

A black and white close-up photograph of George Jackson. He is smiling broadly, showing his teeth. He has dark, curly hair and is wearing a collared shirt and a jacket. The background is slightly out of focus, showing what appears to be an indoor setting with some architectural elements.

Blood in My Eye

*Part Two*

*George*  
Jackson

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# BLOOD IN MY EYE

## *Part Two*

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*Huey P. Newton*

My dear only surviving son,

I went to Mount Vernon August 7th, 1971, to visit the grave site of my heart your keepers murdered in cold disregard for life.

His grave was supposed to be behind your grandfather's and grandmother's. But I couldn't find it. There was no marker. Just mowed grass. The story of our past. I sent the keeper a blank check for a headstone – and two extra sites – blood in my eye!!!

# THE AMERIKAN MIND

*Frankenstein's need for a servant was an expression of his diseased ego, so he created a demented, ugly creature, pathologically strong and huge.*

Dear Greg<sup>1</sup>

My sister has informed me of your release and the political education class you have formed: From her words and your messages, I sense that we are still together. We've gone through approximately the same changes since they separated us – the confused flight to national revolutionary Africa, through the riot stage of revolutionary Black Amerika. We have finally arrived at scientific revolutionary socialism with the rest of the colonial world. I was hoping that you wouldn't get trapped in the riot stage like a great many other very sincere brothers. I have to browbeat them every day down here. They think they don't need ideology, strategy or tactics. They think being a warrior is quite enough. And yet, without discipline or direction, they'll end up washing cars, or unclaimed bodies in the city-state's morgue. But I was almost certain that wouldn't be your destination, brother.

The breakdown of establishment-conditioning usually occurs first at the university level. Students refuse to accept the lie that our exploitation of the world's peoples is actually beneficial to them. They begin to refuse their share of the spoils. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale left the campus to form the Black Panther Party. The Students for a Democratic Society gave birth to the Weatherman.

The rise of socio-political institutions to their present form and complexity was not the result of chance. The corporation, the university, the unions, the mass media, the foundations, the associations, the courts, the prisons, the army (police-national and international, uniformed and disguised) from their beginnings were formulated as enforcers of state centralism. An examination focused on the history of all the major socio-political institutions of the United States (a study in the genetics of hierarchy) would certainly uncover the totally economic motive underlying the foundations of these

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<sup>1</sup> A friend of the author.

institutions. For my purpose, I would broadly divide the major socio-political institutions into two classes, one designed by the state to move people into certain actions, and the other to discourage, curtail or completely deny certain other actions. The unintelligible vastness of these institutions makes it seem impossible that they could be owned and operated by a relatively small number of men; but the truth of this can be demonstrated by documented evidence and

irrefutable case studies. The modern industrial, corporative, city-based state could never function at all without hierarchical control and an acceptance by the people of the controlling hierarchy. Prior conditioning," of course! The "effects of ubiquitous self-negation inbred since childhood," of course, again! Certainly "the pervasive nihilism of capitalist man ..." But these are simply "effects."

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.

Frankenstein's need for a servant was an expression of his diseased ego, so he created a huge, pathologically strong, demented, ugly creature. He censored the beast's activity by making him under-intelligent. He erected institutions flexible enough to keep the giant working, but rigid enough to forestall any growth of his mental faculties. A brain was grudgingly attached to the beast to provide a way for it to act. The beast worked and fought the enemies of his creator. The beast was content to watch the creator flourish. He lived through his creator. And when he finally saw himself as he was, he went mad.

The corporation, the foundation, the association, the mass media, the state-controlled unions, the universities and primary schools are all designed to move people into very specifically pre-ordered and monitored actions. The actual monitoring is done by a broader segment of the stratified slave state but the pre-ordering is done by the one-tenth of one percent, the ruling class and governing elite of the corporative arrangement. The careful observer can see immediately how the guiding instructions are held together by red tape and rubber bands so that they can be very flexible when necessary. The corporation's flea

market and the mass media are relatively new techniques of control, as are the institutional foundations and most of the associations.

The foundations, whether family or corporate, are tax-exempt financial mechanisms, ostensibly established for altruistic influences in the fields of art and culture generally. They subsidize scientific research, higher education, educational TV, etc. The Rockefellers alone control thirteen such foundations, through which they also control the oil holdings of ninety to a hundred nations in the Third World countries mainly – holdings variously estimated in value from ten to fourteen billion dollars. Similar foundations are controlled by the Fords, Kelloggs, and Carnegies, etc., etc. When the international business interests of these family financial institutions are threatened, the “tax-supported” international police are activated. After the C.I.A. fails, the special forces are called upon. When necessary, the Marine Corps and infantry intervene.

Comrade George

# AMERIKAN JUSTICE

*For their freedom to prey on the world's people, no matter the cost in blood.*

Dear Greg,

For their freedom to prey on the world's people ... whatever the cost in blood.

In order for capitalism to continue to rule, any action that threatens the right of a few individuals to own and control public property must be prohibited and curtailed whatever the cost in resources (the international wing of the repressive institutions has spent one and one-half trillion dollars since World War II), whatever the cost in blood (My Lai, Augusta, Georgia, Kent State, the Panther trials, the frame-up of Angela Davis)! The national repressive institutions (police, National Guard, army, etc.) are no less determined. The mayors that curse the rioters and the looters (Mayor Daley of Chicago has ordered them summarily executed in the streets) ignore the fact that their bosses have looted the world!!!

I refuse to make any argument with statistics compiled by the institutions and associations that I indict. Yet it is true that even official figures prove the case against capitalism. The Federal Bureau of Investigation compiles and indexes almost all information on crime in the United States – I have the figures as it states them right here: *Vital Statistics – FBI-Crime Report* – property crimes, 87 percent of the total in 1969, 28 percent of these crimes occurring in the ghetto. Since 1960, the number of men and women prisoners in state and federal penitentiaries has fluctuated slightly around the quarter-million mark. These statistics conceal the living reality.

This is my eleventh year of being shoveled into every major prison in the most populous state in the nation – and the largest prison system in the world. What I have seen in these eleven years is the living situation. The experience is quite different from the columns of figures neatly arranged to give the impression of well-studied, detached, scientific and calculated analysis. Hidden are the facts that, at each institution I've been in, 30 to sometimes 40 percent of those held are black, and *every one* of the many thousands I've encountered was from the working or lumpenproletariat class. There may be a few exceptions, but I simply have not met any of them in my eleven years. Where I am confined now



in San Quentin Prison, California, awaiting trial for two alleged crimes<sup>2</sup> conviction on either of which would subject my lungs to the poison-gas treatment, there are seventeen cells in what is euphemistically called “the adjustment center” but is far more accurately known as the hole. The A./C. is San Quentin’s triple maximum security, and all of these cells are filled-eleven of them with black men – every one of them without exception from the working class.

I’ve been arrested, interrogated or investigated more times than I care to count. I’ve learned ten times more about the process than the most expert single groups of inquisitors. From the first moment I’m brought into this scenario, I attempt to establish control over the exchanges that will take place between myself and my captors. Depending on the situation, one learns to feign either indignation, surprise, idiocy, or fear. At times the peasant-philosopher face will work. I don’t think I am an exception at all, as most blacks learn by age fifteen how to handle the cretins who hire out as guns for the privileged. There is only one type of inquisitorial situation that I personally cannot control – the sessions that begin with violence. In those cases, guile fails and blacks learn to fight multiple opponents while handcuffed, or at least learn how to protect the groin area. I simply have never managed to develop a technique against nine armed men who are fascinated with damaging my private parts!! But, I’m still learning!

“All black people, wherever they are, whatever their crimes, even crimes against other Blacks, are political prisoners because the system has dealt with them differently than with whites. Whitey gets the benefit of every law, every loophole, and the benefit of being judged by his peers – other white people. Blacks don’t get the benefit of any such jury trial by peers. Such a trial is almost a cinch to result in the conviction of a black person, and it’s a conscious political decision that blacks don’t have those benefits” (Howard Moore Jr., attorney, official “of” the court, but not “for” the court – he’s in a position to know – he’s honest, black, and dedicated enough to tell).

The purpose of the chief repressive institutions within the totalitarian capitalist state is clearly to discourage and prohibit certain activity,

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2 The author was under indictment for two counts: first-degree murder, and assault on a non-inmate causing death which, under Section 4500 of the California Penal Code, automatically involves a sentence of death upon conviction.

and the prohibitions are aimed at very distinctly defined sectors of the class and race sensitized society. The ultimate expression of law is not order – it's prison. There are hundreds upon hundreds of prisons, and thousands upon thousands of laws, yet there is no social order, no social peace. Anglo-Saxon bourgeois law is tied firmly into economics. One can even pick that out of those *Vital Statistics*. Bourgeois law protects property relations and not social relationships. The cultural traits of capitalist society that also tend to check activity – (individualism, artificial politeness juxtaposed to an aloof rudeness, the rush to learn “how to” instead of “what is”) – are secondary really, and intended for those mild cases (and groups) that require preventive measures only. The law and everything that interlocks with it was constructed for poor, desperate people like me.

Jonathan, my younger brother, understood this point perfectly. The purport of the raid on the Marin County Courthouse was more significant by far than its calculable effects. I knew him well, since he was and still is my alter ego. He went to liberate and to educate with aggressive and free action. He knew that as he proceeded in liberating there would be more action. He wasn't a speechmaker, and neither am I. Escape from the myth, the hoax, by moving people into action against the terror of the state – counter-terrorism – is the real significance of the August 7th affair. To Jonathan, the striking exposure was “audacity, audacity, and more audacity.” Theory and practice, strategy and tactics were based in his mind on actual confrontation within “this” particular historical development. He must have calculated that foco army activity that was hidden and nameless, operating where the objective conditions for revolution already existed and had existed for a dozen decades, would survive and grow if, at the same time, the Black Panther political apparatus continued to develop its autonomous infrastructure. Proof of his theory was built right into the action: five desperate men were offered arms as a means to freedom – three took them.

Proof of the role of law within the totalitarian-authoritarian relationship was also built into the action. In a fit of reckless, mindless gunfire, one hundred automated goons shot through the bodies of a judge, district attorney, and three female noncombatants to reestablish control over all activity. To prevent certain actions, no cost in blood is too high. It would seem that so much free fire would be difficult to explain, but it is not. Freedoms are invariably being protected with this gunfire. Freedom must then be interpreted a thousand separate

ways, but it actually comes down to freedom for a few families and their friends-freedom to prey upon the world.

Acceptance of enslavement is deeply buried in the pathogenic character types of capitalism. It is a result of the sense of dread and anxiety which is the lot of all men under capitalist rule. Compulsive behavior and disordered obsessional longings are actually made synonymous with “character” in our disordered society. But to emphasize these conditions before examining the institutions from which they spring is to confuse effect with cause and further cloud the point of attack. So far, cultural analysis has established that the psychosis is so ingrained, the institutions so centralized, that what is needed is total revolution, the armed struggle between the have-nots with their vanguard and the haves with their hirelings or macabre freaks that live through them, civil war between at least these two sections of the population is the only purgative. Total revolution must be aimed at the purposeful and absolute destruction of the state and all present institutions, the destruction carried out by the so-called psychopath, the outsider, whose only remedy is destruction of the system. This organized massive violence directed at the source of thought control is the only realistic therapy.

