
"We permit people of other ideologies to define anarchy rather than bring our views to the masses and provide models to show the contrary. We permit corporations to not only lay off workers and to threaten the balance of workers while cutting their salaries, but to poison the air and water to boot. We permit the police, Klan and Nazis to terrorize whatever sector of the population they wish without repaying them back in any kind. In short, by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to the oppressors, we become anarchists in name only." -Kuwasi Balagoon

Check out the following pieces for more information about Kuwasi Balagoon, the Black Liberation Army, and Anarchism:

- *Trial Statement of Kuwasi Balagoon*
- *Message From the Black Liberation Army*
- *Black Liberation Army Study Guide*
- *On the Black Liberation Army by Jalil Muntaqim*
- *Anarchism and the Black Revolution by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin*



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Anarchy Can't Fight Alone!



Kuwasi Balagoon

Kuwasi Balagoon was a member of the Black Panther Party (being one of the defendants in the 'Panther 21' case) and the Black Liberation Army in the late '60s through to the 1980s. Having been in prison before for his revolutionary politics (and escaping twice), he was arrested for the last time in 1981 and charged with participating in a Brinks job. While incarcerated, he was exposed to and became influenced by anarchist writings, applying some of these theories to his own life and political experiences. Although Kuwasi died as a result of AIDS-induced pneumonia on December 13th, 1986, his commitment to change and his faith in the struggle remains as an inspiration to all of us today.

"Anarchy Can't Fight Alone" was an article taken from, and I believe originally printed in, Bulldozer #6 in the summer of 1983.

Of all ideologies, anarchy is the one that addresses liberty and egalitarian relations as a goal in a realistic and ultimate fashion. It is consistent with each individual having an opportunity to live a complete and total life. With anarchy, the society as a whole not only maintains itself as an equal expense to all, but progresses in a creative process unhindered by an class, caste or party. This is because the goals of anarchy don't include replacing one ruling class with another, neither in the guise of a fairer boss or as a party. This is key because this is what separates anarchist revolutionaries from Marxist, socialist and nationalist revolutionaries who from the onset do not embrace complete revolution. They cannot envision a truly free and egalitarian society and must to some extent embrace the socialization process that makes exploitation and oppression possible and prevalent in the first place.

When I first became a revolutionary and accepted the doctrine of nationalism as a response to genocide practiced by the United States government, I knew as I do now that the only way to end the evil practices of the US was to crush the government and the ruling class that shielded itself through that government was through protracted guerrilla war.

Armed with that knowledge, I sat out the initial organizing

showing year after year...I ask you, do these activists actually talk to people outside the movement? Obviously they don't or else they don't talk to people about the movement. We've got to build a movement of activists who do and create organs that address people who are already committed as well as people who are into other things.

Well due to the storm we've been locked in here for two days, which in and of itself wouldn't be such a big deal, but I am locked beside this one motherfucker who plays oldies 24/7 and on the other side is a Cuban who Castro kicked out of the country for singing. He starts right after breakfast most mornings and continues each time he comes back to the cell, until he falls out sometime around eleven. So last night I kept him up a bit longer with some of my own singing.

As a movement over all, I think we've got to always think about how to get the most out of information and how to get information out as much as possible. Tonight I am eating peanut butter sandwiches, just putting the stale bread over steaming water, when for years I automatically threw it out or fed it to the birds (this being one of the few times the birds might be better off for it). I think that waste and bourgeois thinking really affects how we operate, both in terms of perceiving strong points and weak points and effectiveness, and when it comes to acting after we make our observations. In Vietnam, GIs had to burn, bury and then guard the stuff they sent to the dumps, because the Cong would use the tin cans, wire, bottles and whatever else against them. They can't do that here because they are always encouraging people to consume more and make more waste.

I think that we should first realize that the so-called left doesn't really represent a lot of people. The politics of the left hasn't reached a lot of people and the elitist airs are actually turn-offs. There's not much mention of "serving the people." If we start putting things together that actually do serve people, the day when anarchy is seen as a viable way of life rather than chaos will not be far away, 'cause most people, when they stop and think of it, have to admit that the empire sucks.

