptance of white domination of all universally significant affairs. The excrutiating oppression of Afroamericans is considered secondary and of little consequence. What a dual standard.

Total integration means assimilation. Is the American society based upon the premise of nonviolence? No! It is an insensate and violent society. It is a society whose symbol is the marauding eagle. There is no place in the eagle's nest for a peace dove. The timid peace dove is the symbol that the liberals would have us adopt. Pacifism is alien to the American mode of life. Pacifism, adopted by a people already set aside from the mainstream of American life because of a blood and color differential, adds another distinct feature to breaden the discriminatory chism. If not in color, at least in social conduct, we must reflect similarities in order to become assimilated into North American society and its culture. The cult of nonviolence is a religion that brings glory and gratification to latent machochists.

Self-defense is not a love of violence. It is a love for justice. Oppressive and malicious aggression show manifestations of love for violence and sadism. Are the so-called nonviolent forces so overwrought with the sensual pleasure they derive from the violence of so-called nonviolence that their emotions obscure the clear cut difference between self-defense (self preservation) and oppressive aggression? Their actions suggest they are. When an Afroamerican proclaims the right of self-defense, nonviolent elements, without qualification, uncategorically squeal like probed pigs that the "self-defense" advocate is a "violent black racist." He is publicly denounced and dishonorably drummed out of the white folk's dominated "good nigra society." No amount of polemics can prevail upon them that the self-defense advocate means anything other than a declaration of his love for violence and that all "white folks" indiscriminately should be murdered in cold blood.

This is not a normal reaction to a logical reflex action. This is an emotional reaction governed by vested interest in a policy of meek submission of the oppressed and brutally exploited masses. The liberal white architects of black nonviolence cannot possibly be so asinine as to believe all of this propaganda and tripe about the power of nonviolence and love. Surely they must know that nonviolence and love can only bring about fringe benefits that the oppressors do not consider worth fighting for, or that they consider to be expendable items, designed to allay the angry emotions engendered in the hearts of the suffering masses.

Present engagements on the civil rights battle front show stiffening resistance on the part of the oppressor. This is because the demands of our people are now shifting to essential things like the right to be equally employed, educated and legally protected. These are the benefits that will raise the level of our people.

These things are basic to our right to enjoy desgregated restaurants, hotels and places of amusement. These are the things that will give our people an equal chance to overcome an inferior status and inferiority complexes developed

under centuries of slavery, brutal exploitation and dehumanization. We are entering

a stage of real crisis — a stage of flight or fight.

Yes, we should all advocate peaceful and nonviolent demonstrations in order to mobilize the masses of our people and to expose the true nature of U.S. racism to the world, but let us not be so naive as to believe that we can conduct a revolution without violence. Let us not be so asinine as to believe that we can appeal to the conscience of a brutal oppressor to the extent that he will voluntarily release our people from almost 400 years of shackles and the dark dungeon of slavery and misery.

Let us not develop a hatred of whites, simply because they are white, but with all the passion of our hearts hate oppression and the savage conduct of those racist savages who dehumanize us. Let us hate oppression to such an extent that we become fanatical in our determination to live in human dignity and freedom. Does not history prove that so-called fanatics constitute the greatest force in shaping world society? It is better for oppressed people to be fanatics for freedom and justice rather than to cow timidly and submit to the evils of

We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must reject the unwritten dehumanization and slavery. commitment that so-called Negro leaders have made guaranteeing our brutal oppressors immunity from retribution for their henious acts of violence against our defenseless people. Not only must we defend ourselves violently, but we must do it collectively. We must condition ourselves for defense, both physically and psychologically. We must become adept in the methods of massive defense.

There are those mercenary Uncle Toms and masochists among us, whose missions are to demoralize our people and encourage them to reject the first law of nature. They are quick to inform us that we cannot win any conflict that may degenerate into a state of massive violence. Why do they not tell the racist oppressors that they cannot win? Why do they not tell them that they constitute a minority in the world? The fact is that the racists are the ones who will lose such a conflict. America is too sensitive to withstand such a shock. The oppressors have more to lose than the dehumanized and oppressed in such a conflict. Our people have nothing to lose but their chains.

We prefer peaceful negotiations, but our oppressors have proved to us that they are not susceptible to such mild pressures for reform and that they will utilize massive violence to attempt to contain our struggle. When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with Afro G. I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos.

This racist imperialist oppressor will not be brought to his knees, simply because of the fighting ability and military power of Black Freedom Fighters and their allies inside the U.S., but because of the creation of economic, chaotic conditions, total disorganization, frustration of his essential and ultra vital organs of production, and adverse conditions created by the world wide liberation struggle. Such a formidable enemy will fall prey to the new concept of revolution because of his ultra modern and automated society and the lack of psychological conditioning of his forces. Our people have already been conditioned by almost 400 years of violence, terror and hunger.