Analysis of the oppressed mentality and the psychopathic personality that accrue from contact with the prevarications of American culture must be carefully integrated with the analysis of the source. Simple interpretation of effects tends to calcify – it certainly promotes defeatism. “Action makes the front.” One can quietly refuse to accept the constrictions of bourgeois culture, can reject himself, hate the self and turn inward. By so doing he accomplishes a form of individual revolt, but here again we find another unconscious manifestation of the thing we hate-individualism – a now attitudinal instrumentality of bourgeois culture. We cannot escape – one simply cannot reject constrictions without rejecting and putting to death the constrictor. An armed attacker cannot be ignored. Gandhi and the gurus were all abject fools. I would certainly be dead if, when critical flash points matured, I hadn’t backed my rejection with blows. I would hate to have been a Vietnamese in My Lai without arms. I hate encounters like the one at my last court appearance on April 6, 1971,<sup>3</sup> when the enemies

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3 On April 6, 1971, at a preliminary hearing of the Soledad Brothers’ murder trial, a bailiff persisted in jabbing George Jackson in the ribs

who attacked me had all the weapons. I would hate to run into freaks who have Mike Hammer/J. Edgar Hoover complexes without being armed. My pledge is to arms, my enemies are institutions and any men with vested interests in them, even if that interest is only a wage. If revolution means civil war - I accept, and the sooner begun the sooner done.

I don't think the enemy can be identified any more carefully than this. Further identification must be made in the process. I feel elated that my brother died with two guns in hand. I'm going to miss him and all the others, though death in our situation is only a release. I miss people intensely. I miss him intensely, but he and the others who sought freedom died at the throat of the principal repressive institution of the empire – they died making real attempts at freedom.

I paraphrase Castro on trial after Moncada: "I warn you, gentlemen, I have only begun!"

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despite repeated warnings. Finally Jackson wheeled around and decked the bailiff with a karate blow to the head.

# TOWARD THE UNITED FRONT

A new unitarian and progressive current has sprung up in the movement centering on political prisoners. How can this unitarian conduct be developed further in the face of determined resistance from the establishment? How can it be used to isolate reactionary elements?

Unitary conduct implies a “*search*” for those elements in our present situation which can become the basis for joint action. It involves a conscious reaching for the relevant, the entente, and especially, in our case, the reconcilable. Throughout the centralizing authoritarian process of American history, the ruling classes have found it necessary to discourage and punish any genuine opposition to hierarchy. But there have always been individuals and groups who rejected the ideal of two unequal societies, existing one on top of the other.

The men who placed themselves above the rest of society through guile, fortuitous outcome of circumstance and sheer brutality have developed two principal institutions to deal with any and all serious disobedience – the prison and institutionalized racism. There are more prisons of all categories in the United States than in all other countries of the world combined. At all times there are two-thirds of a million people or more confined to these prisons. Hundreds are destined to be legally executed, thousands more quasi-legally. Other thousands will never again have any freedom of movement barring a revolutionary change in all the institutions that combine to make up the order of things. One third of a million people may not seem like a great number compared with the total population of two hundred million. However, compared with the one million who are responsible for all the affairs of men within the extended state, it constitutes a striking contrast. What I want to explore now are a few of the subtle elements that I have observed to be standing in the path of a much needed united front (nonsectarian) to effectively reverse this legitimized rip-off.

Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can discount them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle

from the outset. It is the creation of a closed society which attempts to isolate those individuals who disregard the structures of a hypocritical establishment as well as those who attempt to challenge it on a mass basis. Throughout its history, the United States has used its prisons to suppress any organized efforts to challenge its legitimacy – from its attempts to break up the early Working Men’s Benevolent Association to the banning of the Communist Party during what I regard as the fascist takeover of this country, to the attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The hypocrisy of Amerikan fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? The people must learn that when one “offends” the totalitarian state it is patently not an offense against the people of that state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few.

Could anything be more ridiculous than the language of blatantly political indictments: “The People of the State ... vs. Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee” or “The People of the State ... vs. Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins.” What people? Clearly the hierarchy, the armed minority.

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. In all cases, it is determined by the economic system, the method of economic organization. “The People of the State . . . vs. John Doe” is as tenuous as the clearly political frame-ups. It’s like stating “The People vs. The People.” Man against himself. Official definitions of crime are simply attempts by the establishment to suppress the forces of progress.

Prisoners must be reached and made to understand that they are victims of social injustice. This is my task working from within (while I’m here, my persuasion is that the war goes on no matter where one may find himself on bourgeois-dominated soil). The sheer numbers of the prisoner class and the terms of their existence make them a mighty

reservoir of revolutionary potential. Working alone and from within a steel-enclosed society, there is very little that people like myself can do to awake the restrained potential revolutionary outside the walls. That is part of the task of the “Prison Movement.”

The “Prison Movement,” the August 7th movement and all similar efforts educate the people in the illegitimacy of establishment power and hint at the ultimate goal of revolutionary consciousness at every level of struggle. The goal is always the same: the creation of an infrastructure capable of fielding a people’s army.

Each of us should understand that revolution is aggressive. The manipulators of the system cannot or will not meet our legitimate demands. Eventually this will move us all into a violent encounter with the system. These are the terminal years of capitalism, and as we move into more and more basic challenges to its rule, history clearly forewarns us that when the prestige of power fails a violent episode precedes its transformation.

We can attempt to limit the scope and range of violence in revolution by mobilizing as many partisans as possible at every level of socio-economic life. But given the hold that the ruling class has on this country, and its history of violence, nothing could be more certain than civil disorders, perhaps even civil war. I don’t dread either. There are no good aspects of monopoly capital, so no reservations need be recognized in its destruction. Monopoly capital is the enemy. It crushes the life force of all of the people. It must be completely destroyed, as quickly as possible, utterly, totally, ruthlessly, relentlessly destroyed.

With this as a common major goal, it would seem that anti-establishment forces would find little difficulty in developing common initiatives and methods consistent with the goals of mass society. Regretfully, this has not been the case. Only the prison movement has shown any promise of cutting across the ideological, racial and cultural barricades that have blocked the natural coalition of left-wing forces at all times in the past. So this movement must be used to provide an example for the partisans engaged at other levels of struggle. The issues involved and the dialectic which flows from an understanding of the clear objective existence of overt oppression could be the springboard for our entry into the tide of increasing world-wide socialist consciousness.

In order to create a united left, whose aim is the defense of political prisoners and prisoners in general, we must renounce the idea that all participants must be of one mind, and should work at the problem from a single party line or with a single party line or with a single method. The reverse of this is actually desirable. "From all according to ability." Each partisan, outside the vanguard elements, should work at radicalizing in the area of their natural environment, the places where they pursue their normal lives when not attending the rallies and demonstrations. The vanguard elements (organized party workers of all ideological persuasions) should go among the people concentrated at the rallying point with consciousness-raising strategy, promoting commitment and providing concrete, clearly defined activity. The vanguard elements must search out people who can and will contribute to the building of the commune, the infrastructure, with pen and clipboard in hand. For those who aren't ready to take that step, a "packet" of pamphlets should be provided for their education.

All of this, of course, means that we are moving, and on a mass level: Not all in our separate directions – but firmly under the disciplined and principled leadership of the Vanguard Black Panther Communist Party. "One simply cannot act without a head." Democratic centralism is the only way to deal effectively with the Amerikan ordeal. The central committee of the people's vanguard party must make its presence felt throughout the various levels of the overall movement.

With the example of unity in the prison movement, we can begin to break the old behavioral patterns that have repeatedly allowed bourgeois capitalism, its imperialism and fascism, to triumph over the last several decades. We tap a massive potential reservoir of partisans for cadre work. We make it possible to begin to address one of the most complex psycho-social by-products that economic man with his private enterprise has manufactured-Racism. I've saved this most critical barrier to our needs of unity for last. Racism is a matter of ingrained traditional attitudes conditioned through institutions. For some, it is as natural a reflex as breathing. The psycho-social effects of segregated environments compounded by bitter class repression have served in the past to render the progressive movement almost totally impotent.

The major obstacle to a united left in this country is white racism. There are three categories of white racists: the overt, self-satisfied racist who doesn't attempt to hide his antipathy; the self-interdicting racist who harbors and nurtures racism in spite of his best efforts; and the



unconscious racist, who has no awareness of his racist preconceptions. I deny the existence of black racism outright, by fiat I deny it. Too much black blood has flowed between the chasm that separates the races. It's fundamentally unfair to expect the black man to differentiate at a glance between the various kinds of white racists. What the apologists term black racism is either a healthy defense reflex on the part of the sincere black partisan who is attempting to deal with the realistic problems of survival and elevation, or the racism of the government stooge organs.

As black partisans, we must recognize and allow for the existence of all three types of racists. We must understand their presence as an effect of the system. It is the system that must be crushed, for it continues to manufacture new and deeper contradictions of both class and race. Once it is destroyed, we may be able to address the problems of racism at an even more basic level. But we must also combat racism while we are in the process of destroying the system.

The self-interdicting racist, no matter what his acquired conviction or ideology, will seldom be able to contribute with his actions in any really concrete way. His role in revolution, barring a change of basic character, will be minimal throughout. Whether the basic character of a man can be changed at all is still a question. But ... we have in the immediacy of the "Issues in Question" the perfect opportunity to test the validity of materialist philosophy again, because we don't have to guess, we have the means of proof.

The need for unitarian conduct goes much deeper than the liberation of Angela, Bobby, Ericka, Magee, Los Siete, Tijerina, white draft-resisters, and now the indomitable and faithful James Carr.<sup>4</sup> We have

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<sup>4</sup> Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Ruchell Magee. Los Siete de la Raza are the seven Chicanos who were acquitted in San Francisco of the charge of killing a police officer, and who continue to be harassed by the police. Reis Tijerina is a Chicano leader imprisoned for his attempt to reassert Mexican-American ownership by right of treaty grant to large tracts of land in the Southwest. James Carr was with George Jackson during most of his years in prison. While on parole, he reportedly attempted to come to George's assistance during the violent aftermath of the Soledad Brothers' hearing on April 6. He was arrested and now faces the possibility of return to prison to complete his life sentence.

a fundamental strategy to be proved – tested and proved. The activity surrounding the protection and liberation of people who fight for us is an important aspect of the struggle. But it is important only if it provides new initiatives that redirect and advance the revolution under new progressive methods. 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 lumpenproletariat 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.

# AFTER THE REVOLUTION HAS FAILED

*After the killing is done, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual.*

## ON WITHDRAWAL

SYLLOGISM, *n.* argument with two premises and a conclusion; a logical scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and minor premise and a conclusion which must logically be true if the premises are true.

*—Merriam-Webster*

After revolution has failed, all questions must center on how a new revolutionary consciousness can be mobilized around the new set of class antagonisms that have been created by the authoritarian reign of terror. At which level of social, political and economic life should we begin our new attack?

