

MORE ON BLACK LIBERATION

Jalil Muntaqim

On the
**Black
Liberation
Army**



On the Black Liberation Army

by Jalil Muntaqim (New York Three Black Panther/ BLA political prisoner). Originally written in 1979, this pamphlet is an excellent brief history of the Black Panther Party offshoot, the Black Liberation Army, written by one of its soldiers still locked down since 1971. Published by Solidarity. \$3 US / \$4.50 Can

All Power To The People

Writings by and about now deceased Black Liberation Army soldier Albert Nuh Washington. This is the single largest collection available in print. Includes interviews, essays, poetry, photos, and tributes to Nuh by political prisoners and friends. Published by Arm The Spirit-Solidarity. \$10 US / \$15 Can

**ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE**



Nuh Washington

**KUWASI
BALAGOON**

a soldier's story:
writings by a revolutionary New Afrikan anarchist



Kuwasi Balagoon: a Soldier's Story;

writings by a revolutionary New Afrikan anarchist, by fallen Black Liberation Army freedom fighter Kuwasi Balagoon, with contributions by Meg Starr, David Gilbert and Sundiata Acoli. This 120-page book is an incredible collection of writings by Kuwasi Balagoon, an anarchist revolutionary who fought the good fight with the B.L.A. Published by Solidarity. \$7 US / \$10.50 Can

MESSAGE TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT: A Political Statement From The Black Underground

**Coordinating Committee
Black Liberation Army
CC - BLA**

Arm The Spirit ★ Solidarity

available from Kersplebedeb Distribution

machinery in depth, such coordination of command is unlikely. But for the Black liberation movement, its armed front, and its entire clandestine network, there is no hang-up concerning ideological, or military control of our struggle by whites. Organized armed struggle has freed us of this fear so typical on the mass front. Our formations are Black-led, controlled, and organized to win the fight for liberation.

The Black liberation movement must be a principled and revolutionary movement, or it will be unable to lead our struggle for freedom forward to final victory. The question of Black-white alliance is not a question of should we form such alliances, but a question of when and with whom. To consider any tactical alliances that are in our own best interests, and that strengthen our struggles' position as "integrationist", is therefore an incorrect view. To ally oneself with something is not to necessarily bring that thing into your ranks and give it control over your political policy. We refute all ideas that confuse principled revolutionary unity with unprincipled class collaboration.

In closing, it is clear that there is still much to be learned, and our movement will surely encounter difficulties and setbacks in the coming years. We must prepare ourselves, our people, and our ideas for the long and difficult road ahead. Our preparation must be thorough and complete, for our very existence will depend on how well we prepare on all fronts of the struggle. We are in the turbulent years, the hard years. Black people and oppressed people throughout the world are entering the season of struggle.

The Sooner Begun, The Sooner Done!



one point uniting seemingly contradictory elements, and at another eliminating these elements. The principles of united fronts, principled alliances, are basic recognition of this dialectical process of social change. Alliances based on revolutionary class-consciousness and around our national interests as a people can never be "integration." Integration is a class collaboration of an unprincipled and reactionary nature, for it is based primarily on racial considerations, whereas alliances based on the revolutionary considerations of our struggle must be principled ones, its principle characteristic being our own working class interests as a people.

