

The "O"

**Journal of the National Steering Committee
New Afrikan Service Organization (NSC-NASO)**

New Black Panthers [sic] Respond to Allegations of Voter Intimidation in Philadelphia



Minister Najee Muhammad, national field marshal for the New Black Panther Party, and Uhuru Shakur, local chairman of the Atlanta chapter of the party, at press conference in front of the Crockett County Courthouse in response to the arrests of two men authorities say planned to kill Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama and more than 100 others.

"A revolutionary is one who seeks to promote/build revolution through his/her actions based on the concrete conditions that confronts the lumpen proletariat class (the have nots).. But more importantly, the revolutionary is guided by organized ideological theory, in which he/she then develops these theories into a science that will enable him/her to utilize the ideological theory in a practical application of re-claiming the peoples' mind, for the central goal of total liberation from our common oppressor... The revolutionary is also driven by his/her perfect love for humanity & hates oppression in all of its many forms..."

"Now with the activist, he/she is unwilling to define his/her path of struggle through organized ideological theory.. The activist defines his/her reality on the basis of mobilizing around "the current hot topic in the community..." Which basically leaves the activist bouncing from issue to issue, without seeing the initial plight of struggle to an end..."

"Virtually taking away the activist's ability to be effective in their course of struggle.. The activist also has love for humanity, but this love, is not as pure as the love that the revolutionary has for the people, because for starters, the revolutionary is committed to putting his/her life on the line in the interests of serving the people, while your atypical activist isn't willing to make this type of commitment... The activist also fails to develop his/her means of struggle into a science, which is why they're unable to concretely connect with the people.. The only time that you will see an activist in the inner city ghettos working with the people, or making any kind of noise, is when there is a blatant socio-injustice being perpetrated

against the people, in which they then exploit this blatant socio-injustice for purposes of giving the individual or the organization that they represent, credence, as being servants of the people... This is the fundamental contradiction between the revolutionary and the activist.

"Now with your atypical terrorist, he/she is not motivated by the love of humanity... The terrorist is motivated by the acts of terror that he/she perpetrates against humanity..."

- "The Fundamental Distinctions of What Qualifies One as being a Revolutionary, an Activist, or a Terrorist..." Kijana Tashiri Askari, Political Prisoner, in *The George Jackson Lives Series Volume #3*

On Election Day, Fox News repeatedly carried the story, with footage, of members of the New Black Panther Party allegedly intimidating voters outside a polling place in Philadelphia. Dressed in black combat fatigues sporting NBPP patches and wearing black berets, one of the alleged "New Black Panthers" was shown waving a billy-club around and interrogating the photographer as to what he was doing there. Then the footage showed the Philly police escorting the man away while another dressed in NBPP regalia remained outside the polls.



Nightstick armed man at Philly polling place

"JANE SKINNER: 'Breaking election news, we have reports of possible voter intimidation in some way — Pennsylvania. Republicans saying that two Black Panthers have been blocking the doorway of one polling location. Rick, what are the details on this? What are you hearing?'"

"RICK LEVENTHAL: 'I do not even know where to begin, but we have reached a polling place in the city of Philadelphia. One of the two Black Panthers who was allegedly blocking the door is standing right over here, with an accused us of intimidating voters because we were here with a camera and microphone. He did not answer questions, other people here have confirmed that another person in Black Panther attire was holding a night stick and apparently the concern was that they were intimidating people who were trying to go inside to vote. A republican poll observer actually called the police, the police were here and we miss them, they came and left. That person called the police is here. Why don't you tell us — step down off the curb, if you do not mind. What is going on here?'"

"CITIZEN: 'We got a phone call that there was intimidation going on. I walked up to the door, two gentlemen in Black Panther garb, one brandishing a nightstick, standing in front of the door. They closed ranks as I walked up. I am a veteran, that does not scare me. I went inside and found

full-watchers, they said they had been here for an hour — I went inside and found poll-watchers, they said that they had said not to let people outside because black people are going to win no matter what. At that point, I spoke to him, we would not get into a fistfight, I said, and I called the police.'

"LEVENTHAL: 'The person with the nightstick was escorted away, Which I just confirmed inside. But the implication is that you were telling me that the Black Panthers were there to intimidate white voters from coming to this location?'"

"CITIZEN: 'Anyone who is not going their way, I do not know. Someone in front of a polling place with a nightstick, that is intimidating for all voters.'

"LEVENTHAL: 'This is the first time I have heard of Black Panthers being stationed outside of a polling place. The one gentleman who is still here, he is a poll-watcher?'"

"CITIZEN: 'Yes, and he can wear what he wants.'

LEVENTHAL: 'The other person was not allowed to be there with a nightstick?'"

"CITIZEN: 'You cannot stand with a nightstick anywhere, that is a weapon. Obviously, you cannot stand around with a weapon menacingly in your hand under any circumstances.'

"LEVENTHAL: 'That is the situation, as far as we know it. We have heard of other incidents in the city, including voting machines breaking down. We heard of an incident not far from here where all three machines broke down. People did wait, most of them. Lines have dissipated. I have not made it inside yet, we had a skirmish in front of the door. Apparently there is voting going on as well. At this point, apparently anyone who wants to vote here can vote here.'

"SKINNER: 'I know that they do not have enough people to man ever polling site, but as far as you understand the police have come and gone. Is anyone monitoring in case someone is still hanging around?'"

"LEVENTHAL: 'Well there are poll watchers still standing here, we've been to at least a half a dozen polls around here, and I haven't seen any police officers, they don't want a police presence to intimidate some voters, they did escort one gentleman out of here...'"

"SKINNER: 'It's true in some places they don't want police on sight, plenty going on there for you...'"

- Fox News

According to the Anti-Defamation League:

The New Black Panther Party for Self Defense takes its name from the original Black Panther Party, formed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, in 1966. The original Panthers combined militant black nationalism with Marxism and advocated black empowerment and self-defense, often through confrontation. By 1969, the group had an estimated 5,000 members spread throughout 20 chapters around the country. In the early 1970s, however, the group lost momentum and most of its support due to internal disputes, violent clashes with police and infiltration by law enforcement agencies. Despite the collapse, the group's

mystique continued to influence radicals, and by the early 1990s a new generation of militant activists began to model themselves after the original Panthers.

The roots of the New Black Panthers can be traced to Michael McGee, a former member of the original Panthers, who was elected to the Milwaukee City Council in Wisconsin in 1984. In 1987, in response to what he viewed as a crisis in the city's black community, McGee threatened to disrupt "Summerfest" events "and other white people's fun" throughout the city unless more jobs were created for black people. He eventually backed off, instead leading demonstrations to call attention to black unemployment.

In 1990, at a "state of the inner city" press conference at city hall, McGee - then a Milwaukee alderman - announced his intention to create the Black Panther Militia unless the problems of the inner-city improved. He sought to enlist street gangs in the militia and provide them with weapons training. "They can fight and they already know how to shoot," he said. "I'm going to give them a cause to die for." By 1995, McGee threatened, the militia would carry out violent attacks in the city against "the government, the big private interests, the multi-millionaires."

Two months later, McGee organized a public meeting to recruit members to the Black Panther Militia at a local public school. Although dressed in black fatigues reminiscent of the original Panthers, McGee told the crowd of 300 that he was "not advocating what the Black Panthers were advocating. Our militia will be about violence. I'm talking actual fighting, bloodshed and urban guerilla warfare..."

The New Black Panthers or New Black Panther Party (NBPP), whose formal name is the New Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, is a U.S.-based black supremacist organization founded in Dallas, Texas in 1989...

The NBPP attracted many breakaway members of the Nation of Islam when former NOI minister Khalid Abdul Muhammad became the national chairman of the group from the late 1990s until his death in 2001. The NBPP is currently led by Malik Zulu Shabazz, and still upholds Khalid Abdul Muhammad as the de facto father of their movement...

Although it says it sees capitalism as the fundamental problem with the world and "revolution" as the solution, the new party does not draw its influences from Marxism or Maoism as the original party did. Instead, in a carefully-worded, roundabout form of ethnic nationalism, they say that Marx himself based his ideology and teachings on indigenous African cultures, and that the NBPP therefore need not look to Marxism or Maoism as a basis for their program, but can look to ideologies that stem directly from those African origins. The NBPP says it fights the oppression of black and brown people and that its members are on top of current issues facing black communities across the world. Also, it points to not all of its members being NOI, though the group acknowledges universal "spirituality" practices within the organization...

Members have referred to "bloodsucking Jews", and Khalid Abdul Muhammad "has blamed slavery and even the Holocaust on the 'hooked-nose, bagel-eating, lox-eating, perpetrating-a-fraud, so-called Jew'."

Khalid Abdul Muhammad in his statement [said] that "there are no good crackers, and if you find one, kill him before he changes."

The NBPP are known for their media appearances whenever Fox News is focused on events in the Black Community, where they will read venomous statements attacking Jews and/or whites in general, always dressed in mock Black Panther attire and sometimes brandishing guns or other weapons. One such event

was the recent arrest of two white supremacist youth who allegedly were plotting to go on a killing spree ending with Democratic nominee Barack Obama. According to a Fox News source:

The group held a press conference at 2 p.m. Saturday in front of the Crockett County Courthouse in response to the arrests of two men authorities say planned to kill Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama and more than 100 others.

Minister Najee Muhammad, national field marshal for the New Black Panther Party, and Uhuru Shakur, local chairman of the Atlanta chapter of the party, took turns reading statements from Dr. Malik Shabazz, leader of Black Lawyers for Justice and attorney for the party.

Muhammad began by condemning the alleged plot by Daniel Cowart, of Bells, and Paul Schlesselman, of Helena-West Helena, Ark. Federal authorities have said the two young white supremacists planned to go state to state to kill 88 people and behead 14 black people before assassinating their final target, Obama.

Cowart, 20, and Schlesselman, 18, waived their detention hearing Thursday and remain in jail pending a Nov. 6 hearing in U.S. District Court in Memphis. The hearing, which will be held at 9 a.m., will be on whether the case should be sent to a grand jury.

During Saturday's press conference, about 50 black and white residents listened at the courthouse as Muhammad said the black community needs to unite and protect one another. Other residents watched from a distance.

"We will not allow some racists and other angry whites, who are upset over an impending Barack Obama presidential victory, to intimidate blacks at the polls," Muhammad said. "Most certainly, we cannot allow these racist forces to slaughter our babies or commit other acts of violence against the black population, nor our black president."

Conservative Fox News pundit Michelle Malkin had this to say about the Philadelphia representative of NBPP:

Some people wear their heart on their sleeve. Minister King Samir Shabazz wears his on his forehead. Right between the eyes.

"If you want to stop the revolution, that's what you got to hit," Shabazz said, pointing to the target tattooed onto his forehead. "I fight my oppressor, and I give him the target."

Shabazz is chairman of the New Black Panther Party's Philadelphia chapter. In black beret atop dreadlocks and a black military uniform, he spends most weekdays near City Hall condemning "crackers" and exhorting black passers-by to rise up against their "slavemasters" - and to give him \$2 for the party's semi-annual newspaper.

He is one of the most recognizable black militants in a city known, since the days of MOVE, for its vocal black-extremism community.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which monitors hate activity globally, listed the New Black Panther Party as among the most active and tough-talking of black-separatist groups...

...On whites: "I'm about the total destruction of white people. I'm about the total liberation of black people. I hate white people. I hate my enemy. . . ."

... "The only thing the cracker understands is violence," said Shabazz, whose face also bears the tattoos "Freedom," "BPG" (Black Power Gang) and "NBPP" (New Black Panther Party). "The only thing the cracker understands is gunpowder."

"You got to take violence to violence."

An Anti-Racist blog site had this:

THE NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY STATEMENT ON VOTER INTIMIDATION

Wednesday, 05 November 2008

Okay, we need to get back to business here, because this is going to be brought up more than a lot over the next few weeks to months, and we are most certainly are going to start getting those emails and phone calls asking why we aren't decrying what the New Black Panther Party "did" here in Philly. The buzz is that a reporter caught Minister King Samir Shabazz and another NBPP member on video - which we provide in this post - with nightsticks standing at a polling place. This, by the way, comes on the heels of an interview with Shabazz in the Philadelphia Daily News the same day they covered the Keystone State "Skinheads". Now we make no bones about the fact that we are no fans of the NBPP, to underscore a fact, so we are not even going to try and defend what they were doing at the polling place - whatever the hell they were doing. We do believe, however that they needed to explain themselves, and sure enough they put a statement on their website about the controversy.

New Black Panther Party

The New Black Panther Party for the record, has not officially endorsed any candidate for the Presidency of The United States. However, we would like to take this time to congratulate Senator Barack Obama for a campaign that has inspired and uplifted masses of people throughout the country and around the world. The Obama campaign has conducted itself with extreme professionalism, and has maintained a sense of dignity through some of the most negative tactics and scurrilous accusations we have ever seen during a campaign. Whatever the results of this election, we are extremely proud of the contribution that Senator Barack Obama, his wife Michelle Obama and his children have made to the collective of African-American History as yet another representation of the Black Family. This campaign alone has shaped the minds of generations to come. We have indeed witnessed change.

To be clear, the New Black Panther Party does not now nor ever has, engaged in any form of voter intimidation. We recognize the long legacy of our people who were martyred and paid for our right to vote in their blood. The very origin of the Black Panther Party lies in Lowndes County, Alabama which was birthed as a Voter Registration Drive in an area that had been under-represented, oppressed and where Black People were made afraid to organize and vote under threat of the Klan.

In 2008, the New Black Panther Party stands for the right of our people to vote, free and clear from any and all forms of intimidation or threat whether physical or otherwise. Regardless of any of our members personal feelings as to who to support, we as an organization have been supremely careful and respectfully have withheld either our endorsement or any condemnation. Rather, the New Black Panther Party has chosen to focus its efforts on supporting any of our people who wish to vote, whomever they may vote for, and ensure that they are informed on the issues, have proper transportation to and from the polls and of course that our people, especially our women, youth and elders are completely free from intimidation and threat as they exercise their own individual right to choose and vote.

The New Black Panther membership represents a wide range of views, both politically and spiritually, we are a grassroots national community-based organization which is made up of several chapters throughout several regions in the US and abroad. The New Black Panther Party has over 350 of its members on the ground in 15 Cities in order to ensure that people of color particularly our women, youth and elders, are ensured their right to vote and in order to provide security protecting our people in the

face of real and confirmed Neo-Nazi, Skinhead, KKK, Aryan Nation and other White Supremacist threats.

Specifically, in the case of Philadelphia, the New Black Panther Party wishes to express that the actions of people purported to be members do not represent the official views of the New Black Panther Party and are not connected nor in keeping with our official position as a party. The publicly expressed sentiments and actions of purported members do not speak for either the party's leadership or its membership. At this critical time in history, emotions and rhetoric are bound to be intense. As an organization, the New Black Panther Party is committed to the fair representation of all peoples of color in whatever pursuit they should choose. Whether it be fair employment, fair housing or fair voting the New Black Panther Party stands for the full and total representation of the disenfranchised black, brown, yellow and red people who have many times been victims of America rather than treated as citizens of the United States of America.

We only have to look at the case in Paris, Texas where a young 24 yr. old Brandon McClelland who could have grown up to be the next Barack Obama was cut down in his prime by yet another dragging death in Texas. If we look at the case of the Neo-Nazi Skinheads who planned to kill 88 Black Schoolchildren, 14 by decapitation, and culminate their murderous spree in the assassination of Barack Obama then we can clearly see that this may not be the America that some may think. The New Black Panther Party does not issue threats of violence to those who we may not agree with. We are the New Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and we defend our people against the virulent oppression and racism that unfortunately has not yet been purged from this nation. Whether it is on the ground in Jasper, TX for James Byrd, or in Cincinnati for Timothy Thomas, or in NY for Sean Bell, or in W. VA for Megan Williams, or in Paris, TX for Brandon McClelland or in ATL for Catherine Johnston, the New Black Panther Party has stood time and again for liberation, justice, equality and peace for our people.



Political Statement Concerning the Dispute Between Members of the Original Black Panther Party (BPP) and New Black Panther Party (NBPP)

By B. Kwaku Duren, Esq./Chairperson, New
Panther Vanguard Movement (NPVM)
[Former Member/Coordinator of the Southern
California Chapter of the Black Panther Party]

November 8, 2002

The New Panther Vanguard Movement (initially called the New African American Vanguard Movement) was founded by a few former members of the reformed Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, and a handful of newer, younger, "panthers". From the outset, we in the NPVM, knew that the "Black Panther Party" could not be "recreated," but we also recognized the need, and had the desire, to insure that the "revolutionary ideas and practice," and the BPP's legacy of non-compromising political struggle on the behalf of Africans living in America and in solidarity with other oppressed communities and peoples, would be

continued into the 21st Century and its successes and failures remembered and honored properly. For this reason we felt it important for us to comment on the current dispute between former members of the now defunct Black Panther Party (BPP) and the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) that has been widely reported in the press.

This dispute centers around two main issues. The first is the contention by some former members of the original BPP that the NBPP is using images and a name that it has no right to and that are the "property" of these former members. The second is that by espousing ideas (such as anti-semitism) that were in fact alien to the original BPP, the NBPP is bringing its legacy into disrepute.

As far as the first issue is concerned it is instructive to begin by looking at the history of the panther as a political image.

The original BPP officially closed its national headquarters in Oakland, California in 1982 but the panther "image" continues to inspire many to this day. In 1989 the NBPP was formed in Dallas, Texas. A Panther-like group was formed by Michael McGee in 1992 in Milwaukee. In 1994 the New African American Vanguard Movement, later to become the New Panther Vanguard Movement, was founded in Los Angeles. The attempt to revive the spirit of the old BPP was not restricted to the United States; in 1989 the group Panther was founded in London, England.

We decided after months of "study and discussion" to form what would later become the New Panther Vanguard Movement (NPVM), which was initially based in the Bloods-and-Crips-dominated neighborhoods of South-central Los Angeles.

On April 19, 1997, leading members of the NPVM and the NBPP participated in the first "Panther Unity Summit" at the Vanguard's Los Angeles-based International Panther Headquarters. This "Unity Summit" was continued to continue discussions relating to the formation of a "national structure" for a "new Panther movement" that had been agreed to in an informal gathering of both organizations nearly a year earlier in Houston, Texas. The theme of this "summit" was "resolving contradictions."

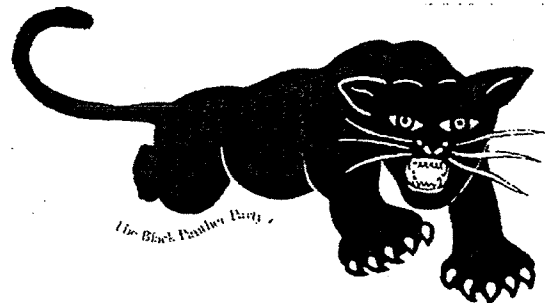
During the course of this second of three such "summits," both former and "new Panthers" discussed common program objectives, overall political perspectives, and revisited the "numerous contradictions" that had contributed to the demise of the original Oakland-based BPP. Of particular importance was the discussion and dialogue focused on the mistakes made by the BPP leadership in resolving contradictions, dealing with differences in tactics, philosophy, and "revolutionary ideology" among its leadership and membership. A tentative "consensus of a sort" was reached as to "revised" Ten Point Platform and a National Code of Conduct which would assist in giving form and direction to a new "loosely confederated national entity" that would be called the New Panther Vanguard Movement (NPVM).¹ The major and immediate objective of this proposed national structure was to obtain the support and participation of each of the newly emerging "panther-like groups" and individual "Panther activists" around the country, who had patterned themselves after, and/or who were presumably carrying on in the "revolutionary tradition" of the original Black Panther Party.

The first informal "unity summit," composed of representatives of the NAAVM and the New Black Panther Party, had agreed to convene a follow-up meeting in Milwaukee in order to meet with the founder and members of the Black Panther Militia. This planned meeting with the Black Panther Militia never materialized, apparently due to an apparent lack of interest by the leadership of the Militia. However, ongoing outreach efforts continued to be

made to contact "Panthers" [former or present] functioning throughout the United States, and particularly in the Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York areas.

A third "unity summit" took place in New York in 1998, sponsored by the Black Panther Collective and the NPVM. We were pleasantly surprised that the former, and recently appointed National Chairman of the NBPP, Khalid Muhammad, now deceased, stopped by and participated in a lively, sometimes heated, dialogue about the political philosophy of the original BPP, and the prospects of continuing to build a national network of "Panther-like" groups, with the involvement and support of the NBPP. Unfortunately, Khalid expressly stated that he was not interested in pursuing a serious discussion about the concerns of then renamed New Panther Vanguard Movement regarding the differences between the NBPP and the NPVM. This third "unity summit" in New York resulted in joint commitments by the Black Panther Collective and the NPVM to continue seeking ways to work together, including assisting in the production and distribution of *The Black Panther* newspaper. Informal discussions continued regarding attempts to build a national "operational network" of "Panther-like" groups, who would share a common "code of conduct" and "platform and program." Unfortunately, nearly six months after the New York "unity summit," the Black Panther Collective developed irreconcilable internal contradictions; leading members left the group, and, as a result, the continued organizing of these "unity summits" came to an end, with the various "Panther-like" organizations continuing to work and organize independently.

I take the time to briefly layout this history of the "problem" so as to demonstrate what we believe to be the "correct" position to take in the "dispute" between the NBPP and some of the original members of the BPP. The significance of our "position" can be succinctly stated that it is our belief that we can best "preserve and protect" the "legacy of the original BPP" by being actively involved in building a "new movement" that is attempting to put into practice those dynamic ideas, revolutionary ideals, and beliefs which made the BPP so unique. The filing of a "lawsuit" against the NBPP is not the solution. The "legacy of the BPP" will be preserved, if at all, by the dedication and commitment of those who share its vision and ideology. We must organize, not in the courts, but in the communities of the poor and oppressed. "Power" in the words of Huey P. Newton, *"is the ability to define phenomena and to make it act in the desired manner."* All Power to the People Who Dare to Struggle and Dare to Win!



WHAT WAS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY?

From the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation

The Black Panther Party was a progressive political organization that stood in the vanguard of the most powerful movement for social change in America since the Revolution of 1776 and the Civil War: that dynamic episode generally referred to as The Sixties. It is the sole black organization in the entire history of black struggle against slavery and oppression in the United States that was armed and promoted a revolutionary agenda, and it represents the last great thrust by the mass of black people for equality, justice and freedom.

¹ When formed in 1994, we called ourselves the *New African American Vanguard Movement* (NAAVM); later between the time of the second and third "panther summits" [discussed here] we decided to rename ourselves the *New Panther Vanguard Movement*.

The Party's ideals and activities were so radical, it was at one time assailed by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States." And, despite the demise of the Party, its history and lessons remain so challenging and controversial that established texts and media would erase all reference to the Party from American history.

The Black Panther Party was the manifestation of the vision of Huey P. Newton, the seventh son of a Louisiana family transplanted to Oakland, California. In October of 1966, in the wake of the assassination of black leader Malcolm X and on the heels of the massive black, urban uprising in Watts, California and at the height of the civil rights movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Newton gathered a few of his longtime friends, including Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, and developed a skeletal outline for this organization. It was named, originally, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The black panther was used as the symbol because it was a powerful image, one that had been used effectively by the short-lived voting rights group the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization. The term "self defense" was employed to distinguish the Party's philosophy from the dominant nonviolent theme of the civil rights movement, and in homage to the civil rights group the Louisiana based Deacons for Defense. These two, symbolic references were, however, where all similarity between the Black Panther Party and other black organizations of the time, the civil rights groups and black power groups, ended.

Immediately, the leadership of the embryonic Party outlined a Ten Point Platform and Program (see the end of this article for full text). This Platform & Program articulated the fundamental wants and needs, and called for a redress of the longstanding grievances, of the black masses in America, still alienated from society and oppressed despite the abolition of slavery at the end of the Civil War. Moreover, this Platform & Program was a manifesto that demanded the express needs be met and oppression of blacks be ended immediately, a demand for the right to self defense, by a revolutionary ideology and by the commitment of the membership of the Black Panther Party to promote its agenda for fundamental change in America.

The Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALISTS OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of our fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of the self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and in the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide our selves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desire of the United States ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the United States government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in United States prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the United States military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are most disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

There Is No New Black Panther Party: An Open Letter from the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation

In response from numerous requests from individual's seeking information on the "New Black Panthers," the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation issues this public statement to correct the distorted record being made in the media by a small band of African Americans calling themselves the New Black Panthers. As guardian of the true history of the Black Panther Party, the Foundation, which includes former leading members of the Party, denounces this group's exploitation of the Party's name and history. Failing to find its own legitimacy in the black community, this band would graft the Party's name upon itself, which we condemn.