First, we, the black partisans and their vanguard party, the old and new left alike, must concede that the worker's revolution and its vanguard parties have failed to deliver the promised changes in property relations or any of the institutions that support them. This must be conceded without bitterness, name-calling, or the intense rancor that is presently building. There have been two depressions, two great wars, a dozen serious recessions, a dozen brush wars, crisis after economic crisis. The mass psycho-social national cohesiveness has trembled on the brink of disruption and disintegration repeatedly over the last fifty years, threatening to fly apart from its own concentric inner dynamics. But at each crisis it was allowed to reform itself; with each reform, revolution became more remote. This is because the old left has failed to understand the true nature of 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. Such a definition may serve to clarify things even though it leaves a great deal unexplained. Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling-class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses. Disguise enters as a third stage of the emergence and development of the fascist state. The modern industrial fascist state has found it essential to disguise the opulence of its ruling-class leisure existence by providing the lower classes with a mass consumer’s flea market of its own. To allow a sizable portion of the “new state” to participate in this flea market, the ruling class has established currency controls and minimum wage laws that mask the true nature of modern fascism. Reform (the closed economy) is only a new way for capitalism to protect and develop fascism!

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. And intellectuals still argue whether Amerika is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the Amerikan left’s flight from reality, from any truly extreme

position. This is actually a manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche. At this stage, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

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.”

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 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.

When we ask ourselves, Where will we attack the enemy state? we are answered, At the productive point. The next logical question is, With whom and what will we attack the fortified entrance of the productive and distributive system in a nation of short-sighted, contented, conservative workers? Obviously, the fascist movement is counterrevolution at its very center. Fascist reformism is a calculated response to the classic, scientific-socialist approach to revolution through positive mobilization of the working classes. From its inception, the fascist arrangement has attempted to create the illusion of a mass society in which the traditional capitalist ruling class would continue to play its leading role. A mass society that is not a mass society; a mass society of authoritarians whose short-term material interests are perfectly suited to the development of the perfect totalitarian state and centralized economy. The most precise definitions of fascism involve the concept of “scientific capitalism,” or “controlled capitalism,” a

sophisticated, totalitarian, “learned” response to the challenge of egalitarian, scientific socialism. After its successful establishment in Spain, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and the United States of America, we are faced with the obvious question of “how to raise a new consciousness.”

We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has “gone through” a contra-positive, authoritarian process.

The new vanguard elements seem to agree that withdrawal from the enemy state and its social, political and economic life is the first step toward its destruction. The new vanguard elements seem to agree that the new revolutionary consciousness will develop in the struggles of withdrawal. However, after this point, agreement grows vague and is all but lost in a sea of contradiction. The contention turns on one primary question – the scope and range of violence within the revolutionary process.

After the lengthy and clearly unnecessary ideological battle that laid to rest a direct approach to revolution by the white or black worker, we are now faced with an equally unnecessary ideological battle over which of the various communal (revolutionary cultural) approaches has the stronger revolutionary validity. The problem is compounded by the almost apolitical withdrawal of the growing Weatherman faction, and their estranged allies on campus to organic food gardens and a life of sex, music and drugs. Their Nietzschean-Hegelian withdrawal mimics the European historical experience of the last five generations. In our equation, this must be considered the minor side of the syllogism. Though revolution is in fashion, the realistic, cohesive synergism seems as yet impossibly remote.

On the other side of the equation, we have Huey Newton’s concept of black communes set well within the huge population centers of the enemy state. This concept accepts any level of violence that will be necessary to enforce the demands of the people and workers. These communes will be tied to one another by a national and international vanguard party and joined with the world’s other revolutionary societies. They are the obvious answer to all the theoretical and practical questions and problems about an American revolution – a revolution that will be carried out principally by blacks.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, political and economic life? Who has the least short-term interest – or no interest at all – in the survival of the present state? In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascists who would dismantle the basis of their hierarchy?

Just how many Americans are willing to accept the physical destruction of some parts of their fatherland so that the rest of the land and the world might survive in good health? How can the black industrial worker be induced to carry out a valid worker's revolutionary policy? What and who will guide him? The commune. The central city-wide revolutionary culture. But who will build the commune that will guide the people into a significant challenge to property rights? Carving out a commune in the central city will involve claiming certain rights as our own – out front. Rights that have not been respected to now. Property rights. It will involve building a political, social and economic infrastructure, capable of filling the vacuum that has been left by the establishment ruling class and pushing the occupying forces of the enemy culture from our midst. The implementation of this new social, political and economic program will feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the "owners" of the enemy bourgeois culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people, or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind. If he will not leave voluntarily, we will expel him – we will use the shotgun and the anti-tank rocket launcher!!

Who will build on an ideal that begins with force? The vanguard party is now nation-wide. But vanguard parties cannot build revolutions alone. Nor can a vanguard party expect full party-line agreement before it moves in the direction of the people. Revolution is illegal. It's against the law. It's prohibited. It will not be allowed. It is clear that the revolutionary is a lawless man. The outlaw and the lumpen will make the revolution. The people, the workers, will adopt it. This must be the new order of things, after the fact of the modern industrial fascist state.

In blacks, the authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and lack of intellectual stimulation. The communal experience will redeem them. At present, the black worker is simply choosing the less dangerous and complicated strategy of survival. All classes and all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It is an atavistic

throwback to the herd instincts. But it requires only the proper trauma, the proper eco-sociological set of circumstantial pressures to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness. 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 revolutionary is outlawed. The black revolutionary is a doomed man." All of the forces of counterrevolution stack up over his head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself. "From the beginning" of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The children's breakfast programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century.

We must build with the fingers of one hand wrapped around a gun (an anti-personnel weapon). We cannot leave the central city. This must be understood by the other revolutionary people if we are to move together to conclusive action. The war will be fought in the nerve centers of



the nation, the cities where Angela was finally captured as she was at work for the revolution, where Huey was found hiding and working by the government's propaganda apparatus. We cannot withdraw from the cities. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new black communes. A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM.

# FASCISM

*Its most advanced form is here in Amerika.*

Comrade John,<sup>5</sup>

I've just finished rereading Angela's analysis of fascism (she's a brilliant, "big," beautiful revolutionary woman – ain't she!!). I've studied your letters on the subject carefully. It could be productive for the three of us to get together at once and subject the whole question to a detailed historical analysis. There is some difference of opinion and interpretation of history between us, but basically I think we are brought together on the principal points by the fact that the three of us could not meet without probably causing World War III.

Give her my deepest and warmest love and ask her to review these comments. This is not all that I will have to say on the subject. I'll constantly return to myself and reexamine. I expect I will have to carry this on for another couple of hundred pages. We'll deal with the questions as they come up, but for now this should provoke both of you to push me on to a greater effort.

The basis of Angela's analysis is tied into several old left notions that are at least open to some question now. It is my view that out of the economic crisis of the last great depression fascism-corporativism did indeed emerge, develop and consolidate itself into its most advanced form here in Amerika. In the process, socialist consciousness suffered some very severe setbacks. Unlike Angela, I do not believe that this realization leads to a defeatist view of history.

An understanding of the reality of our situation is essential to the success of future revolutionizing activity. To contend that corporativism has emerged and advanced is not to say that it has triumphed. We are not defeated. Pure fascism, absolute totalitarianism, is not possible. Hierarchy has had six thousand years of trial. It will never succeed for long in any form. Fascism and its historical significance is the point of my whole philosophy on politics and its extension, war. My opinion is that we are at the historical climax (the flash point) of the totalitarian period. The analysis in depth that the subject deserves

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<sup>5</sup> John Thorne, the author's lawyer.

has yet to be done. Important as they are, both Wilhelm Reich's and Franz Neumann's works<sup>6</sup> on the subject are limited. Reich tends to be over-analytical to the point of idealism. I don't think Neumann truly sensed the importance of the anti-socialist movement. *Behemoth* is too narrowly based on the experience of German National Socialism. So there is so much to be done on the subject and time is running out. If I am correct, we will soon be forced into the same fight that the old left avoided.

6/20/71

It is not defeatist to acknowledge that we have lost a battle. How else can we "regroup" and even think of carrying on the fight. At the center of revolution is realism. To call one or two or a dozen setbacks defeat is to overlook the ebbing and flowing process of revolution, coming closer to our calculations and then receding, but never standing still. If a thing isn't building, it must be decaying. As one force emerges, the opposite force must yield; as one advances, the other must retreat. There is a very significant difference between retreat and defeat. I am not saying that our parents were defeated when I contend that fascist-corporativism emerged and advanced in the U.S. At the same time it was making its advance, it caused, by its very nature, an advance in world-wide socialist consciousness: "When U.S. capitalism reached the stage of imperialism, the Western great powers had already divided among themselves almost all the important markets in the world. At

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6 *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, by Wilhelm Reich; *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*, by Franz Neumann.

1. Mankind is biologically sick.
2. Politics is the irrational expression of this sickness.
3. Whatever takes place in social life is actively or passively, voluntarily or involuntarily, determined by the structure of masses of people.
4. This character structure is formed by socio-economic processes, and it anchors and perpetuates these processes. Man's biopathic character structure is, as it were, the fossilization of the authoritarian process of history. It is the biophysical reproduction of mass suppression.
5. The human structure is animated by the contradiction between an intense longing for and fear of freedom.
6. The fear of freedom of masses of people is expressed in the biophysical rigidity of the organism and the inflexibility of the character.
7. Every form of social leadership is merely the social expression of the one or the other side of this structure of masses of people . . .

– W . Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*

the end of World War II when the other imperialist powers had been weakened, the U.S. became the most powerful and richest imperialist power. Meanwhile, the world situation was no longer the same: the balance of forces between imperialism and the socialist camps had fundamentally changed; imperialism no longer ruled over the world, nor did it play a decisive role in the development of the world situation” (Vo Nguyen Giap).

In my analysis, I’m simply taking into account the fact that the forces of reaction and counterrevolution were allowed to localize themselves and radiate their energy here in the U.S. The process has created the economic, political and cultural vortex of capitalism’s last *re*-form. My views correspond with those of all the Third World revolutionaries. And if taken in the international sense, they are aggressive and realistic.

The second notion that stands in the way of our understanding of fascist-corporativism is a semantic problem. When I am being interviewed by a member of the old guard and point to the concrete and steel, the tiny electronic listening device concealed in the vent, the phalanx of goons peeping in at us, his barely functional plastic tape-recorder that cost him a week’s labor, and point out that these are all manifestations of fascism, he will invariably attempt to refute me by defining fascism simply as an economic geo-political affair where only one political party is allowed to exist above-ground and no opposition political activity is allowed. But examine that definition of totalitarianism, comrade. No opposition parties are allowed in China, Cuba, North Korea or North Vietnam. Such a narrow definition condemns the model revolutionary societies to totalitarianism. Despite the presence of political parties, there is only one legal politics in the U.S. – the politics of corporativism. The hierarchy commands all state power. There are thousands of ways, however, to attack it and place that power in the hands of the people.

6/20/71

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 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.

In the present class structure we represent the group with the greatest revolutionary potential. We are black – the significance of which needs very little analysis here, though I will go into the mechanics of race at length later in dealing with the contextual structure of fascist hierarchy. But mainly my position is rooted in the long history of the Amerikan business oligarchy's penchant for violent repression of any forces that have threatened its centralist movement, and in the very natural defense reflexes of any form of state power. Although, 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.

The U.S. has established itself as the mortal enemy of *all* people's government, *all* scientific-socialist mobilization of consciousness everywhere on the globe, all anti-imperialist activity on earth. The history of this country in the last fifty years and more, the very nature of all its fundamental elements, and its economic, social, political and military mobilization distinguish it as the prototype of the international fascist counterrevolution. The U.S. is the Korean problem, the Vietnamese problem, the problem in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, the Middle East. It's the grease in the British and Latin Amerikan guns that operate against the masses of common people.

