criticism and analysis of the
Political Statement of
the George Jackson Brigade
from
The Anarchist angle
by
Carl Harp

edited by John H. Bosch.
This was written by Carl Harp just before he was murdered by the State.


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POINT OF VIEW. - Ours.

Over the last decade a great amount of change has swept the country and the consequences of these changes are with us today. But the nature of change (The original concept of Chaos) is such that we realize that the "concrete facts" of today are only the dust motes of tomorrow.

As anarchists, we are concerned with all things that threaten the free will of all people. We are interested in the health of our children, the safety of our families, and the welfare of ourselves and our friends. We are the people who decide for themselves their destiny and accept no man or system as our master.

In the following pages we have attempted to put into words our feelings in regards to revolution and concerning, specifically, the

Political Statement of the George Jackson Brigade. (Nov. '77.)

We presume that there will be elements from all classes in society that disagree with something in our dissertation. It appears also that some points will be accepted and some rejected, possibly even some ignored. This is entirely up to the reader. We do not ask you to accept our claims on face value alone. We expect that, like all intelligent and interested people, you will weigh the points printed here, research further the subjects contained, and reach reasonable conclusions on your own. After all, whether you are a revolutionary, an apolitical worker, or a member of the ruling class, the revolution, whether you admit it or not, concerns you. You are already involved.

Some of the areas of discussion will contain two or more slightly different outlooks. Since we, as anarchists, are very prone to safeguarding our individuality, we do indeed have differences of opinion. We have found, however, that these differences do not in any way shape or form get in the way of our working together or enjoying the gift of life. These differences enhance our work and lives each day.

Some of us are anarchists because we are political. Some of us are anarchists because we are not political. Some of us are religious, some are not. But if there was a God or force that we could all acknowledge at once, it would be chaos, the ancient divinity governing the eternal law of change. Not the earth destroying, soul searing holocaust, that some portray chaos to be, but the unending play of universal growth throughout the cosmos. A seed does not become a tree until it sheds its shell. Likewise a human being cannot hope to realize his full potential unless he is allowed to grow as these universal laws dictate. If one man forces another into a mold that man is not meant to fill, the loss belongs to all of us.

IN THE BEGINNING.

We can see by this opening statement (accepting the eulogy to Bruce Seidal as a dedication) that the origins of the George Jackson Brigade lie in the theories of communism. From the start they operated on the principles and examples of this theory of a society "ruled by the working class."

To prove their liberality they recite a roll call of activities and structure - "50% women... at least half the women are lesbians... Leadership and decision making comes from the women... 50% of the planning and participation... women."
Who cares? Are we fighting a revolution or accepting nominations for "Man of the year"? Does it matter what sex a fighter is? Does it matter what sexual preference he or she enjoys?

We are engaged in a revolution. Revolution is a fight to the death for life, freedom, and recognition of our common humanity. In a time of revolution it matters very little whether you are a man or a woman, what colour your skin is or who or what you go to bed with. These observations by the Brigade are irrelevant, useless, detract from the mission of disseminating propaganda (as the Statement is said to be), and a cheap pat on their own backs.

However, in all fairness, some of us feel that this is not the attitude or idea the Brigade is trying to express here. These people feel that the idea being presented here is that all people have the potential to be revolutionaries, but that this is overlooked by many others because of their prejudices.

If this is indeed the case, we hope that further communications will be more specific.

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POINTS OF UNITY.

As a means of cementing solidarity among its members, the 8 Points of Unity is not a bad grouping of ideas. We cannot find too much fault with most of the points. However, there is an area or two that causes us to wonder just the tiniest bit if maybe we are being fed a line of crap.

Point 4 claims that the foundation of class society is sexism. There is no explanation given for such a line of reasoning. Try as we might, we couldn't find one either. There is no basis for such a claim. In the early days of social order the primary concern was survival. There was not enough room in the group for idiocy such as sexism, racism, or anything else that would hamper the fight for survival. Society had a need to reach a higher level of development before this foolishness could spring forth.

Sexism is an offshoot of the old idea of women as chattels. (property.) As property has no individualism or importance outside of it's uses to the owner, women were simply to be considered as means to increase the wealth of the husband/owner.