Does this mean Black-white worker solidarity at any cost? Black-white worker solidarity cannot be attained at any cost, but at a particular cost. We do not agree with white leftist revisionists that Black and white workers share the same interests because they are both workers. While this may be true on a tactical level (specific struggles around certain issues), it is not true on a strategic level. Strategically speaking (long range) the Black workers' ultimate goal is the same as the masses of Blacks, which is toward national self-determination as a people, the creation of a socialist state, or Black nation places different requirements on the Black worker - our move is for autonomy - our working class must not exist for any other state but our own. Whereas the white worker has an historical obligation to create his own socialist relationships. The cultural, and social dynamics of racism mandates this distinction if we are not to fall victim to powerlessness in the future when capitalist relations are abolished. National self-determination is therefore a necessary stage for both Blacks and whites in creating new human beings able to relate to each other. Thus Black worker-white worker solidarity can only be a tactical policy not a complete strategy having as its end one socialist entity as the revisionists would have us believe. Recognition of our right to national self-determination is not compromised when we clearly understand our tasks as a movement. Both the establishment of a Black revolutionary Nation based on socialist relations, and overthrowing the present capitalist system and establishment of a predominantly white workers state, are complementary struggles, and as such there will be tactical unity around issues that affect both Black and white workers. This is not integration.

On the armed front, solidarity is based upon revolutionary action. We recognize the legitimacy of all revolutionary violence against the capitalist corporate state, its ruling classes, and its institutions. Militarily speaking, clandestine alliances between different revolutionary armed formations is a matter of coordinating command first. Until such time as the armed front develops its logistical

Dedicated to all the comrades killed,
captured, and exiled in the struggle to
build the armed urban guerrilla front,
and to those who supported us when all
others refused to face up to reality...

The season of struggle is our season.

Message To The Black Movement
this edition published February 2002
by Arm The Spirit-Solidarity in Montreal, Canada

ISBN 1-894820-22-3

Publishers:

Arm The Spirit
P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A
Toronto, ON
M5W 1P7
Canada
email: ats@etext.org
web: <http://burn.ucsd.edu>

Solidarity
2035 St. Laurent
2e etage
Montreal, QC
H2X 2T3, Canada
email: solidarity@tao.ca
web: www.tao.ca/~solidarity

Distribution:

Kersplebedeb Distribution
CP 63560
CCP Van Horne
Montreal, QC
H2W 3H8, Canada
email: info@kersplebedeb.com
web: www.kersplebedeb.com

conditions and not by emotional reflex. Many brothers and sisters think that under no circumstances should we as Black people enter into alliances with whites. These comrades consistently confuse alliance with bourgeois integration, or they maintain that all whites are our enemy, and therefore to have any alliance with whites can only lead to co-optation of our forces. Still other arguments maintain that in Black-white alliances we will be "fronted off" and for whites' own benefit. Some argue these views ideologically, in that they believe that a method, ideological system, if invented by whites cannot be adapted to, modified and developed to serve Black folks. It is a good thing Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Amilcar Cabral, Kim Il Sung and a host of other revolutionaries who led successful struggles did not think with such blinders.

The root cause of such incorrect views of alliances with whites is "fear" and lack of confidence in the forces that we ourselves build. We as a people are not at all used to dealing with white folks from a position of power and we fear that we will be manipulated against our will. Another contributing factor in creating our narrow perspectives is the fact that because we lack a clear understanding of class struggle. Nothing is absolute, including white folks and their alleged unity. To persist in the incorrect view that whites are all embracing in their unity among other whites is a stupid and childish myth that we have as a people. It is a confusion an oppressed people make when confronted with a seemingly all-powerful system of oppression. We have confused the appearance of the system with its substance. In capitalist society class struggle, inter-group antagonism, ethnocentric divisions, are all at the basis of such a system. Competition is the order of the day, and class unity, group unity, are all transitory, subject to change at any given moment. The historical fact that out of such conflict racism has evolved as culturally typical of all white society should not obscure the real differences among whites based on economic, social, and political position. We combat racism with revolutionary nationalism and a Black revolutionary united front, not with reactionary nationalism and racism. We combat economic exploitation with revolutionary class struggle waged against the capitalist class and their flunkies. These are the methods the movement should employ, revolutionary nationalism secures in our own hands our movement for self-determination, and thus combats the historical dynamic of white racism, while revolutionary class struggle allows us to defeat our class oppressor and enter into alliances beneficial to us.