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new

concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the USA. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the USA in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people.

Of course, there would be great losses on the part of our people. How can we expect liberation without losses? Our people are already being admonished by the nonviolent forces to die for Freedom. We are being told to sacrafice our lives in situations of diminishing returns. If we must die, let us die in the only way that the oppressor will feel the weight of our death. Let us die in the tried and proven way of liberation. If we are going to talk about revolution, let us know what revolution means.

The dilemma facing our oppressed people in the USA today is the fact that the forces of white supremacy are already preparing a campaign of massive extermination against us. The cold fact of the matter is that we are going to experience violence whether we defend ourselves or not. The greatest security of defense is to be able to annihilate and demoralize the aggressive and oppressive forces of the racist enemy. All over the USA, the John Birchers, the Minutemen, the States Righters, the Nazis and Ku Klux Klanners are arming and training for total warfare against our people. There is no doubt as to what side the racist police, F.B.I., National Guard and the Federal Government will be on. The U.S. Justice Department has already shown its true colors by tracking down law abiding Freedom Fighters and indicting them for seeking the enforcement of the U.S. Consiliution. The Afroamerican hasn't got a chance in the USA unless he organizes to defend himself.

It is no longer a truism that our people cannot win such a struggle. The world has changed and the favor of the situation has shifted to the side of the Afroamerican. Those who cry that we cannot win are either agents of the oppressor, latent masochists or ignorant of the new facts of life. We do not need paternal white "big daddies" for our friends now. What we need are some fighting John Browns.

Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressors are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create stronger ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is important that our people stop cooperating with our oppressor and exert more effort to expose his beastly ways to the peoples of the world. Yes, we can win because our struggle is just and our friends are many. The hand writing is already on the wall. Victory is now within our reach. LET US PREPARE TO SEIZE IT!

JUSTICE FOR MAE MALLORY

Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory has lost a 2 year fight against extradition back to racist Monroe, N.C. Mrs. Mallory was indicted along with local Afroamerican Freedom Fighters: Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, a white New York student Freedom Rider, John Lowery, and Robert F. Williams, who is now exiled in Cuba. The case grew out of a race riot that flared during a nonviolent demonstration for human rights. The frame-up indictment was engineered by the Ku Klux Klan,

Minutemen and racist police in a concerted effort to crush an integration and

The case is scheduled to be tried in the February term of the Union County (N.C.) Superior Court at Monroe. The Monroe Defendants have less chance for a fair trial in Monroe than has a snowball in a blast furnace. If a Negro should be accused of murdering Christ by Union County whites the verdict would be "guilty." The racist savages of Monroe are devoid of any human capacity that allows them to conduct an impartial trial where Afroamericans and civil rights fighters are concerned. These victims of rabid white supremacy need your moral and financial support. Every just-minded person who possibly can is urged to attend the Monroe Kangaroo sessions to wilness U.S. racist democracy in action. Seeing is believing. I can assure that you will be astounded to see what racist maniacs and great exponents of "the American Way of Life" call democratic justice for people who advocate the implementation of the U.S. Constitution.

SEND A FREEDOM CONTRIBUTION TODAY TO:

MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

416 BOYTE STREET

MONROE, N. C.

C.A.M.D.

168 W. 23rd Street

New York, N.Y.

GUILT BY VIRTUE OF BEING BORN BLACK

Court frame-up is a method of legal lynching. We who know the mentality of U.S. racists, from experience, are not surprised to see this system utilized by white racist savages in disposing of Afroamericans who refuse to conform to traditional patterns of segregation. We are not in the least bit fazed to see the racist U.S. Justice Department and F.B.I. laboring in the camp of their fellow-travelers and condemning black Americans on trumped-up evidence that wouldn't travelers and condemning black Americans on trumped-up evidence that wouldn't reven rate a hearing against whites. The crowning experience of my long battle for racial equality and social justice is the cohesiveness of white nationalism even over and above distinct political differences. It is sobering to learn that racist reactionary degenerates, who ostentatiously claim membership in the U.S.C.P., have joined the F.B.I. and Ku Klux Klan chorus of "guilt by race" in songs of hat, steeped in a reckless disregard for facts and evidence. These racist pseudo Marxists are so far in the vanguard of white supremacy that they have beeten the racist courts in handing down a "guilty" verdict against the Monroe Defendants.

CHINA: NEW HOPE OF OPPRESSED HUMANITY

Those white supremacist reactionaries who sit in their crumbling castles and dream their drunken dreams of world domination, while plotting and waiting for the fall and decline of THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, are likened unto the aging maiden who vainly sits before a mirror hoping for some magic phenomenon of rejuvenation. China is surging ahead. Contrary to what reactionaries would like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing and the control of the like us to be like u

The great drought caused serious problems in China. However, this condition has been overcome. The Chinese people are reaping a bumper harvest this year and the market places are flooded with food. The Department stores are loaded with well constructed and beatiful consumer goods. Not only in urban communities, but throughout the land, even in the rural areas the stores are as well munities, but throughout the land, even in the rural areas the stores are bustling with stocked as in many capitalist American communities. The stores are bustling with shoppers freely purchasing beautiful products that only the rich could afford to own in the old days.