Homosexuality, since it does not increase the property, in the guise of children, has been condemned by Church and State in most civilisations used as examples in today's social studies classes. Once again the concept of ownership raises its head. Citizens throughout history have been regarded by the State as property.

Points 4 and 5 further claim that sexism and racism are major tools of ruling class oppression. Good point. The old device and conquer rule still works in these days of modern technology. Call us sentimental if you like, but this brand of D and C shows that good old fashioned techniques can still work their old magic today.

The only real problem here is the general accusation made against each and every human being on the face of the Earth "(racism, sexism) must be smashed in each one of us." It would appear that the Brigade feels that everyone is a bigot. The fault in this line of thinking is the attitude that frames the thought. It should be obvious to all of us that not everyone is suffering from these delusions. Some of us are not sexist, some are not racist.

Thanks, but no thanks. Each person is free to pick and choose their own brand of guilt. Don't peddle your personal problems and rationalise them in this manner. We ain't buying it.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

This Statement refers to "the dictatorship of the proletariat" several times. It is defined as the belief in a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It revolves around the belief that it is the people who know what the people want. Thus far the definition is true. Difficulty arises when the terms "dictatorship" and "proletariat" are defined. Let's look at these words a moment.

WEBSTER'S NEW TWENTIETH CENTURY DICTIONARY (Collins World, 1977) states that "proletariat" means:

(1) the class of lowest status in ancient Roman society.
(2) the class of lowest status in any society or community. (rare)
(3) the working class; especially the industrial working class; the current sense, as in Marxism.
3.

We can dispense with the first two as the Brigade claims Marxist tendencies. We will accept(once) their definition of themselves.

"Dictatorship is defined by the same source, as:

1. the position or office of a dictator;
2. the term of dictator's office;
3. a dictatorial government; a state ruled a dictator;
4. absolute power or authority.

We can again ignore definitions 1 and 2 since they deal with an office or length of time. That leaves us with 3 or 4 - both of which are in harmony in modern social order. Therefore, the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is simply: "A dictatorial government of absolute authority resting in the hands of the industrial working class."

It appears that since not all industrial workers, this definition would result in one of two things. A new breed of oppressors or a new "democracy" - the oppression of the minority. Oppression is oppression, no matter who is doing it. Why trade old chains for new?

Albert Jay Nock, in OUR ENEMY THE STATE, shows the illogic of this social order. "A proletarian State would merely, like the merchant-State shift the incident of exploitation, and there is no historical ground for the assumption that a collectivist State would be in any essential respect unlike its predecessors; as we are beginning to see, "the Russian experiment" has amounted to the erection of a highly-centralized bureaucratic State upon the ruins of another, leaving the entire apparatus of exploitation intact and ready for use."

On the other hand, if we accept the idea that this would result in everyone being able to reap the benefits of a new social order without new chains, we are all for it. Surprise, surprise, the only system that operates on these terms is Anarchy. Isn't that what we all want - self rule?

If we read the whole STATEMENT we find such gems as: "...many honest revolutionaries do not yet recognize their responsibility to support the armed struggle." Responsibility is ACCEPTED by the individual; it cannot be forced upon him.

Yet the N-L's would force it upon all. "...their responsibility to provide leadership..." Not only would they have you believe that responsibility can be forced on those that don't want it, but they would also force the concept of leadership down our throats. Leaders are recognized by the people. That is the determination of leadership. If we must, as the communists claim, wait on the will of the people, then we must wait until the people decide who they will be led by. If we force them to accept a leadership they do not want, then we become the enemy.

One of the prime examples of a leader who was not accepted at the time he attended to lead was Che Guevara. In his last campaign he was unable to raise much support because the people would not accept him as a leader in a revolution they didn't accept. He was alone, cut off from proper supply lines, and ultimately killed. Perhaps if he had waited for the people to ask for help he would be alive today.

THE LEFT.

We move on now to the attitudes of the left as defined by the Brigade and we shall then see a great mass of contradiction, undeserved innuendo, and more commands given us by the Brigade.