Revolutionary struggle is a process, and like all things, goes through stages of development, setbacks, and periods of dormancy, at

can develop into the establishment of a permanent strategic headquarters abroad, out of the immediate reach of the enemy, and able to give strategic guidance to the movement during heightened repression. There are other such practical approaches already in motion.

It is incorrect for those involved in the struggle to attend international conferences without putting the question of practical and principled support of our movement on the agenda, this every organization should at least agree with in principle. In terms of international solidarity, the same principle holds true for other progressive nations that also refuse revolutionary aid offered in the spirit of solidarity. Our principle of self-reliance is not compromised as a result of seeking concrete international support, it is enhanced by its revolutionary nature.

We find it absurd that many brothers and sisters can support the armed struggles in Africa and not support the armed front at home. This is adopting the posture of solidarity with the essential spirit and revolutionary substance. It comes as no surprise that that progressive struggles do not support our movement as they should, how can they when we ourselves do not support our own? In the final analysis true revolutionary internationalism begins at home. It begins with basic principles of revolutionary struggle.

In summation, the Black Liberation Movement must move forward into the international arena with clear revolutionary politics instead of "community-oriented perspective" devoid of broad and far-reaching understanding. Revolutionary nationalism is and must be revolutionary internationalism, Pan-Africanism if it is to be revolutionary must express not only international Black solidarity, but revolutionary solidarity with all oppressed peoples struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Alliance With Whites

We are opposed to unprincipled class collaboration in our struggle for liberation, for unprincipled class collaboration can only weaken and dilute our struggle. On the other hand, we uphold the principle of unity based on struggle around issues that relate to our peoples revolutionary development. The principle of unity on struggle does not remove our right to principled criticism of reactionary ideas and struggle with incorrect views.

The question of Black-white alliances is both a tactical and strategic question of policy, that can only be answered by given objective

CONTENTS

Introduction	7
An Overview	8
View From The Armed Front: The Dialectic of Revolutionary Violence, Law, and Reformism	9
Why Build The Armed Front	14
Racism And Class	19
Destructive Sub-Culture, Crime, And Prison	22
Leadership Of The Struggle	27
What Is Protracted War In The Black Liberation Struggle?	28
Revolutionary Internationalism And Pan-Africanism	29
Alliances With Whites	32



In respect to point number one, it should be obvious to all elements of the Black liberation movement that things will get worse before they can possibly get better. The crisis of the capitalist system, increased domestic reaction, and other factors indicate that Black people will feel the ramifications of contradictions more so than any other class or group in this country. We can no longer sit by and rationalize the fact of the repressive apparatus of the ruling classes arrayed against our struggle. It would be incorrect for any responsible movement activist not to prepare for eventualities that the struggle for liberation may be confronted with.

We all must consider that any intensification of our struggle will lead to an increase of repression. This should not be feared as the pseudo-revolutionaries would have us do. Instead, we should see any intensification of repression as a necessary result of our increased efforts toward full freedom and prepare for it. Essential to such preparation is the establishment of principles of political sanctuary beyond the shores of the imperialist U.S.

We cannot but note that a real friend does not turn you away from his door in times of danger, and just as those independent and progressive nations of Africa principally support and give sanctuary to the freedom fighters of Africa, it is equally as principled that the movement for Black liberation within the U.S. be supported in a like fashion. Every group, every organization in the struggle for self-determination, should put this request high on the agenda of tasks to be dealt with. Our movement as a whole should make the principled stand that our right to struggle, and the mutual obligation to support all anti-imperialist movements is more than mere rhetoric, and as such we as a movement should be supported on the international level.

The second point deals with the basis for our contention that support is necessary, for without a unity in effort world, wide imperialism will not be defeated, nor racism eradicated.

