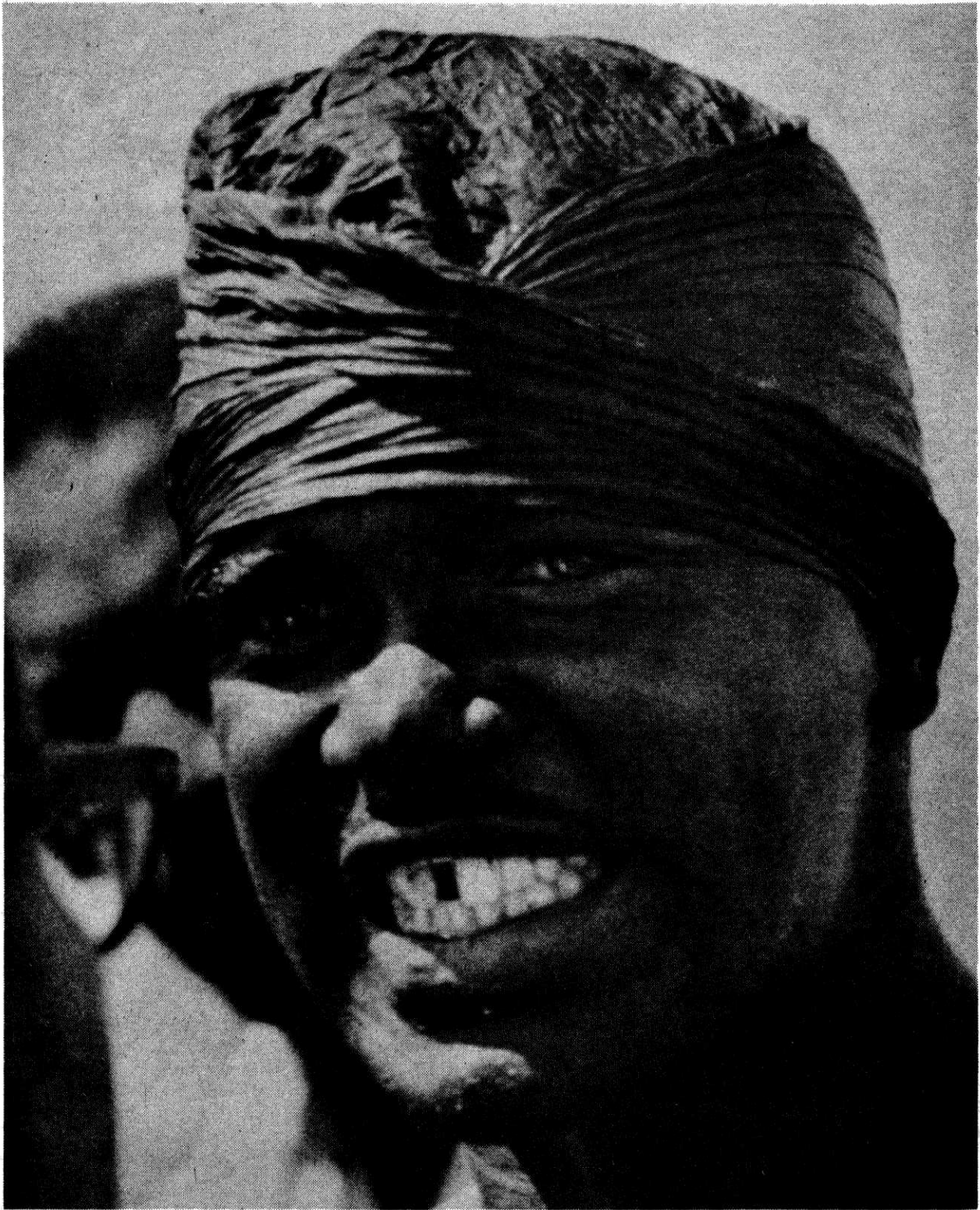


# The Los Angeles War Cry



**'Burn, Baby, Burn'**

10¢

8/65

## Purpose of the REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST

The purpose of the REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST is to clarify, give direction, program, methods of organization and to discuss problems of Revolutionary nationalists. The REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST functions as the internal bulletin of the May 1, 1964 Conference on Black Nationalism.

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST is published by the permanent secretariat of the conference. The REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST will interpret and further develop the theories, aims, projects and actions of the May 1st Conference and events which are pertinent to the cause of liberation of our people. The REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST will also develop the philosophy of the conference - Pan African socialism, or what is publicly referred to as Revolutionary Nationalism - Black Internationalism.