6/21/71

The nature of fascism, its characteristics and properties have been in dispute ever since it was first identified as a distinct phenomenon growing out of Italy's state-supported and developed industries in

1922. Whole libraries have been written around the subject. There have been a hundred “party lines” on just exactly what fascism is. But both Marxists and non-Marxists agree on at least two of its general factors: its capitalist orientation and its anti-labor, anti-class nature. These two factors almost by themselves identify the U.S. as a fascist-corporative state.

An exact definition of fascism concerns me because it will help us identify our enemy and isolate the targets of revolution. Further, it should help us to understand the workings of the enemy’s methodology. Settling this question of whether or not a mature fascism has developed will finally clear away some of the fog in our liberation efforts. This will help us to broaden the effort. We will not succeed until we fully accept the fact that the enemy is *aware, determined, disguised, totalitarian*, and mercilessly counterrevolutionary. To fight effectively, we must be aware of the fact that the enemy has consolidated through reformist machination the greatest community of self-interest that has ever existed.

Our insistence on military action, defensive and retaliatory, has nothing to do with romanticism or precipitous idealistic fervor. We want to be effective. We want to live. Our history teaches us that the successful liberation struggles require an armed people, a whole people, actively participating in the struggle for their liberty! The final definition of fascism is still open, simply because it is still a developing movement. We have already discussed the defects of trying to analyze a movement outside of its process and its sequential relationships. You gain only a discolored glimpse of a dead past.

No one will fully comprehend the historical implications and strategy of fascist corporativism except the true fascist manipulator or the researcher who is able to slash through the smoke screens and disguises the fascists set up. Fascism was the product of class struggle. It is an obvious extension of capitalism, a higher form of the old struggle – capitalism versus socialism. I think our failure to clearly isolate and define it may have something to do with our insistence on a full definition – in other words, looking for exactly identical symptoms from nation to nation. We have been consistently misled by fascism’s nationalistic trappings. We have failed to understand its basically international character. In fact, it has followed international socialism all around the globe. One of the most definite characteristics of fascism is its international quality.

6/22/71

The trends toward monopoly capital began effectively just after the close of the Civil War in Amerika. Prior to its emergence, bourgeois democratic rule could be said to have been the predominant political force inside Amerikan society. As monopoly capital matured, the role of the old bourgeois democracy faded in process. As monopoly capital forced out the small dispersed factory setup, the new corporativism assumed political supremacy. Monopoly capital can in no way be interpreted as an extension of old bourgeois democracy. The forces of monopoly capital swept across the Western world in the first half of this century. But they did not exist alone. Their opposite force was also at work, i.e., “international socialism” – Lenin’s and Fanon’s – national wars of liberation guided not by the national bourgeois but by the people, the ordinary working-class people.

At its core, fascism is an economic rearrangement. It is international capitalism’s response to the challenge of international scientific socialism. It developed from nation to nation out of *differing* levels of traditionalist capitalism’s dilapidation. The common feature of all instances of fascism is the opposition of a weak socialist revolution. When the fascist arrangement begins to emerge in any of the independent nation-states, it does so by default! It is simply an arrangement of an established capitalist economy, an attempt to renew, perpetuate and legitimize that economy’s rulers by circumflexing and weighing down, diffusing a revolutionary consciousness pushing from below. Fascism must be seen as an episodically logical stage in the socio-economic development of capitalism in a state of crisis. It is the result of a revolutionary thrust that was weak and miscarried – a consciousness that was compromised. “When revolution fails ... it’s the fault of the vanguard parties.”

It is clear that class struggle is an ingredient of fascism. It follows that where fascism emerges and develops, the anti-capitalist forces were weaker than the traditionalist forces. This weakness will become even more pronounced as fascism develops! The ultimate aim of fascism is the complete destruction of all revolutionary consciousness.

6/23/71

Our purpose here is to understand the essence of this *living*, moving thing so that we will understand how to move against it. This observer is convinced that fascism not only exists in the U.S.A. but has risen out

of the ruins of a once eroded and dying capitalism, phoenix-like, to its most advanced and logical arrangement.

One has to understand that the fascist arrangement tolerates the existence of *no valid* revolutionary activity. It has programmed into its very nature a massive, complex and automatic defense mechanism for all our old methods for raising the consciousness of a potentially revolutionary class of people. The essence of a U.S.A. totalitarian socio-political capitalism is concealed behind the illusion of a mass participatory society. We must rip away its mask. Then the debate can end, and we can enter a new phase of struggle based on the development of an armed revolutionary culture that will triumph.

On May 14, 1787, the Constitutional Convention with George Washington presiding officer, the work of framing the new nation's constitution proceeded with fifty-five persons and only two were not employers!!!

There have been many booms and busts in the history of capitalism in this nation and across the Western Hemisphere since its formation. The accepted method of pulling the stricken economy out of its stupor has always been to expand. It was pretty clear from the outset that the surplus value factor eventually leads to a point in the business cycle when the existing implementation of the productive factors makes it impossible for the larger factor of production (labor) to buy back the "fruits of its labor." This leads to what has been erroneously termed "overproduction." It is, in fact, underconsumption. The remedy has always been to expand, to search out new markets and new sources of cheaper raw materials to recharge the economy (the imperialist syndrome).

Conflicts of interests develop, of course, between the various Western nations and eventually lead to competition for these markets. The result is always an ever-increasing international centralization of the various capitalists' elites, world-wide cartels: International Telegraphic Unions (now International Tele-communications Union), universal postal union, transportation, agricultural, and scientific syndicates. Before World War I there were forty-five or fifty such international syndicates, not counting the purely business cartels. The international quality of capitalism is not happenstance. It is clearly in the interests of the ruling class to expand and unite. I am one Marxist-Leninist-Maoist-Fanonist who does not completely accept the idea that the



old capitalist competitive wars for colonial markets were actually willed by the various rulers of each nation, even though such wars stimulated their local economies and made it possible to promote nationalism among the lower classes. War taken to the point of diminishing returns weakens rather than strengthens the participants, and if the rulers of these nations were anything at all they were good businessmen. Expansion, then, which often led unavoidably to war, was the traditional recourse in the solving of problems created by a vacuous, uncontrollable system, which never considered any changes in its arrangement, its essential dynamics, until it came under a very real, directly threatening challenge from below to its very existence. Fascism in its early stages is a rearrangement of capitalist implementation in response to a sharpening, threatening, but weaker egalitarian socialist consciousness. In regional or national economic crisis the traditional remedies also include measures which stop just short of massive expansion on the international level. Traditional controls short of expansion and war have always existed in the form of government intervention, tariffs, public expenditure, government export subsidy and limited control of the capital market and import licenses, and monopolies have always used government to help direct investment.

# CLASSES AT WAR

## *Mobilization and Contramobilization*

Enough time has passed now since the emergence of fascism, the extreme crisis that precipitated it, and the hostilities that caused its early development to view it with less of the coloring that sensationalism and war propaganda necessarily create. We should now be able, after time has somewhat dulled the traumatic exchanges of debate and struggle, to analyze fascism objectively – its antecedents, its prime characteristics, and its goals. In denying its ideological importance I am not suggesting that all of its advocates (of the especially early period) were opportunist or deranged individuals reacting to a personal threat to their own situation within the society. A great many of the early fascist intellectuals were responding to a very real social situation. As intelligentsia, keepers of the particular nation's system of values, art forms and political thought, they felt it was their responsibility to attempt to resolve a growing social problem. My insistence upon the non-importance of ideology indeed rests squarely upon this point: that most of the fascist intellectuals were reacting to the uprootedness and social disintegration of the particular moment, and with each change in the face of this state of affairs they were in large part forced to repudiate most of their former ideology. Weight is given to this observation by the fact that early fascism included an amalgam of expressionists, anarcho-syndicalists, futurists, Hegelian idealists, theoretical syndicalists, nationalists and, in the case of the Spanish Palange, intellectual anarchists.

The whole theme of this early face of fascism was not merely anti-communist but fundamentally a general indictment of decadence, bourgeois decadence. Fascism also absorbed some socialists. In 1914 the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* formed itself out of a group of super-nationalist patriots favoring Italian intervention in the war against the Central Powers. Benito Mussolini, a leader of the extreme syndicalist faction of the Socialist Party, supported them vehemently in his newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, and of course this resulted in his expulsion from the party. In March 1919, after the deep disillusionment and unrest caused by the Italian participation in the war, Mussolini formed the first real *fascio*. The intellectuals that supported him did not do so out of a sense of the usual role of the intellectual in society (i.e., to educate, to

set the values of that society) in a time of extreme social disintegration and economic crisis. Men like Benedetto Croce and Arturo Toscanini, and others like Giovanni Gentile and Gabriele D'Annunzio (one of Italy's greatest poets), supported Mussolini almost out of desperation at what they felt to be a destructive national breakdown. All four were elitist and may have also felt that their status as intellectuals was also threatened. Recall, the Russian revolution had shocked the world to its foundations about this time. The general disregard of the Socialist Party for any art form or scientific activity that did not serve the state, and its tendency to factionalize and procrastinate alienated many of the nation's top intellectuals.

But the final reason why the importance of ideology in fascism must be denied is the fact that it exists in more than one form. In fact, historically it has proved to have three different faces. One "*out of power*" that tends almost to be revolutionary and subversive, anti-capitalist and anti-socialist. One "*in power but not secure*" – this is the sensational aspect of fascism that we see on screen and read of in pulp novels, when the ruling class, through its instrumental regime, is able to suppress the vanguard party of the people's and workers' movement. The third face of fascism exists when it is "*in power and securely so.*" During this phase some dissent may even be allowed. In Italy, Trilussa the poet wrote and published more bitter and biting satires attacking the political regime than can be found in any of the so-called liberal-democratic states. In April 1925, three years after the fascist March on Rome, Benedetto Croce was able to publish a clearly anti-fascist manifesto.

The finished product, the actual fascist arrangement, is diametrically opposed to its original ideology. The regime turns openly traditionalist and idiots like Mussolini receive the favor and compliments of other idiots like President Roosevelt, Bernard Shaw, Du Pont, Kennedy, and H.G. Wells. This stems from an inevitable conflict between the notion of a new spiritualistic man and the theory of the ethical state. The ideals of obedience and creativity, authority and freedom, are so contradictory of each other, so mutually exclusive, that the ideology of fascism could never be taken seriously.

The pseudo-intellectual origins of fascism can be traced all the way back to ancient Greece. The German National Socialist apologist Alfred Baumler and expressionist Gottfried Benn both recognized Hegel, as did some of the Italian intellectuals and Eastern European fascists. The

Western Europeans, however, favored the primitive, withdrawn ideals of Nietzsche or a confused combination of Nietzsche and Hegel with a bit of Plato's philosopher king added for window dressing. Actually, there have been as many different fascist ideals and arrangements as there have been fascist societies. Which brings us to the relevant point of inquiry. The importance or form of a particular political regime can never be understood simply as it stands alone. Its social and economic past must be investigated and clearly defined before the distinctive being of the political realm takes shape.

