

ON THE AUTHOR...

"If you don't know about George Jackson, the Soledad Brother, then you have had a very incomplete education on the Black Liberation Movement. Assassinated by guards in San Quentin's prison yard in 1971, Jackson is both an icon and theorist of the era. His younger brother, Jonathan, was martyred a year earlier seeking George's escape, an incident in which educator and activist Angela Davis became enmeshed. C.L.R. James described the letters in Jackson's book Soledad Brother as 'the most remarkable political documents that have appeared inside or outside the United States since the death of [Vladimir Ilyich] Lenin.'"

NORMAN RICHMOND AKA JALALI

"George Jackson was jailed ostensibly for stealing 70 dollars. He was given a sentence of one year to life because he was black, and he was kept incarcerated for years under the most dehumanizing conditions because he discovered that blackness need not be a badge of servility but rather could be a banner for uncompromising revolutionary struggle. He was murdered because he was doing too much to pass this attitude on to fellow prisoners. George Jackson was political prisoner and a black freedom fighter. He died at the hands of the enemy. "

WALTER RODNEY

"He was recognized as a leader of the movement which sought to deepen the political consciousness of black and brown prisoners who constitute 30 to 40 percent of California's prison population. His impact on the community outside was and continues to be boundless. George's example of courage in the face of the specter of summary execution, his insights honed in the torment of seven years of solitary confinement, his perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds will continue to be a source of inspiration to all ours sisters and brothers inside prison walls and outside. "

ANGELA DAVIS

SOLEDAD BROTHER + BLOOD IN MY EYE

cover art by kevin 'rashid' johnson

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GENTLEMEN, THE DRAGON HAS COME

**selections from the writings of
George L. Jackson**



Eulogy to George Jackson (excerpt)

Huey P. Newton

When I went to prison in 1967, I met George. Not physically, I met him through his ideas, his thoughts and words that I would get from him. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony.

George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit.

I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the revolutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life.

And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in those young Panther bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next.

What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, that he was a strong man, he was determined, full of love, strength, dedication to the people's cause, without fear. He lived the life that we must praise. It was a life, no matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause.

The state sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world, that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal — it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs.

They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but

possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living ... Even with George's last statement — his last statement to me — at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act.

FURTHER READING

MARX & ENGELS

Value, Price and Profit

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific

Critique of the Gotha Programme

VLADIMIR LENIN

State & Revolution

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

MAO ZEDONG

Oppose Book Worship

On The Correct Handling of Contradictions

Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society

US HISTORY

Settlers
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Counter-Revolution of 1776
Gerald Horne

An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States
Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

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In the Spirit of Crazy Horse
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Caliban & The Witch
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LATIN AMERICA

Open Veins of Latin America
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Cuban Revolution Reader

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John Scott

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BLACK LIBERATION

Black Reconstruction
W.E.B. DuBois

The Black Jacobins
C.L.R. James

Revolutionary Suicide
Huey P. Newton



天下大乱 ★ 形势大好

REVOLUTION

Revolution within a modern industrial capitalist society can only mean the overthrow of all existing property relations and the destruction of all institutions that directly or indirectly support existing property relations. It must include the total suppression of all classes and individuals who endorse the present state of property relations or who stand to gain from it. Anything less than this is reform.



Revolutionary change means the seizure of all that is held by the 1 percent, and the transference of these holdings into the hands of the remaining 99 percent. If the 1 percent are simply displaced by another 1 percent, revolutionary change has not taken place. A social revolution after the fact of the modern corporate capitalist state can only mean the breakup of that state and a completely new form of economics and culture. As slaves, we understand that ownership and the mechanics of distribution must be reversed. The problems of the Black Colony and the Brown Colony, those of the entire 99 percent who are being manipulated, can never be redressed as long as the necessary resources for their solution are the personal property of an extraneous minority motivated solely by the need for its own survival. And that extraneous minority will never consider the proper solutions.



Lenin, Guevara and Fanon, all in their particular fashion, postulate that before revolution can take place, all other forms of redress must be exhausted, clearly exhausted. Electoral processes must have broken down, the confidence of the electorate in any of the old forms completely shattered, confidence in the ability of the old system to honestly organize any aspect of public life must be shaken to the core. Years and years ago it may have been an acceptable tactic to organize a people's ticket of solid worker and revolutionary credentials and arm it with an ideal platform — only to be defeated by a mud-slinging opportunist-warlord, demonstrably inferior, scum-swilling pig. Then pass out a pamphlet to explain to the people how the system has failed them, or speak it in Pershing Square — or, years ago, in the Campus Hall. Today it is not a tactic — it's counterrevolution.

Revolution builds in stages; it isn't cool or romantic; it's bold and vicious; it's stalking and being stalked — the opposition rising above

*A man, once freed from jail,
will build his country.
Misfortune is the test of loyalty.*



*He earns great merit
who feels great concern.
Unlock the cage —
the true dragon will fly.*

HO CHI MINH

our level of violence to repress us, and our forces learning how to counter this repression and again pulling ourselves above their level of violence. That process repeats itself again and again until finally the level is reached where the real power of the people is felt and the ruling class is suppressed. The power of the people lies in its greater potential violence.