### 13 Points from the May 1st Conference

1. Development of a permanent underground secretariat to carry out plans.
2. To push the Bourgeois reformist as far "up tempo" as fast as possible, while at the same time laying a base for an underground movement.
3. The Conference united with the African, Asian and Latin American Revolution
4. Adopt Robert F. Williams as leader in exile.
5. The achievement of Afro-American solidarity (to push the Restoration of the Revolutionary Spirit to Pan-Africanism).
6. Conference philosophy - Pan African Socialism.
7. The establishment of Internal Bulletin for Conference.
8. Construction of a Pan African Student Conference.
9. Secretariat contact all student Liberation Organizations around the world to develop rapport and coordination.
10. National Public organ, name: BLACK AMERICA.
11. Charge genocide against U.S. Imperialism before the United Nations.
12. Secretariat develop program for Revolutionary Black Nationalists.
13. Develop two Revolutionary Centers.

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## The Next Step and the Road Ahead



Ernest Thomas, founder and field organizer for Deacons for Defense and Justice.



Communication system is part of Deacons' gear. During marches, walkie-talkies were used to report any incidents to organization's far-flung patrols. As demonstrations passed through white area, some Deacons mingled with crowd, others waited in cars.

The Deacons for Defense signify a major development within our struggle. For the first time since 1958 black working class leadership expounding and practicing self-defense has emerged. With ~~over~~ 15,000 members the Deacons are definitely a force to be dealt with. Self-defense changes the whole character of our movement and allows other questions to be raised. Self-defense introduces the concept of a black liberation army for protection and survival. This in return raises the question for every black man in America: "Should I join or support charlies' army or the black liberation army (Deacons)?" This is the historical question of the hour. For our people to understand this question, our movement must become anti-imperialist-anti-U.S. racist government. Therefore, the next step in our struggle is to develop a black anti-imperialist movement. These questions were dealt with during the May 1st and October 30th Conferences. Since both conferences, we have consolidated and developed many of our objectives. In order to intensify the quality of our ranks REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST feels it necessary to discuss para-military warfare, Robert Williams' concept of urban guerrilla warfare, etc, We feel that these articles may help in the next step and the road ahead.

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On the Eve of Black Revolution: Los Angeles proves We Will Win

### The national rebellion against racist oppression

The events in L.A. show we are at war with the United States government. With the national guard being called in to crush our peoples struggle for national liberation we see that we are in the same situation we were in over 102 years ago when the federal troops were called in to crush our slave revolts. This shows we are still slaves, i.e., colonial subjects, not citizens denied our rights.

In spite of the small number of weapons our people were still able to stand off the highly organized white right wing police of L.A. This shows when our people make up their minds to fight for their freedom they are uncontrollable. Also noted was a growing consciousness among our people of the nature of their situation... "This is the Negro revolution we want the world to know." ... "we want to set fire right here (in L.A.) rather than to go to Vietnam and fight. We'd rather fight for the Negro here".

CONT. Pg. 4.

In The Name of Malik

# 'Get Whitey!'

"by any means necessary"



There was considerable comment that the people were leaderless but this was not true; the newspapers contradicted themselves by saying the youth were leading. Therefore the leaders in Los Angeles were the ghetto youth. These same youth who emerged to lead the struggle in L.A. are constantly caterorized as criminal by the white society and are proven to be the most feared element among our people. The L.A. insurrection once again exposes the bankruptcy of the "responsible" leadership of the civil rights establishment. They had no control over our people although they made appeals for maintaining "whities" law and order over the radio.

As to the international ramifications of this revolt, it further exposes the U.S. as a racist colonialist prison for black people to the Bandung (colored) peoples of the world and shows that the African enslaved in America is not a satisfied "Uncle Tom" waiting to integrate with the racist imperialist beast society, and this also shows that we are victims of domestic (internal) colonialism. This latest insurrection shows that our people are learning through struggle, as witness the semi-gurrellia tactics of our people in L.A. If there are black troops among the ranks of the national guard they should turn their guns against their true enemy and not shot their own people for the white racist.

With the war of resistance against racist oppression and brutality spreading to Chicago and Springfield, Mass. we see that the African enslaved in America is involved in a para-military protracted war for national liberation. The semi-guerrilla tactics being used in L.A. is proving our people are beginning to learn how to use guerrilla tactics of applying ten against one and one against ten - that is using superior numbers against the enemies weakest point, constantly attacking, harrassing, annihilating and using one against ten as decoy to harass and demoralize the enemy.

The shooting of two brothers last weekend in Brooklyn, N.Y. by white racist police is the third shooting of a brother in Brooklyn this summer. The shooting represents a systematic plan by the John Birch Society (which has successfully infiltrated the northern police force departments) of creating incidents in an attempt to annihilate revolutionary nationalists forces in urban areas before they have developed a sizeable organizational base. The recent proposed challenge by the power structure of the validity of Jesse Gray's petition for candidacy for Mayor of New York city shows that the white power structure will stop at nothing to keep black people from obtaining BLACK POWER. Such events lead black people to only one solution-

the destruction of White America and the establishment of a Black peoples government having its own liberation army. The riot which occurred in Boston, Mass, that white tried to keep a secret, between the black and white soldiers proves RAM's 'Revolutionary Action Movement) statement on July 4th, 1965 to the black soldiers to throw down their arms to refuse to fight and to let their battle assignment be against white racist in the U.S.A. is the only alternative left for any sane Africanamerican in charlies! white racist yankee imperialist forces.