It is the international web of U.S. imperialism, its profound effect on the lives of the world's people that puts our struggle in such a crucial strategic position. International support should be based on this strategic premise, for if self-determination is a legitimate goal of our struggle it will ultimately become an international question. As a movement we will be unable to create the principled international support necessary if we do not speak as one voice. Thus the principle of a National Front has clear international implications and is conducive in creating a unity in effort on the international level. To create the type of solidarity needed we should emphasize practical approaches. Sanctuary for our movement's activists is a practical approach that

To relate Pan-Africanism to the realities of the world today, we must never lose sight of the true nature of imperialism and its number one exponent, U.S. imperialism. Pan-Africanism that does not deal with neo-colonialist lackeys, but instead obscures the exploitive policies of these lackeys for the sake of Blackness, is nothing more than bourgeois nationalism taken to the international level. A Pan-Africanism that does not support the struggles of other Third World peoples against reactionary imperialist control, is not true revolutionary internationalism, and hence narrow cultural nationalism on the international level. In order for Pan-Africanism to be truly progressive, it must not only advocate the necessity for Black international unity against racism, it must put racism in its true perspective. It must also advocate Black and Third World unity against imperialism and neo-colonialism everywhere. Which means internal solidarity among national minorities within the confines of the U.S. A Pan-Africanism that does not clarify to Black people the economic basis for all national oppression cannot possibly explain the very fact that there are Black governments that exploit and assist in the oppression of Black people, and therefore will be unable to deal with the dialectics of racism correctly. It is the duty, therefore, of Pan-Africanism, to clarify and explain to Black people exactly who the enemy is. The enemy is international capitalism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism, and all those in league with these reactionary forces on the world scene.

The question of which road against racism and imperialism for the Black liberation movement here in the U.S., is a question that has been kicked around by everyone from doctrinaire narrow Black nationalists to the most reformist minded "Black intellectuals". Although it is not our intention to answer this question in its entirety, it is our intention to make the following points:

1. Whatever the ideological differences within the liberation movement here in the U.S., our movement must persuade those countries that are Black and truly anti-imperialist, to take a principled stand on the issue of political fugitives from the shores of the USA.
2. That the nature of imperialism and racism requires of all those that oppose these twin evils the utmost in mutual support short of actual interference within the national struggle of a particular people.

Introduction

The following is a political overview and statement of general political positions. We have written these positions from the perspective of the Armed Front because we feel that such a perspective is needed in the total revolutionary process for black liberation. We are general in our public statement because we are essentially a military and political front, therefore it would not do to speak in any other terms, for the actions of the armed front will address themselves to the specifics of our people's national oppression. We do not wish the enemy to gain tactical insight in carrying out his repressive campaigns, while on the other hand we do desire that the Black Liberation Movement understand the correct role armed struggle plays in a people's struggle and how this role is in motion for us here in North America.

The tool of analysis is for us a further development of the Historical Materialist method, the dialectical method. We will not even waste our time debating the values of Marxism with those who are emotionally hung up on white people - hung up to the point of ideological blindness. We understand the process of revolution, and fundamental to this understanding is this fact: Marxism is developed to a higher level when it is scientifically adapted to a people's unique national condition, becoming a new ideology altogether. Thus was the case in China, Guinea-Bissau, Vietnam, North Korea, the Peoples Republic of the Congo and many other socialist nations. For Black people here in North America our struggle is not only unique, but it is the most sophisticated and advanced oppression of a racial national minority in the whole world. We are the true 20th century slaves, and the use of the dialectical method, class struggle and national liberation, will find its highest development as a result of us. This dialectic holds true not only for Marxism, but for revolutionary nationalism as well; it holds true for concepts of revolutionary Pan-Africanism; it is true of the theoretical basis in developing revolutionary black culture. All of these ideological trends will find their highest expression as a result of our advanced oppression.