Businessmen from 101 countries of the world are trading with China. Friends of China from all over the world can be seen freely touring the country. Chinese heavy industry is developing beyond description. In order for one to truly ascertain

the magnitude of progress being made in Chinese industry, it is necessary for one to see for himself.

Only the fools of the world are so stupid as to believe that they can isolate and ignore a quarter of the population of the entire earth. China is fast becoming a great world power. It is a power for good. A power to aid in the liberation of all of the oppressed peoples of the world. The Chinese people are not vain and boastful. They insist that though they have made gains, they still have a long way to go. A visit to China will convince any rational person that the great Chinese people have the determination and talent to accomplish any objective they set for themselves in the shortest possible time.

The Chinese people support all peoples who struggle for justice and liberation. They whole-heartedly support Afroamericans who struggle against Jim Crow and racial oppression in the so-called free world of the racist USA. In the factories, in the store windows, on billboards, in recreation centers and conspicious places throughout the land, huge posters proclaim the Chinese people's support for oppressed Afroamericans. Even the small children of China express great admiration and sympathy for their oppressed black brothers of the barbaric and racist USA. They are very saddened when they hear of the terrifying plight of our people in America. We are extremely fortunate to have such honest, sincere, and militant people as our allies. We must do more to create a greater bond between our peoples. More of our Freedom Fighters should visit our Chinese brothers and sisters. To see China is to see the hope of all of the oppressed and dehumanized peoples of the world. To see China is to see a great giant fast growing into maturity and leadership. China is one of the most dynamic countries in the world today and in a short time is destined to become leader of the truly free world. (MORE ABOUT CHINA NEXT ISSUE)

THE GREAT DECEPTION

Carl Rowan has been appointed as chief of U.S. Information Services. This is good for Carl Rowan. It is a step forward for him, but we must ask the political hypocrites when will 20 million black Americans be granted equal protection under law, the right to obtain and hold decent jobs, the right to live in other than black ghettoes, the right to be equally educated and the right to use public toilets? The appointment of Carl Rowan, a Negro, to such a position is symbolic of the difficulty racist America is having explaining the Afroamerican's status in the so-called defender country of Christian democracy. Carl Rowan is going to look mighty foolish trying to explain the Birminghams that are yet to come to a horrified world. It is the most inhumane joke of the century to have a member of the victimized race trying to white-wash the brutal dehumanization of his people. The civilized peoples of the world are not so asinine as to be impressed by the virtues of a democracy that even denies its mouthpiece the use of a public toilet in his native state of Tennessee.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG IN SUPPORT OF THE AFROAMERICANS IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

"...I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeosie and other enlightened personages of all colours in the

world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national srtuggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people."

-Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

CUBA ADVANCES

Yankee aint what he used to be. Ninety miles from Cuban socialism, he has failed to bring about its downfall even though the whole world knows that he is trying with all his might by hook and crook to do just that. His would-be boycoft has backfired. It is readily conceded that he has caused Cuba some unnecesary difficulties, but when an enemy is aware of the fact that his terrorist tactics can only bring about undue hardships on innocent populations, without any possibility of success or victory, then the enemy can be classified as nothing more than an evil and demented sadisf. Things have vastly improved in Cuba. The stores were well stocked with highquality foys and Christmas goods. The kids are riding so many shiny new bikes around Havana now it is becoming difficult to walk or drive. Despite the damage of the hurricane, roasted pork (the traditional Christmas dish of Cuba) was more than plentiful. It is a more than obvious fact that the Cuban revolution is advancing. Only old senile Uncle Sam, who wears his white Panama hat to the North Pole, his Alaska furs to Africa and his B.V.D.S. (skivvy drawners) to South Vietnam, is stupid enough to ignore the progress of the Cuban Revolution. The best proof of the stability of the Cuban Revolution is the fact that astute British capitalists and other wise Europeans can see the wisdom in making long term monetary agreements. One thing to be said about clever capitalists is that they know a good thing when they see one. Yes, in threats of anguish, old Sam squalls and dances while socialist Cuba advances.

HAVANA, CUBA — Friends of Cuba from many parts of the world participated in the 5th Anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Among the many distinguished guests where: Hewlett Johnson, retired ex-dean of Cantebury, a Buddhist Monk from Southeast Asia, Quaison-Sackey, ambassador to the UN from Ghana, Madeira Keita, Minister of Justice of Mali, and Mr. & Mrs. Vernel Olson of Toronto, Canada. Mr. Olson is the National Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee of Canada. The Olsons are also distributors of THE CRUSADER.

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