Firstly, the people in the New Black Panthers were never members of the Black Panther Party and have no legitimate claim on the Party's name. On the contrary, they would steal the names and pretend to walk in the footsteps of the Party's true heroes, such as Black Panther founder Huey P. Newton, George Jackson and Jonathan Jackson, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, Fred Hampton, Mark Cark, and so many others who gave their very lives to the black liberation struggle under the Party's banner.

Secondly, they denigrate the Party's name by promoting concepts absolutely counter to the revolutionary principles on which the Party was founded. Their alleged media assault on the Ku Klux Klan serves to incite hatred rather than resolve it. The Party's fundamental principle, as best articulated by the great revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, was: "A true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love." The Black Panthers were never a group of angry young militants full of fury toward the "white establishment." The Party operated on love for black people, not hatred of white people.

Furthermore, this group claims it would "teach" the black community about armed self-defense. The arrogance of this claim is overwhelmed by its reactionary nature. Blacks, especially in the South, have been armed in self-defense for a very long time; indeed, the spiritual parent of the Party itself was the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense. However, the Party understood that the gun was not necessarily revolutionary, for the police and all other oppressive forces had guns. It was the ideology behind the gun that determined its nature.

Because the Party believed that only the masses of people would make the revolution, the Party never presumed itself to be above the people. The Party considered itself a servant of the people and taught by example. Given massive black hunger, the Party provided free breakfast for children and other free food programs. In the absence of decent medical facilities in the black community, the Party operated free medical clinics. In the face of police brutality, the Party stood up and resisted. Considering the overwhelming number of blacks facing trials and long prison terms,

the Party developed free legal aids and bussing-to-prison programs.

The question the Foundation raises, then, is who are these people laying claim to the Party's history and name? Are they reactionary provocateurs, who would instigate activities counterproductive to the people's interests, causing mayhem and death? Are they entertainers, who would posture themselves before the media, and, according to numerous sources, with empty guns, to spin gold for themselves? Are they, given the history of their late-leader Khalid Muhammad, a group of anti-Semites like the very Ku Klux Klan they allegedly oppose? What is their agenda?

Conditions for blacks in America today are worse than when the Black Panther Party was formed in 1966. Blacks in the main continue to live in poverty; disproportionate percentages of blacks die from AIDS and cancer, as the black infant mortality rate continues to be double that of whites. There is a desperate need for liberation agenda. The Black Panther Party unarguably set the example, espousing principles and a history that certainly should be embraced by all those still struggling for freedom. Rather than appropriating the Party's name, however, groups that purport to represent African Americans ought to follow the Party's true historical example. In the absence of such commitment, the Foundation denounces the usurpation of the Black Panther Party name by this questionable band of self-appointed leaders.

For further reading on the Black Panther Party, please visit our website at www.blackpanther.org. Books by and about the Black Panthers can also be purchased online through this site. Suggested reading includes Revolutionary Suicide, To Die for the People, War Against the Panthers, This Side of Glory, and A Taste of Power.



What the New Black Panthers Want What the New Black Panthers Believe

1. **We want freedom. We want the power to practice self-determination, and to determine the destiny of our community and THE BLACK NATION.** We believe in the spiritual high moral code of our Ancestors. We believe in the truths of the Bible, Quran, and other sacred texts and writings. We believe in MAAT and the principles of NGUZO SABA. We believe that Black People will not be free until we are able to determine our Divine Destiny.
2. **We want full employment for our people and we demand the dignity to do for ourselves what we have begged the white man to do for us.**

We believe that since the white man has kept us deaf, dumb and blind, and used every "dirty trick" in the book to stand in the way of our freedom and independence, that we should be gainfully employed until such time we can employ and provide for ourselves.

We believe further in: **POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE! WEALTH IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE! ARMS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE!**

- 3. We want tax exemption and an end to robbery of THE BLACK NATION by the CAPITALIST. We want an end to the capitalistic domination of Africa in all of its forms: imperialism, criminal settler colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, sexism, zionism, Apartheid and artificial borders.**

We believe that this wicked racist government has robbed us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of reparations. A form of reparations was promised 100 years ago (forty acres and a mule) as restitution for the continued genocide of our people and to in meaningful measure and repair the damage for the AFRICAN HOLOCAUST (Maangamizo/Maafa).

We believe our people should be exempt from ALL TAXATION as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land and the overdue reparations debt remains unpaid. We will accept payment in fertile and mine rally rich land, precious metals, industry, commerce and currency. As genocide crimes continue, people's tribunals must be set up to prosecute and to execute.

The "Jews" were given reparations. The Japanese were given reparations. The Black, the Red and the Brown Nations must be given reparations. The American white man owes us reparations. England owes us reparations. France owes us reparations, Spain and all of Europe. Africa owes us reparations and repatriation. The Arabs owe us reparations. The "Jews" owe us reparations. All have taken part in the AFRICAN HOLOCAUST and the slaughter of 600 million of our people over the past 6,000 years in general and 400 year in particular. We know that this is a reasonable and just demand that we make at this time in history.

- 4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings, free health-care (preventive and maintenance). We want an end to the trafficking of drugs and to the biological and chemical warfare targeted at our people.**

We believe since the white landlords will not give decent housing and quality health care to our Black Community, the he housing, the land, the social, political and economic institutions should be made into independent UUAMAA "New African Communal/Cooperatives" so that our community, with government reparations and aid (until we can do for ourselves) can build and make drug free, decent housing with health facilities for our people.

- 5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this devilish and decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history/herstory and our role in the present day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give our people "a knowledge of self." If we do not have knowledge of self and of our position in society and the world, then we have little chance to properly relate to anything else.

- 6. We want all Black Men and Black Women to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black People should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that holds us captive and does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black People, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, "by any means necessary."

- 7. We want an immediate end to POLICE HARRASSMENT, BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black People. We want an end to Black-on-Black violence, "snitching," cooperation and collaboration with the oppressor.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our community by organizing Black self-defense groups (Black People's Militias/Black Liberation Armies) that are dedicated to defending our Black Community from racist, fascist, police/military oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment of white America's Constitution gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black People should unite and form and "African United Front" and arm ourselves for self-defense.

- 8. We want freedom for all Black Men and Black Women held in international, military, federal, state, county, city jails and prisons.**

We believe that all Black People and people of color should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial. 'Released' means 'released' to the lawful authorities of the Black Nation.

- 9. We want all Black People when brought to trial to be tried in a court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by white law of the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow their own law, if their nature will allow (as stated in their Constitution of the United States) so that Black People will receive fair trials. The 6th Amendment of the United States Constitution gives a man/woman a right to an impartial trial, which has been interpreted to be a "fair" trial by one's "peer" group. A "peer" is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this, the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black Community from which the Black defendant came. We have been and are being tried by all white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning person" of the Black Community.

- 10. WE DEMAND AN END TO THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY AS IT IS APPLIED TO BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN AMERICA. WE DEMAND FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS OF THE BLACK RED AND BROWN NATION!**

We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And, as our political objective, we want NATIONAL LIBERATION in a separate state or territory of our own, here or elsewhere, "a liberated zone" ("New Africa" or Africa), and a plebiscite to be held throughout the

BLACK NATION in which only we will be allowed to participate for the purposes of determining our will and DIVINE destiny as a people. FREE THE LAND! "UP YOU MIGHTY NATION! YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL!" BLACK POWER! History has proven that the white man is absolutely disagreeable to get along with in peace. No one has been able to get along with the white man. All the people of color have been subjected to the white man's wrath. We believe that his very nature will not allow for true sharing, fairness, equity and justice. Therefore, to the Red Man and Woman, to the Yellow and to the Brown, we say to you "THE SAME RABID DOG THAT BIT YOU, BIT US TOO!" ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



NABPP-PC

Commentary by the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter

We sympathize with the former BPPP members in the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation in their concern over the NBPP co-opting their name and symbolism while putting out an ideological and political line contradictory to the original BPP which is essentially racist and counter-revolutionary. We agree with the NPVM that going to the oppressor's courts to try to stop them is both incorrect and a waste of time. Correct ideas always develop in contradiction and struggle with incorrect ones. Our Party grew out of our struggle against and rejection of the line of the NBPP. Initially, like most young prisoners in the slave pens of Amerika we had only a vague understanding of revolutionary theory and practice and of the actual history of the Black Panther Party. We gravitated to the NBPP because we thought they were the real deal, but as we began to study and made contact with original Panthers still held as political prisoners and prisoners of war, we gained perspective. Like the comrades in NPVM we still thought we could struggle with them to arrive at a correct line, but soon realized that this was impossible. Their reactionary racist politics precludes critical thought. Fundamentally, they are motivated by race hatred and not Panther Love for the people.

As they put it, they were "bit by a rabid dog," and now they too are rabid. It's too bad, but all we can say is "seek a cure!" The cure can be found in genuine revolutionary praxis – the combination of theory and practice – which can be learned from study of the ideological and political line of the original BPP and the comrades around the world that inspired and instructed them...comrades of every "race" and color.

Conditions for the oppressed masses of Black people, other people of color, and poor whites are worse today than they were in the 60's and early 70's. The imprisoned population in Amerika has increased eight-fold since then and are now predominantly Black and people of color. Unemployment has risen – particularly for inner-city youth – as factories have packed up and moved away to where workers can be more intensely exploited and paid next to nothing. There have been massive cut-backs in social welfare programs and major attacks on civil rights and liberties. The repression suffered by the original BPP, Brown Berets, Young Lords, Young Patriots, White Panthers and other groups has become generalized against all poor people and particularly

against people of color. Our communities have been flooded with drugs, our youth criminalized and our neighborhoods occupied by police who have been militarized and given a "green light" to terrorize and murder people at will.

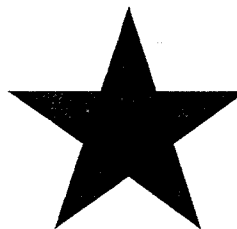
On top of all this, the capitalist system is in its most serious economic crisis since the "Great Depression." The U.S. has gone from being the No. #1 lender to the No. #1 debtor nation in the world, and the national debt continues to rise as \$100s of billions upon \$100s of billions are spent on imperialist wars and mass incarceration and to bail-out failing banking institutions. Indeed, conditions are much worse than they were 40 years ago, and we are much more in need of a revolutionary political vanguard.

The panther symbol cannot be owned or retired anymore than the clenched fist, the Red Flag, or Red Star can. The legacy of the original BPP – like the legacy of revolutionary struggle – belongs to the people – and so does the future of the Party and revolution. What we need is not a hodgepodge of "panther-like" groups but the restoration of the Party and what it stood for, only this time with the discipline and determination to stay the course. The only way to honor the Panther martyrs like Fred Hampton and George Jackson is to continue on the path they charted, struggled for, bleed and died for.

The Black liberation struggle is a class struggle, and our class has always had to pay a heavy price for every advance in the class struggle. To fight and fail, to get back up, wipe the blood off and continue the struggle is the logic of the people; And each generation must continue where the last left off, picking up their blood-stained banners and reforming the revolutionary ranks. It is not our place or our desire to sit in judgment of our elders. We honor all who have contributed to the struggle – even if only for a day or in some small way. Life on the inside is hard, and we have to live it every day, so we can fully appreciate the sacrifices so many of the comrades of the original BPP had to make – and which many are still making. We can appreciate the sacrifices comrades around the world have made to advance the class struggle against capitalist-imperialism and colonialism and for a brighter socialist future.

History and revolution advance in waves followed by periods of reaction. The last 40 years have been such a period – not just here but internationally. But the tide is now turning and a new wave of revolutionary struggle is rising. We are proud to be a part of it. In the spirit of George Jackson, we call out to our comrades on the street to take heart and put aside all distractions, all half-way measures, half-hearted reformism and half-baked idealism. Put aside cynicism and defeatism, prejudices and liberalism. Join us in building an all-the-way revolutionary party and movement. Dare to struggle and dare to win! Dare to be a revolutionary! Dare to care and give your whole heart to living a life of service to the people...to be...unto your dying breath...a Panther!

All Power to the People!



Power To The People

By Komrade Joe "Okera" Valentine

As a vanguard, a communist party functions as an advanced, concentrated political expression of the PEOPLE'S fundamental interests as defined by class relations. The vanguard party quite consciously promotes and fights to secure the interests of the working classes – i.e. the proletariat and peasantry. The vanguard party serves as an ideologically-solidified body that pursues the "will of the people" on the basis of a coherently guided program which

aims to realize socioeconomic, cultural, political and military policies of the proletariat – the class of modern “wage slaves.” In a word, the party is the nucleus of centralized apparatus consisting of deeply committed and experienced revolutionaries who struggle to meet the difficult historic tasks of the day by confronting contradictory phenomenon in a measured and politically astute manner so as to assure that the people’s needs are met on all levels.

Yes, like everything in the human universe, the party IS vulnerable to INFILTRATION and/or DEGENERATIVE IDEOLOGICAL POISON being injected into its midst. Such infiltrators and/or degenerative ideological poison (BEWARE OF THEM BUFFALO SOLDIERS BOYZ AND GIRLZ) function as agents in disguise or seedbeds for deliberate strategic misguidance in Machiavellian treachery. Capitalism, the once “forbidden fruit,” now becomes the sour lemon which some crawling snakes in sinister connivance salivate to taste and salaciously devour sweet opportunities to exploit by placing themselves in positions of power so as to betray the people’s revolution for their own reactionary and individualistic wealth and power calculations in Deng Xiaoping and Khrushchev fashion.²

The fact is, there simply aren’t and shall never be any “perfections” in the human condition, we must therefore be intelligent enough to realize that there shall inevitably be those who lurk in the dark in collusion with an agenda of corruptive sabotage and betrayal of the “rotten heart.” This is life! We observe this human trait across space and time without end – that human beings are corruptible. It is fanciful and idealist as Hell for the politically mature of us to believe that it is realistically possible to preclude this type of sly-ass betrayal or that we can advance society to the total elimination of classes and class-based exploitation without continued and determined class struggle waged by the people from below to progressively uproot the remnants of capitalist social and economic relations and revolutionize all of society throughout the period of socialist reconstruction.

As an historical example of this persistent pattern of human corruptibility, as revolutionary nationalist movements began delivering serious hammer blows to colonial empires (e.g. France, Britain, Japan, Belgium, Portugal, et al.) the imperialists (led by the U.S.) formulated a sophisticated and subtle strategy which would effectively permit them to continue to exploit and dominate these newly emerging republics which serve as a source of super-profits to the imperialists (through exploitation of their natural resources and cheap labor). In connivance with unscrupulous nationalist misleaders (e.g. Mobutu, Somoza, Batista, Marcos, et al.) the imperialists switched to a neo-colonial strategy of “Dollar Diplomacy” to supplant direct political dominance (eliminating those revolutionary nationalist leaders who couldn’t be bought) and by this means thwarting real independence and national liberation.

In this sense, those who capitulated and collaborated with the neo-colonial script of continued imperialist domination and exploitation in order to satisfy their narrow-ass, decadent, material ambitions and power-role (shameful slaves to imperialist plunder of their nations) were/are the native “bourgeoisie” within the revolutionary nationalist parties and movements, (we must keep in mind that revolutionary socialist/communist elements are always members of these parties and movements and we cannot dogmatically condemn all nationalism as being automatically “bourgeois”), although their actual ideological direction and political programs and aspirations were obvious and thus able to be anticipated and exposed to the people who are the only real source of power.

Never-the-less, the neo-colonial empires managed to even pose as “liberators” – like the U.S. in both its wars against Spain and Japan – to achieve the desired result of counting on local jackals to serve as agents in assisting their re-enslavement of the people in the colonized countries. In Communist terminology, this bunch of turn coats are called “compradors.” It has been said that human beings are “political animals.” In the negative sense it implies that people are always out to get an “edge” or are constantly on the hunt to get an “angle” from which to exploit or benefit from an opportunity. Such “opportunism” manifests itself in different ways within the revolutionary movement.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

It is safe to say that under capitalism: “politics” is the art of deception and tactical manipulation for private gain and advantage over others. In American politics, politicians seek to get elected to a position in government from which they can profit by selling their influence to lobbyists and special interest groups, and so they play a game of unprincipled tricks against their opposition to compete for power, and in truth, nine-times-otta-ten sell out the interests of their constituency who elected them and whose interests they purport to represent. Ideally, in the U.S. there are occasionally individuals with some integrity who do genuinely endeavor to eagerly and principally serve the people’s interests in some capacity. However, in Amerika, as in other capitalist countries, the politicians are incorporated into a system in which they are mere “cogs” in the “machinery” of state that serves the socioeconomic, cultural and military imperatives dictated by the interests of the ruling class of monopoly capitalists who collectively own the means of production. There is no escaping this reality, though there is some latitude for differences of policy and priorities respective to the political machines of the Republican and Democratic parties, but it is not that great.

What this logically means is that it is in fact the nature of the “system” and not the individual politicians which is vital and determines whose interests are served most diligently and consistently. By this measure, I think it is quite clear that as politics revolves around the issue of “power,” and human beings are “political animals,” that those politicians who will be inclined towards and/or ideologically oriented to serve the PEOPLE, can only do so in the context of a SOCIALIST form of government. As capitalism is fundamentally and unapologetically a system motivated by private profit and based upon mass exploitation and frequently upon imperialist war, acts of deep craft and deception and indifferent patriarchal inequalities such a system encourages can’t help but produce individuals whose consciousness is rooted in a world view which justifies and rationalizes political deception and manipulation in the interests of narrow, self-serving advancement at public expense.

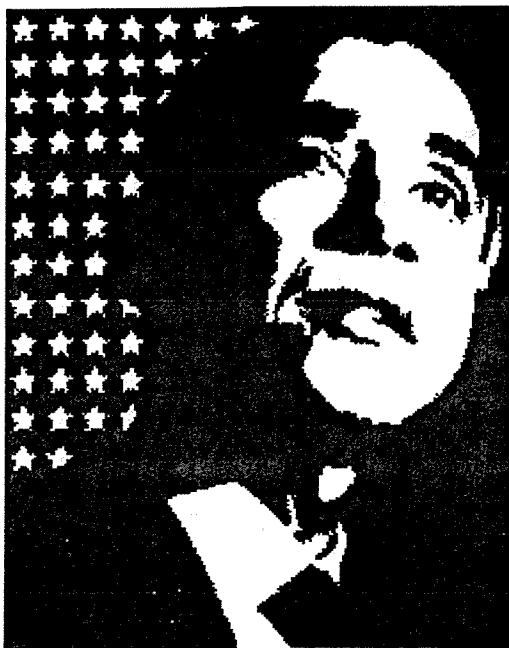
Conversely, under a genuinely socialist system (“genuine” can in fact be determined and measured), although there does exist space in which a politician searching for an “edge” and/or “angle” for purposes of opportunism can do so, the very nature of the system acts to discourage this, to “detect” corruption and “check” this tendency towards opportunism. But as bitter experience has shown, “people’s power” must be constantly built and brought to bear to “detect” and “check” the hidden opportunists that hide behind a façade of “political correctness” and seek to put the people and the class struggle to sleep. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom!

“Something is wrong with capitalism as it stands here in the U.S. We are not interested in being integrated into this value structure.”

-- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Nov., 1967)

² A principle target of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against “capitalist roaders” in the Chinese Communist Party and state, Deng Xiaoping was the chief ringleader in staging a counter-revolutionary coup that restored state capitalism under a “socialist cover” in the People’s Republic of China following the death of Mao Tse-tung in much the same way as Nikita Khrushchev had done earlier following the death of Stalin in the Soviet Union. These “capitalist roaders” represented the “new bourgeoisie” that emerged due to continuing – though limited – capitalist social and economic relations in the period of socialist reconstruction after the proletariat and peasantry seized power.

However difficult it may be to stay on the socialist road, we know what its like under capitalist rule and the impossibility of achieving social justice under this system. Do we want "integration or disintegration by capitalist assimilation?" for those of us who are aware of these two political-economic systems, only a "zip damn blind fool" doesn't understand that there is a major difference between politicians like Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, John McCain and Sarah Palin and those like Assata Shakur, Che Guevara, Mumia Abu Jamal and Ho Chi Minh, as the former are seeking political power within the confines of a known white supremacist, patriarchal, militarist, imperialist, capitalist empire whereas the latter group instead seek liberation for the people under a diametrically opposed system based upon people's power. Can you not "see" the deep deceit in these politicians' eyes and realize the criminal intent of their "political agendas?"



"Obama is drama to soothe our New Afrikan traumas."

In its nature, socialism is in fact the initial phase of building the necessary foundation and infrastructure to ensure that that power is secured for the people by eliminating the division of society into classes and constructing a social economy based upon providing access to the fruits of socialized labor by all in accordance with their needs. Socialism is "Power to the People," power exercised by the people, and always in their interests as a "class," the proletariat being the "class of the future," which will eliminate all classes, and thus is the only thoroughly "revolutionary" class.

I believe it is wise and obvious that the matter of "power" in the context of socialism be given a concrete definition and be conceptualized as the practical means and methods to effectuate our strategic political objectives. I once read that "power is the ability to define and act upon or shape reality to conform to one's interests." Now, by this limited but useful definition of "power" taken to apply to our context of the struggle to build an international socialist world order (Communism) — "by any means necessary" — on the basis of "People's Power," I'd say "power" is intellectual, vocational, scientific, socio-economic, cultural and political energy of the masses of proletarians (and allied peasants). In other words "power" is the decisive force utilized by the people to control and thereby direct every dimension of society (i.e., to bring all institutions in society under the direct control of the proletariat and peasantry).

I say our "friends" are those who are the permanent friends of our proletarian interests. It is the "people" who must play an ever-evolving role in guiding and managing society on the basis of our "inalienable rights" (under "New Democracy") to be "free agents" exercising political power as a political vanguard in opposition to any static conception of state power. It is this strategic imperative

which must be safeguarded by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as the masses will under such prerequisite conditions supplant the "original" or "formal vanguard party" which gave strategic guidance and tactical astuteness toward the vital matter of seizing state power.

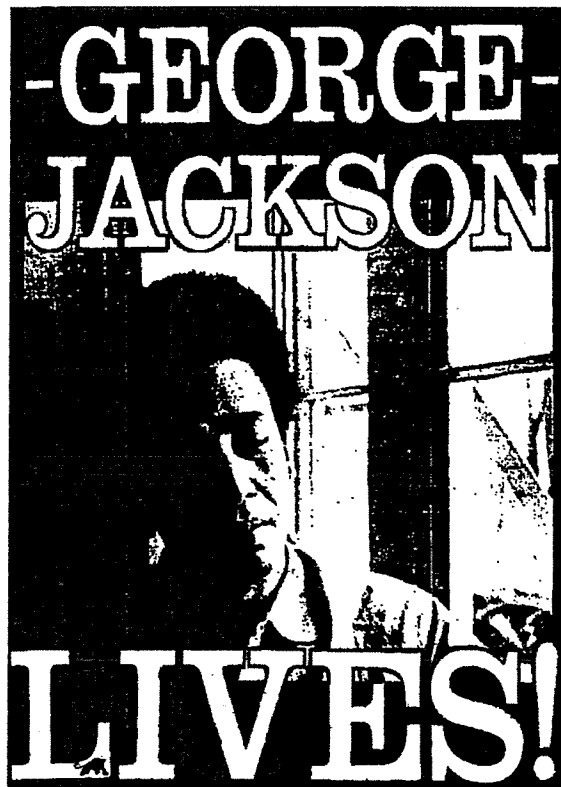
The vanguard party, not immediately or haphazardly, of course, must prepare itself for an orderly, timely and appropriate dissolution as the people *en masse* are trained and educated to responsibly and competently assume with confidence the reigns of effective power in security and socialist development. This was in fact the calculated strategic political maneuver that Mao and others of profound proletarian commitment sought to achieve by the method of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China.

Mao and his comrades critically and most sagaciously assessed the urgent situation and concluded that there was an immediate need to unleash the people's energies and initiative and engage them in conscious political struggle aimed at uprooting and destroying the capitalist virus in the leadership ranks of the Chinese Communist Party and in general revolutionizing every aspect of Chinese society. Mao empowered the Cultural Revolution as an appropriate measure to expose, repel and defeat the conspiring new bourgeoisie embarked on an opportunistic, power-hungry, "greed is good," "fuck world revolution," revisionist trip.

Mao, and those loyal to socialism, TRUSTED and wholeheartedly valued and believed in PEOPLE'S POWER. For him "POWER TO THE PEOPLE!" was a practical political, socio-economic, cultural and military reality to — in time — be birthed, nurtured, and placed in the people's able hands and not some damn euphemism for an elite gang of criminally-motivated syndicalists or sycophants with state wealth on their deceitful and manipulative minds bent on betrayal of proletarian power.

Power To The People!
Panther Immortal Black Guard
New Afrikan Love!