It wasn't until the mid-nineteenth century that Germany and, Italy reached nation-state status. Their heavy industrial sectors were rapidly expanding and coming into conflict with the traditionalist economic sectors. Though there were some clashes of interest within the extended family of the ruling classes at the point of their emergence into Western bourgeois culture, the section controlling the largest share of the GNP in all cases finally succeeded in gaining an even greater hold over the direction of the economy, with class interest generally working a compromise. The final result always involved a higher degree of centralization of power and control. I term this contra-positive mobilization. It occurs when the capitalist industrial sector of a particular society succeeds in altering the preexisting equilibrium in its favor. The period in question was characterized by the movement of masses from the traditional agricultural sector into the sweat shops (large and medium) of the cities. A policy was designed by this capitalist class to limit the range of choices of the newly mobilized masses. But "the specter of communism" was "haunting Europe." The working masses began to organize and exert increasing influence in the realm of politics. This we will term positive mobilization.

So a three-sided political struggle opened the twentieth century. Actually it was a two-sided struggle: the proletariat against the ruling class. A multitude of conflicts existed within the ruling class, particularly between the older traditionalist sectors and the manufacturing class. Within these two factions there were a number of separate interest groups. The corporative ideal had its roots in this conflict. Elitist, conservative economists like Pareto theorized around such concepts as "governing elites," and "general equilibrium." The object of course was to diffuse the positive mobilization of the working class. The system itself was ostensibly designed to balance the interests of all economic classes and substructural groups. However in fact, its principal purpose

was to check the growth of the vanguard party's influence on the working class. In its beginning, especially in Italy, it was too vague and difficult to control. General equilibrium was never reached and class struggle went on unabated. Class consciousness sharpened and the old bourgeois democratic states, torn from within and in conflict with each other, rushed toward their own ruin.

There is another form of mass mobilization that has strong socio-economic significance. It lies between positive and contra-positive mobilization. It involves the men who were uprooted to serve in nation-state wars. Those who were recruited from the agricultural sector generally gravitated to the cities after their release, further dislocating the economy in favor of the modern sector. The traditional agricultural sector was forced to mechanize (modernize) and pull marginal land out of production. In some areas agriculture collapsed altogether. The result was the need to import foodstuffs and other agricultural products. This may or may not have damaged the overall economy, but in any case it represented another function turned over to the modern sector.

After World War I, international capitalism went through an expansion phase of the business cycle. At its base were the regenerative effects of war on capitalist production and speculation. But the boom was brief. The great war had taken the whole business of destruction of surplus to the point of diminishing returns. The years 1920 to 1925 were spent in recession and depression across the Western world. The few years that followed – from 1925 to 1929 – business “roared” back to recovery and expansion. Industrial manufacturing around the Western world and parts of the Third World (Japan, Argentina, Brazil) increased by 25 percent. The volume of world trade increased accordingly. However, an increase in the arts of agricultural production, under the strain to modernize without a corresponding increase in the ability of the great laboring masses to buy back what was being produced, precipitated a sharp fall in the price structure of foodstuffs in one of the world's largest agricultural centers, the United States. It was underconsumption (not overproduction), and it led to the fatal stock market crash of 1929. The whole Western world went into recession and deep depression.

Two countries were little affected by the general break-down: Russia, which had taken itself off the wheel with a successful socialist revolution, and Italy, which had established a strong economic centralization that tended to close her economy off from the other bourgeois states. Italy

had already established fascism shortly after World War I during the 1920-25 economic crisis. That war had mobilized millions of Italians, most of whom were uprooted from over-traditionalist sectors of the proletariat. They had gone through the changes that most other Western countries were about to adopt. The key element that made the economic policy of fascist arrangements unique was the emphasis on “*reform through government intervention.*” The opposite of Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” working to coordinate economic activity. The opposite of the French revolutionary battle cry “*laissez faire.*”

Big business was in a crisis, of course, after the short boom following World War I. The giant cartels and the national industrial and financial monopolies were starved to the bone in both periods of fascist rearrangements (the early twenties and all of the thirties). This gave the movement its seemingly middle-class antecedents. Where large-scale manufacturing was not in complete control, its straining to emerge as the dominant force within the economy was resisted by the petit bourgeois, the landed classes and the medium proprietor. Here we see fascism in its out-of-power “*stage one.*” We hear its language sounding deceptively anti-capitalist: “parasitic capitalism,” “illegitimate capital,” “rapacious capital,” etc., etc. This was true in Italy and with early fascism, in Falangist Spain and in Germany.

Mussolini, who set up the first successful fascist regime, was a man trained all of his life in the revolutionary tactics and strategy of scientific socialism!! His departure from the international socialist movement dated from the moment he gave his unreasonable support to a nation-state war in which the working class of one or more nations was manipulated into the murder of the working class of other nations by the ruling classes of the respective states.

His opposition to the Socialist Party and his participation in reformist capitalism were no doubt due to the factionalism and basically reformist attitude of the Socialist Party. In spite of the fact that the Socialists won 156 seats in the Chamber in the elections of 1919 (over 50 percent more than the next largest political party, the Catholic Popular Party) and won majorities in the councils of 2,202 communes and 26 provinces (there were 8,507 communes and 69 provinces) in the general administration elections of the following year, and in spite of the fact that the Socialist General Confederation of Labor had grown from 300,000 members before World War I to almost 2.5 million members in 1920, the Socialists still seemed powerless to

solve the nation's economic problems with the promised revolution. In 1920 the Socialist Party seized control of all the nation's steel-manufacturing plants but, incredibly, returned them to the private interests. Several accounts claim that the workers couldn't run the plants – but if the makers of steel can't make steel . . . ? Obviously it was a problem of direction and management in the vanguard party. There were strikes, slow-downs, lockouts and the kinds of disorders that precede revolution (or counterrevolution). In the years following the war and during the early depression of 1920-25 Italy could have gone either socialist or fascist. There were partisans enough in both parties to lead the uprooted, disintegrating society into a new direction. The difference was in the nature of the leadership, along with the question of who would be willing to commit their whole fortunes and futures to the battle.

Mussolini took his Black Shirt army and moved to the fight killing and suppressing his opposition for the interests of an alarmed industrial-traditionalist elite. He was well educated in the science of positive mobilization, which made him the natural architect of a contra-positive mobilization intended to diffuse the working-class movement. He “seized power” in 1922 with the full support of the northern industrialists, the petit bourgeois, and the older traditionalist agrarian interests. The 1921 elections left his party with only 35 seats out of a possible 535 in the parliamentary body. But by applying violence judiciously and scientifically as he had learned from Lenin, he was able to force the abdication of the king and the constitutional monarchy and form the first political regime representing the new direction of capitalist development. “Eyes right” – he pumped bullets into the old left and new life into capitalism. The people were to exist solely for the state (the ruling class). This was the very antithesis of socialism. This period marked the “second face” of fascism, “the dark night” when it was still insecure.

But it went on to develop a “closed economy” with directed investment in public works projects. It proceeded to fill the economic vacuum with surplus capital and super-nationalism.

“Believe, fight, obey.” State-protected industries, mainly in munitions and shipbuilding. Italy extended her power facilities and opened new marginal agricultural land for its new slaves. New educational facilities and new “educators” (out of 1,250 university professors only twelve refused to take the academics' oath of loyalty to the regime in 1931)

were also part of the reforms. Taken all together the reforms turned out to be extreme reaction. The government of 1870 had seized the papal states. The regime brought back the old religion. In 1929, in spite of the unrewarding experiences of World War I, the regime was allowed to make war again in Africa, in Europe. This marked the “third face” of fascism – in power and secure.

The point here is that 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 anti-socialist 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.

Fascism is always a response to a threat to the establishment. Any anti-establishment actions taken by the strictly political arm of a forming fascist arrangement are simply attempts to centralize or upstage the capitalist industrial sector – either to establish it, as in Spain, or modernize it, as in those cases where marginal productive interests are absorbed or destroyed by the arrangement. It is significant to note that no fascist regime “*in power*” has advocated the abolition of any form of private ownership. The fascist regime and private ownership work hand in hand. No modern political regime can exist for long without the cooperation of those who control the means of production.

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.

With each development in the fascist arrangement, the marriage between the political elite and economic elite becomes more apparent. The integration of the various sectors of the total economic elite becomes more pronounced. The Rumanian Iron Guard was no exception. It would have eventually bedded down with the “owners” and “financiers” and integrated the archaic sectors of the traditionalist capitalist elites with the modern sectors had it not encountered the Red Army.

The generals and colonels of the various Latin American fascist regimes are attempting contra-positive mobilization and functioning as an instrument to balance the interests of the traditionalist with the more modern sectors of the neo-colonial nations. It is very misleading to regard them as the “ruling class” of such nations, or to consider them as part of a populist movement. As in Rumania and Spain, state intervention simply serves the best interests of a diminishing capitalist ruling class by restructuring it and destroying the people’s labor movement. Capitalist political regimes cannot exist of their own. Without the support of government, capitalism simply could not prevail. Peron was a fascist. The peace he worked out between labor and “owner” was subtle and disguised but nonetheless fascist in that it appeased and diffused the worker’s resentment of the nonworker and effected a quite efficient counter-positive mobilization. Peron maintained an apparent popular appeal throughout his years as head of state because of the vanguard party’s willingness to settle for reformism and tokens in a less than junior partner relationship with capital. His arrangement of the fascist state was indeed singular. Like the U.S.A., the original structure of the society in which he had to work his scientific manipulations had only one available sector large enough and uprooted enough (without strong left direction) to carry his movement – labor. Peron the fascist found his strongest support in labor. He was finally deposed when he lost the favor of the economic elite. At heart all fascist manipulators are elitist and revere private ownership. They are backward and reactionary to the ultimate extreme of self-destruction. Peron might have held on to his position had he chosen to serve the laboring class honestly and make it a genuine power

base for the society – one which truly embraced their interests – by nationalizing the productive facilities and turning them over to labor’s management. But fascists would rather die or flee than support the total revolution. So they must be slain!

The very first step in establishing the “whole interest of the state,” the combine, the corporate state, is to dismantle the working-class movement and replace it either with a state-controlled organ or no organization at all. The corporate laws passed in Italy in 1934 served only to sanction the complete destruction of the proletarian movement. At the same time they set up an automatic defense mechanism against future labor activity. In disputes, labor was represented by men sworn either to the state or without the skill and intelligence to effect labor’s demands. The manufacturing class had long since literally married into the regime. In Italy the fascist party cadre spread throughout the nation organizing people left aimless by the failure of the positive mobilization of the socialist vanguard parties: people who had dropped out, defected; people who became uprooted and unemployed either by the war or the deflated economy. This organizing must be considered contra-positive mobilization in that its intent was to inflate the capitalist economy and deflate the worker’s and people’s influence and control over the economy. With easy credit, inflationary financing, and increased government sponsorship of public works projects, fascism in Italy, Germany and Japan succeeded in reconstructing capitalist productive institutions and traditional property relations. After the takeover, Italy recovered rapidly from the 1920-25 postwar depression. The ordinary complexities created by inflationary budgeting did not immediately manifest themselves because of the preexisting state of the economy. The untapped productive factors – capital and labor – were grinding to a standstill. Cost of living and cost of production under those circumstances did not immediately rise to the point of crisis (diminishing returns for capital, decrease in real wages of labor). Later in both Italy (1925-26) and Germany (1937-38) this inflationary budgeting showed damaging trends and set off a chain reaction in Germany that may have eventually led to its downfall. However, the heart of the fascist economy is an attempt at control through centralization: monopoly capital control, price fixing, wage freezes, and carefully balanced foreign trade.