The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in Amerika lies in wait inside the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme. Thirty percent of all industrial workers are black. Close to 40 percent of all industrial support roles are filled by blacks. Blacks are still doing the work of the greatest slave state in history. The terms of our servitude are all that have been altered.



The Black Colony can and will influence the fate of things to come in the U.S.A. The impact of black revolutionary rage actually could carry at least the opening stages of a socialist revolution under certain circumstances — not discounting some of the complexities created by the specter of racism.



As victims of one of history's most brutal contradictions, as the poorest of the poor, as blacks, it is quite justifiable and completely possible for us to destroy this country as a modern nation-state, to attack it with a totally destructive counter-sweep of frustrated retaliatory rage; that is not our purpose. As revolutionaries, it is our objective to move ourselves and the people into actions that will culminate in the seizure of state power. Our real purpose is to redeem not merely ourselves but the whole nation and the whole community of nations from colonial — community economic repression.



International capitalism cannot be destroyed without the extremes of struggle. The entire colonial world is watching the blacks inside the U.S., wondering and waiting for us to come to our senses. Their problems and struggles with the Amerikan monster are much more

subsistence economy and a socio-political infrastructure so that we can become an example for all revolutionary people.

Fascism has established itself in a most disguised and efficient manner in this country. It feels so secure that the leaders allow us the luxury of faint protest. Take protest too far, however, and they will show their other face. Doors will be kicked down in the night and machine-gun fire and buckshot will become the medium of exchange.

I am an extremist, a communist (not communistic, a communist), and I must be destroyed or I will join my comrades in the only communist party in this country, the Black Panther Party. I will give them my all, every dirty fighting trick in the annals of war. Nothing will defeat our revenge and nothing will countervail our march to victory. We come to our conclusion: the only historical recourse that is left to us. Freedom means warmth and protection against harsh exposure to the elements. It means food, not garbage. It means truth, harmony, and the social relations that spring from these. It means the best medical attention whenever it's needed. It means employment that is reasonable, that coincides with the individual necessities and feelings. We will have this freedom even at the cost of total war.

NOTES

[1] See V.I. Lenin's *On Narodism* and Sergey Nechayev's *Revolutionary Catechism*.

[2] “Probably the author is referring to the *Guardians of Liberty*, an anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant group formed by ex-military officers and civil servants in New York in 1911.” Original footnote from *Blood In My Eye*.

[3] The TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) is a state-owned corporation that was founded as a part of the New Deal. The CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) was a work relief program that was also developed during the New Deal.

[4] See “The Production of Surplus Value” section in Karl Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*.

revolutionary consciousness. We're hungry.

Our overall task is to separate the people from the hated state. They must be made to realize that the interests of the state and the ruling class are one and the same. They must be taught to realize that the present political regime exists only to balance the productive forces within the society in favor of the ruling class. It is at the ruling class and the governing elites, including those of labor, that we must aim our bolts. The average workingman will simply withdraw or watch with secret satisfaction or actively join in when we bring his union boss under attack. We blacks have lived with terrorism for generations. It no longer affects us. It will intensify. We must prepare a counter-terrorism. A man can never be so repressed that he cannot strike back in some way. But it must begin now. The Rand Corporation does 80 percent of its work for the military-industrial-intelligence complex; 750 or more colleges offer police science courses; 247 additional colleges offer associate degrees in law enforcement; 44 offer bachelor degrees. The National Guard numbers 390,000. The C.I.A.D. (Counter Intelligence Analysis Detachment) — the 113th military intelligence group — is designed for the surveillance of private citizens. The police state isn't coming — it's here, glaring and threatening.

How do we raise a new revolutionary consciousness against a system programmed against our old methods? Revolution is against the law. It will not be allowed, not in significant form. That makes the true revolutionary an outlaw, and the black revolutionary a "doomed man." As blacks, we must function as the vanguard in any hostilities. We must use a new approach, unite and revolutionize the black central-city commune, and slowly provide the people with the incentive to fight by allowing them to create programs that will meet all of their social, political and economic needs. We must fill the vacuums left by the established order. We must push the settlers off our land when they won't cooperate with the new communal life of our system. We must learn from the people, we must learn from the workers, the discipline they are so highly skilled in. In return, we must teach them the benefits of our revolutionary ideals. We must move blacks to the forefront of a really productive assault on the outside enemy reactionary culture, not only on the production level, but in all significant areas of property relations. We must promote and support enforced rent strikes. Merchants must come over to our side, or face the appropriation of their property for the commune. We must build a

difficult than they would be if we actively aided them. We are on the inside. We are the only ones (besides the very small white minority left) who can get at the monster's heart without subjecting the world to nuclear fire. We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will. The whole world for all time in the future will love us and remember us as the righteous people who made it possible for the world to live on. If we fail through fear and lack of aggressive imagination, then the slaves of the future will curse us, as we sometimes curse those of yesterday. I don't want to die and leave a few sad songs and a hump in the ground as my only monument. I want to leave a world that is liberated from trash, pollution, racism, poverty nation-states, nation-state wars and armies, from pomp, bigotry, parochialism, a thousand different brands of untruth, and licentious usurious economics.



We must build the true internationalism now. Getting to know people under crisis is the best way to learn them. Crisis situations show up their weakness and strength. They outline our humanity in vivid detail. If there is any basis for a belief in the universality of man then we will find it in this struggle against the enemy of all mankind.