Love, Power and Peace by Piece

First of all, the idea of collectives was alien to the Panther Party. We had different survival programs and people were invited to be part of them, to donate time and effort, to get things/stuff from businesses operating inside the community, to use the space of institutions such as churches... But the party, being a hierarchy, simply could not simply initiate alternatives - it felt it had to lead them. It was to be in it's mind and words, not just the leading party but the sole representative of the Black colony. So there was not any organized effort to take space in the Colony, or to actually produce (only to distribute), or to provide transport or a militia. It was miles away from all of that because it was a hierarchy. To really take on the power structure in a given area you've got to not only provide alternatives, but institutions that render the old ones useless, that completely take their place and provide the sources themselves. So it's not a question of a merchant giving material aide to an operation or being boycotted, but a mechanism where, one by one, the outlets become a collective and the economy evolves to the point where the corporate fingers just cannot pull any strings. You don't call a checker cab when an outlaw gypsy cab service will take you where you want to go cheaper. You don't shop at Safeway if you can buy what you want cheaper at a co-op. People are putting all kinds of co-ops together - the trick is to form a federation that takes care of the needs of it's members and invites more. One that teaches self-reliance and demonstrates it. That supports and promotes anti-imperialism and demonstrates that you don't have to be a party to it, that imperialism is not necessary because capitalism is not necessary. Rather than necessary evils, they are just evils. Now this sounds like preaching, but without concrete examples how would you expect it to sound?

It's hard to figure how prisoners and "militant politics" don't appeal to people with a political bent on the outside, but that explains everything. One cannot be about revolution - any type of revolution - without dealing with prisoners and the prospect of going to prison yourself. Now you've been open to people of different ideologies who are bout revolution, but that's simply not enough. The sphere of real revolutionary consciousness must be expanded. It's a small circle of revolutionaries in this hemisphere or in the Northern half of it, and we can't just deal with the same small circle; at some point new recruits must be won over, youth must be ignited. All the rallies have got basically the same people

of the Black Panther Party until the state's escalation of the war against the Black people that was begun with the invasion of Africa to capture slaves made it clear to me that to survive and contribute I would have to go underground and literally fight.

Once captured for armed robbery, I had the opportunity to see the weaknesses of the movement and put the state's offensive in proper perspective. First, the state rounded up all organizers pointed out to it by agents who had infiltrated the party as soon as it had begun organizing in NY. It charged these people with conspiracy and demanded bails so high that the party turned away from its purposes of liberating the Black colony to fund raising. At that point, leadership was imported rather than developed locally and the situation deteriorated quickly and sharply.

Those who were bailed out were those chosen by the leadership, regardless of the wishes of the rank and file or fellow prisoners of war, or regardless if the relatively low bail of at least one proven comrade.

Under their leadership, 'political consequences' (attacks) against occupation forces ceased altogether. Only a fraction of the money collected for the purpose of bail went towards bail. The leaders began to live high off the hog while the rank and file sold papers, were otherwise misdirected or were filtered out leaving behind so many robots who wouldn't challenge policy until those in jail publicly denounced the leadership. How could a few jerks divert so much purpose and energy for so long?

How could they neutralize the courage and intellect of the cadre? The answers to these questions are that the cadre accepted their leadership and accepted their command regardless of what their intellect had or had not made clear to them. The true democratic process, which they were willing to die for, for the sake of their children, they would not claim for themselves.

These are the same reasons that the People's Republic of China supported UNITA and the reactionary South African government in Angola; that the war continued in Southeast Asia after the Americans had done the bird; why the Soviet Union, producer of the first socialist revolution is not providing the argument that it

should and could through being a model. This is not to say that the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Zimbabwe or Cuba aren't better off because of the struggles they endured. It is to say that the only way to make a dictatorship of the proletariat is to elevate everyone to being a proletariat and deflate all the advantages of power that translate into the wills of a few dictating to the majority. The possibility must be prevented of any individual or group of individuals being able to enforce their wills over any other individual's private life or to extract social consequences for behavior, preferences or ideas.

Only an anarchist revolution has it on its agenda to deal with these goals. This would seem to galvanize the working class, de classa intellectuals, colonized Third World nations and some members of even the petty bourgeois and bourgeoisie. But this is not the case. It would seem that anarchy would be a force to reckon with merely because it appeals to the lumpen proletariat alone, including the growing ranks of those who labored under the myth that they were part of the middle class. But this is not the case.

That China, North Korea, Vietnam and Mozambique would build round a Marxist ideology to drive out invaders and rebuild feudal economies in the midst of Western Imperialism's designs and efforts to invade and recolonize is a point that can be argued in the light of the International situation. It is one thing that they don't back the will of the people as much as they choose allies in the East-West wars fought on the ground of the non-white colonies. It is another thing that anarchy ceases to inflame or to take the lead in combating fascism and imperialism here in North America with the history of the Wobblies, the Western Federation of Miners and the other groups and individuals who have made their mark on history. It is a denial of our historic tasks, the betrayal of anarchists who died resisting tyranny in the past, malinger in the face of horrible conditions. It is the theft of an option to the next generation and forfeiture of our own lives through faint hearts.