## **THE RACIST U.S.A. - THE TORCH OF RETRIBUTION!**

### The High School and Junior High School Afro-American Student

Overt social protest for the Afro-American student usually begins in the junior high school. By the time a black youth reaches the age of 14, he begins to feel the contradictions of his relationship to this society. He is led to believe in school that he is white, "can make it if he tries," and after school he becomes black again and enters into the hip world. The feeling of being run smack into a brick wall by the educational system is being felt by junior high and high school students. In the South more and more junior high and high school students are leading the movement, whereas in 1960 it was the black college youth who were the vanguard of the movement. We see in the North black high and junior high school youth touched off the riots in Harlem and played a major role in the riots in other cities. If black college youth are feeling that there is nowhere for them to go, then it will surely seep down to the black high and junior high school youth. The only role left for them is to rebel.

### Gangs

Almost every black community has gangs. Very few people understand the nature of these gangs and how they can be transformed into a constructive force for black liberation. Gangs develop because black youth have no out in this white man's racist, capitalist system. Afro-American youth have no room for expression in this savage society. They have no image of manhood or womanhood that they can identify with. Black youth know unconsciously that they are not a part of "the man's" world. Thus in contrast, the hip world develops. The gang represents organization, identity and power for black youth. Living in a hostile world they experience none of these things. The feeling of belonging, being part of something "boss" is a big part of a gang. This sense of identity leads to organization of a gang and from the gang's strength and influence, comes its power. For Afro-American youth, especially boys, gangs are the only thing in the black community that can give them a sense of power. This comes from the feel-

ing of being powerless over one's destiny (the man has control of that) and of being less than a man. Gangs are the most dynamic force in the black community. Instead of fighting their brothers and sisters, they can be trained to fight "Charlie." They can be developed into a blood brotherhood (black youth army) that will serve as a liberation force in the black revolution.

The only alternative left for Afro-American youth is to unite for a confrontation with "the man." Black intellectual youth (college) must unite with black youth in the ghetto; black youth must unite through a liberation army to liberate black America and destroy "Charlie." The message that Revolutionary Black Nationalists have for the Afro-American student is, UNITE to be the vanguard of the Afro-American and world revolution.... OR PERISH.

### Role of the Black Youth

RAM feels that black youth are the key to our revolution. We see youth all over the world leading the revolutions of our people. In the Angolan liberation army the soldier's age range is 17-20; in the Congo's guerrilla force called "Youth" the age range is 14-20; in the Viet Cong the age range is 14-19; in Kenya the Mau Mau was started by roving bands of youth. In Cuba Castro's forces were very young.

Revolutionary

Nationalist

Unity

by John Lewis

**Need Unity**

"If we could return to the close brotherhood forced upon our forefathers during the days of slavery," Lewis said, "when the beating of one salve brought cries of anguish from all, then we could cope with the problems facing us. We must remember that we need unity because no matter what kind of laws are passed, the Klan and other racists won't stop fighting over night. They must first be defeated."



**The Coming of Massive Violence**

We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must reject the unwritten commitment that so-called Negro leaders have made guaranteeing our brutal oppressors immunity from retribution for their heinous acts of violence against our defenseless people. Not only must we defend ourselves violently, but we must do it collectively. We must condition ourselves for defense, both physically and psychologically. We must become adept in the methods of massive defense.

There are those mercenary Uncle Toms and masochists among us, whose missions are to demoralize our people and encourage them to reject the first law of nature. They are quick to inform us that we cannot win any conflict that may degenerate into a state of massive violence. Why do they not tell the racist oppressors that they cannot win? Why do they not tell them that they constitute a minority in the world? The fact is that the racists are the ones who will lose such a conflict. America is too sensitive to withstand such a shock. The oppressors have more to lose than the dehumanized and oppressed in such a conflict. Our people have nothing to lose but their chains.

We prefer peaceful negotiations, but our oppressors have proved to us that they are not susceptible to such mild pressures for reform and that they will utilize massive violence to attempt to contain our struggle. When massive violence comes, the U.S.A. will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipelines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with Afro G.I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos.

This racist imperialist oppressor will not be brought to his knees, simply because of the fighting ability and military power of Black Freedom Fighters and their allies inside the U.S., but because of the creation of economic, chaotic conditions, total disorganization, frustration of his essential and ultra-vital organs of production, and adverse conditions created by the world-wide liberation struggle. Such a formidable enemy will fall prey to the new concept of revolution because of his ultra-modern and automated society and the lack of psychological conditioning of his forces. Our people have already been conditioned by almost 400 years of violence, terror and hunger.

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S.A. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the U.S.A. in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people.