There must be a collective redirection of the old guard — the factory and union agitator — with the campus activist who can counter the ill-effects of fascism at its training site, and with the lumpenproletarian intellectuals who possess revolutionary scientific-socialist attitudes to deal with the masses of street people already living outside the system. They must work toward developing the unity of the pamphlet and the silenced pistol. Black, brown and white are all victims together. At the end of this massive collective struggle, we will uncover our new man, the unpredictable culmination of the revolutionary process. He will be better equipped to wage the real struggle, the permanent struggle after the revolution — the one for new relationships between men.

CONSCIOUSNESS

Consciousness is the opposite of indifference, of blindness, blankness. Promoting consciousness involves the general dissemination of the concept that each of us is part of a universal action and interaction; that poles are somewhere connected; that there are material causes for

trauma, vertigo, degenerative disease. Connections, connections, cause and effect, clarity on their relation and interrelations, the connection with the past, continuity, flow, movement, the awareness that nothing, nothing remains the same for long. And it follows that if a thing is not building, it is certainly decaying — that life is revolution — and that the world will die if we don't read and act out its imperatives.



Consciousness is knowledge, recognition, foresight; common experience and perception; sensibility, alertness, mindfulness. It stirs the senses, the blood; it exposes and suggests; it will objectify, enrage, direct. There are no positive formulas for a thing so complex. We have guidelines only to help us with its growth. This means that after we are done with our books, they must be put aside; and the search for method will depend on observations, correct analyses, creativity and seizing the time.



Consciousness grows in spirals. Growth implies feeding and being fed. We feed consciousness by feeding people, addressing ourselves to their needs, the basic and social needs, working, organizing toward a united national left. After the people have created something that they are willing to defend, a wealth of new ideals and an autonomous subsistence infrastructure, then they are ready to be brought into "open" conflict with the ruling class and its supporters. This conflict must extend to every level of capitalist production and distribution. Consciousness of our power will grow, as a result of this mass contact with the ruling forces. There is no question that people must be organized and educated to the benefits of people's government before they can successfully move against their class enemy.



Building consciousness and revolutionary culture against the repressive, natural defense reflexes of the system means taking realistic day-to-day issues like hunger, the need for clothing and housing, joblessness. It involves provoking repression — feeding on it. The fact of political and political-economic prisoners in legions and the processes used by the oppressors to judge and condemn them must be used as the rallying cries of revolution. Economic crime and even crimes of passion against the oppressors must be understood as rebellion. Even funerals can be used as an issue, since there will be so many of them. Improvising on reality is the key principle underlying

consequently tied also to the economic status quo.

The trappings of this pseudo mass society are empty, cheap, spectacular leisure sports; parades where strangers meet, shout each other down and often trample each other to death on the way home; mass consumption of worthless super-suds or aspirin; ritualistic, ultra-nationalistic events on days to glorify the idiots who died at war or other days to deify those who sent them out to die. A mass society that is actually a mass jungle.

At its core, fascism is capitalistic and capitalism is international. Beneath its nationalist ideological trappings, fascism is always ultimately an international movement.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

So what is to be done after a revolution has failed? After our enemies have created a conservative mass society based on meaningless electoral politics, spectator sports, and a 3 percent annual rise in purchasing power strictly regulated to negate itself with a corresponding rise in the cost of living. What is to be done about an expertly, scientifically calculated contra-positive mobilization of the entire society? What can we do with a people who have gone through the authoritarian process and come out sick to the core!!!

There will be a fight. The fight will take place in the central cities. It will be spearheaded by the blacks of the lower class and their vanguard party, the Black Panther Party. Real union activity will eliminate the corporative ties between the regime-ruling class and labor. People at the top will be removed and the guy with the programmed mind will have no union boss to think for him. He will remain neutral or join us in our fight to liberate him. We will work this attack at the productive level indirectly by first building our central-city communes, which will revolutionize the all too conservative black laborer. We will build these communes against all resistance, the pamphlet in one hand, the gun in the other. In blacks authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and a lack of intellectual stimulation. They have been choosing the less dangerous and complicated mode of existence, survival. All classes, all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It requires only the proper set of eco-sociological circumstantial pressures to turn blacks around and reawaken their

the complete destruction of all revolutionary consciousness.



Fascism emerged out of weakness in the preexisting economic arrangement and in the old left. And the weakness must be assigned to the vanguard party, not the people. The People's Party failed to direct the masses properly with positive suppression of their class enemies and their goons. Mussolini was able to proclaim that fascism held the only solution to the people's problem — by default. Fascism, the new arrangement, the rearrangement, the strengthening and reforming of laissez-faire competitive capitalism, was antisocialist from its inception. It attempted to conceal the reality of class struggle by disguising itself as a new solution to "national problems," by deifying the interests of the "whole state" — which turned out to be the interests only of the state's ruling classes.



The shock troops of fascism on the mass political level are drawn from members of the lower-middle class who feel the upward thrust of the lower classes more acutely. These classes feel that any dislocation of the present economy resulting from the upward thrust of the masses would affect their status first. They are joined by that sector of the working class which is backward enough to be affected by nationalistic trappings and the loyalty syndrome that sociologists have termed the "authoritarian personality." One primary aim of the fascist arrangement is to extend and develop this new pig class, to degenerate and diffuse working-class consciousness with a psycho-social appeal to man's herd instincts. Development and exploitation of the authoritarian syndrome is at the center of totalitarian capitalism (fascism). It feeds on a small but still false sense of class consciousness and the need for community. The collective spirit in fascism is a morbid phenomenon that grows out of the psychopathology of mob behavior.