The first currency crisis stimulated by Italy’s inflationary policies (initiated in 1925) resulted in the stabilizing of the lira by decree in

1927. A controlled deflationary period followed, effected through the banking systems which the regime influenced by decree or advice. Private interests protected themselves from totally destructive competition by using the regime as referee. After the Great Depression and the international rise of fascist states by default, refinements in its simple currency control methods were introduced. The replacement of competition with cooperation among the private interests became more standardized. The Germans realized that inflationary currency control would have little real effect on the expansion of heavy industry without also controlling the capital market. Direction of investment was also a key factor in the arrangement. Again, the regime functioned as a centralizing, mitigating influence. Real wages began to fall and industrial production rose. Considered against the Gross National Product, investment rose 25 percent by 1937 in Germany. The same 25 percent figure held true for Japan in the middle and late thirties. From 15 percent of GNP at the lowest point of the Great Depression in fascist Italy, annual average investment in industry rose to 19 or 20 percent in the years 1936-40. Because Italian fascism was already established when the entire Western capital market's banking system failed, there was a sizable amount of quasi-government ownership. The "Industrial Reconstruction Institute" established by the regime was quite simply a financial institution, a huge bank. It also indirectly owned or influenced large sectors of the nation's heavy industry – a further hint at an upward thrust of the middle classes to fill in sections of the traditional ruling class destroyed by the forces of the business cycle. In general, the developments and experiments in controlled capitalism resulted in a concentration of economic power in the large monopolies. The crisis in German foreign exchange murdered the small businessman. Small agricultural units tended to disappear because of low wages, low consumption and large increases in the arts of agricultural production. The necessity for government intervention increased as the interests of the private elites generated new tensions. The break-down of the big industrial pattern into sections, the regulation or elimination of real competition except, of course, for labor when it was short, and the control of labor organizations basically comprised the whole of the new fascist "economic arrangement" which attempted to reduce the vast strata of classes and class interests of the preexisting state of the economy to just the two principal classes – the haves and the have-nots.

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 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. Many of the fascist regimes that failed or lacked thrust – the Belgian Rexists, the Dutch N.S.B. (National Socialist Movement) Japan's arrangement, Rumania's Iron Guard – were all essentially too imitative and inflexible. Even the totalitarians must be supple and responsive if they are to survive. Peronism was imitative as was the Brazilian *integratistas*. They were emulating their colonial masters in the U.S.A. So one fascist regime falls to another more efficient fascist regime.

Two factors must be seriously considered when analyzing the two largest fascist states in Latin America – Brazil and Argentina. Their dependence on foreign trade and their neo-colonial status, which involves dependence on “foreign investment.” When exports fall as they did during the depression of the thirties, the value of the national currency must also fall, and it follows that imports automatically decrease. The battle to balance payments begins, necessitating massive governmental intervention which leads inexorably to inflationary domestic economic policy and sometimes to a conflict of interest with the ruling class of the parent nation. Concern for balance of payments determines internal economic motives. The deficit financing, the attempt to control incomes (by controlling labor), price fixing, government stockpiling of agricultural surpluses, positive direction of investment and the balancing of the interests of the dualistic economy's elites can all be pointed to as evidence of an attempt to employ the centralist controls that characterize the classic fascist arrangement.

The first fascist regime of Brazil was headed by Vargas. It lasted from 1930 to 1945. Coffee exports formed 70 percent of the nation's GNP prior to Vargas' takeover and the Depression. When international trade (especially in agricultural goods) collapsed, Vargas was forced to attempt experiments with the so-called closed economy. New internal markets had to be created, investment and motives relocated, industrialization attempted. But all of this planning, though successful to an extent, was still basically imitative and did not accurately reflect the realities of the nation's inability to accumulate capital.

It is extremely important not to confuse the three faces of fascism when studying Latin America. The second phase (in power but not secure) is the really significant part of the whole fascist episode. Regime after regime has failed to increase internal demand or unseat the traditionalist landed elite in favor of the small industrial interests; this means a permanent dependence on foreign trade and investment for machine tools, for weapons to control the people's movements, and for raw materials to feed their light industries and flea markets. Consequently we see these areas as the most glaring dichotomy of socio-economic injustice. In the shadow of their plush beach resorts which attract degenerates from all over the Western world, literally within rifle shot, live the people who service these vacation-resort complexes in disease-infested corrugated tin shanties on hillsides constantly ravaged by mudslides. A strange combination of the first two phases of fascism. Without the massive military aid of the United States, Gestapo "death squads," and the most intensive rightist terror, the guns of liberation would by now have certainly filled the streets and forests with blood "to the horse's brow." It is important never to lose sight of Latin America's neo-colonial status. A victory for the people's liberation armies entails a victory over international capitalism and especially a victory over their colonial masters. The puppet regimes of these areas cannot move firmly into phase three of the fascist arrangement for two reasons. The people are willing to use arms and are learning to use them more effectively, and because the regimes are imitative, not indigenous, they do not reflect the real interests of the nations' elites, but rather the interests of the ruling elites of the parent imperial nation, the U.S.A.

Germany attempted to rearm, deflate its currency, and at the same time continue to meet the war-swollen demands of heavy industry. It finally fell of its own weight. The fascist economic arrangement failed under

the pressure of war in Germany, in Austria, in Italy and Japan, as later it failed the first regimes in Brazil and Argentina. The principal failing was very much the same that brought down *laissez faire*. The capitalist business cycle cannot be controlled. Inflationary spasmodic attacks, regional recession and depression pursue capitalism in all its forms like a nemesis, break its spirit, reduce its top-heavy bureaucratic backbone to jelly. Inflation, at first the key to regeneration after an extended collapse, ultimately leads to complex problems that seem to be beyond regulatory remedy. To control it by compressing wage demands always turns out to be politically unsound.

Class consciousness in Germany was better developed than in any other European nation before and after the fascist takeover, so consciousness “alone” is obviously not the factor that determines which way a disintegrating society will develop – fascist or socialist. The task of defusing the people’s labor movement and balancing it in favor of the few special individual heavy industrial firms (Reichswerke-Hermann Goring-Krupp) and the vital interests of the increasingly important chemical industry (I. G. Farben, etc.), fell to the regime-sponsored Labor Front. Its first attempt to appease labor came in the form of slightly improved working conditions, meaningless slogans like “Strength through Joy” which echoed the Anglo-American work ethic. Even after the forcible suppression of the vanguard party by the Gestapo in the first years of the regime, the potential political power of labor (due to the workers’ importance in the production of heavy armaments) was such that really effective measures for controlling it were not devised throughout the tenure of the Third Reich. Wage increases couldn’t be avoided. Rigorous state controls replaced mild repression and propaganda only after the *Sudetenland* affair of 1938 and the accentuated armaments drive of 1939. Because wages could not be successfully held down (the individual firms were after profits, bear in mind; consequently they devised many indirect incentives designed to attract a shrinking labor market), measures were taken to limit the movement of laborers from place to place, and the other factors of production were openly channeled into the armament sectors by stringent government intervention. All idealistic, ideological pretenses were dropped. Racism and the interests of the military-industrial complex formed the economic and psycho-social motives of the society and shook it apart. The German economy was already in ruins by the time the Reich expanded into Russia. This expansion itself was a symptom of the economy’s death-directed lack of discipline. Its

own internal contradictions and deceits destroyed it. An industrial-military-based economy *must expand to live, must forcibly balance trade in its favor* to survive. No amount of logic or dissent can influence the men who have vested interests in the life of such an arrangement! Only organized violence and armed struggle could have stopped them before they lost their minds and destroyed so many lives. The counter-terrorism of the socialist parties' vanguard and the proper direction of the people's consciousness could have changed the whole course of history over the last fifty years. Once fascism moves into its third phase and contra-positive mobilization (the psycho-social antithesis of lower-class mobilization) insinuates itself technologically with weapons and control of the means of the people's subsistence, limiting their vision to their own personal short-term interests with propaganda and empty promises, "only he who does not fear death of one thousand cuts" can then unseat the Fuehrer.

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 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, 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.

A great many of the early trends of American history prepared the way for the ultimate success of fascism in its highest form. From the very beginning of America's existence as an independent nation-state there were localized labor organizations that attempted to further the interests of their class by influencing the social, political and economic life of the new nation. It wasn't until the second half of the nineteenth century that labor took on a national character and began to make its presence felt in the economic life of the nation. Even then, it was resisted by the violence of employers and government working together. Marx's definition of history as a broken, twisted, sordid spectrum of class struggles is substantiated by American labor history. The earliest significant struggles between labor and capital began in the 1790s on the East Coast in cities like New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore where mutual-aid craft societies attempted to gain higher wages and shorter working hours. Resistance from employers and their backers in government to these mild organizational efforts forced the establishment of the first trade unions, the Philadelphia Printers Union, the New York Typographical Union of 1794, Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers of 1796. The first wage strike was organized by the Society of Journeymen Cordwainers (shoe-makers) of Philadelphia. It lasted ten or eleven weeks in 1799 and was broken by right-wing terrorist activity.

The laying to rest of *laissez faire*, the shackling of Adam Smith's "invisible hand," really began during the Civil War in the U.S. The petit-bourgeois dream of countless contending private proprietorships



somehow managing a mellifluous blending of private and state interests – when long-range plans could still be made by wage workers to be proprietors one day – became a nightmare with the advent of the mass manufacturing process. At the opening of the Civil War, the U.S. was ranked fourth among the world's industrial states behind the English empire, the German states and France. By 1870 the U.S. industrial manufacturing plant had doubled the value of its products. The number of factory workers drawn out of other sectors of the economy caused the industrial work force to nearly double during this same period. Improvements in the arts of agricultural production drew some workers from the countryside and sent others westward toward the closing frontier. The craftsman lost his privileged economic position with the appearance of newly invented mass production machinery. This new machinery and the factory setup in general made individual workers more expendable and made it possible to reduce their share of the profits. By the mid-1890s the U.S. was producing one-third of the world's manufactured goods, and was on its way to becoming first among the world's industrial states.

The expansion of U.S. industry out of the demands of the Civil War involved a complex concentration of several violent and predictable capital mandates. The old traditional sector of the landed aristocracy was broken; machine tools, transport, and communications boomed (the basis of the industrial state and, of course, an industrial elite, when raw materials – coal, iron and other ores – are not lacking); the price or value of labor shrank; and the “drive” toward monopoly accumulation was firmly established.

This period of capital accumulation, invention of new machinery, its use in expanding factory setups, the “closed economy” created by Republican government legislation, and the direction of certain amounts of capital through government contract were in part the beginnings of a new chapter in the authoritarian process of Western history. Industrial centralization, I mean the refined tactics of monopolized capitalism, may have been developed right here in the U.S.!!

This is the logical place to question some of the old left's historical assumptions about the last hundred years of life. Analysts of the old left are completely confused by the differences between bourgeois democracy and monopoly capital and their manifestations on the American scene. They seem to feel that both can coexist in the same

society. Actually one simply grows out of the other. Monopoly capital is the central objective of corporative fascism. Prior to the Civil War and the emergence of the trends toward monopoly capital, Amerika was dominated by bourgeois democratic economics and political rule. The economy was based upon the diverse ownership of many thousands of factory units and a political arrangement to reflect that fact.