Of course, there would be great losses on the part of our people. How can we expect liberation without losses? Our people are already being admonished by the nonviolent forces to die for Freedom. We are being told to sacrifice our lives in situations of diminishing returns. If we must die, let us die in the only way that the oppressor will feel the weight of our death. Let us die in the tried and proven way of liberation. If we are going to talk about revolution, let us know what revolution means.

Political-Para-Military Book List

1. GARVEY AND GARVEYISM...A. GARVEY
2. PHILOSOPHIES AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY....vol 1&2
3. BLACK NATIONALISM....UDOM
4. NEGRO LIBERATION....HAYWOOD
5. AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS....APTHEKER
6. BLACK RECONSTRUCTION....DUBOIS
7. RECONSTRUCTION....ALLEN
8. PAN AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM ....PADMORE
9. THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES....FRAZLER
10. BLUES PEOPLE...Le Roi Jones
11. BLACK JACOBINS....C.L.R. JAMES
12. NEGROES WITH GUNS....WILLIAMS
13. BLACK BOURGEOISIE....FRAZLER
14. POLITICAL CHANGE IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES....
15. PARTISAN WARFARE...HEILBRUNN....Praeger
16. GUERRILLA WARFARE....CHE GUEVARA
17. GUERRILLA WARFARE....MAO-TSE-TUNG
18. WAR, POLITICS AND POWER....CLAUSEWITZ
19. THE TRUE BELIEVER....ERIC HOPPER
20. GUERRILLA AND COUNTER GUERRILLA WARFARE....POMROXY
21. POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF MAO TSE TUNG
22. ANTHOLOGY ON MAO:ON PRACTICE  
ON CONTRADICTION  
ON PROTRACTED WAR  
PROBLEMS OF WAR AND STRATEGY
23. WHAT IS TO BE DONE ?....LENIN
24. STATE AND REVOLUTION....LENIN
25. COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE
26. RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION....LENIN
27. CONFLICT IN THE SHADOWS....JAMES ELIOT CROSS
28. 150 QUESTIONS FOR A GUERRILLA....
29. PEOPLES WAR, PEOPLES ARMY....
30. PRIMER FOR REVOLT....
31. WE SHALL FIGHT IN THE STREETS....
32. GUERRILLA WARFARE....YANK BERT LEVY
33. MODERN GUERRILLA WARFARE....
34. PRINCIPLES OF WAR....CLAUSEWITZ
35. THE WAR OF THE FLEA....TABOR

# URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE

by Robert F. Williams

## USA: The Potential of a Minority Revolution

by, Robert F. Williams

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people, requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the besieged racist terrorists. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instruction on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turn-pikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorous matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win. We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel. America's great abundance is what makes America America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanized people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them

cont. on pg. 12



## Section 1.

### The Strategy and Tactics of Black Revolution

Black revolutionists who are serious about revolution should study the oppressors's system very closely and learn how it operates inside and out. "Chuck's" weakness is his complexity and he can't stand simplicity because it is Eastern and because it is against his nature. With black people not having any power in this society the revolutionary nationalists must begin to see their ranks as an opposing nation or government and must see themselves and their ranks as "outlaws" of this society. Therefore, their government(ranks) is an outlaw government or government in exile.

The first thing revolutionary nationalists should be concerned with is the protection of power for their government(ranks). Therefore, their immediate concern would be the development of an army that could protect and liberate their nation. But what is more important is that revolutionary nationalists must know what to do with their armies of National Liberation once developed. In the process of revolution the mass communications system should be the first to go. Why? Because the enemy's populace and supporters rely on the mass communications system to know how to relate to events. By destroying the oppressor's communication system the revolutionary nationalists creates a vacuum in the oppressor's apparatus and isolates him from his machinery. Also, it sets the oppressor to a great disadvantage because he will have to attempt to rebuild his system in the middle of a battlefield. The electrical plants should be the first target, then radio and T.V. stations - after a revolutionary broadcast by seizing it, newspapers next - the destruction of newspaper buildings, including the press, etc. In urban areas transportation lines would be the number two target - sabotage of subway systems, derailling of trolleys or trains, etc. The destruction of airports, especially the tower, dents the beasts transportation system; telephone lines should be cut. In rural areas the roads leading in and out should be set up for ambush and traps for trucks, etc. In urban areas gasoline across highways, road blocks hold up traffic for hours. With Wall Street, Madison Avenue, and half of the complex in Washington blown to bits the oppressor will have to function under wartime plans. The destruction of property, (the concept of private property being the basis of his system), would be the chief concern of the revolutionary national liberation fighters. The demolition of industry would come after communication and transportation. The destruction of steel plants, auto plants, (the Detroit complex), chemical plants, oil fields and plants would divide the energies of the oppressor. The complex outside of cities like New York, Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo N.Y., Lansing, Michigan, Philadelphia, Cleveland, etc. are convenient for revolutionary nationalists. The destruction of such complexes could be achieved by stationary mortars or mortars from an automobile. The mayor's areas should also be completely demolished. This keeps the lower elite section of the capitalist ruling class isolated in the suburbs for days without communication with the outside world. Bombs on trains would stop the commuters system entirely; occasionally terror raids in the "super elite" sections killing important executives would create chaos in the oppressors isolated communities. The next phase would be taking power in the black communities, holding, maintaining and sustaining it. If psychological warfare is used with physical, then the oppressor's forces and supporters will be put at considerable disadvantage. We can see through phase one - destruction of communications system, destruction of transportation system, destruction of important property of the oppressor's (Wall St., Madison Ave., etc.) industrial complexes, steel, auto, iron, chemical, oil, gas industry, etc.