Yet, we must be ever mindful that the same objective process is true for reactionary refinement as a result of our struggle. This is the unity of opposites in struggle with each other. To defeat our enemy and render his reactionary allies impotent, we must have a truly revolutionary perspective informed by concepts of revolutionary class struggle, a movement without such a perspective will fail to defeat our common oppressor. We are not afraid of white people controlling our movement, for our formations, guns, and ideas are built with our

own hands, efforts, and blood. With this in mind, we address ourselves to the Black Liberation struggle, its activist elements and organizations. Our call is for **Unity, for a National Black Liberation Front.** We must build to win!

Nyurba,

Black Liberation Army

An Overview

We will start with the basic fact that Capitalism and Imperialism as an economic system is in a deep crisis at home and abroad. The basis of this crisis is, of course, the exploitive relationships that capital must maintain in order to function. It is these economic, social and political relationships that signal the eventual doom of our oppressors and this system of oppression under which we all live.

This crisis of capitalism is of a protracted nature. By this we mean it is a long process of deterioration that is spread over a considerable length of time. The seeming material wealth which we see all around us in no way contradicts this fact of decay, deterioration, or the fact of crisis. In fact, over-production and uneven distribution have led time and time again to a bloated market, cutbacks in employment, and all the attendant ills of an economy based on private ownership of socially produced commodities. Inflation, soaring prices, and inadequate wages are all symptoms of an economy that is based primarily on class exploitation at home and national domination of the Third World's resources abroad.

The heightening of oppressed peoples struggles abroad have added to the crisis of the entire western world, and threaten to cut drastically its essential resources. We realize that the chief economic and military power in the western world and its ruling class, namely the United States of North America and its corporate-financial ruling circles, will never allow the demise of its empire without a desperate fight. We, as Blacks in North America, must realize that to seek inclusion into the prevailing socio-economic system is suicide in the long run, for the prevailing system cannot withstand the irresistible world trend of history which is opposed to continued U.S. exploitation, racist domination and subjugation. To fool ourselves into believing that "equal opportunity", "justice", and social equality is the same as the capitalist system is a grave mistake with genocidal implications for every person of color. Our first obligation is to ourselves, this means our first obligation is to secure our total liberation from those forces

Protracted struggle is the method of struggle that shuns bringing conflict to one decisive showdown. Instead, it seeks to wear down the enemy, force him to utilize all of his manpower without securing a decisive victory, while the revolutionary forces increase their strength and raise peoples' awareness in the oppressor, while these same burdens are the catalyst for the masses organizing themselves. In short, protracted struggle is the process by which the enemy is weakened, demoralized, and made politically bankrupt, until our relationship to his strength is tipped in our objective favour.

We maintain that on the military level, urban guerrilla war, based on the strategic principles of protracted struggle, can succeed in its aim of increasing the crisis of the capitalist system of oppression. And, that urban guerrilla struggle serves as a dialectical and necessary element in the fight for national Black self-determination, without which we will be defeated.

Revolutionary Internationalism And Pan-Africanism

As we have stated earlier, the Black liberation struggle is a revolutionary struggle because it cannot succeed without the total re-alteration of the whole of American capitalist society. In the final analysis, Black national self-determination means destruction of the whole of capitalist relationships. This is the revolutionary aspect of our struggle. But if revolutionary nationalism implies the destruction of capitalism on the national level - it must also be applied internationally. Revolutionary nationalism on the international level is anti-imperialist internationalism. This means that it is impossible to be a real revolutionary nationalist without being at the same time anti-U.S. imperialist.

Imperialism is the final stage of over-developed capitalism. It is the international control of monopoly-corporate capital over the economic, social, and political lives or over half the world's people. Imperialism is also the extension of the capitalist ruling class's political control on the international level, which has called into existence the organization of neo-colonialism, then, is the highest stage of imperialism, for it substitutes the faces of the oppressor while maintaining the exploitive relationship of imperialism. Because imperialism is international in scope, the fight against it must also be international. For until all people affected by it are free, no one will be free. Capitalism must be destroyed wherever it exists and we must mutually support each others' struggles against it.

imperialist venture, and has cast many into the pit of uncertainty.