The psycho-social dimensions of fascism become quite complex, but they can be simplified by thinking of them as part of a collective bargaining process carried on between all the elites of the particular state with the regime acting as arbitrator. The regime's interests are subject to those of the ruling class. Labor is a partner in this arrangement. At the head of any labor organization in the fascist state, there is an elite which is tied to the interests of the regime — and

the building of a united left and raising the consciousness of the people. It will give us our tactics.



We must educate the people in the real causes of economic crimes. They must be made to realize that even crimes of passion are the psycho-social effects of an economic order that was decadent a hundred years ago. All crime can be traced to objective socio-economic conditions — socially productive or counterproductive activity.

THE BLACK GUERRILLA

The concept of nonviolent protest, whatever political forms it may take, presumes two things about the imperialist establishment that are so obviously historically unrealistic, so logically unsound, that the espousal of any purely nonviolent anti-establishment moan reduces one automatically to the absurd, and any strong espousal of the purely nonviolent anti-establishment policy reduces one automatically to a corpse.

The first presumption is mercy. It presumes the possible existence of mercy on the part of a breed whose heart is as cold as the snows. It presumes existence of a restraint mechanism that in other breeds and other animals precludes the harming of one's kind unless placed under the most extreme compulsions of self-preservation. But history shows no justification for so wild a presupposition. I refer you to Leopold II's Congo, the Indian wars of the last century, the Union of South Africa, Sharpsville, the Philippines at the turn of the century. I refer you to Germany during the depression and war years. I refer you to Vietnam!

The second presumption contained in the concept of nonviolent political agitation is inherent in the statement of this policy, as it stands alone. The mere utterance of nonviolent policy statements implies that it is possible for one to take the opposite course and pursue violence. But in our case this has not been proved. In all cases, there is a contradiction and a dangerous presumption in the statement and pursuit of nonviolent political policy, especially when the opposition is not so committed. The danger derives from the very realistic fact that the statement and pursuit of nonviolent tactics will always be mistaken for weakness, as these tactics stand alone. The contradiction is then revealed, in that power is expected to surrender

to weakness.

Pure nonviolence as a political ideal, then, is absurd: Politics is violence. It may serve our purpose to claim nonviolence, but we must never delude ourselves into thinking that we can seize power from a position of weakness, with half measures, polite programs, righteous indignation, loud entreaties. If this agitation that we like to term as nonviolent is to have any meaning at all we must force the fascist to taste the bitterness of our wrath. Nonviolence must constantly demonstrate the effects of its implied opposite. The dialectic between Narodnik and Nihilist [1] should never break down. One should not exist without the concomitant existence of the other.



If people are to understand and relate to revolutionary violence they must first be educated into an acceptance of the fact that there is no alternative, or that the alternative is less inviting than a fight.



Armed struggle is at the very heart of revolution. If the problems of the people cannot be redressed because the necessary resources are in the hands of a relatively few families and individuals, it means we are going to have to seize this property. Seizing property has always meant some form of war, some form of armed struggle. If history is our guide, it clearly records that nothing of any great value has ever changed hands without a struggle, or at least a show of, or threat of, violence. Men simply don't surrender what they think of as their privilege and property except by force. History itself is economically motivated class struggle.



All levels of struggle must be conceived as inclined planes leading inexorably to a point where armed conflict will engulf two or more sections of the people.

Armed struggle or organized violence is the natural outcome of a sequence of historical events that have matured to the point of impasse. This is not to say that war is for us the only immediate recourse or the spontaneous result of a breakdown in lesser forms of political activity. I have always tried to emphasize that through every stage of political mobilization there must be a corresponding and equal military mobilization of the people's forces. One is inextricably tied

After the German SS agents or Italian Black Shirts kick in the doors and herd Jews and Communist partisans to death camps, after Peg-Leg White's Black Legion terror and the Guardians of the Republic and their offspring legitimize the F.B.I., in other words, after the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual. The significance of the "new fascist arrangement" lies in the fact that this business-as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.



Corporative ideals have reached their logical conclusion in the U.S. The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world. The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history. With each advancement in the authoritarian process and strengthening of the ruling class's control over the system, there was a corresponding weakening of the people's and workers' movement.



Of course, the revolution has failed. Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform. The only way we can destroy it is to refuse to compromise with the enemy state and its ruling class. Compromises were made in the thirties, the forties, the fifties. The old vanguard parties made gross strategic and tactical errors. At the existential moment, the last revelation about oneself, not many members of the old vanguard choose to risk their whole futures, their lives, in order to alter the conditions that Huey P. Newton describes as "destructive of life."



It is clear that class struggle is an ingredient of fascism. It follows that where fascism emerges and develops, the anticapitalist forces were weaker than the traditionalist forces. This weakness will become even more pronounced as fascism develops! The ultimate aim of fascism is

promote the mass consumers' market that followed the close of the war, the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands. Today we are faced with a clearly different set of class antagonisms, the complexities of a particularly refined fascist economic arrangement, where the controlling elites have co-opted large portions of the lowly working class.