- how the revolutionary nationalists, using the proper strategy and tactics, can put the oppressor on the defensive. In section two we will discuss how they can keep the oppressor on the defensive.

## Section II

In section I we discussed the stage of mobile lightning guerrilla warfare of strike at night and run and hide during the day. Though section I described primarily the Northern front, this stage would take place simultaneously in the South. Birmingham Alabama is the main industrial complex in the South and would be the number 1 target for lightning guerrilla warfare in the South. Being that the social, economic and political structure is divided into two different categories, our partisan war of national liberation must have a dual front. The South is a rural area, but because of communication, terrain (basically flat) and transportation (highways) it takes on a semi-urban character. The North is highly industrialized being urban, almost super urban, on the East coast. The dual front of our forces would be a semi-urban campaign in the South and an urban campaign in the north. The struggle in the North would take a more terroristic and sabotage form because there is less area of mobility and potential supporters are outnumbered, even though they constitute a large section of the major cities. So emphasis in the North would be to wreck the oppressors political and economic apparatus - government buildings, assassination of government officials, state and city, police machinery, army, etc., business executives and business buildings. Strategic raids in certain suburbs at night, blowing up executives homes would be total social dislocation of major cities and will be the type of activity of the northern campaign. While in the South there will be semi-urban guerrilla warfare with more emphasis on occupying (liberating) certain areas establishing peoples governments and waging campaigns against the enemy. This type of warfare would take place within the Black Belt area - Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina. In this area black people constitute near the majority and live in an area that extends from the Atlantic Coast to the Gulf of Mexico. Partisan warfare and the establishment of peoples liberation bases could cut the oppressors forces in half. Blacks constitute at least 45% of the population of Louisiana, 59% in Mississippi, 45% in Alabama, 40% in Georgia and 55% in South Carolina. The revolution would probably spread from the Northern cities to Southern cities then to Southern rural areas, then the initiative would fall on the rural area defeating the enemy in small campaigns while liberating the community. The Southern front would shift quickly from guerrilla to mobile warfare. At this time the oppressor would be forced to call in the National Guard and the Army battle forces would be divided because of internal descension due to the race issue. The National Guard and Army would be called in to crush mobile warfare in rural areas because it would be the most advanced form of guerrilla warfare. At this time guerrilla units in urban areas could engage the enemy in "mass ambush" while the enemy is preparing to mobilize against the Southern front. The elite of the mobile guerrilla Southern forces could wage an encirclement offensive on one of the major Southern work centers. At the same time the Northern guerrilla could wage a suburban offensive throwing the Northern military apparatus far into White America then the Southern mobile guerrilla could close the encirclement extending the war in a protracted manner splitting the enemies forces in two. The occupying of cities' black communities would be basically in the South where there a great number of black people both within and out of the city. The play of movement would develop sabotage within a southern city with mass riot, assassination of racist leaders, then transforming the semi-rural areas (farm areas), taking over plantations, etc.

Then the knocking out and taking over of roads leading into the city would be the next form of developing support on the outside with political cadres building support on the inside and returning to the city after engaging through small campaigns.

He will be forced to reinforce his weakening forces in the rural areas while waging a political struggle within. Therefore his force will be divided both inside and outside the city with the enemies forces suffering defeat their force will decrease, there will be mutiny among black soldiers who will come to join the black liberation front and also white soldiers will desert to protect their homes. Such a campaign will lead to total chaos and dislocation within the enemies forces that he will be unable to sustain his efforts against a protracted guerrilla war whether its 90 days, 9 years or a year. Through this outline and perspective of a partisan war of survival we can see that the Afroamerican can and will win a protracted war of national liberation.



cont from pg. 3.