Of course the post-Vietnam revelations of government deceptions told Black people nothing "new" about the ruling class institutions of American society. But it revealed these institutions for what they are, for the first time America could see what was perpetrated in their name. This was/is most uncomfortable, for white America cherishes its self-deceptions of righteousness and democracy. With the eroding of these self-delusions, our position as a national minority has become increasingly endangered. There is the foul odour of reactionary "Americanism" in the air, fanned and blown into the confused faces of white America by a ruling class beset with all manner of economic political and social ills - which demand attention. (The landslide victory of Nixon in '72 was an endorsement, conscious or unconscious, of white America's deep-seated reactionary nature and confusion as manifested in the Nixonian doctrine.)

The onslaught of domestic repression, social programs of class repression, and "law and order" are upon us all now. We must build the means to combat these programs of the enemy, or our very survival will be severely in question. So when we say a state of undeclared war exists, we mean a domestic war, an economic, a military, and a political war. We therefore must fight this war on all fronts.

The strategy of protracted war is suited to our objective circumstances. The oppressor is strong while we are weak. But his strength is not absolute, is not without its limitations. These limitations are to be found within his seeming strength. For purely military reasons we will not go into them all, but the immense size and urban centralization of the economic strengths of our oppressor make him vulnerable, his intensified difficulties on the economic and social levels make him tactically vulnerable, the erosion of his reactionary political face make him politically vulnerable, and subject to social dysfunction. In addition, the exploitive relationships of capital are approaching their limitations, while we are progressive and as of yet have not reached our full potential. For these reasons and many others, protracted struggle is a correct strategic line. We must refuse to fight decisive battles on the military level, while striving to increase our potential to harm ruling class interests. We must organize on the mass level along these same principles: refusing to fight battles that cannot be won, while constantly engaging in those that will build the confidence of our people. This does not mean an abdication of responsibility to raise the level of consciousness of our people by engaging in struggles that will only "enlighten" them, it merely means that each tactical struggle around particular issues must have a specific and concrete goal that can be won.

that maintain our oppressive condition. Related to this self-obligation (not distinct from it), is our obligation to all oppressed peoples throughout the world, for in striving to liberate ourselves we must abolish a system that enslaves others throughout the world. This, in essence, is our historical duty, we can either carry it out or betray it - but we most certainly will be judged accordingly by the world's peoples.

The BLA, as a result of realizing the economical nature of the system under which we are forced to live, maintains the following principles:

1. That we are anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist.
2. That we must of necessity strive for the abolishment of these systems and for the institution of Socialist relationships in which black people have total and absolute control over their own destiny as a people.
3. That in order to abolish our system of oppression, we must utilize the science of class struggle, develop this science as it relates to our unique national condition.

View From The Armed Front: The Dialectic Of Revolutionary Violence, Law And Reformism

Our recognition of the economic contradictions of capital in no way obscures the social and political realities that now confront us and our struggle for Black Liberation. To the contrary, it enhances and deepens our perspective and clarifies the dialectical role of armed struggle in our liberation process.

We have begun to recognize and analyze those forces in a modern technologically advanced society that set our particular struggle apart from other Third World people's struggles, as well as the common factors all oppressed peoples share as a result of U.S. and western imperialism. One such factor that sets our struggle apart from other struggles is the profound influence of organized technology on our consciousness, social relationships, and behaviour. People who live in the technologically advanced societies of the west have been programmed to perceive their needs as being one in the same as the

technology that created these artificial needs. Because the masses of working people do not control this technology, it has been consistently used to manipulate their whole lives. We are told what to buy, what to eat, whom to hate, and what to love, by rulers and controllers of an exploitive system.