However, with the emergence and expansion of monopoly capital after the economic impetus of the Civil War, bourgeois democracy naturally began to fade. Bourgeois democracy, the political rule of the bourgeoisie, simply cannot exist after the emergence of monopoly capital. Monopoly capital has its own political expression. It develops as bourgeois democratic political rule declines.

The roots of corporativism-fascism were laid with the expansion of monopoly capital into the giant cartels, corporations and interlocking trusts. The owners of the largest share of a nation's GNP will always control the political life and government of the state. Monopoly capital is corporativism (fascism!).

I don't think anything that ever happened in Italy, Spain, Germany or any of the other capitalist states can match the centralizing process that the U.S. went through in the last hundred years. Even the so-called public utilities (A.T. & T., the Santa Fe, the Pennsylvania RR, Western Electric, Western Union) are owned by financial institutions that, on examination, always turn out to be controlled by a few families who are descendants of the industrial expansionists of 1865-95.

The traditional Anglo-Saxon concept of law (founded on the latent principle that the haves must always be protected from the have-nots), though it did not attack labor as openly as in England, effectively prohibited the emergence of any really strong labor movement until the close of the nineteenth century. It did not prevent the war-profiteering Rockefeller petroleum combination from forming. It didn't stop Western Union from taking over the telegraph industry. It didn't stop Samuel Slater and the "Boston Associates" from tying up all the New England textile interests. The transcontinental railroad hookup (May 19, 1869 – Union Pacific and Central Pacific) could have never been accomplished without government and commercial cooperation. Corruption and lawlessness were the basis of their commercial success, but no one was charged or punished by law. Any individual, on the other hand, who joined with someone else to effect an increase in his

wage was guilty of conspiracy. That same law is still used to protect the same interests today. Anglo-Saxon law supported F.B. Gowen of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and its coal subsidy in cutting wages and breaking unions, just as it supported the KKK in reconstructing Southeastern U.S., King of the Baltimore and Ohio, Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania, William Vanderbilt of the New York Central. Every time I hear the word “law” I visualize gangs of militiamen or Pinkertons busting strikes, pigs wearing sheets and caps that fit over their pointed heads. I see a white oak and a barefooted black hanging, or snake eyes peeping down the lenses of telescopic rifles, or conspiracy trials.

Revolutionary change always involves the complete alteration of the structure of property relations and the institutional substructures that support them. It leads from hierarchy to mass society.

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

Reformism is an old story in Amerika. There have been depressions and socio-economic political crises throughout the period that marked the formation of the present upper- class ruling circle and their controlling elites. But the parties of the left were too committed to reformism to exploit their revolutionary potential.

The latest round of capitalism reform, the latest redirection of its energy, was its highest and last form. The struggles of the thirties, forties and fifties completed the totalitarianization of the country and perfected the system of total mass social deception. 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 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 anti-black 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. 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. After the war, international markets opened in Europe, Africa and Asia with the flea market of radios, TVs and novelties here at its center. For the sake of these trinkets and baubles, the labor elites diffused the righteous demands of the people. Consensus politics formed as a result of their defection simply solidified the totalitarian regime with all the opinion-molding facilities under the ruling classes. Elections and political parties have no significance when all serious contenders for public office are fascist and the electorate is thoroughly misled about the true nature of the candidates. One cannot say all the people who vote are unaware, just as one cannot say the twelve hundred professors who backed Mussolini were all frightened. Those who are aware and still do nothing constructive are among the most pathetic victims of the totalitarian process.

The necessary shock troops and tools for creating the false contra-positive psycho-social basis of a fascist-type pseudo-society were in short supply in this country prior to and during the process of the fascist takeover. There was little of this consciousness among the middle classes, so the first terror came from the specially formed and hired goons of the Du PANTS and Rockefellers, the Black Legion, the Guardians of the Republic, the F.B.I. They destroyed the already disintegrating vanguard, leaving the degenerate elements of the working class as the only available mass. Class relations were slowly altered as a

result of this action by the co-opted labor sectors. Government agents were sent to infiltrate scattered labor movements. The disguise was complete. The satisfaction of labor's short-term economic interests was made possible by the giant consumers' market and the military complex. Ties were formed between rulers and labor leaders. The elites of the proletarian movement were compromised. A ruling class and its governing elites were centralized and were carefully co-optive. A fascist arrangement! Death and prison for all who object – fascism in its final and secure state. It has happened here. And the only recourse is an appeal to arms. The corporative state allows for no genuinely free political opposition. They only allow meaningless gatherings where they can plant more spies than participants. They feel secure in their ability to mold the opinion of a people interested only in wages. However, real revolutionary activity will draw panic-stricken gunfire. Or heart attacks. 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 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 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 buck-shot 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.



# THE OPPRESSIVE CONTRACT

*First women and children in a ditch in Vietnam, ultimately executions in the civic centers of every look-alike county in this country.*

Dear John Gerassi:

As you know, I'm in a unique political position. I have a very nearly closed future, and since I have always been inclined to get disturbed over organized injustice or terrorist practice against the innocents – wherever – I can now say just about what I want (I've always done just about that), without fear of self-exposure. I can only be executed once. No matter what I do, they will always explain me away with the fact of my eleven years in prison and my supposed loss of contact with objective reality. So I rage on aggressive and free (the action on April 6). When I am denied or corrected – I always understand – but rage on. All on the principle that the ideal must be demonstrated that the oppressed mentality must be taught by example to escape the myth, the hoax that repression can work against the collective consciousness of the commune, and to prove that ideals cannot be killed with violence. So – I'm duty bound to take the occasion of your letter to respond with what an Irishman once termed “the sweet taste of sedition.”

I'll go straight back to our visit and the hour they allowed us to deal with all the years. I took your casual remark concerning “the outlaw” back to the cell with me, tooled with it a bit, and clarified it in my own hand. I have a hundred related questions (I am alive and learning!). Outlaws, of course, I thought. Revolution will not be tolerated, it is against the law in the totalitarian corporative state. The revolutionary must certainly reconcile himself with one day becoming an outlaw.

Then my thoughts turned to the oppressive contract in general. It's the nature of cancer to expand. You've seen a great deal of it firsthand – U.S. expansionism since World War II – I've only studied it vicariously. But we see the same conclusions: millions of outlaws in the Union of South Africa, Jordan, Indochina and here. Summary executions not of uniformed soldiers but ordinary people. First women and children in a ditch in Vietnam, ultimately executions in the civic centers of every look-alike county in this country.

And that's the principal contradiction of monopoly capital's oppressive contract. The system produces outlaws. It also breeds contempt for the oppressed. Accrual of contempt is its fundamental survival technique. This leads to the excesses and destroys any hope of peace eventually being worked out between the two antagonistic classes, the haves and the have-nots. Coexistence is impossible, contempt breeds resistance, and resistance breeds brutality, the whole growing in spirals that must either end in the uneconomic destruction of the oppressed or the termination of oppression.

History is clearly a long continuum of synthesizing elements. The imbalances of the oppressive contract, ideals so fundamentally contradictory, and forces so mutually exclusive can only result in the dissolution of the agents of that contradiction.

The corollary of the contract is quite simply malignancy. It strikes first of all in the region of the brain. A search for a non-diseased mind throws one hard against one of the greatest historical/biological calamities imaginable. Excuses can be made for some workers – blind defense for the system that is victimizing them, brainwashed by the National Advertising Council's portrait of the silent majority as well-off in comparison to the barbarian world. Their mindless behavior can also be explained by their ignorance of labor history. But even the nationalistic conditioning received in massive doses from birth cannot completely explain why man would turn against himself. Even the workers' short-term economic advantage is only a partial explanation. We must look for the root causes in the psycho-social effect of competitiveness and racism. The huge mass of blue-collar workers seem to be working totally against themselves in their support of a system owned and controlled by a tiny minority. Actually, their contradictory behavior is explained by feelings of loyalty to race, by their identification with the white hierarchy and by their economic advantage over the oppressed races. They may be oppressed themselves, but in return they are allowed to oppress millions of others.

The economic nature of racism is not simply an aside. Built-in physical features exclude blacks from participation, exclude them forever. These features cannot be changed. It is the relationship that must change. Racism is a fundamental characteristic of monopoly capital. When the white self-congratulatory racist complains that the blacks are uncouth, unlettered; that our areas are run-down, not maintained; that we dress with loud tastelessness (a thing they now also say about

their own children), he forgets that he governs. He forgets that he built the schools that are inadequate, that he has abused his responsibility to use taxes paid by blacks to improve their living conditions, that he manufactured the loud pants and pointed shoes that destroy and deform the feet. If we are not enough like him to suit his tastes, it's because he planned it that way. We were never intended to be part of his world. It's a silly contradiction for him or us to dwell on the subject of comparisons between the enemy culture and its creation, the subculture. The only way the exploiter can maintain his position is to create differences and maintain deformities.

It is the sense of the finality of their exclusion from solid social-economic participation that forces our youth away from the crippled family unit into the streets. It causes the excessive importance of meaningless relationships and the prevalence of anti-communal behavior which is a psycho- social response to the loss of – and longing for – community.

The diseased mind ... it's slowly spreading throughout the oppressed organism. Even the "magnificent savage," the mindless overman is dying from the almost total anemia. Where is the Black Man? I see him inseparable from the Black Female, but where is he now? How he has survived at all is almost beyond any rational explanation.

Early I understood the alternatives of the black situation: assimilation, meaning acceptance of the oppressive contract; ossification or life below, beyond, outside of society or revolution. But John, I admit to some confusion over the issue of white racism growing out of my experience in prison. My mind has vacillated between the historical references: African feudalism and African communalism – I know that we Africans were the first communists (J. Edgar Hoover calls it "primitive communism" in one of the glossaries of his anti-people books). Dr. Du Bois dealt with it in *The Philadelphia Negro* I think (I can't quite remember now) in a positive manner, so I never had any of the really serious hang-ups in accepting revolution. But – I think for a while I sincerely felt that Europeans were not capable of communistic unitarian behavior. I felt this, however, only briefly, since unitarian, progressive conduct seems to be a problem for all of us after hundreds of years of steadily centralizing capitalism and, in some areas, after thousands of years of hierarchy. I've always understood that the new cultural-nationalist attempts to return to the pre-slavery past of African feudalism can only leave the average black man more uncertain and insecure than ever. It is difficult to understand why such negative,

academic and obscure exoticism exists when there are definite examples of historical contributions which could be used to analyze and give meaning to our present and our future.

The commitment to total revolution must involve an analysis of both the economic motives and the psycho-social motives which perpetuate the oppressive contract. For the black partisan, national structures are quite simply nonexistent. A people without a collective consciousness that transcends national boundaries – freaks, Afro-Amerikkans, Negroes, even Amerikkans, without the sense of a larger community than their own group – can have no effect on history. Ultimately they will simply be eliminated from the scene. Without the collective sense of community, without its movement (Bobby Hutton, the shoot-out on Central, August 7)<sup>7</sup> and institutions (our survival projects<sup>8</sup> that will now grow into infrastructure), we simply never will be an effective force.