We permit people of other ideologies to define anarchy

Dear Judy and Jim. Jim and Judy.

I hope this finds you in the best of health and spirits as it leaves me in a new seemingly so far a better prison (note the new address). Right, now, I am waiting to pick up my property and sort of put a strategy in my head as to how to proceed generally, but in the main I am OK and within a couple of days will be on top of things.

Did you get the review of "Mythology of the White Proletariat" and the review of "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism"? I sent them both I think around a week into October, both together with graphs and etc...but I don't know how the situation has been with you. Don't know if you received them or already wrote Attica saying you had.

Friday they told me to go back to the block (and I immediately thought transfer) when I got back to my block they said I was to be kept locked, when I said "For what?" they said "Investigation.", then within a half an hour or so, this pig comes to tell me I am to be moved. Then I was brought here, held in keep lock until yesterday at noon and released into population, but that has just meant another day with the same underwear, only one blanket and asking over and over about my stuff. I got a chance to talk to one of my comrades personally, and in the process of doing some chin-ups some turkey lifted my coat, so I couldn't go out tonight and am basically in limbo. Tomorrow night there's no yard or opportunity to use the phones in the yard, so basically I'll be stuck with whatever I have after wading through bullshit in broad daylight. I can't remember a similar situation but it kinda feels like sitting around a dingy, empty apartment waiting for the landlord to put the heat on...walking to the pay phone and never catching him...looking forward to next to nothing. Hopefully tomorrow I'll have the last letters you sent and will be able to crank out a complete letter and make some progress in letting people know I've been put elsewhere. This is basically to let you know that, in the meantime, take care, give the righteous my love and regards and keep your eyes on the road and hands upon the wheel.

Love, Power and Peace by Piece
Kuwasi

with the enemy to stand outside of the social arena and permit America to continue to practice genocide against the Third World captive colonies because although they resist, they don't agree with us.

If we truly know that anarchy is the best way of life for all people, we must promote it, defend it and know that the people who are as smart as we will accept it. To expect people to accept this, while they are being wiped out as a nation without allies ready to put out on the line what they already have on the line is crazy.

Where we live and work, we must not only escalate and promote discussion and study, we must also organize on the ground level. The landlords must be contested through rent strikes and rather than develop strategies to pay the rent, we should develop strategies to take the buildings. We must not only recognize the squatters' movement for what it is, but support it and embrace it. Set up communes in abandoned buildings, sell scrap cars and aluminum cans. Turn vacant lots into gardens.

When our children grow out of clothes, we should have places where we can take them, clearly marked anarchist clothing exchanges and have no bones about looking for needed clothing there first. And of course we should relearn how to preserve food; we must learn construction and ways to take back our lives, help each other move and stay in shape.

Let's keep the American and Canadian flags flying at half mast!

Letters From the Inside...

Following are a few excerpts from the letters that Kuwasi wrote, while in prison, to the editors of the magazine Bulldozer, which later became Prison News Service. All were written between 1984 and late 1985.

rather than bring our views to the masses and provide models to show the contrary. We permit corporations to not only lay workers and to threaten the balance of workers while cutting their salaries, but to poison the air and water to boot. We permit the police, Klan and Nazis to terrorize whatever sector of the population they wish without repaying them back in any kind. In short, by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to the oppressors, we become anarchists in name only.

Because Marxists and nationalists ain't doing this to a large extent doesn't make it any less a shame. Our inactivity creates a void that this police state with its reactionary press and definite goals are filling. The parts of people's lives supposedly touched by mass organizing and revolutionary inspiration that sheds a light that encourages them to unveil a new day, instead are being manipulated by conditions of which apathy is no less a part than poisonous uncontested reactionary propaganda. To those who believe in a centralized party with a program or the masses this might mean whatever their subjective analysis permits. But to us who truly believe in the masses and believe that they should have their lives in their hands and know that freedom is a habit, this can only mean that we have far to go.

In the aftermath of the Overtown rebellion, the Cuban community concede as lost souls by Castro came out clearly in support of the Black colony. And predictably, the Ku Klux Klan, through an honorary FBI agent, Ben Wilkinson, made no bones about supporting the rights of businesses and the business of imperialism.

Third world colonies throughout the United States face genocide and it is time for anarchists to join the oppressed in combat against the oppressors. We must support in words and actions, self-determination and self-defense for Third World peoples.

It is beside the point whether Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Chicano-Mexicana people choose nationalism as a vehicle for self-determination or agree with anarchism as being the only road to self-determination. As revolutionaries, we must support the will of the masses. It is not only racism but compliance