Technology in the context of capitalism is the ultimate means by which the masses are programmed out of the need for real freedom. A whole social value system has evolved to support the dependence on corporate-state technological control. We no longer know what freedom is - what self-determination is. We perceive the value of competition as being in the natural order of human relationships, instead of contrary to the fact that people are social animals, more attuned to cooperation than competition. We must create in the course of destroying our system of oppression, whole new value concepts, concepts that exist in dialectical opposition to the values that buttress our oppression - even more than this, we must create a new need within ourselves for freedom, so that we can harness technology on our behalf. As it stands now, Black people cannot even conceive of real freedom; we are afraid of real liberation because we have been programmed to be afraid by racist class oppression. Technology has immensely aided in reinforcing our fear of the dominant ruling circles. We must break this social psychosis.

The BLA has undertaken armed struggle as a means by which the social psychosis of fear, awe, and love of everything white people define as being of value, is purged from our peoples' minds. Our historical experience in North America has shown us that we as a people have always suffered while the racist ruling circles have never suffered. We have seen throughout our history pain, blood, rape, exploitation, poverty, our families torn asunder by a cruel and brutal culture, our youth murdered and socially crippled, our women degraded, our lives ever at the mercy of the cold American dream machine. We realize that the results of this historical experience has caused black people to fear America's capacity for racist violence, and on the other hand, has reinforced the racist ruling circles in their attitudes of arrogance and confidence. The fact that the majority of whites who are equally oppressed and exploited do not really understand who their real enemy is, does not deter us from doing what must be done to break not only our people's mental chains, but theirs as well. We therefore, will illustrate in the only terms that the ruling classes understand - the terms of blood - their blood. America must learn that Black people are not the eternal sufferers, the universal prisoners, the only ones who can feel pain. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, not a tactic of struggle, but a strategy. A strategy designed

of Blacks that will constitute the dynamic revolutionary leadership of the movement will be the Black students, and youth as well as those young Black adults who have acquired the basics of professional training but have refused to continue in the same narrow vein as their parents. The crucial element in developing this dynamic potential is the training of this segment of the Black population. Our youth, students and young fledgling professionals must be politicized more, involved in struggle, and trained in the art of protracted war. Over half of the Black population is under the age of 30, and we as a movement must realize their true potential. For, if we don't, the enemy surely will, and intensify their programs aimed at debilitating our young.

What Is Protracted War In The Black Liberation Struggle?

If the nature of the crisis of the system of oppression is protracted, that is, drawn out over a considerable period of time, then our struggle to defeat this exploitive system and acquire self-determination is also of a protracted nature. But why a protracted war?

The very reality of Black people's experience in North America proves that we are and have been in a state of war. This is a difficult realization for many to make, especially those who still have their minds in pawn to the great American delusion, but often the truth is harsh in its naked form. The nature of this war assumes many different guises, sometimes overtly violent, sometimes economically restrictive, and still other times socially repressive. If we bear in mind that the modern wars of U.S. imperialism waged against Third World people have not all been completely military campaigns, but have also included social pacification programs, economic aid to reactionary regimes, political-police extermination of legitimate opposition and the like, then it should not be too hard for us to realize that in its policies against Blacks, poor people, and other national minorities, the U.S. government is waging an undeclared war. The primary aspects of this undeclared war are class repression, and casualties can be counted on both the welfare-unemployment roles, and the statistics of murdered Black youth and prison-crime reports.

This undeclared war has masked itself as "domestic reform", "law and order", and "a return to traditional American values" a la Nixonian doctrine. The ending of overt U.S. military involvement in Vietnam has led to an increasingly reactionary stance on the part of the majority of white Americans. The vile and deceitful nature of America's institutions were revealed glaringly by the Vietnam