The current situation shows us that Africanamericans are at war against the U.S. government and in order for us to achieve liberation it (the U.S. government) must become a thing of the past. With congress passing a law making it a penalty of five years in prison or \$10,000 fine for burning draft cards the Africanamerican's situation is synonymous with his African brothers in another place called the U.S.A. (Union of South Africa) where they are also jailed for the burning of pass cards. Under these conditions no black man should join charlies army and go to Vietnam to fight his black brothers but should remain within racist America to fight for self-defense and survival. If he lives in the South he should join the Deacons for Defense and if he lives in the North he should join the Black Liberation Army ( the developing guerrilla forces). Any thinking Africanamerican should see by now that conditions are developing into a racial war and the only way we can survive as a people is by developing an Africanamerican peoples liberation army. Such an army when its in the mobile guerrilla warfare stage should organize itself into small squads so that it can be extremely mobile and should develop guerrilla units of three to harass to harass the enemy especially at night. When spontaneous action develops the guerrilla forces should use this as decoy against the enemy and should strike at the administrative operations of the enemy i.e., police stations, city buildings, electric plants, etc. Up until recently the level of guerrilla warfare has been the destruction of property in the ghetto's. This does not bring severe damage to the enemy. Urban guerrillas should concentrate on the destruction of the enemies material - then the moral and the actual lives of his men. This would mean as rebellion breaks out within the black ghetto's, guerrilla units would disperse themselves in the enemys' complex, usually downtown, destroying key buildings or, on the outskirts of the city destroying electrical plants and industry. Urban guerrillas main emphasis will be on the intangible thing called organization. The political prospective for the urban guerrilla would be to develop a dual front and dual organization. The dual front would be black people not participating in the war in Vietnam and a black united front of a war of resistance against racial oppression in the U.S. The dual organization would be a public and mass armed organization for the consolidation, expansion and development of black power and successful Black revolution coordinated with the development of an underground guerrilla force. Our message is resist in the racists both home and abroad. Fight tit for tat, an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth, life for a life and use any means necessary to achieve justice and freedom in Johnsons great fascist racist society. Unite for a war of self-defense and survival or Perish.

## Notes on the Philosophy of Self-Defense Warfare

### THE IMPORTANCE OF PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

"Guerrilla leaders spend a great deal more time in organization, instruction, agitation and propaganda work than they do fighting, for their most important job is to win over the people. If the political temperature is right, the fish, however few in number, will thrive and proliferate. It is therefore the principal concern of all guerrilla leaders to get the water to the right temperature and to keep it there."

from Mao Tse Tung's...  
On Guerrilla Warfare

### THE LAWS OF WAR

"The first law of war is to <sup>pressure</sup> pressure ourselves and destroy the enemy."  
Mao

### HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

"Historical experience is written in blood and iron."  
Mao

### ON ORGANIZATION OF GUERRILLA WARFARE ?

"What is the organization for guerrilla warfare ? Though all guerrilla bands that spring from the masses of the people suffer from lack of organization at the time of their formation, they all have in common a basic quality that makes organization possible. All guerrilla units must have political and military leadership. This is true regardless of the source or size of such units."

Mao

### UNORGANIZED GUERRILLA WARFARE

"Unorganized guerrilla warfare cannot contribute to victory..."  
Mao

### GUERRILLA STRATEGY

"Guerrilla strategy must be based primarily on alertness, mobility, and attack. It must be adjusted to the enemy situation, the terrain, the existing lines of communication, the relative strengths, the weather, and the situation of the people."

Mao

### ELEMENTS OF THE GUERRILLA ARMY

"Since each guerrilla group fights in a protracted war, its officers must be brave and positive men whose entire loyalty is dedicated to the cause of emancipation of the people. An officer should have the following qualities: great powers of endurance so that in spite of any hardship he sets an example to his men and is model for them; he must be able to mix with the people; his spirit and that of the men must be one in strengthening the policy of resistance..."

"A soldier who habitually breaks regulations must be dismissed from the army."

"Victory in guerrilla war is conditioned upon keeping the membership pure and clean."

Mao

#### POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

"The fundamental problems are: first, spiritual unification of officers and men within the army; second, spiritual unification of the army and the people; and last, destruction of the unity of the enemy."

"A revolutionary army must have discipline that is established on a limited democratic basis. In all armies, obedience of the subordinates to their superiors must be exacted. This is true in the case of guerrilla discipline, but the basis for guerrilla discipline must be the individual conscience. With guerrillas, a discipline of compulsion is ineffective."

We further our mission of destroying the enemy by propagandizing his troops, by treating his captured soldiers with consideration, and by caring for those of his wounded who fall into our hands. If we fail in these respects, we strengthen the solidarity of our enemy."

Mao

#### GUERRILLA INITIATIVE

"Guerrilla initiative is expressed in dispersion, concentration, and the alert shifting of forces."

Mao

#### PLANNING OF GUERRILLA ACTION

"Careful planning is necessary if victory is to be won in guerrilla war, and those who fight without method do not understand the nature of guerrilla action."

Mao

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is to meet violence with violence.

We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for brutalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing our Constitutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people, is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.

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#### RAM Philosophy

RAM philosophy may be described as revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism or just plain blackism. It is that black people of the world (darker races, black, yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces. RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slavemasters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a "new world" free from exploitation and oppression of man to man.