The proletariat — the working class — is still the most revolutionary class, and still the real gravedigger of capitalist society. However, the notion that they alone can or must carry the revolution is too ridiculous and simplistic for any serious consideration at all. The industrial working force of today's modern industrial state may be pivotal in carrying out a successful revolution against that state, but their power and numbers have been vastly reduced by such developments as automation, military-corporate elitism, (the connection through marriage of government, military and corporate heads), the new class of National Guard pigs (they broke the postal strike), government-controlled unions, right-to-work laws, etc. The argument that centers on the ideal that all workers must be politically educated before the revolution can support a violent thrust verges on the absurd. Today nearly six and a half million of them can't find work. And those who are working seem to be convinced that foreign wars and armaments spending are more desirable than unemployment. Of course they should be made conscious of their exploitation and they must be moved to act in their behalf. Those who feel that they are doing well, and those who actually are doing well should be introduced to the fact of "surplus value." [4]

FASCISM

We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion, showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the predominance of the traditionalist, capitalist ruling class. But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be "reform." We can make our definition more precise by adding the word "economic." "Economic reform" comes very close to a working definition of fascist motive forces.



into the other, and not simply for the reason unwittingly put forward by the old guard that fascism allows for no valid opposition political activity, though there is some truth in that position. My position is based on historical precedents that indicate the probable scope and range of violence in an Amerikan revolution.



Counter-terrorism is a facet of urban people's guerrilla warfare. It's our logical response to the repressive measures taken by the enemy state to contain us in the early stages of the rebellion. Our military cadre involved in this activity has the tactical advantage over the establishment's terrorists only if we remain clandestine. While working at the direction of a political front we must remain separate from it. The ranks of these early soldiers must be absolutely impervious to infiltration; precautions must be made to keep this cadre impenetrable to police spies and less committed comrades.



The counter-terrorist, faceless, nameless specialist in all martial arts is the first soldier of the people! His violence will be swift, surprising, explosive, and tied into a clearly political matrix. In some cases of assassination, it may be wise to make them appear as accidents, but that still doesn't reduce the political content.

These workers, properly distributed and going about their tasks with secret, flawless precision and in perfect unison with the political front, will shake the fascists to their very foundations. Their limited, highly selective violence is the absolute minimum for enforcing the demands of the people. Anything less will fail. We are not dealing with nice people who will throw down their guns and submit to our will because we outnumber them; from the vantage point of established power and history, they know that one armed man can control a thousand.

People's War is not polite or proper. It is not possible to limit the scope and range of violence to what the enemy will bear without reacting. Any ideal, any activity that may do violence to their control, will never be permitted. People's War is improvisation and more improvisation. It is organizing the masses around their realistic needs and moving them against whatever forces restrict their passage to power. I repeat: realistic, day-to-day needs should be the basis of organizing people and making them conscious of revolution — that the world, the universe,

must revolve — that it will stop, stagnate, and die for no man's privilege.

If we accept revolution, we must accept all that it implies: repression, counter-terrorism, days filled with work, nervous strain, prison, funerals.



Violence is not supposed to work in Amerika. For no one, that is, except the "omnipotent administrator." But this has yet to be proved to my satisfaction since I know that a bomb is a bomb is a bomb; it twists steel, shatters concrete and dismembers men everywhere else in the world. Why not those made in Amerika? A bullet fired from an assault rifle in the hands of a Vietnamese liberation fighter will kill a pig in Vietnam. Why won't it kill a pig in the place where pigs are made?



In the Black Colony and other depressed areas of the country there will be less difficulty in organizing, mobilizing and altering the attitudes of the people toward their class enemies. However, in the areas of the class structure that can be said to be "making it," affecting attitudes toward a revolutionary change in the system of production and distribution will, of course, call for the destruction of their comfort, the "manufacturing" of a "condition" where they will be either neutral or complementary to the revolutionary effort.



The psychological effect of our secret army, the real destructive effect it can have; an increasingly pervasive underground press with new emphasis on a "mass style"; the popularization of the revolutionary culture and then the elevating of it; both under the direction of an ultra-aggressive political party — these three, with no element missing, connected to the realistic issues form the basis of our only hope. There will be no educating, no consciousness, no revolutionary culture, no forward movement, without these three elements working with the harmony of a healthy organism.

The existence of a political vanguard precedes the existence of any of the other elements of a truly revolutionary culture. If the thrust of this political vanguard is effective (demonstrating realistic, sincere designs aimed at the overthrow of established power), it will be attacked by the

breeding ground of racism. At the same time, the ruling class actively promotes racism against the blacks of the lower classes. This programmed racism has always served to distract the huge numbers of people who subsist at just a slightly higher level than those in a more debased condition (in the 1870s the strikes frequently ended in anti-Chinese or antiblack lynchings). It conforms to dual requirements of the authoritarian personality (conformity accompanied by compulsive sadism). Racism has served always in the U.S. as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people made fearful and insecure by a way of life they never understood and resented from the day of their birth.