Komrade Joe Valentine #C-47779
Pelican Bay State Prison D5-113
PO Box 7500
Crescent City, CA 95532



The Spirit of George Jackson Lives in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter

By Tom Big Warrior

George Jackson was the epitome of a New Afrikan Black Panther, a lumpen proletarian prisoner who became politicized in the California prison system, he became a Field Marshal in the original Black Panther Party and a revolutionary communist. Imprisoned as a youth, George Jackson was given an indeterminate sentence for a minor robbery. In prison he evolved from a criminal into a revolutionary leader and theoretician.

His evolution was cut short by bullets from San Quentin prison guards during an alleged "escape attempt." Thousands attended his funeral and memorial services in his honor. He was eulogized by Black Panther Party Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton at his funeral. His two books, *Soledad Brother* and *Blood in my Eye*, continue to be sought after and eagerly read by young prisoners and others seeking knowledge of revolutionary tradition.

The spirit of George Jackson lives in the contemporary New Afrika Black Panther Party Prison Chapter and its affiliated New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO) - (formerly the Black Brigade) - founded by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, its Minister of Defense, and Shaka Sankofa Zulu, the Party's Chairman, in 2005. The NABPP-PC publishes the quarterly newsletter RIGHT ON! and NASO publishes SERVE THE PEOPLE! These newsletters are available from Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105 for \$15 per year each.

Comrade Rashid, a prisoner in Virginia's notorious super-max, Red Onion State Prison, and Chairman Shaka, who is imprisoned in NJ, were joined by a Texas Death Row inmate, Hasan Shaker (aka: Derrick Frazier) who became the Party's Minister of Human Rights. All three young men came up like George Jackson on the mean streets of Amerika and became politicized in prison, turning from the Thug Life and individualist rebellion to the consciously revolutionary Black Panther style of rebellion.

On the "razor-wire plantations" across the U.S., a new generation of Black Panthers and others of a Black militant political orientation are gathering support. The New Afrikan Black Panthers are not "anti-white," in fact the Party has started a separate arm for white comrades called the White Panther Organization (WPO) that publishes its own quarterly newsletter, The Liberator, named after the famous Abolitionist newspaper. WPO's National Spokesman, Comrade Billy "Spider" Johnson, is a prisoner in Tennessee, and Deputy National Spokesman, Comrade Paul "Kali" Hickman's a prisoner in western PA. WPO represents itself as continuing the spirit of John Brown, the white Abolitionist who led an armed raid on the U.S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry with the intent of arming the slaves and was executed by the Commonwealth of Virginia prior to the Civil War.

Hasan Shakur, who maintained he was innocent until the end, was the founder of the Texas branch of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC). He died proudly proclaiming his love for the people and his belief in the ultimate victory of the struggle for social justice. His co-defendant, who was executed sometime earlier, claimed full responsibility for the double murder they had been charged with, and he proclaimed that Hasan was completely innocent before he was killed. By the time Hasan was executed the judges on the State Supreme Court knew there was ample cause to give Hasan a new trial, but they upheld his death sentence on a procedural technicality in a split decision.

The NABPP-PC has called for a thousand new comrades to step forward to take his place in the "Hasan Shakur Enrollment." Given conditions in the "slave pens," those who would be part of the Party must first build it where they are, uniting with other worthy comrades to form "Party Collectives" under the guidance of the general line and rules of the Party. The Party has also called for

the formation of chapters of the New Afrikan Service Organization based on programmatic agreement with the original Black Panther 10 Point Program. Three or more comrades can form a chapter.

In addition to having many new comrades in the State of Texas, it is where Comrade Ali Shakka (aka: Bennie Hayes), the NABPP-PC Minister of Information is imprisoned. Comrade Ali Shakka, who was an original Black Panther, was Comrade Hasan's imam. Comrade Bobby Dixon, who is imprisoned in California, was also an original Black Panther. He is the Party's Minister of Justice. Besides Muslims, the Party also includes members of the Rastafarian faith, including the Minister of Education, Comrade "Iven-Ra" Anderson, a prisoner in TN. And NASO particularly seeks to recruit revolutionary politically conscious members of the different religious/spiritual groups in the prisons and the Black communities.

The political and ideological line of the Party is called "Pantherism" and it is "illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which is Marxism in the contemporary period." The Party's strategy is to transform the slave pens of oppression into "Schools of Liberation" and the oppressed urban communities into "Base Areas of Cultural, Social and Political Revolution in the Context of Building an International United Front Against Imperialism and for World Socialist Revolution." The Party also believes in immediate concentration on "Survival Pending Revolution" and the establishment of "Serve The People" (STP) survival programs in the oppressed communities, such as the "Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast For Children Program, and building community-based people's power, while carrying on "revolutionary agitation, education and organization."

The Party defines itself as "different from conventional M-L-M parties" and does not see itself as being in competition with them. It has its own style and tactics of organizing, and intercommunal strategy, and plans to build the Party and Panther Movement internationally - wherever oppressed Blacks (and through the WPO oppressed whites) are concentrated, and to build an international movement to fight for prisoners' human and democratic civil rights.

The Party is particularly anxious to have WPO chapters organized in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to revive the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants and help to get these formerly socialist countries back on the "Socialist Road." Appalachia is another area of keen interest to the Party and WPO which have many members imprisoned in this region.

The New Afrikan Panthers are Pan-Afrikanists and support building the unity of the people in Afrika and the Afrikan Diaspora and the formation of a United States of Socialist Republics in Afrika. The Party is also Pan-American and supports building the revolutionary solidarity of the people of the Western Hemisphere. And in general the Party upholds Proletarian Internationalism and the unity of working class peoples of every land.

Afrika is rapidly becoming Amerika's second biggest supplier of imported oil (after Canada) and U.S. multinational corporation are actively exploiting the natural resources of the Motherland. The U.S. and Chinese are in heated competition for neo-colonial domination of Afrika. Meanwhile, from top to bottom Afrika is in the grip of an international food crisis brought on by neo-colonial "restructuring" of these countries' agriculture to favor the imperialists. It is also in the grip of the AIDS epidemic, and the spread of other preventable diseases. The level of poverty to which the masses have been reduced is truly dreadful, and there is a crying need for our Party and its programs. Hunger is on the rise here too and there are many opportunities to build STP-type programs in every city in Amerika.

The Original BPP demonstrated how to do it, and it is time to again "Seize The Time!" to "Get The Party Started!" and to "Dare To Struggle and Dare To Win!" "The Future Shall Be Bright, Because We Shall Dare To Make It So!"

Long Live The Spirit of George Jackson!

Power To The People!□



FROM: THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE - COPYRIGHT 1978 by Huey P. Newton
Saturday, August 12—Friday, August 25, 1978

Huey P. Newton on the Murder of George Jackson

28 August 1971

(Excerpts of the stirring eulogy that was delivered at Comrade George's Revolutionary Memorial Service on August 28, 1971, by Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton)

When I went to prison in 1967, I met George. Not physically, I met him through his ideas, his thoughts and words that I would get from him. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony.

George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit.

I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the revolutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life.

And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in those young Panther bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next.

What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, that he was a strong man, he was determined, full of love, strength, dedication to the people's cause, without fear. He lived the life that we must praise. It was a life, no matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause.

The state sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world; that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal - it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of

violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs.

They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but none of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right, every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living ...

Even with George's last statement - his last statement to me - at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. □





Special assignment: George Jackson's funeral, August 1971

by Billy X

Most of the 8,000 people who came to George Jackson's funeral in August 1971 had to listen through speakers outside the church, which held only 200. Inside, four Black Panthers armed with loaded shotguns stood guard. One of my many duties at that time was security personnel for the Party. I had worked as security for Huey P. Newton and other members of the Central Committee.

I was selected to be a pallbearer for George's funeral. Other pallbearers included Sam Castle, Bobby Bowen, Alden, Tick and Darrell. I had also been a pallbearer a year earlier when George's brother Jonathan was killed in Marin County. I was the only Panther to participate in both funerals.

On the day of the funeral, we arrived at St. Augustine's Church around 9:30 a.m.

We were in full uniform, which we only wore on special occasions. It was a very busy morning. Party members lined up from 27th and West to the next block. We had traffic detour signs, because West was a busy street which would soon be filled with people.

We had about 300 Party members in uniform, including the children. Our Party flag with the Panther on it was flying high over our heads out of the church window. The people in the community also loved George Jackson, and over 8,000 people filled the streets outside the church.

Ray Masai Hewitt, our minister of education, was in charge of security. We had a number of people on security duty that day. One of the brothers was Santa Rita (Clark Bailey), who was in the window above us. I had faith in his abilities, as we had worked together in the past. We had to be on guard for agent provocateurs who might want to start trouble and interfere with the services.

At about 11 a.m. on this warm August morning, the body of George Jackson arrived. We carried his body inside, set the casket on a platform and stood, as family and friends filed in and were seated. Standing facing us was Bobby Seale, chairman of the BPP, Leslie Johnson, Ray Masai Hewitt, Huey P. Newton, Gwen Fontaine, Robert Bay and Father Neil. Standing on each end of George's coffin were two Panthers with loaded shotguns, Emory Douglas and Jimmy Johnson. In the back, also with shotguns, were Al Armour and William Roberts.

As I looked out at the crowd, I saw Georgia and Lester Jackson, George's parents, his sister Penny and other members of the family. I looked at Huey, Bobby and Masai, and they all had a pained expression. Huey, Bobby, Masai and Father Neil spoke and then Elaine Brown sang one of her songs. The whole ceremony was very somber, and I then made up my mind that I would always be a revolutionary until I die. I owe it to the brothers like George and Jonathan who we have buried and also those that went to prison.

Because the church held only about 200 people, there were speakers placed outside for the thousands of people to hear the service. There wasn't a dry eye in the church, yet everyone also felt empowered by the spirit and strength of George.

We rose to pick up George's body, and everyone raised their fists in the air as we filed past them. When the doors opened, and we stepped outside with the body, I saw that the crowd had grown tremendously. There were people on rooftops, hanging from telephone poles and filling the streets. Everyone raised their fists in the air and chanted, "Long Live George Jackson!"

It was a sight that could set a fire in your heart.

We placed George's body in the hearse, and the Panthers outside cleared a way through the crowd. I was asked to ride with the family, and the rest of the pallbearers walked in front of the cars. As we followed the limo in front of us, I looked out of the window, and all I could see was a sea of fists - black, white and brown. It was a beautiful sight.

As we rounded the corner onto 27th Street, we could hear the people chanting as we drove off. We had a long caravan of cars following the body to the airport. Along the streets, people showed their support by giving the power sign.

This is a day I will never forget. I had witnessed and participated in my first Black August event.

Email Billy X, aka Bill Jennings, at itsabouttime3@juno.com. For more photos of the funeral and the Black Panther Party, visit

www.itsabouttimebpp.com.

<http://www.sfbayview.com/081804/spec...nt081804.shtml> □

FEAR IN OUR PEOPLE BY POO

I HAVE NO FEAR OF "DEATH"
NO FEAR OF "MAN"
NO FEAR OF "SELF"

ALONE I STAND, WITH OUT NO "HELP"
SO I WILL REBEL, UNTIL MY "DEATH"

AGAINST THIS WORLD, THAT GAVE ME "HELL"
I SHED MY BLOOD, FOR THOSE THAT "FEAR"

SO WHEN I DIE, SHED NO "TEAR"
JUST LOOK AT ME, A MAN WHO'SE "REAL"

A MAN THAT "DIED"
THAT DID NOT HAVE "FEAR"

SO I SAY TO THOSE THAT "LISTEN"
WHERE DO YOU STAND, IN THIS WORLD THAT'S "TWISTED"

DO YOU HIDE BEHIND "RELIGION"
BECAUSE YOU'RE AFRAID OF "CONSEQUENCES"

ARE YOU AWARE THAT ALL "RELIGION"
IS STILL A "MYSTERY"

SO IS YOU WILLING TO DIE, WITHOUT A "VISION"
CAUSE ME MYSELF, I'M "DIFFERENT"

THAT'S WHY I NOW HAVE A "MISSION"
TO LEAD OUR "CHILDREN"

AWAY FROM TOOKEN AMONG THESE "PEOPLE"
THAT GAVE US "NOTHING"

I NOW SEE WHY YOU "FEAR"
THEM PEOPLE THAT LORD THEM "SHIPS"

RAPE OUR WOMEN AND KILLED OUR "KINGS"

MADE US BELIEVE IN THINGS, WE NEVER "SEEN"

MADE US FREE TO A PLACE, WE WILL NEVER "LEAVE"
SO I SAY FEAR IS A SELF "DISEASE"

IT'S LIKE BETRAYAL, WHEN YOU START "SNITCHING"
ON A FRIEND, THAT MADE YOU "REALLY"

I KNOW FEAR IS IN MANY OF MEN, THAT'S "LIVING"
BUT REALLY THEY ARE "DEAD"

BECAUSE FEAR IS KILLING "EM"
SO I SAY TO MY PEOPLE, MEN AND "WOMEN"

STOP DESTROYING YOUR "TEMPLES"
BY TAKING POSION FROM THE "ENEMY"

AND IN TIME YOU'LL "SEE"
THAT WE AS GOD HAS NO "FEAR"

SO FOLLOW ME AS I LEAVE BEHIND THAT "SHIP"
THAT MADE US KNOW FEAR AND NO LOVE FOR "SELF"

LAMAR "POO" JONES
SCDC #304758

why me? by poo

i know i can provide for my family only if i can grind out of my
"insanity"
at times i think the world is trying to murder "me"
will i make it threw today without witnessing another tragedy of police
"brutality?"
if i could trade life with anything, it would be a "bird"
so i could fly free and leave my problems to this "world"
tell me why i have been physically scared and mentally "cursed?"
by those i love, and will my death be caused by those i "trust?"
or even worse, by the guns i "bust"
or the drugs i "push?"

they say i'm a "thug"
'cause i don't give a "fuck"
but what is a child who never had "much?"
'cause his parents gave the streets his "love"
pressure busts pipes, so i'm not giving "up"
'cause this is life, and we only have "one"
so until i'm dead and "gone"
i'll fight the struggle of "long arms"
that try to take me "under"
so let the war "continue"

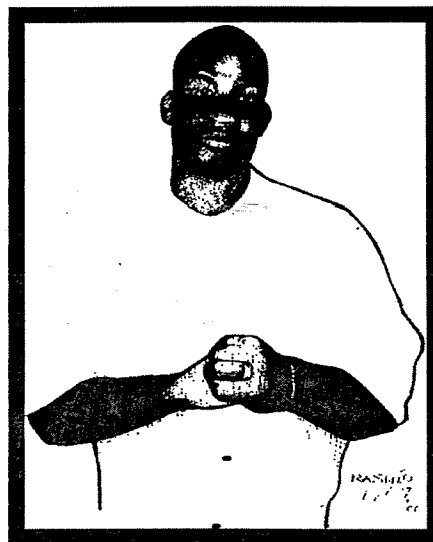
malcolm x and george jackson, i will avenge "you!"
'cause if i don't, i am worse than the ones that killed "you"
knowing you died for the "children"
i am glad to say i will "too"
we experience "hell"
from the roots, so pain is nuthin' "new"
so why should we continue to settle for the "boot"
let's raise the "roof"
fuck money and drugs, all we need are the "troops"
blood that's willin' to flow for me and "you"

i've experienced police "brutality"
and even worse family "abuse"
so i guess that's why i run the streets "loose"
looking for some place to give my heart "to"
no smile on my "face"
only blood on my "shoes"
gun in my hand, already convicted in the "news"
they say there's two sides to every "story"
so why is mine not "true?"
so much "pain"

threw the years got me stuck on every "curve"
i think my gun talks to me, 'cause i'm stuck on every "word"
a man in a "maze"
get stuck at every "turn"

so what can i do besides "burn?"
'cause i'm already in "hell"
until i'm "done"
so when i "scream"
i hope that i'm "heard"
so justice can finally "come"

lamar "poo" jones scdc #304758
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Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)

Hasan Shakur's Last Words Were of the Struggle

By Walidah Imarisha
Sept. 1, 2006

Livingston, TX — Another name sadly has to be added to the litany of conscious prisoners sent to their death by this government. In the tradition of Shaka Sankofa, Tookie Williams and many others, Hasan Shakur was murdered by the state of Texas Aug. 31, and pronounced dead at 6:18 p.m. The execution came less than an hour after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected three appeals and requests for reprieves, based on affidavits stating evidence that Shakur's co defendant Jermain Herron was the one to commit the actual murder, and an affidavit detailing jury misconduct during his original trial.

Shakur (Derrick Frazier, formerly number 999284) was sentenced to death in October of 1998, at the age of 20. He was convicted of killing Betsey and Cody Nutt. Shakur maintained his innocence in the murders until the very end, even when they had him strapped down to the death chamber gurney: "I've professed my innocence for nine years and I will continue to profess my innocence for another nine years." While the victim's family cheered when he was pronounced dead, only his wife and support coordinator Debbie Frazier was there to support him physically. Shakur told her to stay strong and that he would love her forever, and tried to get her to smile even as they slid the needle into his arm. Though only his wife was there to express her love in person, Shakur knew that there were many around the world, who he called "lovers of freedom," who were with him, and he knew he was following in the tradition of radicals, rebels and revolutionaries who had gone before him.

Shakur's last words show where his heart and mind was at. They were not pleas for himself. His last words were: "Tell my people we must continue on. Do not give up the fight. Do not give up hope. We can make it happen." Shakur's entire life was patterned on these words, and he died the way he lived, thinking about freedom and justice not for himself but for all people. Tom Big Warrior, member of the Red Heart Warriors Society and political activist, said of Shakur, "And like his living mentor, former BPP/BLA political prisoner/prisoner of war, Russell "Maroon" Shoats, Hasan did not fear his death, nor was he afraid to go on living, because he had found a purpose to his life and death - REVOLUTION! He was prepared to meet the enemy standing on his feet, standing tall! Because in life or death he stood for the people!"

In his 9 years on death row, Shakur transformed himself into a political organizer, prison activist and revolutionary. He founded Operation LIFE, an organization and newsletter to improve conditions in and out of prison, and he founded the HRC Texas branch of the Human Rights Coalition, a prisoner family organizing group. He organized anti-violence concerts, events, meetings, provided guidance and support, networking, strategic planning and visioning for a number of different organizations. He also served as the Minister of Human Rights for the New African Black Panther Party (NABPP), a recent organization who work in the principles of the original Black Panther Party. "Though widely separated and locked away in cages, [these black prisoners] are moving forward together to transform the iron houses of oppression into 'schools of liberation...' and to transform and make bright the future of the world," the NABPP says of prisoners such as Shakur. A prolific writer, Shakur's last poem "A Loud Whisper" shows his commitment to continue doing the work he felt needed to be done, even if it that meant the state would take his life for it:

...There's no metaphors

When you're

Speaking the truth

"LIVE AND DIRECT FROM DEATH WATCH!!!"

yall im speaking to you

eighth cell ain't hell

so

I wont run from it...

Believing in not reform but revolution, Shakur supported all conscious people, all prisoners especially those who are political, and knew that the conditions he suffered, the judicial railroading he received was inseparable from poverty, from poor education, from criminalization, from racism and white supremacism and capitalism. He knew that the astronomical rates of poverty and incarceration around black people was not a glitch in the system, even if some black people bought into that myth. "That's where we go wrong, believing that simple shit," he said two days before his execution. "The system is on track... it's on track to ride over us." Knut Erik, Shakur's overseas support coordinator based in Norway, said, "Derrick is at peace now, but what a great legacy he has left behind."

Shakur was an organizer, and worked to build organizations, institutions and more importantly other people's capacity for leadership. He worked with a number of dynamic prisoners on death row in the Polunsky Unit: Kenneth Foster, Jr., Tony Ford, Charles "Chucky" Mamou, Jr. chiefly among them. Shakur knew that these men would continue the work they all started and hoped his supporters on the outside would continue working for their release.

"Our people don't prepare for the future, you know?" Shakur. "It took us damn near thirty years to recover after we lost Malcolm. We have to set it up so that things will continue even if they take us out, cause you know that's what they're going to do."

Shakur wanted to make sure that wasn't the case with the work he was doing, and from people's reactions who have worked with him, it seems he succeeded.

Tasha Narez-Foster, a political activist and rapper from Amsterdam who is married to Kenneth Foster, Jr., wrote this to Shakur the day of his execution: "Wherever you are, bro- I love you. You are finally free.

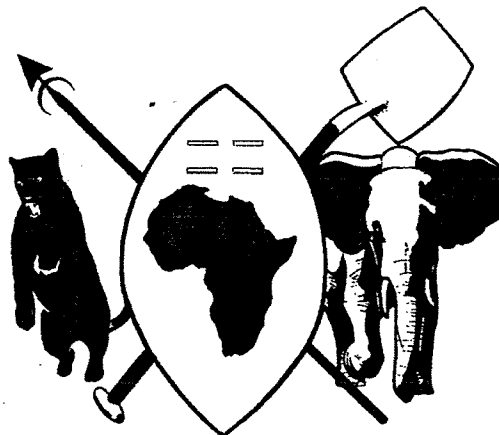
You finally have the peace you deserved. Watch over us all brother, you will never be forgotten. The struggle continues and thank you for being the strong hearted person you are. You showed many of us that living in between the walls of death doesn't mean you'll grow numb or die your death way before you leave this earth. You'll be missed. I love you."

There was considerable doubt about Shakur's conviction. Given the lack of physical evidence to link him to the crime, the only substantial evidence against him was a forced confession. He was intimidated by the interrogating officer, and promised a 30 year deal in return. In the videotaped interrogation, the officer informed the 19-year-old of his right to an attorney, to which he responded, "If I could afford one, I would." The officer began to question Shakur, despite the obvious expression for a lawyer. The National Campaign to End the Death Penalty wrote about the case, "The videotaped 'confession' became the prosecution's smoking gun. With no physical evidence linking Frazier to the scene of the crime, the district attorney relied on the coerced confession to convince a nearly all-white jury that this young black defendant was, in fact, guilty of killing a white mother and child."

Shakur's lawyer did not mount a defense to show any mitigating circumstances, the fact that he had an abusive father, a drug addicted mother he loved dearly who overdosed when he was 15, didn't finish the 7th grade. He did not work to show Shakur as a human being. The attorney's career was marred by prior complaints of misconduct, and he was investigated by the State Bar and placed on probation for three years shortly after trying Shakur's case. Why recount these facts now, now that it is over and Shakur has been murdered? His wife and support coordinator Debbie Frazier feels its important to continue to show his innocence, to bring light to the inherent flaws in the system. "We have to keep working, that's what we're going to do, we're just going to keep working, for him, for the others. We'll free his name."

It's not just Shakur's name that he and others, in the belly of the Polunsky Unit and out on the streets, are hoping to free, but all oppressed people everywhere. Shakur said of his organizing work, two days before his death, "Watch what I'm going to do. Whether they murder me or not on Friday, I'm telling you, watch what Ima do, the ancestors are gonna be proud." "Today they killed his body, but his spirit will live on, like that of Che, Fred Hampton, Sr. and George Jackson," Big Warrior intoned. "He will march beside us in the streets and stand with us at rallies and on the barricades. And when the final victory is won, he will be there in the bright future of humanity that will have been bought with martyr's blood and the struggle of generations against all oppression and for the human rights of all."

He was the 20th Texas prisoner executed this year. There are at least seven more scheduled for the remainder of the year. Farley Matchett is next, facing an execution date of Sept. 12. This country still has over a hundred political prisoners, youth of color are criminalized and locked up at a rate akin to genocide. Shakur's voice is in the air, saying, "We got our work cut out for us. I'm in this, so where you at? Cause if you're down, let's do this." □



**New Afrikan Service Organization
(NASO)**

(formerly the Black Brigade)

Our Basis of Unity

The New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO) is open to all, men and women, young and old, who agree with our basis of unity and are willing to work in the service of the New Afrikan Nation in Amerika and all oppressed people. The NASO is a legal, above-ground organization intermediate between the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) and the people. Its members work with the Party in support of its 10 Point Program and help to build the campaigns and programs supported by the Party.

Any group of three or more people can form a local chapter of the NASO in conjunction with the National Steering Committee. Initially, this committee will be headed by Chairman Shaka Zulu of the NABPP-PC, but when practicable, the members will be able to elect all officers. Each chapter will elect its spokesperson/coordinator right away. NASO is a democratic organization responsive to its members, but it does have a basis of unity to which members must subscribe:

- 1.) Support for the 10 Point Program of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - PC
- 2.) Support for amnesty and freedom for political prisoners and POWs and an end to police state oppression of political activists and freedom fighters
- 3.) Support for amending the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution to end the status of "slave" for prisoners and those convicted of a crime
- 4.) Support for abolition of the racist death penalty and the institutionalized racism and human rights violations directed at prisoners and their families
- 5.) Support for the creation and maintenance of Serve The People survival programs in the prisons and oppressed communities

Rules of Discipline

Those who violate these rules may be reprimanded, suspended or expelled from the organization.