# WE CAN WIN !



Dear Soul Sister:

In a recent meeting with you and others, we discussed the black revolution and the black man taking power and maintaining it. In other words, the black man taking over this country by being victorious if there is a racial conflict (war) in the United States. There are some things I would like to clarify in this letter on this question, especially since there is so much confusion in the black community concerning the direction of the coming black revolution.

There are two conflicting views; the first sees our people as citizens denied their rights and believes that they will be assimilated or integrated by revolution, reform, or other means into the White American way of life; which means exploitation of non-white peoples. The other sees our people as a nation within the boundaries of another nation, a nation in captivity striving to obtain independence, self determination, or national liberation. One of the main reasons why many of our people take the position of integration, assimilation, or non-violent struggle is because they don't believe we could win if there's a race war in this country. They look at the oppressor's statistics and at his position of power, and say it's impossible to change this power without the help or support of white people. Many brothers and sisters on the street will say "But the white man has all the guns; he controls everything." So what is really holding our people back from realizing their power of being victorious in revolution and their position as a black nation, is their own defeatist attitude.

Well, now, as this country prepares to become an outright fascist state, the Afroamerican no longer has a choice to worry could he win or not, can he be accepted or not. The Afroamerican now has to worry about human survival. The Afroamerican is backed against a wall with nowhere to go but forward, and standing in his way is White America. More and more the Afroamerican is being forced to think like a guerrilla fighter. No longer is the question whether we are outnumbered or not. It's plain and simple: when three or four people are rushing towards you to kill you, all you are thinking about are the tactics you are to use to defeat them and defend yourself. It's a matter of life and death.

In order for the Afroamerican to have a correct prospectus, he must first destroy the philosophy of defeatism in the black community. We must understand our historical destiny and developments in the world, in order to have a clear view of our position in the black revolution. First of all, we must forget about whether or not we now have all the arms and must stop thinking that because we don't have any of the arms, we can't win. This is defeatism and defeatism is mental slavery ! In order to free ourselves mentally, we must know the power black people have in this country.

These powers are, one, the power to stop the machinery of government - that is, the power to cause chaos, and make the situation such that nothing runs. Two, is the power to hurt the economy. With black people creating mass chaos - especially in the major urban areas in the North - and disrupting the agricultural setup in the South, the economy of the oppressor would come to almost a standstill.

Three, is the power of unleashing violence. This is the power that black people have to tear up "charlie's" house. This is something that probably every Asian, African, and Latin American revolutionary wished he could do. But this goody is left to the Afroamerican.

All Afroamericans must begin to think like guerrilla fighters, since we are all "blood brothers" in the struggle. Let us learn from our mistakes in the past. Appealing to a power structure does no good. The only thing that power reacts to is more power. If we don't think we can win, then there is no use in trying. Cowards give up when the odds look bad. A guerrilla fighter knows he or she is right and attempts to win no matter what the odds are. Many of us say we can create chaos, but can't take state power. This is not true. Others say we cannot be successful without the physical help of our Asian, African, and Latin American revolutionary brothers. This is also a degree of defeatism. It is true that our struggle is part of a world black revolution, and we must unite with the "Bandung" forces, but it is incorrect and defeatist to say that we cannot win under any circumstances. We must, under all conditions, be united with our Asian, African, and Latin American brothers and sisters, but as Fidel Castro says "revolutionaries must make the revolution." This means that we (Afroamericans) must make our own revolution. Also, we must be willing to accept the responsibility of revolution and be willing to go all the way, no matter what happens.

The failure to realize our power and position in this country has been the failure of Afroamericans to see themselves as revolutionary nationalists. In doing this, they don't see our struggle as a national liberation struggle. Instead, our struggle has previously been defined along class lines only. This leads to confusion and failure to make a clear analysis - because there are more factors involved than class. What most young black intellectuals must do is stop seeing themselves, our people, and our struggle through "charlie's" eyes. We must become familiar with our revolutionary history as an oppressed nation.

For a period of three hundred years, the United States was the scene of constant revolt. During this period, White Americans - especially in the South - developed a fear of the "black hordes". The South was an armed camp, with every white man delegated with the authority of law and order in matters concerning the black man. But then, as now, law and order has meant the enslavement of a black nation. What most young black intellectuals fail to do is thoroughly study the slave system, the development of slavery from the sixteenth century on to the twentieth century, how our nation was taken into bondage, and the psychology of White America during this period. Contrary to the conventional statistics, the

Contrary to what most white historians would have us to believe, the Turner revolt was so well coordinated and planned, that it involved hundreds of slaves. Turner struck fear into all of White America by his tactics of "strike by night and spare none." Though the revolt was short-lived, many persons in positions of power realized that they would have to cope with a black revolution if the slave system wasn't destroyed. They knew that if they didn't do something quickly, the slaves would develop national organization and they feared that the "blacks" would take over the country. The horror of thinking of what the "blacks" would do to the whites if they were in power, was the nightmare of America. The slave system would have to go in order to "save the Union"(White America). This was the situation that led to the Civil War. White power had to fight white power in order to keep control over the "blacks".