In the U.S., World War II was the principal cause of the total breakdown of the working-class movement and its revolutionary consciousness, which had been built up by the crisis years of the thirties and all that went before them. Lesser attempts at suppression had been made prior to the war through the typical reformist policies of modern fascist regimes. The economy had been closed, banks regulated, deficit spending had been practiced on projects like TVA and CCC. [3] The arms race that eventually culminated in the fascist military-industrial-complex-based economy broke the closed economic ideal. Two conditions distinguished the successful establishment of fascism in this country. The old vanguard parties copped out and supported a nation-state ruling-class war which wasted the blood and energy of their proletariats. At the time, resistance to the war would have seemed like simple common sense. If Stalin gave the order to support the U.S. war effort, he was a fool. In any case, the old vanguards' support should have been for the people's struggle inside the U.S.

With a little more patience and sacrifice, Stalin could have eventually marched to the Atlantic. With all of Europe in ruins and the German economy already in its final stages of disintegration with the U.S. presence in Europe, capitalism could be dead today. Instead, U.S. imperialism rose to behemoth proportions.



Reformism was allowed. The more degenerate elements of the working class were the first to succumb. The vanguard parties supported the capitalistic war adventure in World War II. Then they helped to

their offspring and as training grounds for their corporate hirelings. They rule with iron precision through the military, the C.I.A., the F.B.I., private foundations and financial institutions. Their control of all the media of education and communication comprises an extremely effective system of thought control. At the time when this ruling class was forming a hundred years ago, the International Working Men's Party supported strikes that asked only for reformist measures, although it was aware, even at that time, that reform was not the solution and it quietly advocated the seizure of the materials of production. The dichotomy between the longing for true freedom and the fear of its responsibility was apparent even then. Early radicals excused themselves by claiming that they were "exploiting the inherent contradictions of monopoly capital." They hoped that the masses would spontaneously awaken to the fact that capitalism had grown decadent. But capitalism reformed itself, apologized to no one, and went on to build a network of national and international centralization that stands unrivaled by any hierarchy past or present.



I've had learned men tell me that controlled capitalism, monopoly capital, fascism, corporativism, or whatever your vernacular, is a form of "welfare-state-ism." This is precisely what we were intended to believe: that the political takeover by monopoly capital was actually an advance in the welfare of the common people. Even the old left promotes the lie that valid concessions have been made by the ruling class, as if deceptively better working conditions and illusory wage increases were Marxism. A true Marxist revolution abolishes the wage system. The true welfare state would be the final and highest stage of social development, where the world and the state are one, where the material and psychological needs of the masses have been met and political regimes have ceased to exist. The New Deal and the resulting military industrial complex as welfare-state-ism. I swear I'll strangle the next idiot who repeats that line.

All the ingredients for a fascist state were already present: racism, the morbid traditional fear of blacks, Indians, Mexicans; the desire to inflict pain on them when they began to compete in industrial sectors. The resentment and the seedbed of fear is patterned into every modern capitalist society. It grows out of a sense of insecurity and insignificance that is inculcated into the workers by the conditions of life and work under capitalism. This sense of vulnerability is the

built-in automatic survival instincts of the established power complex, creating and supporting the need to counter-poise the violence of power. Without the ability to organize a counterforce to neutralize the violence of established power, antithesis dies. We are not contending with fools who will allow us to simply walk in and organize people to war against them. All serious challenges will be met with panic and repression. That is axiomatic. We must not allow ourselves to be hunted, imprisoned and murdered. We will never yield to terror tactics. We will organize a violence of our own, hidden and more aggressive. We fight from a position of weakness, but there are tactical devices that if employed without restraint will afford us a very real advantage.

The fascists believe that one guard with a machine gun can control a thousand men, but I know that this guard cannot watch all one thousand at once. While his attention and gun are trained on a gathering of ten who whisper freedom — closing on his blind side, my knife will claim his life. A political thrust is immediately followed by a hidden military thrust in the opening phases of revolutionary culture. Leadership must be protected. And it helps people bit by bit to understand and relate to the necessity of violence in any plan to overthrow anything — "overthrow" means violence. In our case it means putting to death. This is the last time I'll repeat this for those of us who for one dread or another seem not too receptive: fighting originates from a well-developed kick in the ass.



Waiting passively for the final verdict of history is not making revolution. It flies in the face of revolution. It ignores the existence of bread and circuses, terror from the right, and the racism and animalism of the ruling-class pigs. It doesn't take into account the fact that they know we are coming. They know how to hold on to their privilege, could they have held it this long otherwise? We are being repressed now. Courts that dispense no justice and concentration camps are already in existence. There are more secret police in this country than in all others combined — so many that they constitute a whole new class that has attached itself to the power complex. Repression is here. It's time to move with determination. After our victory, no one will escape our justice with the now historically classic line "Well, we didn't know." Repression is here now, and we won't reach the next level of revolutionary consciousness and activity until

we meet it with a counter-terror and demonstrate to the people that we are here and resistance is possible.



We must in all haste transcend the intellectual inhibitions that preclude support of at least the minimum level of violence that must develop concomitantly with each political thrust; our attitudes must change before we can expect any response from the people, workers, students, lumpenproletariat. We must accept the eventuality of bringing the U.S.A. to its knees; accept the closing off of critical sections of the city with barbed wire, armored pig carriers crisscrossing the city streets, soldiers everywhere, tommy guns pointed at stomach level, smoke curling black against the daylight sky, the smell of cordite, house-to-house searches, doors being kicked down, the commonness of death. Then we must learn the forms of resistance: the booby trap, the silenced pistol and rifle, the pitting of streets to slow them down, the wrecking of heavy equipment to block their efficient movement, false walls, hidden sub-basements, tunnels (Vietnamese style), destruction of the critical elements of the facilities that support establishment order; we must learn the value of infiltration — it works better for us than it does for the opposition. We simply stop allowing ourselves to be hunted and do some stalking of our own; their secret police aren't really too secret at all. Right now we can go numbering, naming, compiling information on them all — they're too visible to be safe. Revolution is aggressive. Just where are we? Where is this country skidding to? In the morning the fight will have begun!

URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE

The subtleties and fundamentals of urban guerrilla warfare can be broken down to their simplest terms this way:

Mobility — Only the light, portable, easily machined or easily stolen weapons are employed by the guerrilla under normal circumstances. On rare occasions, he may hire or commandeer a piece of heavy equipment for an isolated or special purpose (which fits in with the improvised, extemporaneous nature of this form of combat). The bomb in all its various forms, banglor, mortar, satchel charge, hand grenade; the anti-tank rocket launcher, the sniper's rifle, the light machine gun, the silenced pistol, the flamethrower, the poison dart, poison bullet,

other Western country excepting possibly Germany. The same trends, the same experiments, the same internal battles were fought by the same forces for the direction of the nation's economy. The extreme economic crisis of the early thirties brought working-class revolutionary consciousness to its very peak. All serious commentary on this period reflects a profound lack of confidence in the workability of capitalism. This avalanche of criticism came from sectors of the middle- and right-oriented thinkers as well as the left — just as it did in Italy, Germany, Rumania and the other fascist storm centers. But of course the middle and rightist intellectuals were thinking in terms of a new direction for capitalist growth, not in its abolishment — a "New Deal," much like those of Nazi, Fascist, and Falangist Europe. No serious or honest student could miss the likeness. F.D.R. was a fascist. His stated, documented congratulatory messages to Mussolini were not simply diplomatic gestures. Joseph Kennedy's advice to England to surrender to German expansion did not necessarily originate in Kennedy's mind. He was official ambassador of the U.S. to England.

There was positive mobilization of workers and the lower class, and a highly developed class consciousness. There was indeed a very deep economic crisis with attendant strikes, unionizing, lockouts, break-ins, call-outs of the National Guard. The lower class was threatening to unite under the pressure of economic disintegration. Revolution was in the air. Socialist vanguard parties were leading it. There was terrorism from the right from groups such as Guardians of the Republic [2], the Black Legion, Peg-leg White-type storm troopers and hired assassins who carried out the beginnings of a contra-positive suppressive mobilization. Under the threat of revolution, the ruling class, true to Marxian theory, became all the more co-optive and dangerous. F.D.R. was born and bred in this ruling class of families. His role was to form the first fascist regime, to merge the economic, political and labor elites. Governing elites/corporative state/fascism — his role was to limit competition, replace it with the dream of cooperation; to put laissez faire to rest, and initiate the acceptance of government intervention into economic affairs.



The ruling class in the U.S. is composed of one million men and their families — the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Morgans, Mellons, Du Ponts, Hunts and Gettys, Fords and their minions and dependents. They use the ivy League universities and elite law schools as private schools for

masses even if they learned them. It wouldn't help because there is a fixed ceiling on the labor force. This ceiling gets lower with every advance in the arts of production. Learning the newer skills would merely put us into a competition with established labor that we could not win. One that we don't want. There are absolutely no vacuums for us to fill in the business world. We don't want to capitalize on people anyway. Capitalism is the enemy. It must be destroyed. There is no other recourse. The System is not workable in view of the modern industrial city-based society. Men are born disenfranchised. The contract between ruler and ruled perpetuates this disenfranchisement.



Racism enters, on the psycho-social level, in the form of a morbid, traditional fear of both blacks and revolutions. The resentment of blacks, and conscious or unconscious tendencies to mete out pain to blacks, throughout the history of Amerika's slave systems, all came into focus when blacks began the move from South to North and from countryside to city to compete with whites in industrial sectors, and, in general, engage in status competition. Resentment, fear, insecurity, and the usual isolation that is patterned into every modern, capitalist industrial society (the more complex the products, the greater the division of labor; the higher the pyramid, the broader its base and the smaller the individual brick tends to feel) are multiplied by ten when racism, race antagonism, is also a factor. There is certainly no lack of evidence to prove the existence of an old and built-in character assassination of programmed racism (what class controls the nation's educational facilities, prints the newspapers and magazines that carry the little cartoons, and omits or misrepresents us to death?) has always served to distract and defuse feelings of status deprivation suffered by the huge sectors just above the black one. Then also to account for the seemingly dual nature recognizable in the authoritarian personality (conformity, but also a strange latent destructiveness), racism has always been employed as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision-maker, to hate freedom.