"For the most part, the organised left in Seattle has ignored us. Our experience with them has led us to become somewhat cynical about them, so their behaviour hasn't bothered us too much. At the same time, we recognize the important contributions made by those few independent segments of the left, and the ordinary people, who have supported us."

By approaching this statement from all angles and studying it in all its aspects, it appears that they want to hear from you, you poor ordinary people, as long as you agree with them. If you don't, you're shirking your responsibility. That makes you, the ordinary people, the problem. That makes you, the ordinary people, the enemy. That makes you, the ordinary people expendable.

It also displays an attitude of superiority felt by our gracious lords and leaders. If we, or anyone, are ordinary people
then there must be somewhere some extraordinary people. Read that "superior" people. WHO ARE THEY? Ask the communists. It should be apparent by this time that they will gladly "recognise their responsibilities" and lead us on the path to true enlightenment. We can hear the rattle of those chains again.

After all this they would have you believe that they are interested in your ideas and opinions! They urge you to state your criticisms so that they can improve their tactics and expand their goals. But if we "don't accept our responsibilities", or if we are just "ordinary people", they don't want to hear it. They make their own decisions. They want to make ours. At the same time it appears to me contradictory to state that they want to hear from you and continue to contend that you cannot be trusted! If there is no contradiction here, contradictions do not exist at all.

WEATHER

At the risk of sounding like one who deals in cliches, everyone talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it. We have all seen the rise and fall of our favourite group of "mad bombers" and the Weather Underground Organisation has been counted among them. Back when everyone else was talking about revolution, they ACTED. They scared hell out of the ruling class long before it was "fashionable" to do so.

We feel that some of the criticisms levelled against them is unfair. Dope dealing, for instance. (When we speak of dope here and later, let it be understood that we do not condone the sale or use of addictive drugs, but that we are speaking of pleasure producing herbs with uses in medical, philosophical, and/or religious areas) While it is true that dealing itself may not be a revolutionary activity, it supports the wishes of a large segment of the population and is therefore an act of rebellion. The money made by dealing can then be used by the rebels to arm themselves and acquire other much needed supplies.

Since a person can get less time in prison and not take the same chances of capture as can be suffered in bank robberies and/or kidnapping, it is also a safer activity to engage in. Since the prevailing attitude among revolutionaries is that fighting and drugs dont mix (and since the police know this), it can be used as a cover by the revolutionary. A somewhat dubious cover to be sure, but quite satisfactory under certain conditions.

Additionally, we must support the Brigade's stand on "turning yourself in to the police as revolutionary tactics."

While the theory of jamming the machinery of government with our bodies is sound but in actual fact the sheer numbers needed to do this are unavailable. In addition, there is the consideration that we, by acting in this manner, are throwing ourselves on the mercy of what we claim is a corrupt system. If we acknowledge that the system is corrupt, how can we trust it to deal fairly with us? If we acknowledge the impossibility of fairness, why should we trust ourselves to beat the system in its own legal network?

As for the point raised about the lack of quality leadership in the WGO, we believe that that should be left to the discretion of the WGO. If its members feel that the current leadership is not doing its job properly, then it is up to them to replace it with one they feel will do the job. If we believe in the right of the people to choose their own destinies, then we must believe in their right to accept the leadership and organisation they see fit to represent them.

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THE POLICE

This brings us to a subject near and dear to the hearts of us all. We all have our own pet attitudes and stories about police oppression, and most of us feel the world would be a better place to live in without our ever present police state. But as far as we know, the George Jackson Brigade is the first group to approach the problem in such depth. While it true that the Black Panthers talked about the situation, their main solution was to keep them out of the neighborhood. The Brigade claims, however, that the "police have no objective interest in maintaining capitalism, and they are not the enemy" But the police do profit directly from the system. They are, in the Brigade's own words, "...the most visible and oppressive arm of the ruling classes,..."

Without the ruling class the police would be out of work. They draw their pay, and hence their means of survival, from
the system. They need the same things that we need in order to survive. Therefore, without their pay they would be denied these necessities. So because they rely on the system for their pay, they must be loyal to the system.