- 1.) Members will conduct themselves in a manner to bring credit to the organization and will treat others with respect and politeness.
- 2.) Members will be sober when on organization business and will not engage in any criminal activity while a member.
- 3.) No member will engage in violence except in the extremity of self-defense.
- 4.) Members will not gossip nor be divisive to the unity of the organization.
- 5.) Members will not act as informers nor work against the purpose of the organization.

Build NASO into an Intercommunal Pan-Afrikan Mass Organization

The New Afrikan Service Organization is a democratic mass organization based on support for the Black Panther 10 Point Program. Its two primary fronts of struggle are the prisons and the urban oppressed communities where poor Black people are concentrated, here, in Afrika, and the whole of the Afrikan Diaspora.

As regards the prisons, it is the goal of NASO to transform them into "Schools of Liberation," and to build a mass movement on both sides of the razor wire to fight for the human and civil rights of prisoners. Whatever their crimes, prisoners are human beings and entitled to respect for their human and civil rights. They are not "Slaves of the State," and slavery – in all its forms – must be abolished!

The only legitimate purpose of incarceration is protection of society while rehabilitating the offender. Where possible, rehabilitation

should be effected without incarceration. The object of rehabilitation must be responsible citizenship and respect for the rights of others.

Slavery does not teach citizenship. Oppression and violence do not instill positive values or the desire to rehabilitate one's self. They instill rage. The enslavement of people, the dehumanization and degradation that goes on in the name of "Justice" is criminal.

Black people have long endured and suffered oppression at the hands of racist White Amerika. The enslavement of millions of Africans made possible the rise of capitalism and legalized lynching and Klan brutality kept the sharecroppers poor and unable to exercise their democratic rights. The penitentiary system is a continuation of the plantation system. The lash of oppression reaps the cash of exploitation. Enough is enough! We must be our own liberators!

The modern slave pens of oppression must be transformed into "Schools of Liberation." We must struggle to raise our political consciousness – our "overstanding" and our understanding – for without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

The "razor wire plantations" serve a purpose, but it is not to reduce crime or rehabilitate offenders. Quite the opposite, they are part of the problem. The solution lies in addressing the social inequality and exploitive nature of the political economic system we live under. Governmental policies and market strategies determine the rise and fall of the crime rate more fundamentally than the actions of the police or the courts.

The factors producing a high crime rate are rooted in the nature of the capitalist imperialist system. The solution is revolutionary transformation of society led by the oppressed class and the oppressed peoples. Only the international proletariat can lead humanity into making all-the-way revolution to create a non-exploitative future for our posterity.

The Panthers – and others – believe that the struggle for democratic rights leads naturally to the recognition of the need for socialist revolution. People need not see or agree with this to join NASO – it is enough that they are willing to struggle for the prisoners' and the people's democratic rights.

There is a reformist way and a revolutionary way to fight for democratic rights. Recognizing that the fight is a class struggle and that the resolution of the class struggle lies in the elimination of class society, the people can consciously struggle to build revolutionary people's power and consciousness while struggling to survive, preparing favorable conditions for revolution.

Some will support the work of NASO out of basic human decency and support the struggle for prisoners' rights from a liberal democratic perspective or the recognition that "two wrongs don't make a right." Some will have a narrow conception of Black nationalism. Some will be religiously motivated. NASO has to be open to a broad spectrum of ideological and political orientations.

Serve The People!

Bad as the conditions in the prisons are here; in Afrika – and other places poor Blacks are concentrated – they are literally "Death Houses," where some do not even live long enough to appear in court. Likewise, the conditions in the urban oppressed communities are more dire, and a great many cannot even get safe drinking water.

All of these horrendous conditions caused by global imperialism – and particularly that of the United States – cry out for the solutions the New Afrikan Black Panthers and NASO can provide, like the Free Breakfast for Children Program and free clinics and most importantly building people's power in the community, transforming the oppressed communities into "Base Areas of Cultural, Social and Political Revolution."

Millions of poor Black people are in desperate need of assistance and direction that can be organized through NASO. A generation of Black children can be made stronger and healthier and given the opportunity to live lives of purpose through our efforts. A free,

nutritious breakfast every morning can not only spare the children the worst afflictions of malnutrition but in many cases will save lives.

Black Power in the Panther Way means building the unity and leadership of the oppressed class – the proletariat – within the oppressed communities. The exploiting class – the bourgeoisie (whether black or white) cry "Black Power!" to promote their ability to control and exploit the Black masses. We mean "Power to the People!" and by organizing intercommunally where oppressed Black people are concentrated, we shall build a powerful Pan-African movement that will serve the needs of the people in a socialist and revolutionary way.

NASO can become a powerful army of workers and warriors throughout the Black World representing the most oppressed section of the Black masses. The original BPP showed the way. The New African BPP is being built to play a revolutionary vanguard role in the struggle. NASO must be built to play an intermediate role as a program-oriented mass organization linking the Party to the broad masses.

The purpose of this journal is to provide the NSC-NASO with a forum to discuss issues and give direction to this mass organization. The comrades in the field must exercise great initiative and self-reliance to build the organization. It only takes three to start a chapter, but there is no limit to how large a chapter may grow to be nor to how much influence it may have in its local community.

What is key is to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and listen to the concerns of the people. There is a wide range of Serve The People programs that can be developed to address the survival needs of the people and to create people's power in the oppressed communities.

We have begun by issuing a call to amend the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that perpetuates the status of "slave" for those convicted of a crime. This is an important step forward in fighting for the civil and human rights of prisoners in the U.S., but the U.S. is also the headquarters of a global neo-colonial empire and the conditions in the prisons of the Third World are very much tied to the policies of the U.S., the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and "dollar diplomacy."

On paper, most countries (including the U.S.) subscribe to the International Convention on Human Rights, but you wouldn't know it by examining the conditions in their prisons. Nor is it evident from the conditions in which the poor are forced to live.

The population of Blacks in Amerika is over 40 million. In Latin Amerika it is over 200 million, and in Afrika, it is approaching a billion people. Then there are the Blacks in Europe and Asia. The Dalits in India number some 200 million or more.

Everywhere Black people suffer discrimination and suffer most from poverty, disease and other social problems. NASO will provide us with a mass organization to address these social problems and provide survival programs based upon self-reliance and intercommunal solidarity while preparing the masses to take history into their hands through socialist revolution and Pan-African unification. □



The Black Panther Ten-Point Program in Today's World

By Tom Big Warrior

Some people question whether the program of the Black Panther Party has relevance in the 21st Century. They say times have changed, and there is no disputing that, but let's take it point by point and see what still applies.

1.) We Want Freedom. We Want Power To Determine The Destiny Of Our Black Community.

We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

Are Black people in Amerika empowered to determine their destiny? Not a bit. While the Black middle class has to some degree assimilated by moving into white middle class neighborhoods, the majority of poor Black folks are still concentrated into ghetto neighborhoods policed by cops who behave like an occupying army. Since the 1960's and 70's, these "hoods" have significantly deteriorated.

Social welfare programs have been dramatically cut back, employment opportunities have been removed, the ghettos have been flooded with drugs, and illegal guns, and a deliberate criminalization of the younger generation has taken place along with a campaign of mass incarceration and instigation of fratricidal gang violence.

Electoral districts are configured to prevent Blacks attaining a majority of votes where they live. In many places, Blacks are denied voting rights because of past criminal convictions. For example in Georgia:

- One out of every seven African American males in Atlanta is disenfranchised as a result of a felony conviction;
- One-third of the black male disenfranchisement rate in Georgia is a result of drug offense convictions;
- Black males in Atlanta are registered to vote at an 11% lower rate than other demographic groups, but more than two-thirds of this differential is a result of high rate of disenfranchisement.

2.) We Want Full Employment For Our People.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the White American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its

people and give a high standard of living.

Let's see what the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists had to say about recent trends in 2003:

"As the jobless crisis has gotten worse for all workers, the heaviest toll has been on black workers, millions who are becoming nomads in a globalized job market. The June unemployment report contained even more eye-opening "news":

- Nearly half of the 360,000 people who lost their jobs in June were African Americans, even though black workers are only 11 percent of the civilian workforce.
- Black workers suffered the highest job loss (172,000) of all races or ethnic groups in June.
- While white unemployment inched up from 5.4 percent in May to 5.5 percent in June, black unemployment, already in double digits, soared from 10.8 percent to 11.8 percent in the same month (i.e., 10 times the increase in the white unemployment rate).
- Meanwhile, 40 percent of black teenagers were unemployed in June, nearly 2 times the rate for white teens.

"The long-term trends are even more daunting. In the year since June 2002:

- The number of unemployed black workers has increased by nearly a quarter of a million (214,000).
- The black unemployment rate has increased four times faster than the rate for white workers (1.2 percent versus .3 percent, respectively).
- Black teenage unemployment has risen from 30 percent to 40 percent in just one year (in what economists call a jobless economic recovery).

"This statistical snapshot is a timely wake-up call about several important trends:

- (1) The current unemployment crisis is having a profoundly unequal impact on different segments of the workforce.
- (2) The job crisis is accelerating in the African American community.
- (3) Because of the sharp and substantial increase in black unemployment, the jobless disparity between black and white workers is growing significantly."

- Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, 2003

More recently, it has been noted:

"In June 2004, for example, the White unemployment rate was 5 percent, but the Black unemployment rate was 10.1 percent.

"On its face, that data is bleak enough, and the 2:1 ratio has been steady in good times and in bad times. But a recent study from the Community Service Society of New York suggests that we look at a far more compelling statistic to get the real deal on Black unemployment.

"The relevant statistic is the "employment population ratio," a figure that measures what percentage of the total population in a certain age group has employment. When the CSC measured the employment population ratio in New York City in 2003, they found that only 51.8 percent of African American men between 16 and 65 held jobs. That means that nearly half of all African American men did not have jobs. By comparison, 75.7 percent of White men in New York held jobs that year, meaning that fewer than one in four of them did not hold jobs."

- The Real Deal on Black Unemployment, Black Issues in Higher Education, August 12, 2004 by Julianne Malveaux

3.) We Want An End To The Robbery By The Capitalists Of Our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed

us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

The Black communities continue to exist as internal colonies where white capitalist landlords and business owners get rich off the exploitation poor Black masses. The demand for reparations is still being made and still being ignored.

4.) We Want Decent Housing Fit For The Shelter Of Human Beings.

We believe that if the White Landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

In the past 30 years, ghetto housing has deteriorated, rat, roach and bed bug-infested tenements also present the danger of peeling lead paint and toxic mold. People freeze to death in winter and die from the heat in summer. People burn up in fire traps and have roofs fall on their heads, and many of the poor are forced into homelessness.

"In South Florida and across the country, poor people suffer under a crisis of affordable housing. The shrinking housing stock forces people to commit desperate acts just to access decent and safe housing they can afford. The impact on the Black community is devastating, as gentrification moves us out of our long time neighborhoods to make room for wealthier, lighter people.

"As the crisis worsened, instead of increasing the amount of affordable housing, local governments worked hard to decrease the number of units, directly, and intentionally, contributing to the crisis in the process. Far from being an ally in the fight for decent human housing, the government, in the pockets of wealthy developers looking to become even wealthier, made the crisis worse."

- The Housing Crisis: What Next? The Pan-African Perspective, Max Rameau, The Center for Pan-African Development, Wednesday, October 25, 2006

"Usually we think of exploding rents as affecting one group of neighborhoods and deterioration as affecting another. But what's happening to subsidized housing in Harlem today shows how both threats can converge on the same neighborhood. There is reason to be concerned that more neighborhoods will soon find themselves squeezed from both sides – and low-income New Yorkers will be squeezed out.

"Given soaring rents and the numbers of homeless, the city cannot tolerate further losses to these urgently needed housing resources. There is a danger that Washington will withdraw further from the housing it helped develop at great public cost. The city and state must continue to press Washington and also do what they can to fill the void.

"A partial response to the threat of severe rent increases is Local Law 79, passed by the City Council over the mayor's veto. It allows tenants to buy their buildings if landlords decide to take them out of

subsidized programs. Landlords sued to stop the law from taking effect. The case is still in court."

From the New York Amsterdam News, March 23 - 29, 2006



5.) We Want Education For Our People That Exposes The True Nature Of This Decadent American Society. We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History And Our Role In The Present-Day Society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

Public education still obscures and apologizes for the crimes and outrages of capitalism and colonialism and reduces Black History to a series of "firsts." Moreover, basic education is still denied to the poor or kept to a minimum so that many are still functionally illiterate. At best, the inner city schools are substandard, under-funded and little more than jails to confine the youth during the day.

"The issue was made painfully clear by Harvard Professors Charles Ogletree and Dr. Gary Orfield when they presented a talk, "Civil Rights and the Election: Challenges, Choices and Consequences," at a DNC Black Caucus meeting at the recent Democratic Convention. Ogletree and Orfield talked about the many gaps that exist in our society, with one being the racial gap in high school graduation rates. According to one table that Ogletree and Orfield circulated, Black male graduation rates have plummeted to less than half. While there were questions about the data set that produced these results, this same data set showed a 70 percent graduation rate for White men..."

- The Real Deal on Black Unemployment: Black Issues in Higher Education, August 12, 2004, by Julianne Malveaux

"But one of Wilson's most disturbing findings involves the consequences of President George W. Bush's 2002 initiative, "No Child Left Behind." Tried first in Texas, the program, now national in scope, was funded at the rate of \$1 billion a year for five years and challenges states, schools and districts to carry out the president's notion of an "educational miracle."

"In reality, the program has become "the new unhidden hand in educational settings that unleashes a 'get-tough-entrepreneurial' wrath on black, poor kids," Wilson wrote.

"Since school aid is tied to performance, schools have discovered that they are "rewarded" for removing or expelling bad test-takers and other students with a range of "problems" large and small.

"Select purging" - both on a short- and long-term basis - is "widespread" in our cities' ghettos, Wilson wrote. "Key decision makers, compelled to protect their school's lifeblood - money - are ironically turning against the most vulnerable students to protect the possibility of providing a more enriching experience for the generic 'student.' "

"Neoliberal policies of the '90s have worsened Rust Belt's black ghettos," Andrea Lynn, Humanities Editor



6.) We Want All Black Men To Be Exempt From Military Service.

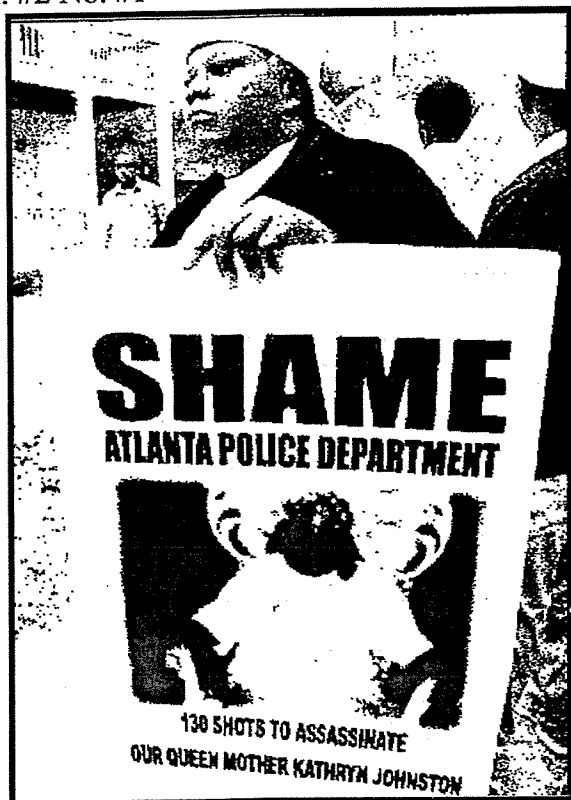
We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

While at present there is not a draft, the increasingly unpopular imperialist wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have created a decline in enlistments by the poor and people of color. We can't rule out that the draft may be reinstituted, particularly if the government decides to invade other countries.

Imperialism means unending war, and we have no interest in dying for empire or killing our class brothers and sisters to enrich the capitalist ruling class. Our fight is with those who oppress and exploit us. If the draft is reinstituted, we should vigorously oppose it and resist it. We should resist military recruiters going into our kids schools and into our neighborhoods trying to lure our youth into fighting the rich class's wars.



Free Bussing to Prisons Program



7.) We Want An Immediate End To Police Brutality And Murder Of Black People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

There has been no end to police murder and brutality in the Black community:

"The pervasiveness of racial profiling by the police in the enforcement of our nation's drug laws is the consequence of the escalating of the so-called war on drugs. Drug use and drug selling are not confined to racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S.; indeed five times as many whites use drugs. But the war on drugs has, since its earliest days, targeted people of color. The fact that skin color has now become a proxy for criminality is an inevitable outcome of this process."

- Driving While Black: Racial Profiling On Our Nation's Highways (6/7/1999), By David A. Harris, University of Toledo College of Law, An American Civil Liberties Union Special Report, June 1999

"The police are an occupying army in our community. Every day, everywhere you look the police are harassing, intimidating, arresting, beating and murdering our people. They don't act this way in the white community I can tell you!

"The Philadelphia police are carrying out a policy of open season on the African community. Raymond was the fourth African killed by the police last week alone, and the 11th this year. Now today in the paper it says the police struck again yesterday, murdering another brother in Germantown. We say that if the police have license to kill us, then we have license to resist their terror campaign!

"It's a matter of life and death. Our children are being slaughtered. We MUST protect our community from this government terror..."

- Philadelphia Police Murder Another African, Tuesday, Uhuru On The Move, April 03, 2007

"AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has issued in-depth reports on police abuse in two of America's largest cities. In a 1996 study on police brutality in New York City, Amnesty International found that:

-claims against police violence in New York City increased from 977 in 1987 to more than 2,000 in 1994, with a substantial rise in both deaths in police custody and police shootings between 1993 and 1994 (the last year that figures were available);

-groups of officers were protecting and assisting narcotics traffickers and robberies, and that the department from the top downwards practiced a "deliberate blindness" to corruption, with internal affairs investigations serving to minimize rather than expose corruption;

-in many cases, the victims were not involved in, nor suspected of, any crime prior to contact with the police but were brutalized after questioning police behavior, for example, taking pictures or criticizing police ill treatment of others;

-it was common for police "involved in misconduct to charge victims with offenses in order to justify the use of force and cover up abuses" including multiplying charges in order to pressure victims not to file complaints;

-"police perjury and falsification of documents were common among officers guilty of abuses and were often used to conceal corruption and excessive force";

-most police violence happened in black and Latino communities. Thirty-two of the 35 people shot by NYPD in the 18 months of Amnesty International's study were people of color.

"THE VERY SAME PATTERN of police brutality, murder and mayhem is documented in another Amnesty International report - on the LAPD and LA County Sheriffs. An especially incriminating finding was that "officers with a history of allegations, including sustained complaints, were frequently promoted or placed in supervisory positions." Not only was this same practice documented in the Amnesty International report regarding the NYPD, but similar promotional policies were also found in the San Francisco Police Department where police officers with repeated brutality complaints against them were placed in positions of supervising and training rookies. Could this be anything but a conscious policy? Could this really be just a few bad apples and not a whole rotten barrel from top to bottom?"

- POLICE VIOLENCE: RISING EPIDEMIC--RAISING RESISTANCE, BY CARL DIX, North Coast Xpress -- Aug-Sept 97

8.) We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held In Federal, State, County And City Prisons And Jails.

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

"At yearend 2005 there were 3,145 black male sentenced prison inmates per 100,000 black males in the United States, compared to 1,244 Hispanic male inmates per 100,000 Hispanic males and 471 white male inmates per 100,000 white males."

- U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics

"Incarceration of Blacks

• In twelve states, between 10 and 15 percent of adult black men are incarcerated.

• In ten states, between 5 and 10 percent of black adults are incarcerated.

• In twelve states, black men are incarcerated at rates between twelve

and sixteen times greater than those of white men.

- In fifteen states, black women are incarcerated at rates between ten and thirty-five times greater than those of white women.
- In six states, black youth under age eighteen are incarcerated in adult facilities at rates between twelve and twenty-five times greater than those of white youth."

Race and Incarceration in the United States, Human Rights Watch Press Backgrounder, February 27, 2002

9.) We Want All Black People When Brought To Trial To Be Tried In Court By A Jury Of Their Peer Group Or People From Their Black Communities, As Defined By The Constitution Of The United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being, tried by all-White juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community.

"In the latest edition of the journal *Deviant Behavior*, sociologist Robert Young of the University of Texas has reported that death penalty supporters, such as those who are qualified to sit on juries in capital cases, were about a third more likely to have prejudiced views of blacks. Young's evaluation of polling data also revealed that death penalty supporters are more likely to convict the defendant. When polled, they were nearly twice as likely to say it was worse to let the guilty go free than to convict an innocent defendant. 'By allowing juries in capital cases to be stacked in favor of conviction, the courts have created a system in which certain defendants - especially those of African American descent - in essence must prove their innocence beyond a reasonable doubt,' said Young, who analyzed data from the 1990 to 1996 General Social Survey - a leading barometer of social trends in the U.S. He notes that those two findings reinforce each other and make death penalty juries more conviction prone, particularly when the defendant is black." (Washington Post, March 21, 2004)

"Philadelphia prosecutors' jury-selection practices came under closer scrutiny in 1997 when a heated campaign for the city's district attorney's office resulted in the public release of a secret training video instructing rookie prosecutors to keep poor blacks off juries because they were less likely to convict. Since that time, there has been a string of at least five death row inmates granted new trials because of evidence that Philadelphia prosecutors used race bias in selecting jurors." (Associated Press, January 23, 2004)

10.) We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal

station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect of the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Written: October 15, 1966

Source: *War Against the Panthers*, by Huey P. Newton, 1980

The case that the Black Panther Party 10 Point Program is no longer applicable is hereby refuted, and we have only skimmed the surface. Conditions have changed - they are worse! The need today is greater!

Although the 10 Point Program does not specifically mention health care, the Black Panthers initiated testing and research for Sickle Cell Anemia and set up free health clinics in the oppressed communities. Today we need testing and preventive education and medicine to deal with the AIDS epidemic, the spread of TB and Hepatitis, Diabetes, High Blood Pressure and Heart Disease that are killing masses of Black people. Mental health issues go unaddressed or people who are mentally ill are warehoused in state hospitals, or worse, thrown into jails and prisons.

Black men suffer far worse health than any other racial group in America. There are a number of reasons for this. They include racial discrimination, a lack of affordable health services, poor health education, cultural barriers, poverty, employment that does not carry health insurance, insufficient medical and social services catering for black men.

Black Male Health Statistics:

Black men live 7.1 years less than other racial groups. They have higher death rates than women for all leading causes of death. They experience disproportionately higher death rates in all the leading causes of

death. 40% of black men die prematurely from cardiovascular disease as compared to 21% of white men. They have a higher incidence and a higher rate of death from oral cancer. Black men are 5 times more likely to die of HIV/AIDS

Other Health Statistics

44% of black men are considered overweight

24% are obese

Black men suffer more preventable oral diseases that are treatable

A higher incidence of diabetes and prostate cancer

A high suicide rate. It is the 3rd leading cause of death in 15 to 24 year olds

Ten Leading Causes of death in the U.S. (2001) Black Americans

Cardiovascular Disease, Cancer, Stroke, Unintentional injuries, Diabetes, Homicide, HIV/AIDS, Chronic lower respiratory disease, Nephritis, Nephrotic syndrome and Nephrosis, and Septicemia

Source: Health, U.S., 2003, Table 3

Updated: November 9, 2006



Free Ambulance Program

Tenant Health Issues:

Apartment toxic mold (*stachybotrus* or *stachybotrys*), cockroaches, asthma, mice, rats, lead paint, indoor air quality, hyperthermia and hypothermia. These are even more important when considering infants, pregnant women, seniors and those who are immuno-compromised.

The centerpiece of the original BPP's *Serve The People* survival programs was the *Free Breakfast For Children* through which the Panthers daily provide a nutritious hot breakfast for thousands of school children. Along with a good meal to start the day, the children were taught Black pride and inspired to aspire to serve the people themselves and to become revolutionaries.



Free Breakfast for Children in Oakland, CA

The 10 Point Program upholds the *Right of Revolution*, but recognizes the importance of revolutionaries going among the people in a non-revolutionary situation and applying the *Mass Line* to take on the concerns of the masses and address them with concrete programs that bring the people together and create *People's Power* on a grassroots level. The Party recognized that revolution is made by the masses and it is the role of revolutionaries to make them conscious, uplift them and raise their sights to see the power of their collective action.