The next step is to develop the tactics for national liberation as "blood brothers and sisters" in the struggle. What we must understand is that "Charlie's" system runs like an IBM machine. But an IBM machine has a weakness, and that weakness is its complexity. Put something in the wrong place in an IBM machine and it's finished for a long time. And so it is with this racist, imperialist system. Without mass communications and rapid transportation, this system is through. The millionaires who control this country would be isolated from their flunkies who do their dirty work. When war breaks out in this country, if the action is directed toward taking over institutions of power and "complete annihilation" of the racist capitalist oligarchy, then the black revolution will be successful. Guns, tanks, and police will mean nothing. The Armed Forces will be in chaos, for the struggle of black revolution will be directed against the racist government of White America. It will be a war between two governments: the revolutionary Afroamerican government in exile against the racist, imperialist White American government. It will be a war of the forces of the black liberation front against the ultra-right coalition.

Black men and women in the Armed Forces will defect and come over to join the black liberation forces. Whites who claim they want to help the revolution will be sent into the white communities to divide them, fight the fascists, and frustrate the efforts of the counter-revolutionary forces. Chaos will be everywhere and with the breakdown of mass communications, mutiny will occur in great numbers in all facets of the oppressor's government. The stock market will fall; Wall Street will stop functioning; Washington, D.C. will be torn apart by riots. Officials everywhere will run for their lives. The George Lincoln Rockwells, William Buckley's, Goldwaters, Duponts, Carnegies, Rockefellers, Kennedys, Vanderbilts, Hunts, Johnsons, Wallaces, Barnetts, etc. Will be the first to go. The revolution will "strike by night and spare none." Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afroamericans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afroamericans will be in the street fighting; for they will know that this is it. The cry will be "It's On!" This will be the Afro-American's battle for human survival. Thousands of our people will get shot down, but thousands more will be there to fight on. The black revolution will use sabotage in the cities - knocking out the electrical power first, then transportation, and guerrilla warfare in the countryside in the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless.

Turner's philosophy of "strike by night and spare none" is very important because it shows us that Turner knew the psychology of White America, and that we had leadership with guerrilla instinct. Turner knew what black terrorism meant to the whites, and struck, even though the odds were against him. His sense of annihilation of the enemy is very important for our



struggle even today, because unlike Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Afroamerican has a great bulk of the mass against him. White America can be neutralized only by fear of high stakes. That is, if they know that whole families, communities, etc. of their loved ones will be wiped off the face of the earth if they attack Afroamericans, they won't be too eager to go to war against us. This will be especially true if the Afro-american revolutionary forces make it clear that they are fighting the capitalist ruling class oligarchy - but if White Americans fight on the side of the white racist oppressor's government, they will be wiped out with no questions asked. For to support the oppressor's government is to be murderers, and they would be treated like murderers. With the terms of the revolution spelled out, this will divide White America. So, we can see that just by observing Nat. Turner, we can gain something for our coming revolution.

The whites have had to use terrorism in order to control Black America. By the proportion of the population - in the South especially - Afroamericans constitute a nation within a nation. As in slavery times, the only thing that has kept us enslaved is the white man's superior political machinery. By the political machinery, I mean the governmental machinery that controls the mass communications and transportation has kept the white man in power. If we would look at our situation today, we would see that if the white man didn't deny us the right to vote or gerrymander our vote in the North, we would have significant political power - if not political control of this country.

We see that in the Southern states - especially Mississippi - where blacks outnumber whites by a very large portion - the situation would be completely turned around. And with us controlling our communities in the North, we could have the ten major urban centers tied up. If White America wasn't a racist, capitalist state, half of Congress would be black. The whites in control know this and this is why the federal government will never do anything to change its racist character. Yes, it's the United States government who perpetrates racism. The Southern "cracker" (bigot) doesn't count, because the U.S. government is a "cracker" government. Knowing our position, our historical destiny, we should be willing to go all the way.

Neither the CIA, FBI, National Guard, Army or local police will be able to control our people; due to their internal conflicts. The oppressor's racist government will weaken and begin to fall more and more with every day of revolutionary struggle on its hands. Foreign imperialists' holdings will be seized by the various revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. U.S. lackey governments will topple everywhere, once the racist White American government is no longer able to come to their aid. With the White American ruling class wiped off the face of this planet, and the remaining reactionary forces suffering eventual defeat, the revolutionary Afroamerican government will call on the help of other revolutionaries and revolutionary governments to help restore order and to fulfill the ultimate objectives of the world black revolution.

Thus we will have the fulfillment of a four hundred year destiny, and with the Beast (Western Imperialism) destroyed - the birth of a New World!.... We must realize that we are the key to the world black revolution and that the rest of the world is waiting for us. We must remember that History is on our side. Not only can we win, we will win !

Your Soul Brother