As to the idea that they "...are themselves exploited workers...", it should be pointed out that the police are not drafted, nor are they forced to sign any binding papers contracting them to the State. They join of their own free will and they are able to quit and seek employment elsewhere at any time. We may conclude then, that if they are indeed exploited, it is because they wish to be. This destroys the concept of exploitation.

While it is true that many of the police turn to drugs, boozes, "...and other forms of self destruction..." it is equally true by all the laws of modern psychology that these are merely symptoms of a personality in conflict with itself. These contradictions can be resolved however, and good mental health can be achieved, if the policeman himself faces the problems honestly. No one else can do it for him. If he becomes in self destructive patterns of behaviour, then he has made that choice himself and must live and/or die by it.

And it is true that the police must be made to see the role they play in supporting the ruling class. But it must be remembered while we are "enlightening" them, that many are totally aware of the gravity of their position and support it wholeheartedly. We are dealing with a loaded gun pointed directly at our heads. It is extremely hard to argue logically and convincingly with that gun.

We find then, that the Brigade has a pretty decent knowledge of the police except for one or two points. There is also the additional point that while many of us theorise quite a bit, the brigade has faced the enemy on the streets and fought them. This speaks well for both them and the future of the revolution.

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TERRORISM.

"Terror is a tactic.....to strike fear in the minds of their enemies...." That is the Brigade's definition of it. Straight to the point and roughly accurate.

Somewhere along the line a misconception came up. The idea that "Terrorism results from the capitalistic sickness(es) of individualism ..." is false. Individualism is neither a sickness or a result of capitalism. The capitalists might talk big about the right of a person to be an individual, but in actual practise they deny this right to anyone but themselves. Even among themselves there are strict rules of behaviour that dictate just how far one may go in practising it.

The only ones who actively pursue Individualism are the Egoists and other types of anarchists. The fundamental concepts of anarchism are Individualism and related ideas. In The EGO AND ITS OWN, Max Sterner presented the idea. All other anarchist theories revolve around this basic concept, that the individual has the right to dictate his own life.

The attack on terrorism that begins:"Terrorism is an extremely easy tactic to use...." gives the impression that a terrorist is some sort of irrational idiot who roam the world looking for places to play boogie man. Recent history shows us that the average run-of-the-mill terrorist is well equipped to handle various situations and his goals and tactics are effective in quite a number of cases. As for principles, we are sure that many of the groups operating under a terrorist "jacket" have high ideals and unyielding principles. They do hold themselves responsible for their actions and they regard themselves as responsible for their people.

It seems that the whole area of terrorism is condemned by the Brigade untill we read the fine print at the bottom of this particular section. Then there appears to be a contradiction. If terrorism is wrong because of the reasons given, then this wrong is an absolute value and cannot be changed. Therefore the Palestinians, to use the Brigade's example, would be
6. It is wrong to employ this technique. On the other hand, if survival is a rationale for using terrorism, then each individual is entitled to the same right of use. It can further be claimed that the capitalists have the right to engage in the same tactics since we, members of the revolution, threaten their existence.

We believe that misdirected acts are a danger and a symptom sometimes of irresponsibility, but we recognize the right of all the people to use whatever weapons are available to them. Terror, properly used, is one of the best psychological weapons in any arsenal. Let us not disarm the people.

Lastly, we feel that the definition given by the Brigade is somewhat inaccurate. Further, it plays right into the hands of the ruling class's propaganda machine. This weakens our position and hurts us all. We hope that similar instances do not happen in the future.

STRATEGY

Ah, yes. The meat of any revolution is the way we employ ourselves. How can we hope to argue against these points brought up in the George Jackson Brigade's statement? Recognizing reality as it appears to us, we find there really isn't too much that can be said against the Brigade in this section. The problems they encountered face all of us at one time or another and must be overcome. These people seem to have accomplished quite a lot in the area of strategy and we thank them for it.

point 2. The enlargement of the struggle - brings up the point of various forms of unity. On the face of it, both tactics are reasonable and quite effective. At the same time the problems of both are readily apparent. Rather than discussing them again at length and criticising them, we offer the solution of doing both. By enlarging the size of our groups we increase the reach of our operations. We can accomplish more because of our greater strength. Our different areas of work (armed struggle, security, intelligence, etc.) become easier because our resources are increased. We are then able to suffer from the handicaps of increased size. Security must tighten up. We must be able to communicate with each other, yet remain invisible while doing it. But the tactic is good and must be accomplished if we are to survive as a capable fighting force.

point 3. Development of a Rural Base - is self evident. We need a base with security that no "safe house" can provide. We need a place for R & R before and after our actions. Many brothers and sisters have been lost because of the lack of this type of environment.