"The 1980 census, consequently, counted fourteen cities with black populations of at least 200,000. Geographically, they spread across the North (New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Cleveland), the South (Houston, New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta, and Dallas), the border states (Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and St. Louis), and the West (Los Angeles). Together, these metropolitan giants contained nearly 10.4 million blacks, or approximately 40 percent of all black Americans in 1980....

"According to a number of researchers, the economic status of blacks compared to that of whites has, on average, deteriorated since the early 1970s (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995). Black unemployment rates are more than twice those of whites. Black youths also have more than twice the jobless rate as white youths. Nearly one out of three blacks lives in poverty, compared with fewer than one in ten whites. Nearly one in four blacks remains outside private health insurance or Medicaid coverage. Infant mortality rates have been dropping steadily since 1940 for all Americans, but the odds of dying shortly after birth are consistently twice as high for blacks as for whites. Close to half of all black children officially live in poor households. More than sixty per cent of black babies were born with a single mother. A majority of black children live in families that include their mother but not their father (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995). Generations of spatial isolation and psychological alienation generate a culture in black ghettos, which is defined in opposition to the basic ideals and values of American society. For example, some smart black students have to intentionally flunk some exams so as to be accepted by other black students as friends (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986).

"The current generation of black children are luckier than their grandparents, because they face much less explicit discrimination based on their skin color. However, there is one disadvantageous position that most of them still cannot avoid: they will grow up in a predominantly black neighborhood, where the typical socio-economic characteristics are high poverty, welfare dependence, single parenthood, high mortality rate, school dropouts, drug abuse, high crime rate, lack of job opportunities, high unemployment rate, and an alienated culture (Wilson 1987, Massey and Denton 1993). Today, in black ghettos is a concentration of almost all social and economic problems that the United States has. What is worse is that the mainstream society becomes more and more indifferent to this reality."

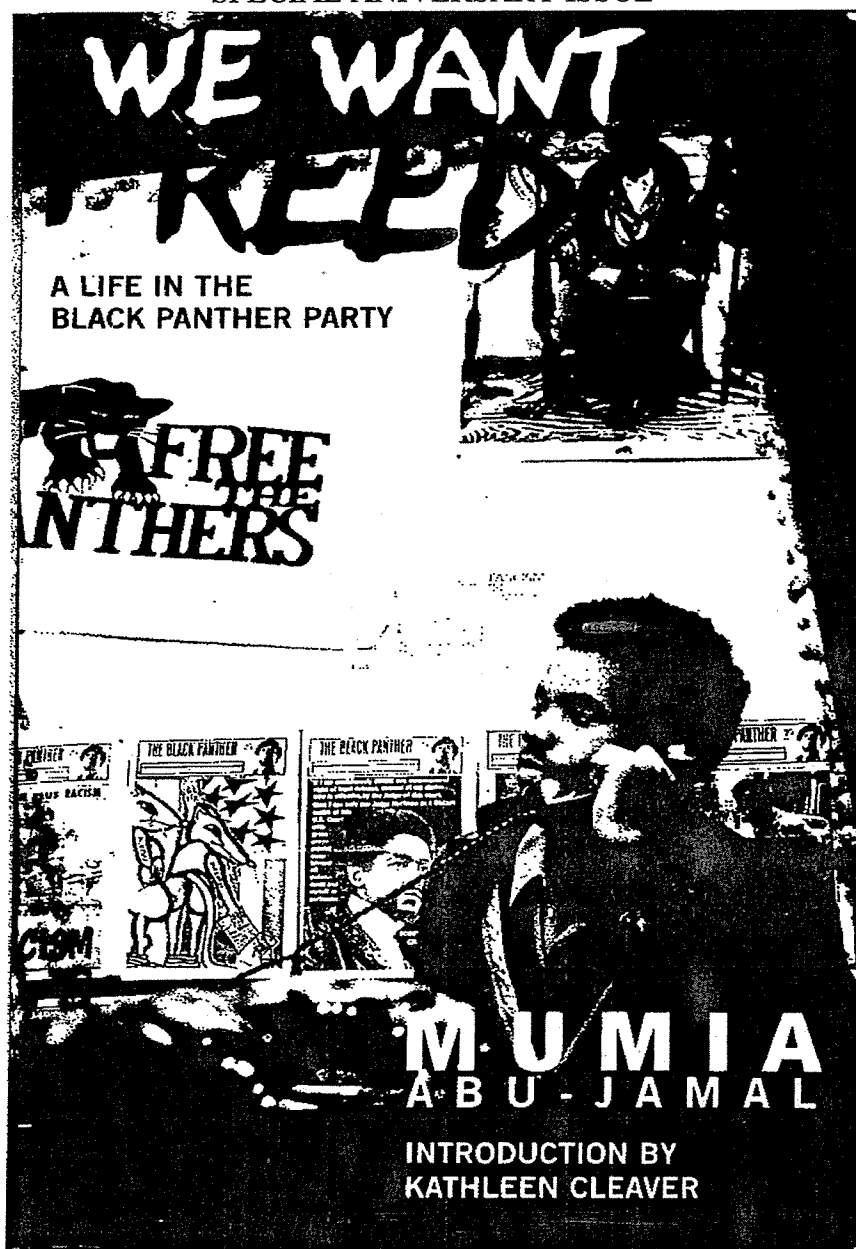
- Black-White Relations: The American Dilemma, Junfu Zhang

Hurricane Katrina demonstrated the degree of indifference of the government towards poor Black folks, and it demonstrated the need for reconstituting the Black Panther Party. Imagine how different that situation would have been had thousands of organized and disciplined Black Panthers been on hand to serve the people.

Black people cannot make a revolution in the U.S. all by themselves, but united around a revolutionary ideological and political line, the New Afrikan Nation can play a vanguard role in leading all oppressed people throughout the Amerikan Empire, including poor whites, in bringing down the system of capitalist-imperialism and creating social justice for all. We must begin by being our own liberators and liberating the ground under our feet.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) has put forth a strategy for this period of transforming the slave plantations of oppression into schools of liberation and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. To do this we must apply the 10 Point Program and build a vanguard party and movement that are legal and above-ground which in turn builds a revolutionary united front against imperialism, which is our overall strategy for revolution.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



From Chapter Eight: A Panther's Life

Indeed we are all—Black and white alike—ill in the same way, mortally ill. But before we die, how shall we live? I say with hope and dignity; and if premature death is a result, that death has a meaning reactionary suicide can never have. It is the price of self-respect.

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick...

—Huey P. Newton

TENS OF THOUSANDS of ghetto souls came into contact with the Party daily. Elementary school students attended the morning breakfast programs, adult poor came for the free clothing and free shoes program, the ill came to the Party's People's Medical Centers across the nation for sickle cell anemia testing, and treatment for high-blood pressure, sexually transmitted diseases, and other fairly simple ailments. To this number must be added those many people

who bought the Party's newspaper, *The Black Panther*, on ghetto street corners, in bars, in beauty parlors, and outside high schools.

Who were these people called Black Panthers?

Much has been written about Party leadership, its so-called stars: the photogenic Newton, the charismatic (Eldridge) and brilliant (Kathleen) Cleavers, the ambitious and talented Elaine Brown, the long-suffering Geronimo, and the like. As leaders, many of these people formed the Party's public profile and came to typify a Black Panther in much of the public mind.

Most people, indeed most Panthers, never came into intimate contact with such people, for they usually traveled in a rarified, higher strata than did the average Panther.

The average young man or woman in the Black Panther Party was between seventeen and twenty-two years old, lived in a collective home with other Panthers, worked long and hard days (and sometimes nights) doing necessary Party work without pay, and owned nothing. Except to their neighbors, and, of course, the ubiquitous police (and their snitches), most Panthers lived in relative

obscurity and rarely, if ever, got their picture in the paper (in either the bourgeois press or the Party press). Friends, comrades, and lovers were primarily other Party members.

With very little exception, other than the folks who participated in the various programs, most Panthers spent every waking hour with other Panthers. The people looked up to and admired were the leadership, but close, loving relationships, of true care and concern, were with fellow Panthers. They were our confidants, our counselors, our comrades—those we could be easy and relaxed around.

The average Panther rose at dawn and retired at dusk and did whatever job needed to be done to keep the programs going for the people, from brothers and sisters cooking breakfast for the school kids, to going door-to-door to gather signatures for petitions, to gathering clothes for the free clothing program, to procuring donated supplies from neighboring merchants.

The average Panther's life was long, hard, and filled with work.

A Philadelphia-born member of the Oakland branch was struck by the deep poverty she found among Party members in West Oakland:

Many of the brothers were hunters so they cut up the deer meat in the back of the office. I almost fainted. The Panther men in particular) laughed at my reaction, but after it was cooked, I refused to eat the meat. Knowing that I was very hungry, some of them chased me around the office and playfully urged me to sample the spicy scented deer. Ironically, as we fed hungry children breakfast, and later gave out bags of groceries to the poor, oftentimes Panthers themselves had little food and certainly little money. We lived mostly off paper sales. We sold each Panther paper for twenty-five cents and kept ten cents for ourselves.

While that division of the paper sales money may have been ~ the case for her chapter, it differed in other places. In some chapters, where Panther members lived communally and ate Party dinners, it was argued that the additional dime should be donated to the office, for the Party met all of the essential needs of its full-time members. That was certainly the case for the Philadelphia office.

People could be affiliated with the Party in the following ways: Party supporter: This person might buy a paper or attend a rally organized by the Party, but was not a member.

Community worker: This person might donate time to Party efforts, as some non-Panthers would assist in the breakfast program, for example, or assist the Party in administering Party programs. Often, this person would be unable to secure parental permission to formally join the Party, but would help in some form; as students who sold the paper at their school, for example.

Panther-in-training (PIT): These were probationary members, who were expected to memorize the 10-Point Program and Platform; they were expected to obtain a copy of the Red Book by Mao Tse-tung and to learn from it the Three Main Rules of Discipline and to memorize them. These PITs would also be required to attend a given number of Political Education (PE) classes, to learn more about the Party. If a PIT failed to attend required PE classes, he or she would be counseled and if unresponsive, could be dropped from consideration for full membership.

Black Panther: These persons were expected to use any and all of their skills or expertise to help build and protect the organization and further its aims and objectives as determined by local, regional, and national leadership. They were traditionally full-time Party operatives, who spent virtually seven days a week conducting Party business.

Being a Black Panther, for many members, was never a single thing; indeed, it was many things, at different times, in different places. Panthers were taught to eschew what was called careerism and to shun compartmentalist thinking. This meant that one should not perceive any given rank as one's own, nor to look at things from a narrow, linear perspective, but from a broad one, asking, "What is in the best interest of the Party?" Individualism, like careerism, was seen as a negative, bourgeois trait that was criticized. The highest

achievement was for a brother or sister to think in collectivist terms, as in we not I.

This way of thinking fostered humility, self-sacrifice, and discipline in Party ranks. It promoted the best interests of the collective, rather than arrogance and egotism, which threatened cohesion and working relationships.

In this environment, the Party became the central focus in the lives of thousands of Panthers across the nation, and an extraordinary morale and sense of unity of purpose were engendered. Thus, there were few things more exciting than meeting a fellow Panther from another part of the country.

Although there is considerable linguistic diversity in Black America, these regional forms of speech did not divide Panthers, but acted as bonds of affection between brothers and sisters. The deep, southern drawls of our North Carolinian or Virginian comrades drew smiles from Pennsylvanians or New Yorkers in the Party. Similarly, when we met Panthers from New Haven or Boston who wanted to drive a "cah" to the "bah," we found ourselves rolling on the ground, giddy with laughter, and really with a kind of amazement that Black people—Black Panthers—really talked like that. In many of these informal settings, Panthers learned from other Panthers how life was lived in different parts of this vast nation.

That joy, however, was tempered by gritty moments of terror. The slaughters of the sleeping Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a Panther pad in Chicago on December 4, 1969, had sent a disturbing message to Panthers all across the nation: we will kill you in your sleep with impunity.

Some chapters had more intense relationships with the police than others, with the aggressive Los Angeles chapter finding an equally aggressive adversary in the Los Angeles Police Department. Panthers trying to sell papers, an action allegedly protected by the First Amendment, learned otherwise in the wilds of LA when met by members of the LAPD. In 1968, a sixteen-year-old Panther named Flores Forbes

...was stopped by the LAPD while selling Black Panther newspapers almost every single day. The cops insulted me, beat me, and, usually, dislodged my papers from under my arm, causing them to fly all over the streets of South Central Los Angeles.

Even when I invoked the principles and guidelines of the Pocket Lawyer of Legal First Aid, the cops would bristle. "Nigger, you, your mama, and them other Black motherfuckers in the country have no constitutional rights that we recognize." How can one claim that the infamous Dred Scott opinion is truly ancient history and not the ever-present law of the land?

Forbes had an extraordinary career in the Party, one that lasted almost a decade and that took him from LA to the Party headquarters in northern California, to the homes of the highest ranked members of the organization. He rose from a rank-and-file member who sold Panther papers seven days a week and served free breakfasts to school kids, to Officer of the Day (OD) of both the LA office and, later, the San Francisco office. He was assigned to the Ministry of Information and worked as a community news reporter; he later served as Assistant Chief of Staff of the entire Party in 1974. ...□





Members of the Black Panther Party studying Mao's Little Red Book

"Me and Huey and the brothers in the core organization used the Red Books and spread them throughout the organization, because Huey made it a point that the revolutionary principles so concisely cited in the Red Book should be applied whenever they could. That is, whenever they could be applied within the confines of this system. Huey would say, 'Well, this principle here is not applicable to our situation at this time.' Where the book said, 'Chinese people of the Communist Party,' Huey would say, 'Change that to the Black Panther Party. Change the Chinese people to black people.' When he saw a particular principle told in the Chinese terms, he would change it to apply to us. So, from there, we righteously used the Red Book, because we talked about it, and Huey had us practicing the principles."

- Bobby Seale, *Seize The Time*

On Practice is Mao Zedong's main text on Marxist epistemology, that is, on the Marxist theory of knowledge. In it he examines from a Marxist point of view the problem of how people learn, how their consciousness develops, and how correct theory is developed through practice. It was written along with *On Contradiction* to challenge dogmatism and subjectivism in the Chinese Communist Party and to help encourage a scientific outlook. We should look at it and study it as revolutionaries struggling to advance mass movements and popular struggles toward revolution, and with the understanding that to do this we must raise the level of consciousness and understand of the masses as we fight along side them.

Dependency of theory / knowledge on practice

Knowledge depends on social practice, that is, mainly on production and class struggle, but also on political life, scientific and artistic pursuits. "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."

Here Mao is talking about ideology, the kind of thinking that is enforced and produced by the mode of production (be it capitalist, feudal, etc.) and which in turn helps to prop up that mode of production and help it function. A big part of our thinking is ideological, it is socialized or conditioned by the mode of production under which we live, and it makes it difficult for us to come up with clear understanding of what is really going on. Mao makes the point that through social practice and through the application of the *Mass Line* we can cut through this and come collectively toward higher levels of understanding and consciousness.

"Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle, or scientific experiment). If a man wants to

succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make the correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success."

Think about this in relation to the Marxist-Leninist practices of summing up experiences and criticism and self-criticism. How do we get rid of incorrect ideas and form correct ideas or theories?

Process of the development of knowledge - Two stages of cognition

1. *Perceptual stage of cognition* - the stage of sense perception and impressions. "particular things...act on the sense organs..., evoke sense perceptions and give rise... to many impressions together with a rough sketch of the external relations among these impressions." This means contact with the external world, participation, activity, struggle.
2. *Rational stage of cognition* - "As social practice continues, things that give rise to man's sense perceptions and impressions in the course of his practice are repeated many times; then a sudden change (leap) takes place in the brain in the process of cognition, and concepts are formed." Concepts "grasp the essence, the totality and the internal relations of things. Between concepts and sense perception, there is not only a quantitative but a qualitative difference. Proceeding further, by means of judgment and inference one is able to draw logical conclusions." This means to synthesize data of perception by arranging and reconstructing them.

The errors of "Rationalism" and "Empiricism"

Mao explains that there are two historic tendencies in philosophy prior to Marxism that got this question at least partially wrong.

- "Rationalists" downplay the importance of experience, of perception. They believe the reason alone can solve all problems, and that practical experience is unnecessary. They are idealists who wish to skip over the perceptual stage of cognition, leaving them with "knowledge" that is "subjective, self-engendered, and unreliable." Many people we encounter in our mass work often think like this.
- "Empiricists" stop at the perceptual stage of cognition, endlessly collect data and information without moving to the conceptual stage of cognition. "They are merely one-sided and superficial, reflecting things incompletely and not reflecting their essence." Bourgeois political science and sociology is often guilty of this.

"Rational knowledge depends upon perceptual knowledge and perceptual knowledge remains to be developed into rational knowledge - this is the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. In philosophy, neither 'rationalism' nor 'empiricism' understands the historical or the dialectical nature of knowledge."

On the theory and practice of changing the world

We study theory in order to apply it, and Marxist-Leninists understand that knowledge is not for its own sake. Furthermore, once the rational stage of cognition is reached and we make some analysis of some problem or situation, it is essential to test our analysis in practice and begin the process again.

"If the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge were to stop at rational knowledge, only half of the problem would be dealt with. And as far as Marxist philosophy is concerned, only the less important half. Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of those laws actively to change the world. From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully explained in Lenin's statement, 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely because it is a guide to action... Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge which is acquired through practice must then return to practice. The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, but - and this is more important - it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice."

"Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing."

On Practice and the Mass Line

The Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the Mass Line which Mao Zedong developed and explained, is based on the Marxist theory of knowledge, or Marxist epistemology. Point four of *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership*, which is Mao's main text on the Mass Line, he writes:

"In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in a carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and rich each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge."□



THE BLACK PANTHER

April 6, 1969. Page 14.

SERVING THE PEOPLE

The Black Panther Party is a political party established to create revolutionary political power for Black People and is continuing steadily to serve the People heart and soul. . . Our Cardinal Rule is:

"Have faith in the People, and faith in the Party." This faith derives from an undying love for our people and the awareness of a need for governmental eclipse. We, as the vanguard of the oppressed masses, realize that we must and will serve the People heart and soul. The need and wants of the People must be fulfilled, and we, as Huey P. Newton says, shall be like an oxen to be ridden by the People. The exploited and oppressed people's needs are land, bread, housing, education, freedom, clothing, justice and peace and the Black Panther Party shall not, for a single day, alienate ourselves from the masses and forget their needs for survival, but instead institute to the People faith to the death.

"I'd rather be without the shame,
A bullet lodged within my brain.
If I were not to reach our goal
Let bleeding cancer torment my soul."

— Bunchy.

It is only the People that can overthrow the present imperialistic environment that we are exposed to and only the People can institute a socialistic government that will serve them. The spirit of the People is greater than the man's technology, and that spirit will be guided by the vanguard party of this present liberation struggle.

The capitalistic, imperialistic, doggish, pimping of the People must cease by this wanton, sadistic country or perish like Babylon. The People shall smash the glutton roaches running this decadent society and, along with the directing of the Black Panther Party, halt these running dogs and gain true liberation for all. We cannot depend upon the present government to fulfill our wants and needs. Thus more and more programs shall be set up to suffice the desires of the People and destroy the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (ruling class) and its lackeys.

The Black Panther Party is for everything that the enemy (U. S. imperialists) is against, and against everything the enemy is for. We believe in serving the People wholeheartedly in a socialistic manner, not spending money like the U. S. to take hung er surveys, but to feed the People. All our actions are to the exact opposite of this hypocrisy called democracy. The Black Panther Party will continue to serve the people and fulfill their every desire as an international united front of revolutionaries of the world, battling this mass oppression of capitalism and imperialism.

When people call in to say they need food, we do not spout a lot of superficial rhetoric, but see that they are fed.

"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the People. Every word, every act, and every policy must conform to the People's interest and, if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the People means. —Mao Tse-tung

—Marsha





Judge rules for releasing ex-Black Panther on bail

By DOUG SIMPSON

BATON ROUGE, La. (AP) — A former Black Panther should be freed on bail while he awaits a new trial on charges he fatally stabbed a prison guard in 1972, a federal judge ruled Tuesday. But prosecutors planned to appeal in a move that could block a release anytime soon.

Judge James Brady ruled Louisiana must release Albert Woodfox on bail until the state either drops charges against him or retries him. Brady rejected previous arguments by the state that Woodfox is too dangerous to be released.

"Mr. Woodfox today is not the Mr. Woodfox of 1973," Brady wrote in his ruling. "Today he is a frail, sickly, middle-aged man who has had an exemplary conduct record for over the last 20 years."

State Attorney General Buddy Caldwell said he is planning to appeal the bail ruling to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal, threatening an obstacle to a Woodfox release anytime soon.

Caldwell said Woodfox is a dangerous man with prior rape arrests that never went to trial once he received a life sentence for an armed robbery conviction.

Meanwhile, Woodfox's lawyer, Nick Trenticosta, remained hopeful.

Brady's bail ruling is contingent on Woodfox finding a place to live that the judge approves. Trenticosta said he would submit those plans, adding, "With any luck, he'll be a free man next week."

The state is also appealing Brady's previous ruling that Woodfox deserves a new trial because he had an ineffective defense lawyer. That ruling, in July, overturned the conviction from Woodfox's second trial, in 1988.

Now 61, Woodfox is one of the "Angola Three," a trio of former Black Panthers who drew worldwide attention as they spent decades in solitary confinement at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola.

He was only moved to a maximum-security unit alongside other inmates earlier this year after being held in solitary since 1972.

Woodfox and one of the other "Angola Three" inmates, Herman Wallace, were convicted of the April 17, 1972, killing of guard Brent Miller. Wallace remains at Angola.

Another of the trio, Robert King, was convicted of killing a fellow inmate in 1973. He was released in 2001 after his conviction was overturned and he pleaded guilty to the lesser charge of conspiracy to commit murder. □



The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter: Our Line

by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Defense Minister, NABPP-PC

Introduction

In this paper, we outline the political and ideological line of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter. The NABPP-PC, an all-Afrikan people's revolutionary party, proposes through its work and example to spread its line to the general NABPP on the outside, and to all revolutionary-minded New Afrikans, and ultimately to expand the Party into a broad international vanguard of all Afrikan people the world over. We are in full accord with the analysis set forward in "The Panther and the Elephant," which this paper intends to further illuminate.

The Vanguard Party

As a vehicle for coordinating masses of people for action, organization is necessary. Planning is necessary, and so is assigning roles and tasks to those most capable of performing them, and holding them accountable for performing their assigned tasks completely and to the best of their abilities. Coordinating the activities of the active forces of the Afrikan Nation in America towards the achievement of full democracy and national liberation requires a genuine vanguard party based among the masses. No revolutionary or genuine national independence struggle has ever succeeded without a party to organize and coordinate the energy of the struggling people into focused result-oriented action.

"From the People to the People" is the Mass Line - the opposite of top-down organizations. The NABPP-PC practices and promotes the Mass Line. In applying this, the Party workers must go among the People, and, by living with them and struggling along side them, experience and learn their needs, ideas and interests. The Party then - applying the principles of Historical and Dialectical Materialism - returns the People's unorganized ideas to them in a comprehensive form, coordinating their collective actions, resources and abilities around their needs and thereby aids and organizes them in solving their own problems.

Classes and Class Struggle



As a revolutionary vanguard party, the NABPP-PC realizes that strategic or tactical inflexibility runs counter to the organic nature of a mass-based leading party. Such a party must operate within the limits of existing concrete conditions as they develop and change, and it cannot attempt to drive people to stick stubbornly and mechanically to methods of struggle which actual conditions do not support or allow. It has been by failing to exercise flexibility and initiative and practicing "commandism" that many would-be revolutionary movements in the past have failed and have given vanguard parties a bad name.

Our strategic and tactical decision-making process is that of Democratic Centralism, which does not contradict applying the Mass Line. Nor does it go against maintaining flexibility and initiative and being creative in our political work. Democratic Centralism is the method by which our Party determines, through intense internal discussion, debate, and then majority agreement, the Party's overall strategic and tactical line. The basic principle is to raise criticisms and ideas up and to implement down. Once a strategy and tactical approach is decided, the lower bodies of the Party can then exercise a great deal of initiative and creativity in applying the line in practice, adapting to the particularities of local conditions.

At the heart of any democratic process is the need and right to be informed of all issues relevant to making accurate analysis and correct decisions. Therefore, Party cadre must never stop learning, (and teaching the People), and must never hold stubbornly to views not supported by the ongoing experience of the Party. Our sources of learning are our people's life experience, books, and especially our practice. We must never stop learning.

Essential to democratic practice is criticism and self-criticism. All Party members must feel free to criticize other Party members and leaders, line and practice within the context of internal Democratic Centralism. The Party must also be open to listening to the criticisms of the masses. If what is unproductive or harmful cannot be criticized, then how can what is productive and good be determined?