The United States was not existing in a vacuum when fascism first swept the Western world on the heels of two great depressions. My reading of history indicates that the U.S. was in greater economic, social, and political crisis after the 1929 stock market crash than any

the crossbow, the knife, the fist — all form the guerrilla arsenal. Provision must be made to move men and equipment in spite of the condition of today's streets and roads in the cities. That means making use of the new four-wheel drive civilian-type jeeps, station wagons and motorcycles. The bicycle will regain popularity. Heavy vehicles, the jeeps, trucks, vans (all ordinary-looking family or commercial-looking vehicles but armored with either plastic or steel) can be either rented or commandeered. All dwellings should be rented and expendable. They should be equipped so that when forced to leave by tunnel or other hidden exits, the place can be burned to create further confusion for the attacker and destroy evidence. Food and clothing should be purposely simple. Clothing must always be available for disguises. Although part of the guerrilla's function is to hijack and commandeer food in nonperishable form from the enemy cultures and stockpiles, he should also learn to identify the food plants that grow wild all over the country — even in backyards and vacant lots. He should also learn to want less.

Infiltration — Right now we can be placing our soldiers inside the various police and military and prison staffs. Our more gifted and better-educated comrades could end up in the intelligence units of the army and police; our major source of weapons should come from our men placed in the military under seemingly ordinary circumstances. This is our enemy's greatest weakness; any establishment's greatest weakness is the need for personnel to resist the people. This lays them open to infiltration. The guerrilla army that operates within the city is necessarily small, so we stop infiltration by being very selective and conducting thorough and murderous tests and making full use of the principles underlying departmentalization.

The Ambush — The only form of attack employed by the guerrilla forces is the ambush, the surprise attack. There must never be any front lines, or defending of territory. The only engagements that are carried to completion are the ones that we are winning; after an initial attack if the enemy regains himself and counterattacks, we disengage and simply go home to await the next opportunity when we can catch him asleep, with his women, moving in convoys, on the toilet.

Camouflage — Nothing ever appears outwardly as it is. The armor (sheets of plastic or steel) is fixed inside the vans and trucks in such a way as to make them appear normal when viewed from without. The

military safehouse — with tunnels leading in all directions and connecting with other houses, a storm drain, a manhole with bulletproof and airtight plexiglass window, encasements inside the house camouflaged with heavy curtains, rooms with doors that are really booby traps that work from the inside — must be made to look like any other house along the block. We must dress and equip ourselves with weaponry that will allow us to move even in units of a dozen or more without appearing to be anything other than private citizens pursuing their private interests. We will make use of all forms of disguise: mailman, policeman, telephone repairman, priest, nun, National Guardsman. This principle will soon have them shooting at each other or turning the innocents against them. The result — perfect disorder!

Autonomous Infrastructure — If it is our eventual goal to wear away the establishment's ability to produce and distribute goods, to feed its war machine, or organize any sort of social activity; then, of course, we must, at the same time, provide ourselves with the means of performing these functions on at least a subsistence level. Both the military and the political arms of the liberation movement must think of the provisioning of their vanguard elements and the people during the dark days when we stop the machine. Military supplies are stockpiled in advance with food staples. Depression-days' foraging and war-years' liberation gardens must be reintroduced and refined. The military must depend on the people for food. It must also prepare to feed the people from the enemy's supplies.

AMERIKA

Western civilization is dying because it's tied into an economic system that was decadent a hundred years ago. This system was certainly the calculated creation of a specific minority class. The rise of the manufacturing class was not spontaneous. It is perpetuated beyond the stage of decadence in spite of fits of outrageous disorder. Its seemingly remarkable ability to return from crisis is not proof of natural durability. Rather it is proof of a destructive will to power at any cost.



The history of the U.S. — the blood-soaked, urine-steeped essence of its being; the wreckage and demise of its human character under the wheels of a two-hundred-year-old headlong flight with heedless,

frightened animals at the controls of a machine that has mastered them — allows for no appeal on a strictly ideological level. George Wallace or Adolf Hitler would fare better at the polls of an honest election than Huey Newton and Tom Hayden. But again, what is an honest election after the fact of monopoly capital?



The black colonies of Amerika have been locked in depression since the close of the Civil War. We have lived under regional depression since the end of chattel slavery. The beginning of the new slavery was marked by massive unemployment and underemployment. That remains with us still. The Civil War destroyed the landed aristocracy. The dictatorship of the agrarian class was displaced by the dictatorship of the manufacturing-capitalist class. The neoslaver destroyed the uneconomic plantation, and built upon its ruins a factory and a thousand subsidiaries to serve the factory setup. Since we had no skills, outside of the farming techniques that had proved uneconomic, the subsidiary service trades and menial occupations fell to us. It is still so today. We are a subsidiary subculture, a depressed area within the parent monstrosity. The other four stages of the capitalist business cycle are: recovery, expansion, inflation, and recession. Have we ever gone through a recovery or expansion stage? We are affected adversely by inflationary trends within the larger economy. Who suffers most when the prices of basic, necessary commodities go up? When the parent economy dips into inflation and recession we dip into subdepression. When it goes into depression, we go into total desperation. The difference between what my father's generation went through during the Great Depression and what we are going through now is simply a matter of degree. We can sometimes find a service to perform across the tracks. They couldn't. We can go home to Mama for a meal when things get really tight. They couldn't. There's welfare and housework for Mama now. Then there was no such thing as welfare.

Depression is an economic condition. It is a part of the capitalist business cycle, a necessary concomitant of capitalism. Its colonies — secondary markets — will always be depressed areas, because the steadily decreasing labor force, decreasing and growing more skilled under the advances of automation, casts the unskilled colonial subject into economic roles that preclude economic mobility. Learning the new skills even if we were allowed wouldn't help. It wouldn't help the