The only area of disagreement we find is: "We are anxious to work with/develop organisational ties with/talk with/whatever with - all these progressive people. Whoever can agree with our eight points of unity."

This sounds awfully close to the "fuck you - hurray for me" syndrome. However, since we are not completely sure of the exact meaning of this particular section of the statement, we cannot affirm anything on this subject at this time. There may be a thought we are missing or misreading, so we eagerly wait to be enlightened on this point.

At this time we would like to mention that many times it has appeared to us and our associates that the Left has a communications problem. We urge all engaged in revolution to please state clearly everything you communicate. Our cloudiness will be used by Mr. Man to disrupt our functions and weaken our position.

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TACTICS

Again, we find very little to criticize. These tactics have been around since the beginning of time and will remain the same no matter how many years pass or wars are fought.

However, we fail to see how the George Jackson Brigade can take their stand that the masses must be followed as interpreted by the above ground Left when they have already condemned them for being indifferent, passive, or antagonistic.

On tactical principles we seem to disagree again, but it is only a difference of opinion perhaps. Propaganda (which excludes counter-propaganda) is as important as work that has a solid, readily apparent material effect.
They are so interrelated that to place one above the other is ridiculous. What good are the actions if the people don't know about them or the reasons behind them? Propaganda without a cause is useless, but the work without advertising is equally self-defeating. Both are needed to continue the fight.

Point 5 states that the Brigade will make a positive effort to surrender if taken by surprise by a superior force, and they rationalise this stand on the basis of the SLA massacre and the absence of a need for more crispy critturs in the revolution. Again, the difference is perhaps one of opinion. The circumstances inherent to each situation and the attitudes of the various individuals involved dictate the course of action to be taken at any particular time. To make a flat statement such as this seems to us to weaken the position of the revolutionaries making it. By weakening our positions we weaken the whole revolution. Point 6 is good except for subpoint "A" - that any contradiction between security and action must be resolved in favour of action. Again, circumstances dictate the importance of the different concepts.

Many of us in Anarchist Black Dragon Collective have been in the field covered in point 7. Again, we agree. It is shit work and it is important. At times it can be as dangerous as armed work. A revolutionary is a revolutionary—no matter what job he does and is therefore as much an enemy of the State as any combatant. The State will handle him as such, too. Point 8 is a paradox we are sure is apparent to all. The area you know is the area that knows you. That is a danger that we feel from time to time. As of this moment, the jury is still out about whether to operate in another group's area and rely on their intelligence apparatus, or to do all your own work in your own backyard. Many of us feel that this is the instance when the concept of federation is strongest. Share the work. Live in LA work in Phoenix, live in Albuquerque, work in Chicago etc.

**THE MAIN POINT IS TO GET THE WORK DONE.**

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**CHRONOLOGY.**

This section is certainly interesting. Considering the obstacles to overcome in some areas of the cases, and the supposed security in some of the areas of action, it shows a rough guideline on how to accomplish goals set by a fighting unit. However, the one part that interests us most is September 18, 1975 - the bombing of the Capitol Hill Safeway Store. To quote the George Jackson Brigade: "Our bomb caused minor injuries to several customers. This action was wrong because we brought violence and terror to a poor neighborhood, and we have thoroughly critized ourselves and changed our practice."

While it is wonderful that or criticism was administered and accepted by them, the real issue has not been settled. At least it has not been mentioned here in the STATEMENT; an error of oversight perhaps?