The Party will exercise greater or lesser degrees of centralism, depending upon the freedom and necessity of the struggle in a given time and place. For example, security considerations may restrict the ability to hold discussions and force the leadership to assume more authoritative methods at times, restricting certain information, to protect the cadre or the Party as a whole. But overall, our goal is to promote democracy and collective decision making. In all cases, we must adjust and adapt new, varied and creative tactics and approaches to maintain the initiative in our work and avoid becoming predictable and thus susceptible to being out maneuvered and defeated.

On the point of classes and class struggle, we adopt the analysis presented in "The Panther and the Elephant," we also add in relation to the Lumpen Proletariat that the NABPP-PC, as its name implies, is an autonomous chapter of the NABPP centered within the prisons. The vast majority of prisoners in the U.S. are proletarians, but many come from a lumpen background, and all are influenced by this perspective in the context of prison culture. The lumpen class overlaps with the proletariat, (drifts in and out of employment), but maintains an outlook that opposes a proletarian class outlook. The lumpen's confused and backward values stem from its position of preying upon others and general ignorance, which can be corrected through education and struggle, and through guided practice in a mass organization like the Black Brigade. A minimum condition for the acceptance of lumpen class militants into the Party must be a period of re-education and practice inside a Party-affiliated mass organization like the Black Brigade, where we can observe their practice, and they can remold their class outlook and develop into a full-time, all-the-way revolutionary.



Contradictions in Proletarian Versus Lumpen Perspectives

Many people when presented with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist idea that that only the proletariat can lead in making all-the-way revolutionary class struggle question why this is, and why some other class, (without changing its class perspective), cannot lead such a struggle. One reason is because the proletariat is the only class that has no real stake in preserving the class relations of the capitalist system, but has everything to gain in taking control over the social wealth it has itself created by its labor and the tools it uses to create it. Another reason is that the proletariat, (in contrast to the lumpen), has the conditioning in patient work, social unity and cooperation necessary to wage the protracted class struggle required to abolish all exploitation and oppression. Basically, it is our social practice that determines how we think and not how we think that determines our social practice.

The proletariat has a strong sense of family commitment and unity and a sense of respect for and commitment to the community. These values grow out of the routine of going to work each day in the social environment of the workplace to provide for the needs of one's family, and not only maintaining employment but also engaging in domestic labor in the home, rearing children, and taking part in the social life of the community. This requires and instills stability, discipline and responsibility as well as cooperation with one's peers.



The class conscious worker can be of two sorts, the militant and the revolutionary. The militant worker takes the sense of commitment beyond the family into the workplace and will stand up to the bosses for workers' rights, even to the extent of jeopardizing one's employment, freedom and safety by participating in strikes and job actions. The revolutionary worker takes the sense of commitment even farther and challenges the oppressive social order to change the social relations for all and put an end to class exploitation and oppression once and for all. The revolutionary is inspired by a great love for the people and sense of duty to the masses and to future generations.

The revolutionary worker doesn't swagger or boast and has little sense of ego. He or she is serious-minded and self-disciplined. The revolutionary knows that like a strike, the revolutionary struggle must be a united mass struggle, and that it will take quite some time to succeed. Each contribution is important, and the end result is to benefit the overall society. In contrast to the proletarian's practice and outlook, the lumpen schemes and preys upon others to acquire survival needs and personal wealth, which renders him or her indifferent to the effects visited upon others and society as a whole.

The lumpen mentality mirrors - on a smaller scale and with less sophistication - that of the big gangsters (the monopoly capitalists), and amounts to a ruthless drive for immediate self-gratification, power, control and "respect," (even though their lifestyle is anything but respectable), through deception, corruption, violence and intimidation of others. These tendencies are what lies behind certain lumpen aspiring to be perceived as "crazy" and unpredictably violent.

Translated into the revolutionary movement, the lumpen tendency has some thinking that militant swaggering, posturing, and "talking shit," is acceptable behavior for revolutionaries, which is very wrong and demonstrates political immaturity and lack of a true proletarian outlook. Such posturing leads to actions of a reactionary, adventurist and provocateur nature, that invites enemy attack that the movement is unprepared to deal with and alienates the masses. Comrade Sundiata Acoli, (a member of the old BPP and BLA), observed that just such lumpen tendencies contributed to the downfall of the old BPP and the general Black Liberation Movement in America. (See Sundiata Acoli, "A Brief History of the Black Panther Party and its place in the Black Liberation Movement," (1985), which is posted on the internet and was recently reprinted in the Summer Issue of Leviathan, the newsletter of the Black Brigade).

Also, because they are conditioned to seek immediate and short term benefits in their daily practice, the lumpen generally lack the resolve to pursue and stick with tasks that require hard work and patience. We in the

NBPP-PC feel that a major factor that led to the old BPP's destruction was the failure to raise many of the Party's members' world view to that of the revolutionary proletariat and allowing the Party and its leadership to become saturated in lumpen ideology, values and practice.

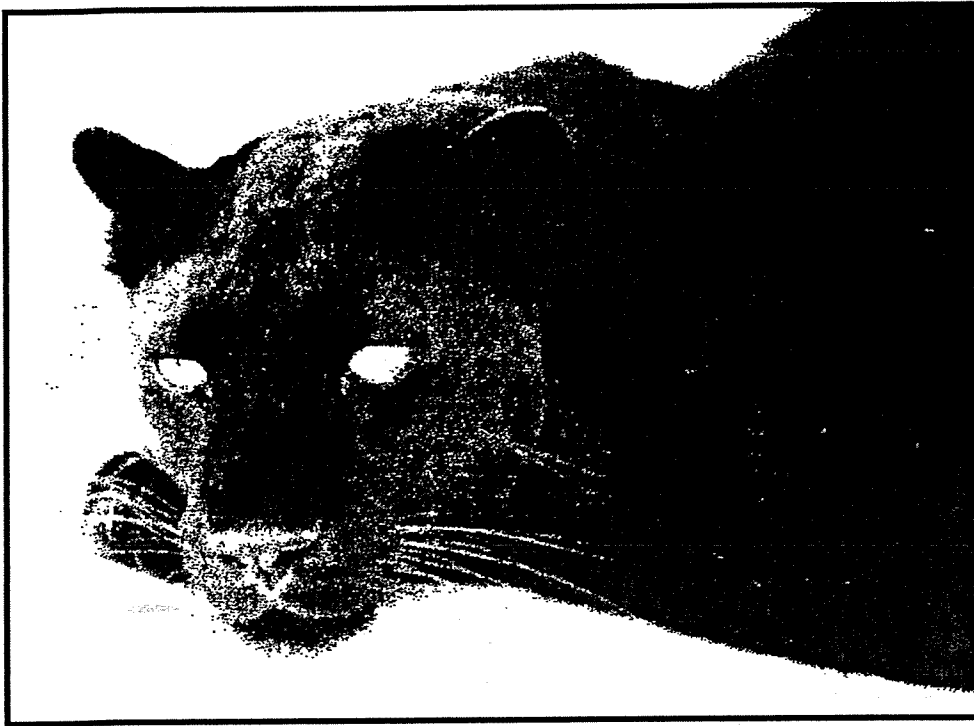
The motives behind revolutionary violence are fundamentally different from the reactionary violence of the lumpen, who model their violence after that of the big gangsters. Revolutionary violence is rooted in the collective resistance of the masses organized against the violence of the big gangster bourgeoisie system of repression and exploitation. History is made by the collective masses, with the genuine revolutionary vanguard serving to raise their consciousness and organize their force into collective revolutionary struggle. Correct thinking is the catalyst, just as intelligence draws order out of chaos - out of the chaos of noise - music, and out of chaos of images and color - art.



Raising the Lumpen Outlook to a Revolutionary Proletarian Outlook

To serve in the capacity of a truly revolutionary vanguard, the Party must consist of committed, disciplined people who have the outlook of truly revolutionary workers; people who are committed to work every day in a patient and disciplined way until the conditions for a revolutionary seizure of power by the masses arise. Without remolding their class outlook, the lumpen will pursue ultra-leftist militant acts of exhibitionism and spew forth "Off the Pig!" rhetoric, and when this provokes repression from the Establishment, they will flip-flop to right opportunism, turn rat and become enemy agents, or run for cover. Lacking correct analysis, self-discipline and patience, they will vacillate left to right, and they will confuse one stage of the struggle for another and try to skip the stages that require hard work and tenacity.

These elements disdain to apply the Mass Line, ignore the Democratic Centralism of the Party, fear Criticism and Self-Criticism and lean towards individualism and "commandism," indulging in personal attacks and attempts at intimidation and coercion of other Party members and the masses through threats and force. Their unremolded lumpen ideology is a corrosive to building Party unity and maintaining discipline, and it makes them easy prey for recruitment by the enemy. The lumpen are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices, or of the basest banditry and dirtiest corruption."



A large part of our work in NBPP-PC is to properly educate and re-orient the lumpen through ideological and political training and bringing as many of them who are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices" into the active work of the struggle as possible, and thereby expand the Party while struggling against opportunism, both of the "left" and right varieties. We know that in this work, the enemy will unceasingly attempt to infiltrate its agents of repression and seek out the weak links among us to turn them into their snitches and agent-provocateurs, and we must be vigilant to guard against this, without becoming paranoid. In the struggle, "ideological and political line determines everything," and we must rely on ideological and political training and commitment to practicing the Mass Line, Criticism and Self-Criticism and the Democratic Centralist method of determining what should be done and how to do it.

We realize that the lumpen are our brothers and sisters, and we do not desire to make war on them, rather we look upon their wrong ideas and lack of understanding as loads upon their backs, and we endeavor to help them cast them off. "Cure the sickness to save the patient," is our goal. However, we are not naive idealists, and we realize that there are those who lack the moral fiber and will to change or courage for the struggle. Some people have no integrity or loyalty, and those who, after struggle, persist in wrong ways must be purged from the ranks of the people's movement.

Before someone is recruited into the Party, they must be tested and prove themselves in the people's mass organizations, like the Black Brigade. They must show proof of both good character and advanced understanding of what needs to be done. Words are cheap. Practice is the measure of commitment and the way consciousness develops.

Our goal is to be more than a prison organization. The struggle of our New Afrikan and Afrikan people worldwide cries out for vanguard leadership. With the Black proletariat concentrated in America and Europe and our peasantry concentrated in Afrika, we have an internationalist duty to provide revolutionary proletarian leadership and

to set an inspiring example. Our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism is a class struggle of international dimensions. We have much to learn and much to do. We must become good at learning and resolute in struggle.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

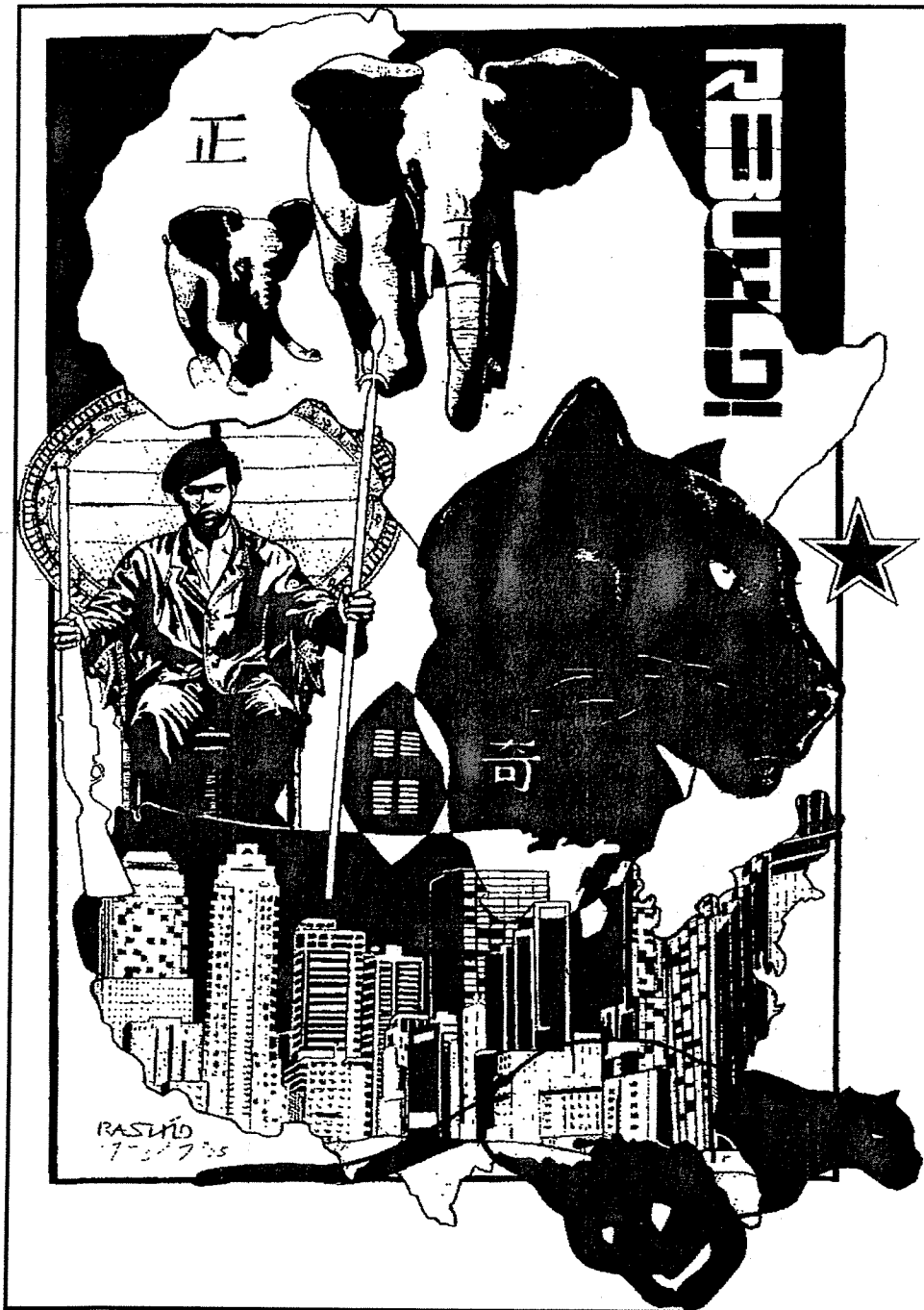


The Panther and the Elephant

The Elephant is large and powerful and is unsurpassed in direct confrontation. The Panther is agile and stealthy and is unsurpassed in indirect confrontation. The Elephant relies on his size, thick skin and tusks to meet his enemy head on, while the Panther blends into the night, exercises patience, and employs the art of surprise and ambushes his prey. His intelligence and cunning are greater weapons

than his formidable fangs and claws.

In the "Art of War," the ancient Chinese sage, Sun Tzu, proposes that two types of forces and maneuvers are called for. He called these *CHENG* and *CHI*. These would be regular and special forces and direct and indirect maneuvers. The purpose of *CHENG* forces is to engage the enemy, and the purpose of the *CHI* forces is to defeat the enemy.



In advancing the cause of Black Liberation, both types of forces, *CHENG* and *CH'I*, are needed. Or to put it another way, both a vanguard and a mass form of organization is needed. The mass form of organization is based upon programmatic unity, and includes people of various political, spiritual and cultural orientations. In the case of the Black Brigade, its basis of unity is service to the Nation of Africans in America. The vanguard form of organization is based upon a higher level of unity, application of the Science of Revolution, which is Historical and Dialectical Materialism, and commitment to being a full time revolutionary.

Classes and Class Struggle

The Proletariat is the class that must sell its labor power to the capitalist class, submitting to exploitation, to survive. In other words, it is the working class, the class of "wage slaves." This is the only class

with nothing to lose but its "chains," and thus is the only class capable of leading the United Front Against Imperialism to make all the way revolution and advance society to communism or classless society. Other classes have more or less of a stake in the capitalist division of society, even though they are compelled to resist and to revolt against the Monopoly Capitalist Class dictatorship and the imperialist system to some degree.

In this historical period, the most advanced application of the Science of Revolution is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but one need not be a communist with a capital "C" to be part of the Vanguard force. However, one must be a revolutionary nationalist, and as Mao put it: "Revolutionary Nationalism is applied Proletarian Internationalism." There is a difference between the Black Nationalist Movement and the Proletarian Internationalist or Communist Movement, but the two

are inexorably intertwined.

The Nation of Africans in America is divided into classes, though overwhelmingly it is a Proletarian Nation. There is also a Black Bourgeoisie (Bush-wa-zee), which is divided into National and Comprador sections, the latter being those who objectively serve the ruling class of the white colonial-settler regime. Clarence Thomas and Condoleezza Rice are examples of this grouping. The National Bourgeoisie are more independent, and those who got rich through sports or the entertainment industry are examples.

The Petty Bourgeoisie is the strata in the middle between the rich class and the working class. It includes the professionals, (like doctors, educators and lawyers), small business owners and middle and lower management. Though they may actually make less money than the upper strata of the industrial proletariat, their relationship to production is less direct, and they are more likely to reflect the outlook of the employing class and to nurture hopes of becoming big bourgeois themselves.

Some sections, such as the intellectuals, or the semi-proletarian artisans, can be won to become relatively firm allies of the revolutionary proletariat. On the other hand, sections of the middle class are the historic base of fascism. The upper strata of the industrial proletariat, or "Labor Aristocracy," were the vanguard of the unionization movement, but due to the super profits engendered by imperialism and the exploitation of the Third World countries, the monopoly capitalists were able to bribe this strata with a higher standard of living and middle class aspirations. Their class consciousness was dulled and the white workers particularly were rallied around US national chauvinism and anti-communism.

Now, as a result of increased globalization, this strata has been greatly reduced by the outsourcing of their jobs overseas by the multinational corporations and the downsizing of their US workforce. This has greatly reduced the power of the industrial workers and the number of unionized workers overall. The largest section of the Black proletarians are part of the great mass of non-organized workers who have no unions, (and in most case no health coverage), and live from paycheck to paycheck barely getting by. Linked to them are their dependents and the de-classed poor; welfare and disability recipients, pensioners, the marginally employed, and the jobless and homeless.

There is also the Lumpen Proletariat. "Lumpen" literally means "broken." The Lumpen make their living by illegal means; as petty gangsters, drug dealers, pimps, con-artists and thieves. They reflect the mentality of the big gangsters and monopoly capitalists and feed parasitically off the people, but some have the potential to be won to a proletarian outlook and become revolutionaries. Unlike the big parasites, they do not enjoy immunity from prosecution for their crimes and often end up spending most of their lives in prison.

The Black Nation in America

Black people were forged into a nation in America under conditions of slavery and segregation. Stripped of their national cultures, languages and identities under slavery, they were amalgamated into a new nation based upon their common African origin and features. Four hundred years of oppression and exploitation shaped the national identity and culture of this nation. Originally centered in the "Black Belt," or "Cotton Belt," of the Deep South, where most Blacks and many poor whites were reduced to a condition of being made share-cropping peasants after the overthrow of slavery. KKK terror and Jim Crow segregation laws denied them a political voice, even though they were the majority, and the region was made an internal colony of the US with Third World-like conditions.

Mechanization of cotton picking and the demand for industrial workers in the industrial centers, particularly during WWI and WWII, encouraged a massive exodus of Black people from the South to the North and the West. Huge urban ghettos sprang up and become new internal colonies of the US. From Harlem to Compton, these centers defined the faster-paced urbanized culture of Black America in the 20th Century. New music and worldliness replaced the rural life style and outlook.

The national liberation struggles of the people in the former European colonies in Africa and throughout the Third World were echoed in the

civil rights and Black Nationalist movements within the US. Revolutionary Black Nationalist groups, like the Black Panther Party, sprang up to challenge both racism and imperialism and begin the struggle for socialist revolution. The high tide of struggle in the US in the 60s and 70s coincided with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China and the Vietnam War and numerous other national liberation struggles and attempts to establish socialism in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The US emerged victorious from the Cold War, and the ebb in struggle internationally, (with the right-wing coup in China following Mao's death, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and Socialist Bloc and the defeat of socialist forces in Africa and elsewhere), was mirrored by a decline in the Black Liberation Struggle here too. But the emergence of the New World Order and sole-superpower domination only served to intensify exploitation and the aggressive and predatory nature of US imperialism.

Neither the Neo-Liberals nor the Neo-Conservatives saw a need to continue the pattern of Cold War Liberalism and concessions to common people. The decline of the Left was more than matched by the rise of the extreme Right. Backing both Islamic and Judeo-Christian religious fundamentalism, the stage was set for the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and increased pressure on all the oil-producing countries by US-Anglo imperialism. Under the cover of the "War on Terror," major attacks on the democratic rights and protections of the American people have been made and steps have been taken to build a more efficient police state.

Since the end of the Cold War, a massive increase in the number of people incarcerated in the US has taken place, (mostly Black and other people of color), so that America now accounts for nearly half the imprisoned people in the world. Affirmative action programs have been cut back and social welfare programs have been dramatically slashed. The ruling class is aggressively waging class struggle against the working class and poor while the Neo-Cons are aggressively suppressing the Neo-Liberals, characterizing them as the "Radical Left."

The white, capitalist, colonial-settler state was built upon genocide and dispossession of the indigenous nations and the kidnapping, enslavement and exploitation of the African people, and this oppression continues to this day. Legal desegregation has not altered the condition of super-exploitation of Black people in America or in Africa. Civil Rights is still an issue. White Racism is still an issue. The right to self-determination and national liberation is still an issue. The Nation of Africans living in America has the right, and the necessity, to struggle for solutions to its problems as a nation. This includes the right to define and govern its own territory and to transform the internal colonies of exploitation into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution.

At the same time, it also includes the right to fight for full civil rights for all within the US, including prisoners and those convicted of felonies and the so-called "illegal aliens." We say: "NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!" and: "AMEND THE 13TH AMENDMENT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY FOR ALL!" And we say: "IF YOU ARE HERE, YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO RESPECT OF YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS!" It is the white-settler colonial regime that are the real "illegal aliens." Every bit of this land was stolen from the indigenous nations. These indigenous nations have historically been the main ally of the African people in America. Long before there was an "Underground Railroad," the path to freedom led to the Indian nations. Many of the so-called "illegal aliens" are in fact Native Americans from south of the border drawn by the whites. The Red-Black Alliance is key to national liberation within the US.

Pan-Africanism

Just as African people were formed into a new nation in America, so too African people internationally have been formed into a new type of nation by conditions of colonialism, slavery and racism. This Pan-African movement and nationalism links the primarily proletarian New Africans of America and Europe with the primarily peasant Africans of Africa. The African Diaspora created new conditions for both building All African Unity and advancing World Socialist Revolution.

The anti-colonial wars of national liberation following WWII, led to

numerous attempts to build African socialism in several countries. Undermined by CIA and European-hatched assassinations, coups and tribal conflicts, these were rolled back, and a destabilized condition of neo-colonial domination prevails in Africa. Dire poverty and conditions exist across Africa. Famine, AIDS, alcohol and drug addiction, warlordism and religious and inter-tribal strife weigh heavily on the African peoples. Rich in natural resources, Africa remains the poorest place on Earth, while everywhere people of African descent are faced with racial discrimination.

Building Pan-African Unity is vital to the uplifting of the African people everywhere and particularly here in the US. Conversely, supporting the Black Liberation Movement here is vital to continuing the struggle for liberation and socialism in Africa. This calls for new forms of organization and struggle as well as the renewal of previous forms. The Black Panther Party needs to be renewed not only in the US but internationally and the Black Brigade needs to be built both nationally and internationally.

In supporting and building ties with Africa, it is important to include elements of the national bourgeoisie and all classes in contradiction with imperialism and neocolonialism, uniting all who can be united. The principles of New Democratic Revolution need to be applied.

New Democratic Revolution

National liberation involves a two stage revolutionary process to advance to the building socialism. First you have to liberate the country from imperialist neo-colonial domination and their agents and address the question of: "LAND TO THE TILLERS." Since the emergence of Monopoly Capitalism and modern imperialism, the bourgeoisie has proven incapable of leading democratic revolution against remnants of the old feudal order, and this duty has fallen to the proletariat and its vanguard.

The national bourgeoisie can be a vacillating ally in this struggle, in which the peasantry is the main force, but the ideological and political leadership must come from the proletariat. Even within the internal colonies of the US, the principles of New Democratic Revolution have some relevance, particularly in overturning the feudal remnant of the 13th Amendment, which perpetuates the status of slave for those convicted of crimes, and the unfinished civil rights struggle.

In the 3rd World, the New Democratic Revolution is advanced by means of People's War, surrounding the cities from the countryside and creating people's power on a national level before liberating the urban centers and consolidating state power. The people's war in Nepal is a classic example of this strategy.