classes will gravitate toward particular fronts of struggle more so than others, and it is on these particular fronts of struggle that leadership will be developed, culminating in some form of collective leadership for the entire movement (as conditions dictate such unity for mutual survival). We already see this trend in the movement today. However, the basis of the movement will increasingly depend on the Black working class and its ability to perceive the nature of capitalism, racism, and the politics of these twin evils as they relate to our survival as a people. The primary factor in developing such a consciousness is the enemy, his increasing crisis, and social reaction to his dilemma. Therefore we must increase his problems a thousand fold, while building our capacity to struggle. Yet we do not see the Black bourgeoisie as the primary class leading the masses of black people into a higher degree of revolutionary consciousness. Experience has taught us that the black bourgeoisie as a class has certain ideological tendencies. It is these tendencies if not curbed, that limit the revolutionary potential of this class of blacks. The era of civil rights, has shown us that any thrust of our liberation struggle primarily led by this class will never exceed the bourgeois goals of the class itself. Such being the case, the racist ruling circles have always found it more "acceptable" to concede to Black bourgeois demands and thereby diffuse any revolutionary movement among the masses of Blacks who are not yet conscious of their revolutionary potential. The racist oppressor has a natural ally in the Black bourgeoisie, because this class above all is the most opportunist.

We still hold fast to the premise that the Black bourgeoisie in the U.S. is essentially a colonial type bourgeoisie, that at one moment supports the legitimate aspirations of the "colony" (for its own bourgeois ends) and at other moments opposes these aspirations when their bourgeois leadership position is threatened. The history of the reformist civil rights phase of the Black liberation struggle proves this beyond a doubt. Recognition of these tendencies in this class of Blacks should not deter the revolutionary segment of the movement from requiring of the Black bourgeoisie certain responsibilities, namely, that it is still their duty to build a movement that will lead in the ultimate destruction of the capitalist state and self-determination for only under these conditions will our survival as a people (a free people) manifest itself.

Considering our just given overview of the classes, and class nature of the Black liberation struggle, we contend that if the Black working class is the basis for our struggle succeeding, and that each of the primary categories of the Black population will assume some leadership responsibilities in leading the struggle, the primary category

to drive the capitalist system further into crisis, while at the same time forcing all those responsible for oppression to realize that they too can bleed, they too can feel our pain. Only when this is realized, will any just and equal decisions be made, will we be conceded our right to self-determination. As it stands now, the powerful do not believe they can hurt and therefore, find concession to our demands for liberation ridiculous. Our social/psychotic fear of the racists ruling circles must be purged also, and only by developing our capacity to fight our enemy will this unreasonable and reactionary fear be eradicated from our social psyche. Revolutionary violence is not so much a self-cleansing process as it is a necessary ingredient in creating a psychological frame of mind amongst the ruling classes that our liberation must be granted.

We must clarify revolutionary violence in relationship to our actual condition, because many of our people believe in the "law", or at least the existing code of law of our oppressor. Most people do not see the real relationship between the development of western law and the development of western capitalism; therefore, these people cannot deal with the reality of injustice as being an integral part of the prevailing system. Not a few people misunderstand the objective class function of the courts, the police, and various related institutions in maintaining the illusion of North American democracy.

In a society such as exists here today, law is never impartial, never divorced from the economic relationships that brought it about. History clearly shows that in the course of the development of modern western society, the code of law is the code of the dominant and most powerful class, made into laws for everyone. It is implemented by establishing "special" armed organs, that are obliged to enforce the prevailing class laws. In this historical period of human social development such is the objective function of "law", under such conditions of the most powerful economic and political classes. But, what about the law in a democracy, especially one that claims that all its citizens can elect their representatives who in turn can create new laws? First of all, such a democracy does not exist in North America, bourgeois democracy is essentially the dictatorship of what used to be termed the "national bourgeoisie". There are a combination of reasons as to why this form of democracy as such is merely a means of political control that evinces a design to subjugate its people, all of these reasons flow from the necessity to maintain exploitive capitalist relationships. Thus, the influence of corporate wealth on the politics of bourgeois democracy is merely an extension of private property's traditional influence and control of the so-called democratic process. The constant co-optation by ruling classes of the masses of working peoples, coupled