Under tactics we do find a statement of 4 main political principles, number 1 of which reads: "Take nothing from the people; destroy NOTHING belonging to the people - 'not so much as a thread'. In the event anyone other than the ruling class or its State loses anything as a result of a guerrilla attack, they must be reimbursed immediately and fully. Were these people reimbursed? The Statement leaves the question unanswered. Perhaps they were and the record does not show this because of an oversight. In that case we can only remind the Brigade and all others involved in similar activities to PLEASE contain all information possible in their communiques. A "blank spot" such as this can be used by the State for their propaganda with the same ease as solid evidence of action. At times inaction can be as harmful as action. On the other hand, perhaps these injured people were not reimbursed. In that case criticism becomes an empty ritual - "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

But the record is silent. We are not told. MUST WE GUESS???

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**ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN.**

(Before we go into the main points of this part of the STATEMENT, we would like to make one thing clear as possible.

That is that we do not know, by the words of this section, what is meant by the term "Anti-authoritarian". Anarchists are
anti-authoritarian. Criminals are anti-authoritarian. Some religious sects are anti-authoritarian, if you discount
Thaeocracy). What are these members of the Brigade? It is obvious that they are NOT anarchists. The M-L's claim that
the A-A's are anarchists, but the A-As never once use the terms Anarchists, anarchy or anarchism. They never
develop ourself politically.

The A-As speak of the "transition period from capitalism to communism". Why? Most anarchists have either a blazing hatred
or a very low tolerance for Communism. Even the Anarchico-Communists are more orientated to Anarchy than Communism.
Anarchists work for the implementation of Anarchy, not the Communist State. It is true that some feel we must pass through a
Communist phase before we finally settle into a classless and free one, but the goal remains Anarchy, not Communism.
They quote from a section of the SLA communiqué no. 5 that reads, in part: "...16. To destroy all forms and institutions of
Individualism..." Surely this speaks for itself. No self respecting and well informed Anarchist would be against Individualism
the very foundation of Anarchist theory. As we stated earlier, there is a false "individualism" practiced by the ruling class,
but it is so in name only and should not be confused with the real thing.

From what we can see, these self-proclaimed anti-authoritarians are nothing more than communists trying to hide behind a
facade of "liberalism" in posing as Anarchists. They obviously do not know anything about Anarchy and only enjoy the romantic
glows connected with the movement. They should at least study their material. A commie is only as good as his con and his
ability to carry it off.

MARXIST-LENINIST

Right from the top the M-L's claim to be working for a "classless, stateless society". Yet their intentions become almost
immediately obvious as they further state: "...the State will continue to exist....And a revolution cannot immediately do
away with class society, it can only replace one ruling class with another..."

They speak again of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", but as we have seen, these words are either a contradiction
or the promise of a stronger master. And when they claim they do not want members of the party to have any power in Government:
the contradiction is so apparent that it amazes us they would even attempt to ignore it.

If the party is not to have the power, then how can they trust those that do have the power? They want a strong state, a
centralist state, a power wielding State at the end of a revolution so they can "guarantee" the "dictatorship of the
proletariat".

BULLSHIT !!!!!

Was Lenin proletariat? Was Trotsky? Or Stalin? If the Communists are so interested in letting the people run the show, how
come they never let the people do it?

As to their contention that "Anarchism is grounded in the ideology of the Capitalists...", this only points out how little
they know about anarchy. If this is true, then why are we imprisoned and killed by these same capitalists?

Why are we fighting them if they are the same as us? If what they say was true, there would be no Anarchists in the revolution.

They attack the idea of federation, laughing at us and calling it nothing. Later they seem to reconsider and say,"Yes,
maybe we can use it for awhile. It is weak, but it could be useful." They claim it is a necessary evil.

Let's look at the idea of federation for a minute or two.

It is true that federations are weaker that a centralistic organisation. That is one of the main reasons that Anarchists
support them. The weaker the system is, of course, the easier it is to topple. But because of the non-centralistic
construction, only a peace of the whole structure falls. While it will not guarantee safety from a coup, it would be better
than a stronger, more powerful machine being run by the new masters.

Albert Nock states in the first chapter of OUR ENEMY THE STATE: "It is unfortunately none too well understood that, just
as the State has no money of its own, so it has no power of its own. All the power it has is what society gives it, plus what
it confiscates from time to time on one pretext or another; there is no other source from which the State power can be drawn.
Therefore every assumption of State power, whether by gift or seizure, leaves society with so much less power; there is never, nor can be, any strengthening of State power without a corresponding and roughly equivalent depletion of social power."