Strategy and Tactics

The Black Brigade is needed to confront and engage the colonial-settler power structure frontally creating institutions of people's power locally. The basic unit of people's power must be neighborhood councils composed of the veteran fighters and respected elders of the community. We can then organize programs for the people's security and social welfare under these committees.

Private security firms can be created and licensed to operate under contract to the neighborhood councils, supported by voluntary neighborhood security patrols. These can present offenders with the

option of having their cases decided by the people's council instead of being turned over to the municipal authorities. The council can levy fines, order that restitution be paid and/or mandate community service. It can also banish offenders from the community.

The security officers would be armed, equipped and trained to handle this role in a professional manner. Besides dealing with the problem of crime in the neighborhood, the people's security force can also monitor and collect evidence on police complicity and corruption. Over time, it can displace the police as the force most relied upon by the people to handle their security issues, empowering the people's councils to function as a parallel government.

Besides addressing the issue of the people's security, the neighborhood councils would also initiate and coordinate all manner of social service and survival programs taking up the slack of government cut backs and responsibility to see that the hungry are fed, the homeless are given shelter, the sick and injured are provided with medical care and health services and in general that the needs of the people are addressed. In addition, the councils would work to promote the political economy of the neighborhoods by assisting in the creation of worker's coops and consumer's coops and in the countryside grower's coops.

An important link to be forged is between the urban oppressed communities and the rural communities where most of the prisons are located. Regular transportation and housing for families visiting prisoners needs to be established. As part of the drive to extend voter rights to prisoners, uniting with the progressive forces in the communities where the prisons are located is important. These include family members who have relocated to be close to their loved ones.

Our general strategy must be to: "TRANSFORM THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION, AND TO BUILD THE OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES INTO BASE AREAS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION." There is a dialectical relationship between these tasks. The more we are able to succeed at one aspect the better we will do at the other.

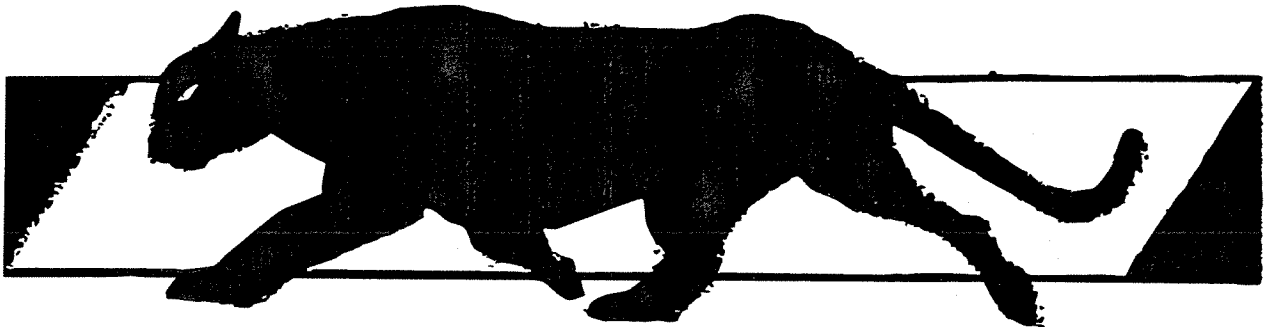
The vanguard force has the principle task of providing political education to the masses and making them conscious. They must represent the broad and revolutionary viewpoint of the proletariat. They must also act as shock troops and jump in as needed when a highly motivated and disciplined force is called for.

Conclusion

While a revolutionary situation does not at present exist in the US, as Sun Tzu pointed out: "BATTLES AND WARS ARE WON OR LOST BEFORE THEY ARE FOUGHT!" The Panther and the Elephant, the *CH'I* and *CHEN* warriors and forces of the people, must be organized now so that when a revolutionary situation does present itself, the people will not be unprepared.

"IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL!" against tyranny and national oppression, and we must "SEIZE THE TIME!" and "DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!" Many fine comrades and heroes of the people have sacrificed themselves to illuminate the path forward. We have our duty to the future generations.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!





Black Panther sisters attending a political education class

Africana Womanism in the Black Panther Party: a personal story

Regina Jennings

In *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves*, Clenora Hudson-Weems creates an eighteen step theoretical frame that explains Black female behavior worldwide. The theory of Africana womanism differs from Feminist theory because Africana Womanism emerges out of the African woman's historical and cultural experience. Feminism is a theoretical paradigm that addresses the observations of middle-class White women, a group whose main target is sexism. Hudson-Weems argues that unlike the feminist, the Africana womanist

... realizes the critical need to prioritize the antagonistic forces as racism, classism, and sexism, respectively. In the final analysis, Africana womanism is connected to the tradition of being self-reliant and autonomous, working toward participation in 'africana liberation' ("Cultural and Agenda Conflicts in Academia" 187).

When I reflect on why I joined the Black Panther Party, issues of race, not gender, surface most prominently. I saw racism as the number one assault on Black people. Although the Panthers had a predominantly male membership, I felt not the least excluded. For one, Kathleen Neal Cleaver was promoted as Communications Secretary of the Party, and her image appeared in posters along with those of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. As Hudson-Weems puts it, slavery had equalized oppression for Black men and women (47). Hence, I had always witnessed men and women working together throughout my community and I carried this understanding into this largely male organization. Personally, I had been cruelly victimized by racism, and I had witnessed the police violate the humanity of Black men and women. So, when I stood up for my rights back in the late 1960s, I stood up for my entire race, not solely for myself as a woman. When I fought sexism in the Party, I still retained my deep concern for Black males, for they never became my antagonists

forever, as I painfully tried to redirect their thoughts and energies. It is for these reasons that Africana womanism highlights my behavior when I examine my experiences with White America and the Black Panther Party.

Hudson-Weems puts my ethos and behavior in context, arguing a concept that Garvey once articulated as "race first." She writes:

Africana Womanism is an ideology created and designed for all women of African descent. It is grounded in African culture, and therefore, it necessarily focuses on the unique experiences, struggles, needs, and desires of Africana women. (24)

When I became interested in the Black Panther Party at sixteen, I knew racism and police brutality intimately, and I had no knowledge or understanding of sexism. I was raised, as most Black women of the 1950s and 1960s, to accept male dominance and to consider myself a helpmate to men. I joined the Black Panther Party because I wanted to help smash American racism. And the Panthers were the only obvious organization confronting White America forthrightly without begging or carrying signs for equality and justice. Respecting and admiring their image of bravery and courage, I was ready to put my life on the line with this organization. Growing up in an all Black and poor neighborhood (although I never thought we were economically disadvantaged) I had witnessed inexplicable police brutality. As a result, when the Panthers emerged, they answered the whispers of a long lost prayer. In this article, I intend to revisit the circumstances that encouraged me to join the Black Panther Party and the double standard for women that I found there. However, this is not a sorrow song of a victimized woman but rather my attempt to point out the tragic flaws or incorrect behavior of the men in the Party. I somehow knew that they were practicing a form of oppression rooted in their own centuries of powerlessness. Hence, when I met sexism, I tried to lift the bedroom out of their minds. Some in leadership positions were sexist, and this unchecked problem weakened the foundation of the Black Panther Party, which compels me to write to alert young activist brothers and sisters to their history. With full information, perhaps past mistakes will not be future repeats.



Panther girls singing in dance line

In the Beginning:

In 1968, still in my teens, I took a late plane from Philadelphia to Oakland, California to join the Black Panther Party. As a runaway since fifteen, a witness to vulgar police brutality, and a victim of racism on my first job, I was ready to become a Panther. Their mystique—the black pants, leather jackets, berets, guns, and their talk (aggressive and direct)—attracted not only me but also thousands more across America.

I grew up in Philadelphia in the 1960s where I regularly saw the police do a "Rodney King" on Black people. Attending a school where I learned only about White accomplishments and living where the elders rarely discussed Black advancement, I grew unstable without race pride or self-respect. My upbringing ill-prepared me to interact with White people. Later, when I worked in a secretarial pool of about twenty White women who deliberately refused to even speak to me, I experienced the trauma of White racism. Never having been around so many Whites before, I was totally unaccustomed to their inhumanity that literally drove me nearly insane. I would walk into this company and speak to each person the way Black people had always spoken to one another in my neighborhood. However, when I spoke to them, they pretended not to see or hear me. This iceberg attitude and atmosphere left me emotionally distraught and I started to sink in a terrible way. This White gender collective racism was a response to my being of African descent. These women resented my presence, which challenged their desire to have exclusive fights to power and to

privilege. White women, as Hudson-Weems writes, seek White male power and privilege (38).

One particularly cruel woman collected money for refreshments. Each day that I foolishly placed my money on my desk for collection marked a day that she held her head contemptuously high as she walked by my desk. This insult inexpressibly hurt. Yet, I decided to personally place my money in her hand. As she made her rounds laughing and talking with all the other secretaries, I arose from my chair and stood in front of my desk. With my money hot in my hand, I waited for her to come my way. As she approached my space, I reached for her hand and she skipped around me. As I watched her walk away, I stood humiliatedly frozen with my hand still extended.

I already knew how to handle weapons; I had lived among people who disregarded the law. Deciding to equalize this situation, I developed a plot for murder—which seemed the only fair and equitable recourse. During this period when I pistol-packed for work and collected information on this woman, I watched Martin Luther King, Jr. on television. I watched him and observed his people police-whipped like dogs. As I planned how I would take this offensive woman off the planet, I fumed at how White Americans generally treated my people. Until one day I saw an eloquent Huey P. Newton being interviewed on film. He was charged with killing one policeman and wounding another. He was discussing race, society, self-defense, and other subjects I failed to comprehend. Then, I saw a marvelous Bobby Seale marching with Panthers with guns at the state capitol in California. I figured, at last, I had finally found my calling.

Summer 1968

I spat on Philadelphia
boarded a late plane to Oakland
Oakland
land of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale

I looked on the earth
sky down
the geography a map
like Miss Somebody's class

Hating school, counselors, teachers,
and basement books
Hating Black to mean
ugly, evil, dirty, sub, shiftless, and slavery

I flew high wolfing at streams
of fat clouds
knowing I would land in San Francisco
and light up on the Golden Gate Bridge
And just like this airplane bursting through
clouds
I would break
the bloodless murderers
of Blacks

Panther Power

I joined the Black Panther Party with a serious drug habit and with a personal directive to kill White people. When I first showed up at the Panther headquarters in Oakland, California, and was asked why I wanted to be a Panther, I said, "I wanna kill all the White people; that's why." I was dressed in my best suede and leather outfit and was sporting a most pronounced cabaret hair-piece. The officer-of-the-day must have been familiar with all types of people stating outrageous reasons for wanting to join the Panthers. After my outburst, he calmly took my name and number and said someone would get in touch with me soon. I immediately became self-conscious. I thought about my hair, my clothing, and my manner, as I watched the stony Black faces ignore my comment and continue working.

On leaving the Panther office, I moved around the Bay area, discovering the ambience of California and the new country accented lingo. Black people would say, "Right on sister," when someone agreed with female rhetoric. During the 1960s, Oakland reflected the Black Power Movement, electrifying the country. People wore large, bushy Afros; Muslims sold "black" ice cream; and hairdressers and barbers stocked new products for the "natural look." (1) It never occurred to me while I was glorifying in the language, music, and the aesthetics of my people that I was being followed. As the Panthers checked out my Philadelphia and Oakland addresses, they also followed me for well over a week. Some concluded that the FBI sent me, but the captain assured them with salty good humor that, "She's too stupid to be from the FBI." He thought my cover and my comments too honest, too loud, and too ridiculous to be serious.

My captain accepted me into the Party and then my struggle from drug addict to soldier became a hard-fought personal war. The Panthers, like many people in the Black community, understood my drug dependency, and under the captain's leadership, they helped me to abandon the addiction gradually. The captain assigned me many activities, as he did other Panthers. Plus, our teachers taught us so vigorously about our importance to our community that I started to want to learn with a mind without stimulants. Never having particularly enjoyed history taught in school, my attitude in the Party reversed. The Panther way of teaching caused new recruits to devour history books. They taught us from an Afrocentric perspective, whereby the needs and interests of African people determined our world perception. This Panther behavior predates Molefi Asante's development of an Afrocentric paradigm and perspective. It

demonstrates how he and Hudson-Weems studied African behavior throughout the Diaspora and based their findings in the theoretical construct of Afrocentricity and Africana Womanism respectively. I had never considered Black people as a subject of knowledge, and viewing phenomena from this perspective awed and attracted me. I had been taught only to revere White people as the source of world progress, but here we studied about revolutions in Africa, China, and Cuba. The void I used to fill with drugs was now filled instead with a pure and noble love for my people. Both men and women took charge of new Panther recruits. My sisters and my brothers aided my transformation from ghetto gift to Panther woman.

In Oakland, the Panthers and the Black community had a mutual love affair. We brought them Black men and women willing to transform the Black community with social, political, educational programs, and self-defense. The people brought us food, joy, assurances, hope, and companionship. Hudson-Weems writes of the importance of the Black family to the Black woman (58-61). The Black community was similar to a type of extended family. Brothers and sisters in the Panthers regularly subsumed our needs for the betterment and the maintenance of the organization and our goals for Black community self-sufficiency. As Hudson-Weems writes: "the Africana woman is less inclined to focus primarily on herself and her career at the expense of the family and its needs" (60). I came to believe that we were community leaders and that the people needed us just as we needed them. Very naturally, my thoughts and actions belonged to the people and this did not make me unhappy. This did not infringe on my so-called individuality. On the contrary, I felt extremely alive in the vortex of creating a new future for my people. It is African to believe strongly in family; for as Mercy Amba Oduyoye writes in *Daughters of Anoma: African Women and Patriarchy*, the more women made others comfortable and dependent upon them, the more they felt alive (8). Moreover, Hudson-Weems asserts, "the Africana womanist is committed to the art of mothering and nurturing, her own children in particular and humankind in general" (72). The interchange between the Panthers and the community was mutual reciprocity.

I remember one week when our office was rather low on food; a gentleman entered headquarters with a huge deer slung across his shoulders. Fascinated, I crept up close to observe the animal, and as I stared into its dead eyes, I felt some kind of connection. The eyes reminded me of Bambi, the Walt Disney film of my childhood, and I thought, "how could anyone kill and eat a deer?" This incident demonstrates the relationship between the community and the Panthers. I did not know the gentleman with the deer. He was not a regular visitor to our office, but he wanted to share his food with us. Several of the Panther brothers were hunters, so they cut up the deer in the back of the office. I almost fainted. The Panther men in particular laughed at my reaction, but after it was cooked, I refused to eat the meat. Knowing that I was very hungry, some of them chased me around the office and playfully persuaded me to sample the spicy meat. Ironically, the Black Panther Party is known for starting the first Free-Breakfast-for-Children-Program in this country, yet Panthers themselves, male and female had little. As we fed hungry children breakfast, and later gave out bags of groceries to the poor, oftentimes Panthers themselves had little food and certainly very little money. There were times when we struggled with whether or not to eat the food donated for the school children. Usually we decided to feed the children and Oakland Panthers would go to their families and bring back food for the members. All of us lived mostly off paper sales. We sold each Panther paper for twenty-five cents, turning fifteen cents into the office and keeping ten cents for ourselves.

Most people know about the breakfast-for-schoolchildren-program founded by Huey and Bobby and implemented by the rank-and-file. Panther leadership demanded that businessmen in the Black community donate food to the program. We were taught that businesses that profited from the Black community ought to assist in community development. Panthers arose before dawn to cook and serve hungry children before they attended school. They also stayed afterwards and cleaned the area that housed the program. Our first was in the basement of Saint Augustine Church pastored by Father Earl Neil. It was marvelous to serve the children because we knew they were our future, and they returned so much love and appreciation to us. We often fed them hot food—pancakes, or grits,

eggs, sausage, and toast—and then led them in slogans like "Panther Power, Panther Power, Panther Power."

The free-breakfast-for-school-children program is common knowledge, but the dances that we staged for the Oakland youth are not. We would decorate the community centers, halls, or church basements with our colors—blue and black—and hang blue and black streamers and lights and Panther paraphernalia on walls. On vending tables, we placed the usual posters and buttons of our national leaders, Kathleen Cleaver, Eldridge Cleaver (The Rage), Bobby Seale, and Huey P. Newton. We sisters attempted to bake cakes and cookies, but we were not very good cooks. Thankfully, the community was well aware of our lack of culinary skill and they normally supplied the food for our dances.

Some of the youth imitated our uniform—black pants, blue sweat-shirts fronted with prowling panthers. Although this imitation made us feel rather proud, one had difficulty discerning Oakland youth from Panthers. When not on guard duty, for example, we jammed on the dance floor with one another or with community brothers and sisters. Sometimes, when dancing, young males would rap to us sisters under blue/black lights. We would laugh, encouraging them to join the Party if they wanted to know us better. After playing a series of records—the Isley Brothers, Sly Stone, and James Brown—local Panther leaders made speeches about the organization and about America. The listeners either joined the Party or became community sympathizers.

I have never known any people like Black Panther Party members. Their bravery and courage both humbled and awed me. Some have said that Panthers were crazy, that they wanted to die. Not so. We considered ourselves the vanguard army of Black people, an army not unlike the military vision of Marcus Garvey. We understood that freedom came with a price that we were willing to pay in the tradition of Harriet Tubman and Malcolm X.

In addition to studying revolutions in Africa and Cuba, we scrutinized the Red Book of Chairman Mao. Training to be internationalists, the film *The Battle of Algiers* was our orientation; however, at core we were Black Americans struggling with issues that pertained directly to our people. The Oakland leadership organized political education classes regularly for Panthers and community folk to examine the nature and conception of America. We spent our nights focusing on education and before dawn, we exercised in secret places before being vanned to cook and serve breakfast to schoolchildren. Also, at night we blew omnipresent Black power poetry particularly by our own Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, who along with John Huggins, was brutally murdered. Yet, our main purpose from 1968-70 was to free Huey P. Newton. To accomplish this feat, our leaders planned and organized broad-based rallies with diverse Black activist groups, and others such as the Brown Berets, a Chicano organization; the Red Guard, an Asian organization; the Peace and Freedom Party, an organization of White leftist radicals.

At first, I refused to work with Whites in the Peace and Freedom Party, but my captain threatened me with Panther Party punishment for my initial refusal. Party discipline entailed a marathon of push-ups or pumping x-number of laps around the corner. Nonetheless, I had difficulty succumbing to this mandate; for I had not forgotten either the racism of White cops or the racism of my former coworkers. Firmly believing that they hated all Blacks, I saw no value or sense in working with them. This belief remained solid until I witnessed how hard some worked on the Free Huey campaigns. However, I always wondered and openly asked why they did not work as aggressively to solve the racism that existed within White communities.

The captain of the East Oakland branch of the Black Panther Party was well respected by the national Party leadership. All of us in East Oakland thought of him as a sometimes friend/father. The rank and file readily understood that we had to follow orders, and the power imbalance often upheld him beyond our reach. Additionally, between the years 1968-70, we all felt the "pig" infiltration of our organization. Agent provocateurs played dirty tricks on us through wiretaps and with correspondence that pitted one leader against another. (2) Still a young organization, we were unable to discern the difference between real and fake. For example, as Assata Shakur writes, we were constantly fortifying our office on the strength of leaks from agents who had turned into supposed sympathizers (226).

Such infiltration changed whatever sense of normalcy the Panther environment ever had, our situation always on the periphery of alarm. Existing in Oakland, or any American place, we as a Black group organized to defy the state's racist oppression, which entailed constant tension. Add to this, infiltration by Blacks like us, and one can only imagine the scrambling of the Panther environment, continually charged with suspicion. We rank and file lived every day as if it were our last. At times, in a frenzied, scary way, all of us sometimes questioned whether to trust one another; and we all lived together, worked together, studied together, played together, ate together, and drank together. Since we accepted the possibility of death, incarceration, or exile, we loved one another fully, purely, strongly, and platonically unless otherwise decided.

I only wanted to be a soldier. In the beginning, I did not wish a romantic link with any of my comrades, and even though I gave my entire life to the Party—my time, my energy, my will, my clothes, my money, and my skills—my captain wanted more. My captain wanted me.

I was in a terrible dilemma. I loved the captain as I did all of my brothers and sisters. He had taught me about the ten-point platform and program of the Panthers. He had helped me overcome my addiction. He taught me an international perspective. I had witnessed him stand toe to toe with racist businessmen who initially refused to donate food to our breakfast program. I had stood behind and beside him as he confronted racist, gestapo pigs in self-defense. This man had organized our office so efficiently that we were considered a model for other branches. How could my friend/father/comrade turn into my nemesis? When I repeatedly refused his advances, he made my life miserable. He gave me ridiculous orders. He shunned me. He found fault in my performance. During the early years of the Black Panther Party, there was no democratic procedure for challenging an officer. This was one of the greatest flaws in the Panther organization. There was no external governing board to regulate how individual offices operated. How could there be when Panthers since their inception were constantly hounded by the state? The moment that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale joined forces, the Federal Bureau of Investigation sought their (and the organization's) destruction. The only reason some of us are still alive is because the police knew that if they attacked us they would be met with force. Certainly, the police did attack Panther chapters nationwide, but I believe that my comrades would have been annihilated if our advocacy of self-defense had not been seriously considered. The purpose of the Party's founding was to eliminate the rampant genocidal murder of Blacks by the police.

Moreover, by this time, Kathleen Cleaver was abroad with Eldridge, after he pulled a brilliant masquerade that eluded the authorities and allowed him to escape arrest. The Rage was wanted for parole violation and for his part in the April 6, 1968 shoot-out when Little Bobby Hutton was the first to fail. Indeed, we did have national headquarters in Berkeley where the Central Committee presided, but usually one strong personality held sway of that committee, either Bobby Seale or during his incarceration David Hilliard. Although I sought redress through the Central Committee, the officials of the Committee sided with my captain. The all-male panel agreed that I should not behave as a bourgeois woman and bring such values into the Party. They believed that my attitude of sexual abstinence was both foolish and counter-revolutionary.

At that time, I lacked the maturity and skill necessary to challenge authoritarian men, so I searched for ways to circumvent my captain's sexism. I was determined not to leave the Party because I felt there was no other American space where I could fully be my Black revolutionary self. Moreover, even though the captain was completely incorrect in his constant harassment, I still loved his commitment to Black people. I knew that this brother and all of the Party brothers "had my back." I saw their contradiction and their patriarchal banditry and in seeing their distorted realism, I decided to try to redirect their thinking. As Hudson-Weems writes, I wanted to be in concert with Black men in the liberation struggle (60). I knew that they were not my enemy, that our common enemy was much larger. Further, I had become a part of the Oakland community. I had store-owners and other Oakland people who only purchased newspapers from me. I assisted senior citizens with their grocery shopping, participated in political organizing, and personally instructed a group of youngsters in

reading. There were both homes in the community where I could always get a good meal, and neighborhood residents who watched over me. Oakland was my home.

After a year of transforming myself into a soldier for Black people, I found that my captain searched for greater ways to push me out of the organization. He felt that I was not a good influence on the other soldiers, especially the females. He felt that I was defying orders. When I refused to quit the Party, he developed the perfect plan to get me out of his unit. He transferred me to National Headquarters, away from Oakland and away from all that I had come to know and appreciate. Regrettably, I experienced the same kind of vicious sexism all over again.

There were women who came through the Party and would immediately leave because of the vulgar male behavior. There were women in the Party like me who tried to hold on because we understood the power, the significance, and the need for our organization. Black men, who had been too long without some form of power, lacked the background to understand and rework their double standards toward the female cadre. Perhaps, if the Party had external observers—community elders who respected our platform—such unfair practices against women may not have occurred or could have been curbed.

However, all men in the party were not sexist, and I must emphasize this, for as an Africana womanist, I am interested in both the truth and in my total race. The captain and those in authority like him were narrow, foolish, and inept leaders. Male Panthers who disagreed and challenged the males in authority were ostracized. The men in power tried to establish a network that included ignoring the rights of women. Those of us fighting this network were disadvantaged because of the life and death issues assaulting the Party. For example, there were the years when Huey P. Newton faced the gas chamber, when the police regularly attacked our offices, when Panthers were arrested in droves nationwide, when our national leaders rotated in and out of prison or transported themselves to countries beyond America. As sexism was a significant factor in weakening the structure of the Black Panther Party, and men and women fought it, it is important to understand and recognize the proclivities among men, especially as we move into the 21st century. New leaders and new faces are proclaiming public power. Because Black women for the most part desire male companionship, nonsexual or sexual, and because we are, as Hudson-Weems writes, "whole and authentic," our rights must be respected.