During the nationalist period of the collective oppressed mentality promoted by the establishment, the movement is frozen, static. This is the level of development favored by the oppressor, the artless empty ideals of the pseudo-nation, love and respect for a flag, a nationalistic song or beat, the fervent belief in a bond or organization which arises out of a thwarted longing for real community. The establishment does everything in its power to ensure that revolutionary rage is redirected into empty outlets which provide pressure releases for desires that could become dangerous if allowed to progress. At this stage in the development of monopoly capitalism, there are two alternatives: aggressive revolutionary activity or calcification. Conservative society, black or white, is decadent society; due to the absence of creativity and movement, conservative society always burns itself out.

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7 Three instances of armed black resistance: Lil' Bobby Hutton was killed in the aftermath of a prolonged shoot-out with the Oakland police that involved Eldridge Cleaver. Hutton was shot and killed shortly after emerging from the basement of a house to surrender, naked, as the police had demanded, and with both his hands in the air. Police claim they shot him when he attempted to escape. The shoot-out on Central is described in a previous note; the significance of August 7th is described in the introduction.

8 The new programs of the Black Panther Party which include free medical clinics, breakfast programs, cooperative factories, housing, liberation schools and prison projects.

Your letter got right at the heart of that principle. The whole ideal of cultural nationalism has been all but smothered now. It was basically contrived out of the loss of community and the terms of the oppressive contract – coercive conformity and indulgent flexibility to the demands of hierarchy. But we must all realize that the oppressive contract cannot be broken as long as any sort of hierarchy exists to perpetuate the sensitized relationships of Amerikan tribalism, classism and racism. Society is rendered impossible by such relationships. The establishment of society through inter-communalism<sup>9</sup> will require that the social contract be completely altered. Clearly alteration cannot take place unless hierarchy is destroyed. Can we expect the hierarchy to do away with itself???

Then the real undertaking at present is the unconditional freeing of the people. We plunge beyond ideological debate before this immediate task. The black man and the black female must be, as I have mentally ordered things, completely joined together in the act of liberation! I accept my black mama with all her fears for my life that border on hysteria at times. But I also realize that it is the “role of the living,” of all the innocent, to discover unitary practice and conduct and move against the institutions that close on the oppressed.

Those who have more regard for their own egos or self-interest than they have for building a united progressive left, and those who abandon community altogether in favor of petty interests, are in direct opposition to our real interests. They are attempting another form of escapism. They're fleeing the objective conditions of their real life and will eventually reach the ultimate contradiction of facing their father or brother, or old classmate, comrade, or wife, over the barrel of a gun. Or they will find themselves in no man's land, cast out by the people, suspected by their crime partners.<sup>10</sup> But, regarding the crisis (just past) in the party,<sup>11</sup> as Huey Newton reminds us, there is always a positive side to each negative. The confused resentment and reverse racism of the black partisan will eventually lead to a new, more productive and creative contribution. Already we realize that there was no split in the

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9 Huey Newton's concept of the revolutionary solidarity of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

10 In prison argot, a man's most trusted companion.

11 The departure from the Black Panther Party of Eldridge Cleaver and some of his followers in Algeria and New York.

party, only a defection. The party has come out of it stronger. We can now bring our strategy and tactics into a realistic conformity with our total objective situation. Recall we discussed Jonathan and guerrilla strategy in the urban situation at length over that piece of paper with circles and lines, arrows and question marks.

I guess now that he is dead, and the guilty are safe from the muscle of his mind and arm, it is safe to reveal some of his thoughts and functions within the matrix of the party and movement. He felt as I did that the military and political branches, though married in purpose and direction, in these opening stages should function separately from each other for very obvious reasons. In undeveloped countries, the establishment's military-strike forces are not more than thirty miles down a dirt road in the provincial capital. They're always within a few moments of strike. The urban guerrilla, however, can mingle with the enemy and remain invisible and invulnerable. In our present situation there is no contradiction between the military thinking and action and the primacy of politics. The situation allows for such activity as the August 7th movement, because it can be accomplished without giving the enemy-state forces the pretext they need to move in and destroy the political apparatus under the very convenient and much used Anglo-Saxon conspiracy laws. The primacy of politics will continue as long as the military reads, picks up and works well within the prevailing political matrix. So Jonathan's raid on the military and judiciary that Friday was at once an expression of his own aggressive consciousness and that of the party. It is easy to infer all of this in retrospect that Jonathan was head of a clandestine army which saw the Black Panther Party as its political leader. Operating on his own, he was able to at least attempt to support some of the minimum demands of the people without placing Huey Newton and David Hilliard in jeopardy of loss of movement or death, i.e., persecution in courts.

That this is our only recourse at the present level of development is too obvious to even dwell on. It will not be possible, however, in the advanced stages of revolution. Just a glance at the present level of consciousness and the status of the survival infrastructure will reveal the error of Cleaver's analysis that no separation should exist even now between military and political cadre, between military and political action. You know I sent him a message suggesting that unitarian conduct depends on a principled discipline and submission to democratic centralism instead of the egoism that sent him first against his Muslims

(through the Sacramento Bee Pig press that time), then against the Peace and Freedom Party, even against the progressive elements of the C.P. through his unreasoned attack on the magnificent Angela Davis. Recently he has even attacked the dedicated, overworked and brilliant Charles Garry. It seems to be a pattern with the man. You recall the attack he launched against Fidel and Cuba, and those accounts that seemed disparaging of his hosts which have reached the pig press here from time to time.

My personal message to him was mild, considering that he was in fact leaving his old comrades open to attack again. I sent a letter reminding him that his behavior while in prison was far from exemplary and had that section of it signed by Ulysses McDaniel and Clifford Jefferson, two of the oldest (time in) and most respected black partisans in the California concentration camp system. I then listed some of his behavioral patterns since his release – a more complete list than the one just given – that did not indicate that he had changed much. I finally asked him simply to show proof now that he was not a compulsive disrupter or *agent provocateur*. A very mild request, I feel. He returned with a very scurrilous and profane set of invectives – in short, a piece of vendetta. Tell him that seven thousand miles, the walls of prison, steel and barbed wire do not make him safe from my special brand of discipline, tell him that the dragon is coming ...

The sub-structured prison movements are gaining momentum. My trial is set for early August, 1971, there'll be hearings in between of course. If they are at all like the last,<sup>12</sup> you'll get to see my special bastardized style of martial arts. I'm working hard to stay in form. I wasn't at my best at the last showing. I'll clean them all next time they attack. Attend – let me see your style.

Your comrade in arms – “He who does not fear the death of 1,000 cuts will dare unseat the emperor.”

George Jackson

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12 The hearing of April 6, 1971.

# AFTERWORD

*Statement by Huey P. Newton, Servant of the People, Black Panther Party at the Revolutionary Memorial Service for George Jackson*

Power to the People. Power to our fallen comrade Brother George Jackson, member of the Black Panther Party. First, because many people are wondering, I would like to explain the connection between Brother George Jackson and the Black Panther Party.

When I went to prison in 1967 I met George. Not physically, but through his ideas, his thoughts and words. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony. George was a legendary figure throughout the prison system, where he spent most of his life. I met George through his spirit. Shortly after learning about him I got word through the prison grapevine that he wanted to join the Black Panther Party. At his request he was made a member of the People's Revolutionary Army with the rank of general and field marshal. He was put in charge of the prison recruiting, and was asked to go on with his life as a revolutionary example, which was the most important thing that one can ever do, because that cannot be killed.

I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. George Jackson was my 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. He inspired prisoners, whom I later encountered, to put his ideas into practice and so his spirit became a living thing. Today I say that although George's body has fallen, 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 these young Panthers' bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next. This was George's legacy, and he will go on, he will go on into immortality, because we believe that the people will win, we know the people will win, as they advance, generation upon generation.

What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, he was a strong man, without fear, determined, full of love, strength, and dedication to the people's cause. He lived a life that we must praise. 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 itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in our world, particularly 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 spurs all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, to keep himself alive at all costs. Legally the state can only confine someone, subject to correction at a later date. Even if the state does wrong it could give itself the semblance of legality by leaving open the possibility of rectification. But of course with the death penalty, with the kind of violence that we see in our community where the police are also the executioners, we don't have this chance of negotiation. They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle. None of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

Even after his death, George Jackson is a legendary figure and a hero. Even the oppressor realizes this. To cover their murder they say that George Jackson killed five people, five oppressors, and wounded three in the space of thirty seconds. You know, sometimes I like to overlook the fact that this would be physically impossible. But after all George Jackson is my hero. And I would like to think that it was possible; I would be very happy thinking that George Jackson had the strength because that would have made him superman. (Of course, my hero would have to be a superman.) And we will raise our children to be like George Jackson, to live like George Jackson and to fight for freedom as George Jackson fought for freedom.

George's last statement, the example of his conduct at San Quentin on that terrible day, left a standard for political prisoners and for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America. He left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. He demonstrated how the unjust would be criticized by the weapon. And this will certainly be true, because the people will take care of that. George also said once that the oppressor is very strong and he might beat him down, he might beat us down to our very knees, he might

crush us to the ground, but it will be physically impossible for the oppressor to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, and when his legs get tired, then George Jackson and the people will tear his kneecaps off.

But first the state sets the scene for such violence, you see. And some people say that we can't get rid of this kind of physical conflict with more of the same. Well, I would take issue with this (we can use that example of the oppressor stomping George Jackson down to his knees; he can't go on). We will retaliate with violence against his violence. It's true that we'll be hurt by his violence but we're determined not to let him wipe out the people. We know that he cannot wipe out the people, because we will fight on. We will tear his legs off, we'll tear his head off and we'll take the example from George Jackson. In the name of love and in the name of freedom, with love as our guide, we'll slit every throat of anyone who threatens the people and our children. We'll do it in the name of peace, if this is what we are forced to do; because as soon as it's over, then we can have the kind of world where violence will no longer exist.

So we will be very practical. We won't make statements and believe the things the prison officials say – their incredible stories about one man killing five people in thirty seconds. We will go on and live very realistically. There will be pain and much suffering in order for us to develop. But even in our suffering, I see a strength growing. I see the example that George set living on. We know that all of us will die someday. But we know that there are two kinds of death, the reactionary death and the revolutionary death. One death is significant and the other is not. George certainly died in a significant way, and his death will be very heavy, while the deaths of the ones that fell that day in San Quentin will be lighter than a feather. Even those who support them now will not support them in the future, because we're determined to change their minds. We'll change their minds or else in the people's name we'll have to wipe them out thoroughly, wholly, absolutely and completely. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



*Blood in My Eye* was completed only days before the author died from bullet wounds during an alleged escape attempt from San Quentin Prison, California. Arrested at the age of eighteen for allegedly taking part in the robbery of a gas station netting \$70, George L. Jackson was sentenced to one year to life in prison. At the time of his death he had served eleven years behind prison walls, seven of those years in solitary confinement. This book testifies to how those years were spent, and why.

Written with the memory of his slain brother, Jonathan, constantly before him, it is an apocalyptic vision of America. It speaks to the poor, the jailed, and the disenfranchised throughout the world. Jackson's message to his revolutionary brothers is clear: "People are already dying who could be saved, generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people."

*Blood in My Eye* takes up where Soledad Brother left off, and introduces the reader to the life force that was George L. Jackson.



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