It follows then, that the stronger the people are, the weaker the government will be. The weaker the government, the less chance of the people suffering from it. Therefore the weaker the government is, the more free the people are. Freedom is safeguarded by the lack of authority and not by the overabundance of it.

Ah, but the communists want a strong centralist government, according to their STATEMENT. They say that this is the only way to guarantee freedom. "We will protect you, we will make the laws for you, we will fight for you. All you have to do is work. How wonderfully considerate they are! See how much they care! They will do all these marvelous things for us and all we have to do is work little fannies off to reverently serve their gallant efforts. By supporting them we are supporting the State that is going to do all these marvelous things for us.

If the State does the fighting for us we don't need to fight. So we don't need guns. The State will keep them "for us". If any criminal has a gun to use against us (and by their laws, any civilian with a gun is a criminal), they will see that he is removed until he is "reeducated." ALL WE HAVE TO DO IS SUPPORT THEM!

This is beginning to sound like we won the revolution only to replace one blood-crazed lion with another. Is this why we fought the damn thing in the first place?

Federation guards against this. Non-centralised autonomous groups are harder to overpower. One falls and the rest are alerted. In a strong centralist structure there is only one way to regroup once the pieces fall.

Then they try to blind us with foolish questions. The examples of the Black Flag Tractor fantasy and the Red Star locomotive company point out the conniving minds of the communists. What they are saying is: "We won the revolution. Now we lost it. Boo-hoo. Now what?"

Simple enough. FIGHT ANOTHER DAMNED REVOLUTION. Since these groups are exploiting the people they have become the enemy. Our job is obvious, and since they are non-centralised, they are weaker than the former oppressors. Fight.

Richardo Flores Magon, in his book LAND AND LIBERTY, states: "No one can foresee the lengths to which the impending Revolution's task of recovery will go; but, if we fighters undertake in good faith the helping it as far as possible along the road; if, when we pick up the Winchester, we go forth decided not to elevate to power another master but to redeem the proletariat's rights; if we take the field pledged to conquer that economic liberty which is the foundation on which all liberties rest, and the condition without which no liberties can exist; if we make this our purpose, we shall start it on a road worthy of this epoch. But if we are carried away by the desire for easy triumph; if, seeking to make the struggle shorter, we desert our own radicalism and aims, so incompatible with those of the purely bourgeois and conservative parties then we shall have done only the work of the bandits and assassins; for the blood spilled will serve merely to increase the power of the bourgeoisie and the caste that today possesses wealth, and after the triumph, that caste will fasten anew on the proletariat's own blood, its own sacrifices, its own martyrdom, which will have conquered power for the bourgeoisie.

The comment is made that Anarchism is not new. So what? Is "new" better? Does "old" mean bad? Think about it. The communists would also have you believe that the people do not know what they want. They say that each of us must strive to overcome our own personal feelings to "serve" the people. "The people" are individual units, each holding personal beliefs.

If we all submerge our personal beliefs there will be no "will of the people". This is simply a ploy by these manipulators of "the people".

They further define their goals as a "classless, stateless society". If this is true, then why is there such a division in Communist countries and Communist organisations between "the people" and the power mongers? Why do they claim that a classless society cannot be achieved through revolution, and at the same time they urge us all to overthrow our present social order to achieve one?
The same questions can be asked about their attitudes to the State. The answers to both questions are the same and they are obvious as hell. They want the revolution to succeed so that they may grab the reins of power (government) of a strong unit (centralist) and work for "the people (dictatorship.) They will do what they can to help and serve "the people" - as long as they are "the people" being served. Now on to the final contradiction that we wish to cover in this critique. "Marxism-Leninism is a SCIENCE that analyses reality as it exists, and which CHANGES as historical reality changes. Marxism-Leninism is the CONCRETE analysis of concrete conditions." There is such an obvious contradiction here that it is surprising it wasn't caught earlier. They first speak of change and then define change as a "concrete condition" governed by concrete laws - NO WAY. Change MIGHT be defined as a concrete condition if we accept the idea that the only condition of existence is change. Then, and only then, could it be so. Static is a more correct term than concrete. History shows that changing societies continue, static ones die. If society changes constantly, we may assume that the laws governing society must also change constantly. Since by scientific analysis it would take some time to determine and implement them, they would, or very well could be, obsolete. There are no "concrete conditions" that dictate change. Change, by its very nature, is a fluid condition and must be observed as such. Any concerted effort by a SMALL GROUP to guide the human race along a single path is doomed to failure from the start. An exercise of this nature can only MODIFY existing conditions and result in either a greater or more violent change.

* "Nuff said.

This whole section of the STATEMENT by the Brigade, is contradictory and/or smothered in sugar coated BULLSHIT. When one analyses it, the sugar coating disappears in the clear air of reason and the smelly concoction inside is revealed. People who throw stones shouldn't live in glass houses.

The communists, in the final analysis, show themselves in their true colours. They are nothing but a bunch of self-serving opportunists who wish only to replace the present bureaucratic structure with their own. They do not wish to replace or eliminate the police, military, or industrial machinery. They plan only to replace the old masters, and keep the existing structure intact. They will thus become the new masters.

We are fighting a revolution now to rid ourselves of people who operate under the same corporate-type machinery as the communists. If we want the same type of structure after the revolution as we have now, why should we fight and die to replace it in the first place? Freedom is too precious to give away once we have gained it. Why let those in power, new or old, set up newer and stronger chains than the ones we have just cast off? If the system is the same, it will suffer the same ills as the old one.

The wonderful sounding phrases of the Communists are thus exposed to sham. These opportunists will attempt to run the revolution at every opportunity. As long as they fight and die for the people they serve the people, but History shows us that they seize the reins of power immediately after the revolution by the same methods they employed to seize the revolution and its fighting units. As long as they fight and die, the people are served by them. But if they fight and live the revolution is only half completed.

An enemy that is obvious is vulnerable. An enemy that succeeds in deluding us with fine sounding words is a threat until it is recognised and defeated. It is a greater threat than the first because it stalks us deceives us as to its intentions and is secretive as to its full purpose. The communists are, therefore, a far greater threat to us than the present system.

ONE LAST WORD. We may, as lovers of freedom, fight beside the communist from time to time, but we will never allow them behind us.

* Marxist-Leninist are Bolsheviks. Just after the Russian Revolution the Bolsheviks changed their name to Communist and accepted Marxism (as interpreted by Lenin-Trotsky and Company) as their theory. They have been attempting to practise it ever since. It is our opinion that Marxism-Leninism is a gross distortion of Marxist thought leading only to State Capitalism under Totalitarian rule. That it is a higher form of Fascism disguised in revolutionary rhetoric playing with "We-ism".


The proof of this lies in it's own theory and practise, which History has recorded well. In that History one will also find that the communists have imprisoned, exiled, and killed more Anarchists than any Capitalist State has to date........

**IN CONCLUSION.**

We hope that this criticism and analysis of the POLITICAL STATEMENT of the GEORGE JACKSON BRIGADE has served to enlighten you on several points. These are:

1. That the Brigade has served the people well in most instances.
2. They have taught us much we need to know;
3. That all of us are merely human and thus prone to make mistakes;
4. That we must keep a watch on ourselves as well so that we do not lose the revolution before it's won.

We think that this analysis is precise and correct. We feel that there are some points that we did not cover, but we also feel that the ones covered are the main points to be considered.

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Please feel free to comment on and criticise this statement. If we are proven wrong, we will be most happy to learn and correct our mistakes and misconceptions. U.K. address: Freinds of Doug Wakefield, 14, Warren Road, Leyton, London E 10. Those in Amerikkka can write through any Anarchist Black Dragon address.

In the future we hope to compile our own STATEMENT. This will be submitted to the people to explain our hopes, goals, and dreams. It will open to criticism by any and all. We hope that you, the people, will pay as much close attention to it as the FBI and local police do. If we, the people, are the revolution, then we know two things. One, that revolution is not a spectator sport, but requires the combined efforts of everyone to succeed. Two, that if we all do not become involved, our efforts are nothing and the revolution will fail.