Rank and file Panthers were a unique group of dedicated warrior men and women who worked years without any recognition, rewards, awards, or remittance for their struggles to eliminate American injustices. Nothing impressed me more than the discipline exhibited by my dear, dear brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party. There is no other experience like being with people who wake up before dawn and retire at night thinking about and working aggressively for our people. We Panthers were inseparable. We lived together, broke bread together, exchanged each other's clothes, and night talked regularly. Together we fed children, sold newspapers, shot targets, drank bitter dogs, and ran midnight missions above and below ground. Some of my sisters and brothers are dead now, but for them, I want to communicate to you how much they perfectly loved you to the point of being willing to die for you.

Routine

In a blackberry morning
a bullet rests in each chamber
In a morning of chilled expectation

I shower and jump into Levi's and combat boots
In a mirror providing memory
I fork my big, black bush
Panthers in the bedroom,
living room, bathroom, growl, laugh, scowl
count weapons and cleanse bodies

In the seedling of a blackberry morning
we prepare for the knock
of Panthers

standing
around the swimming pool
standing like pieces in a game of chess

I move to secure my place
We walk
unsmiling, sisters and brothers
bursting through doors of damaged glass

In a Panther van we ride
smoking, talking, teasing, listening
Our Captain
mapping the day in a pattern of plans

And outside
the stars pinch inward
and outside
a midnight morning
muses on the day light

Endnotes

(1) "Black" was the actual name of this new ice cream, sold in Muslim restaurants. It was created to honor the power and thrust of the Black Power Movement. Because we "Negroes" had just made the enormous leap to "Black" as a preferable racial identifier, we consumed and created many things with the title Black.

(2.) Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1988). Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1987).

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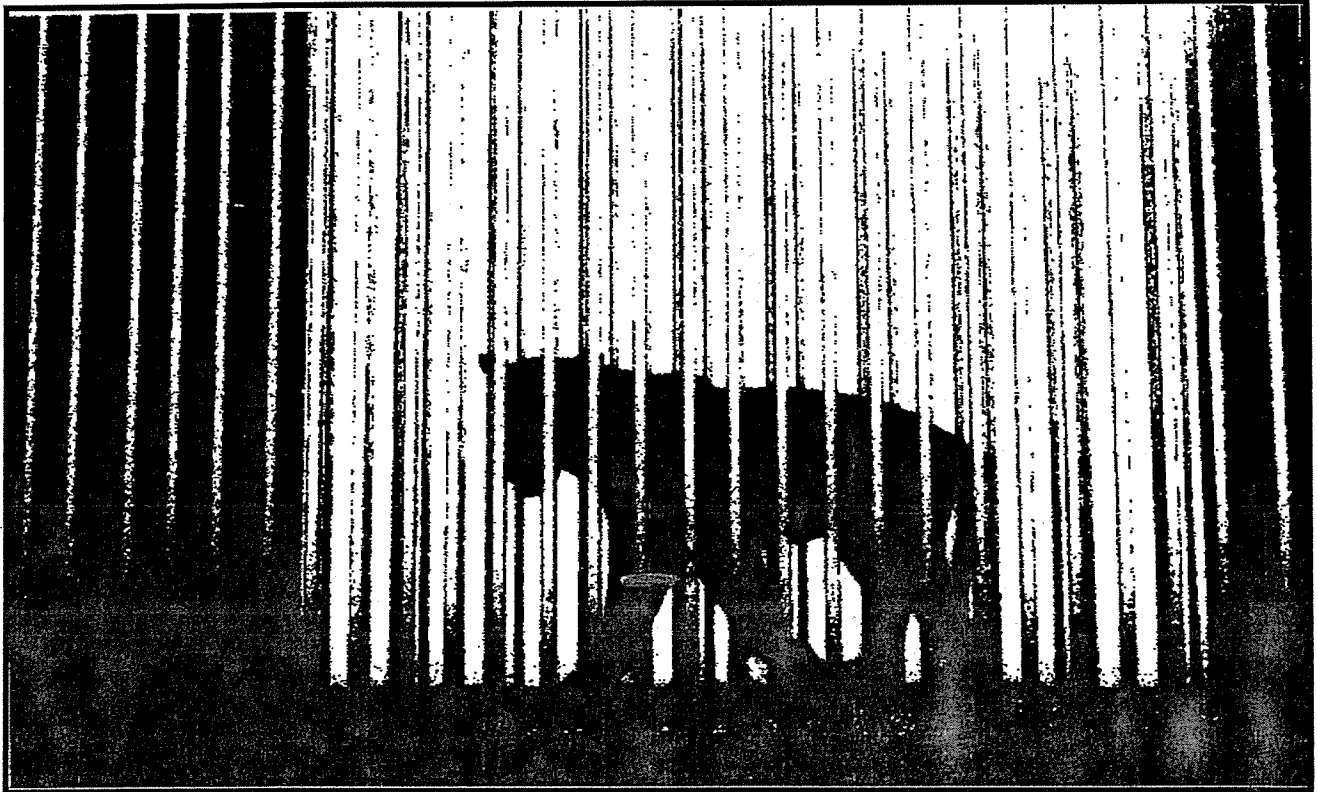
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The Panther

Rainer Maria Rilke

In 1905 Rilke moved to Meudon, France to take a job as the secretary of Rodin. When Rilke told Rodin that he had not been writing lately, Rodin's advice was to go to the zoo (the Jardin des Plantes) and look at an animal until he truly saw it. Here is the result (as translated by Robert Bly):

1. From seeing the bars, his seeing is so exhausted
2. that it no longer holds anything anymore.
3. To him the world is bars, a hundred thousand
4. bars, and behind the bars, nothing.
5. The lithe swinging of that rhythmical easy stride
6. which circles down to the tiniest hub
7. is like a dance of energy around a point
8. in which a great will stands stunned and numb.
9. Only at times the curtains of the pupil rise
10. without a sound . . . then a shape enters,
11. slips though the tightened silence of the shoulders,
12. reaches the heart, and dies.

Translated by Robert Bly

November 23, 2007

BOOK REVIEW: The Black Panther is an African Cat-- Poems of Exploration and Testimony

By Michael Richardson

Autographed copies are not available. Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa has penned his sixth book of poetry from the maximum security Nebraska State Penitentiary where he is serving a life sentence.

Langa, formerly David Rice, has been behind bars for 37 years, convicted for the murder of an Omaha police officer. Langa has steadfastly maintained his innocence in the bombing ambush of patrolman Larry Minard in August 1970 and post-trial revelations of contradictory police testimony and withheld evidence suggest the prison poet was indeed framed for the crime.

Mondo, a twenty-two year old writer at the time of his arrest, was Minister of Information of Omaha's Black Panther chapter called the National Committee to Combat Fascism. Caught up in the then-secret COINTELPRO operation of the FBI against the Black Panthers, Langa and his co-defendant Ed Poindexter, also serving a life sentence, went to jail while the confessed bomber got off with a reduced charge.

The years of confinement have not dulled Langa's sharp observations on life in America for the descendants of African slaves and the predations of the dominant culture. *The Black Panther is an African Cat* is not an easy book to read, the angst is palpable and permeates the text while the wisdom goes deep.

"As David Rice, I was proud of being a Panther then and, as Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa I am proud now that I was a Panther....The poems and raps I selected for this book express what it means to me to be an African and how the meaning of this influences how I see and interpret things. At the same time, though, I'm an African who was born and brought up in the U.S. and continues to be influenced by its institutions, and I'm an African who's been locked up."

The book is illustrated with several photo collages assembled by Langa that are visual poems, telling their own stories.

The opening words 'From the Ancestors' House', 'What were we but strangers to the land where we were born' caught "in a maze of Europeanisms" sets the tone for the explorations and testimony to follow.

'Dressed in Black' is a requiem rap for the Black Panthers and notes the passage from "people needin defense and protection" to "communities of us that traded in black power for government jobs and mid-level-management window dressin positions under glass ceilings."

'The White Sea' is a poem written in Langa's youth, before his arrest. Langa explains its inclusion in the collection. "It is included because I wrote it while I thought of us as 'black' while I was in the Party, and while I was still on the street. It's also included because it is a poem that wound up, for me, to be prophetic."

"and I was screaming and shaking

while the sky was corroding

tiny beads of blood rolling down my face

toward my neck down to purge me

so many chairs set up for us

to sit around and stare at each other

and we recounting dreams in a nightmare showcase

with translucent windows

and a jury outside deciding a verdict

to bring us all to guilt

and send us out in a boat with stones

tied round our necks and throw us dead into

the goddam milky sea"

'Once the New Wears Off' explores Langa's own journey as a youth who would salute the National Anthem and who shared a "rainbow dream" of equality and a time to come. When 'We Shall Overcome' "would bring a tingling up my back and a warming to my head" before realizations "emptying my head of melting-pot dreams" would render the song "a meaningless melody" and "a crass, discount-store magician's trick to reward believers in this house of cards."

Several poems on the war in Iraq and George Bush are in the collection. In 'San Juan Hill, Iraq' Langa asks, "Why, George, do you want war so bad? Why are you so eager to quench the appetite of unfilled graves?"

Although the military and club-swinging policemen catch Langa's piercing prose Mondo's voice raises against those who have sold out as well. 'Runnin, Runnin' tracks O.J. Simpson "down and down you went." 'Electro-Dis Clap Baby' zeros in on both male and female pop celebrities:

"he and she too, and these other brothas and sistas who, knowin nothing and filled with self-hate, aint got they heads on straight, wanna go on talk shows to get some kicks, but end up bein perfect tricks, for talk-show hosts who playin the ratins game, will exploit their butts without a ounce of shame."

Langa tackles rappers with his own rap 'Hardcore' and evens the score. "As you sling the 'nigger' word around, like some dope in a hood that you claim to be loyal to, while poisoning homeys, and sendin them to the dug-out soil to, lie in some graves while, women who are yo sistas you brand as 'bitches', you really need stitches, to sew up the hole in your soul."

Sports celebrities, idolized by the media and fawning fans, do not escape Mondo's reach. 'To Bring the Boys Home' speaks of "these sporting men, with names that came, from bills of sale and deeds of ownership" and "these sons of Africa, who are known to say 'I love this game', but are seldom heard to say, 'I love my people.'"

'Brother, What Are We Supposed to Do' takes on preachers and politicians with their platitudes without action "and we must point our finger, at you AND us, because we stand with you and follow your lead, are stuck in your confusion, and share in your impotence."

'Some Straight'nin' explores the possibility of Malcolm X alive today. Langa uses Malcolm X's African name of Omowale in the poem.

"do you think Omowale would be silent

and just be sittin' on his butt

while comedians who look like us

perform like house-negro clowns

in stand-up routines

puttin' our sistas down

makin' jokes out of slavery

mockin' our struggles of the here and now....

do you think Omowale would have nothin' to say

about these slaves in their master's house

and these singers and rappers sellin' out

for jewelry, limos, and fame

collectin' the money
while dodgin' their share of the blame
for the chaos and earth
their lyrics have helped maintain"

'Prowess' is a beautiful poetic tribute to tennis champions Venus and Serena Williams, perhaps the best writing in the collection. However, Mondo's purity of African consciousness adds a critical footnote. "Written before these sisters lost an appreciation of the wooly hair that Mother Africa endowed them with, before they began mutilating (straightening) their hair and Europeanizing themselves in other ways."

Mondo's ninety year-old mother is the subject of the most poignant poem in the book. 'Maito, Walking With Me All This Time'. The poem speaks of a mother's love and loyalty while the poet "continue paying on a debt that I did not owe." The "sure caress of a mother's love" was there to comfort while "passing through dark halls where not knowing smelled like mildew and sounded like a muffled justice mumbling."

The slender volume also contains blues poetry, talks of Egypt and Africa, and longs for the company of women.

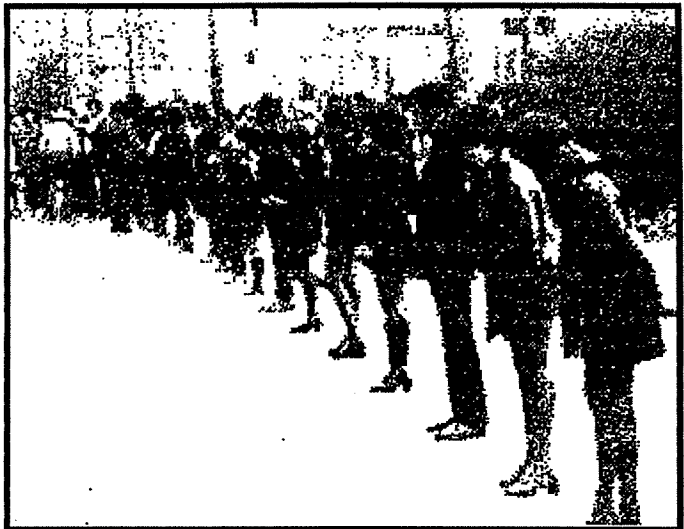
'I Don't Step in the Water' is the last poem.

"There is a place
between the building I'm caged in
and the one where the slop is served
where when it rains
two puddles form....
puddles that form a map
of Africa....
I do not splash through
but walk around
out of respect
and wonder why it is the black-topped pavement slopes
in just this way
does our Motherland reach out?"

Although *The Black Panther is an African Cat* does not close with 'To Walk Familiar Streets in Omaha' it seems a fitting way to end this review.

"What if I could walk the streets
of the city where I was born....
what if I could lay down my pen
and not write of this
because my dreams had come
to be.

Reviewer's note: Capitalizations and punctuation have been added to some of Langa's quoted verses for reader ease. The original text is all lower case. The book of poems can be purchased by mail from Aframerican Bookstore, 3226 Lake Street, Omaha, Nebraska 68111, (402)455-9200. The Black Panther is an African Cat is published by House of August Press. Langa's address is: Mondo we Langa, 27-768, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, Nebraska 68542 For more information see: www.aframericanbookstore.com



Panther women at George Jackson's memorial

The Black Panther Party & Palestine Solidarity

Matthew Quest, Pan-African News Wire

"We Are Against the Government that Will Persecute the Palestinian People": Clarifying the Position of the Black Panther Party in Huey Newton's To Die For The People

Huey Newton, with Bobby Seale, was cofounder of the Black Panther Party (BPP). According to the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), a campaign by the state to disrupt domestic radical political organizations, the BPP was said to be one of the major threats to American national security in the twentieth century. In their battles against white supremacy and empire, the BPP throughout its history (1966-1982), was more accurately a profound threat to the American ruling class.

The Panthers, as an autonomous Black liberation organization, embodied for many both the independent validity of the expression of revolutionary Black nationalism, and the need to forge principled multi-racial united fronts to fight injustice. Organizing armed community patrols to fight police brutality, breakfast for children, independent media, and community health programs; the Panthers for a time forged a socialist ethic of popular self-management through direct action among urban working class African-American communities, and became an international inspiration toward a free society. The BPP had many linkages to insurgent national liberation movements and defiant communist regimes in Vietnam, Cuba, China, Algeria, and Mozambique, to name merely a few.[1]

Perhaps the international solidarity linkage most overlooked and relevant to contemporary battles against empire is the Panthers' solidarity with Palestine[2]. The following is an examination of the BPP's stance on Palestine through one historical text, Huey Newton's communiqué "On The Middle East" (1970) in his volume of collected writings, *To Die For The People* (1972, 1995)[3]. It is beyond the scope of this essay to comprehensively document historical opinion of the BPP as a whole, which should not be confused with the ideas of one of its major leaders. To do so, it would be necessary to examine views of many of the thousands of members and local chapters nationwide. Rather, the following is an analysis of this one statement by Newton for insights to contemporary struggles for building Palestine solidarity with a particular concern for African American linkages, accusations of anti-Jewish bigotry, and opposing not any particular policy of Israel, but this colonial settler state as a whole.

On September 5, 1970 the BPP called a press conference in response to media allegations, and a memo spread internationally

through embassies, that there was a Panther delegation in Jordan led by Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture) promoting the interests of the Black Power movement's solidarity with Palestine "against the Jewish people." Stokely Carmichael was a major leader of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)[4], a multi-racial organization famous for using direct action in the Jim Crow South to register Black folks to vote. He became famous for leading the transformation of SNCC into a black nationalist organization. Huey Newton repudiated this news item about Carmichael and the Panthers as incorrect for two reasons before explaining in more general terms the BPP's philosophy toward Palestine solidarity in a climate of numerous accusations that the Panthers were "anti-Semitic."

First, the Panthers did not have a delegation in Jordan. They did have an authorized international chapter based in Algeria, led by Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver, and these Panthers were in "daily contact" with the Palestine Liberation Organization.[5] Second, Newton distanced the BPP from Carmichael, who was briefly associated with them after the decline of SNCC, continuing a series of unwise destructive exchanges discussing their political differences in public. Admittedly "without evidence", but under the pressure of COINTELPRO tactics of disruption, Newton sadly accused Carmichael of being a CIA agent, largely over strategic differences in the African American liberation struggle.[6] However, their political differences, as discussed by Newton, are worthy of our attention. Not because he fairly characterized all of Carmichael's positions at that time, or in view of history Carmichael's evolving political philosophy in comparison with his own. Rather, because Newton asserts certain principles critical to Black and by extension Palestinian liberation.[7]

Newton took issue with the BPP being reported as doing solidarity work under the banner of "Black Power," a slogan originally closely associated with Carmichael. Carmichael in these years inconsistently advocated socialism and saw the highest stage of Black Power as Pan-Africanism. Newton critical of ethnic capitalism as the collective economics of liberation, illustrated a similarity between Stokely Carmichael's and Richard Nixon's opportunistic support for "black capitalism." [8] Further while expressing his support for African liberation struggles against imperialism, Newton could not support Pan-Africanism because too many advocates of this philosophy were African governments which in fact aligned themselves with U.S. imperialism.

In other words, these governments are saying that if the United States will let us exist as a class to oppress our African people then we will cooperate; in other words Black oppressing Black...We know that without the support of the United States imperialism no reactionary government can exist. So we are very careful when we start supporting a government that has relationships in support of the United States.[9]

Newton was seeking to demonstrate "the Black Panther Party [was] internationalist," and this meant not just international solidarity with all peoples oppressed by white supremacy but international resistance against all whom he understood to be the bodyguards of capital.[10] He did not think the establishment of socialism would automatically eliminate white supremacy but that "the only way to start changing the racist nature of the society is to revolutionize or transform the institutions" of society.[11]

Huey Newton in this statement "On the Middle East" had to preface it with an acknowledgement the Panthers were being attacked for being anti-Semitic, that individual members had in the past said some hurtful inappropriate things towards Jews which could be publicly cited by enemies of his party, but the official position of the BPP was not anti-Semitic.[12] The Panthers were in the whirlwind of national media incidents where Black Power was in conflict with Jewish Americans.[13] Capitalist economic relations, marked by white racism and ethnic competition for and control over scarce resources, explains, not excuses, some pejorative epithets against Jews by some Black community activists.[14] However, it was also a fact that the FBI's COINTELPRO program was using Black-Jewish tensions as a wedge to disrupt sympathy for the Panthers including manufacturing conflicts which had no material basis.[15] Emerging out of this difficult climate Newton stated the following:



Black Panther women in Algiers Office

As far as the Israeli people are concerned we are not against the Jewish people. We are against that government that will persecute the Palestinian people. We have to admit that there is something wrong in the Middle East. The Palestinian people are living in hovels, they don't have any land, they've been stripped and murdered; and we cannot support that for any reason.[16]

Huey Newton then explains he recognized the "shortcomings" of what was supposed to be the progressive United Arab Republic, and the inability or lack of desire of other Arab nation-states, to consistently defend Palestine.[17] He believed that everyday Palestinian people were in the forefront of liberating the Middle East, and that he was in solidarity as well with the few Israelis "who were working to see that the Zionist government of Israel is transformed into a secular people's state" instead of one which privileged those of a certain religion.[18] Newton said Israel was based on "the height of chauvinism and ethnocentrism" and contrasting the Panther viewpoint with Israel's claim as representative of every Jewish person he stated: "We are chiefly interested in the survival of our people, but not at the expense of other people." [19]

After implying African Americans have a shared history of racial and colonial oppression with Jews and Palestinians and thus a tendency towards solidarity with both, Huey Newton then shares a comparative view on Jewish autonomy, as supposedly represented by the state of Israel, and the hope for Black self-determination in America. It has an immediate relevance to the struggle for Palestinian autonomy as well.

We have a long history of being enslaved and murdered. We have wrestled with the question of nationalism and we have concluded we have a moral right to embrace nationalism. We have a moral right to choose separatism, just as the Jewish people have that moral right. But we realize that the United States will not allow us to separate and live side by side with United States Imperialism. It's obvious that we can not become self-determined because the United States will not let countries exist 15 million miles away in freedom...so they will certainly not let us exist in a separate state in North America in freedom. So the question can be put into the future.[20]

Newton in this statement causes the reader to ask why has the US embraced the nation-state of Israel as representative of Jewish autonomy when it allows no other nationality of historically oppressed peoples to be self-determining miles away or within its own borders? Newton exclaims "our central task is the overthrow of the ruling circle, who will not permit the question of self-determination to exist in this world." [21]

This transformation can only take place by wiping out United States imperialism and establishing a new earth, a new society, a new world. So politically and strategically the correct action to take is not separation but world revolution in order to wipe out imperialism. Then people will be free to decide their destiny. Self-determination and national liberation can not really exist while United States imperialism is alive. That is why we don't support nationalism as our goal. [22]

"In some instances," Newton explained he did support revolutionary nationalism, such as some aspects of the Palestinian national

liberation struggle, "as a strategy." This is because:

The motives are internationalist because the revolutionists are attempting to secure liberated territory in order to choke imperialism by cutting them off from the countryside. [However,] when the motive for national liberation is solely to create a capitalist state so that the ruling circle of that capitalist state can align itself with [U.S.] imperialism, then it is reactionary nationalism and can not be supported by revolutionaries.[23]

Unfortunately, this conservative motive for national liberation, which fairly characterizes Zionism, overlord Palestinian national liberation as well to this day led by Yasir Arafat, once their defender and ally of the BPP, now a dictator.[24] This is true whether the U.S. rulers characterize him as such or imagine still he is their best hope for a dependent pawn as head of an oppressive future Palestinian regime.

Huey Newton characterizes accurately an appropriate standard for anti-racist solidarity with Jewish, Arab, and Muslim individuals and communities as historically oppressed peoples. Do they allow their nationalism to be a pawn for imperialism? Do they oppose not merely some policies of the state of Israel but the Zionist government as a whole?

Israel was created by Western imperialism and maintained by Western fire power. The Jewish people have a right to exist [there] as long as they exist to down the reactionary expansionist Israeli government. [The African American] situation is similar in so many ways; we say that morally perhaps, the Jewish people can make a case for separatism and a Zionist state based upon their religion for self-defense. We say morally perhaps we could accept this, but politically and strategically we know it is incorrect. In the first place it is perpetuating nationalism...if nationalism is reaction, and I think the United States proves this by using nationalism to rape the world and dominate everyone else. In other words, it went from nationalism to the natural conclusion which is empire or imperialism. So the Jewish people must be careful not to be an agent of imperialism.[25]

Huey Newton concludes this communiqué "On the Middle East" with acknowledgement of two positive developments which he saw emerging three decades ago and a sharp declarative statement. First, Newton felt there was emerging a vocal minority of Jewish people struggling against the racist tactics of the Zionist Israeli government. He expressed the Panthers' solidarity as evidence they were not anti-Semitic. Second, Newton thought it was a great development that the Arab and Muslim nation states were showing their true colors; their "contradictory" incapacity to defend Palestinian freedom, for to do so compromised the relative privileges of their rulers with American imperialism and inspired visions of freedom among their own subjects.

Finally, Newton took a clear stand against the perpetual assault by Zionist Jews, who insist to be opposed to the state of Israel is to attack the Jewish community as a whole:

We realize that some people who happen to be Jewish and who support Israel will use the Black Panther Party's position that is against imperialism and against the agents of the imperialist as an attack of anti-Semitism. We think that is a backbiting racist underhanded tactic and we will treat it as such. We have respect for all people, and we have respect for the right of any people to exist. So we want the Palestinian people and the Jewish people to live in harmony together. We support the Palestinian's just struggle for liberation one hundred percent. We will go on doing this, and we would like for all of the progressive people of the world to join our ranks in order to make a world in which all people can live. [26]

Footnotes:

For global dimensions of the influence of the BPP see Michael L. Clemons' and Charles E. Jones' "Global Solidarity: the Black Panther Party in the International Arena." In *New Political Science*. 21.2 (1999) 177-204.

Perhaps another international BPP solidarity alliance neglected, related to this story, beyond the scope of this article, but deserving of

its own in light of Palestine solidarity is the story of the Black Panther Party of Israel, an organization of "oriental Jews" fighting discrimination against the European dominated Zionist state. See Deborah Bernstein's "Conflict and Protest in Israeli Society: The Case of the Black Panthers of Israel." *Youth and Society*. 14 (1984) 129-151.

Huey P. Newton. "On The Middle East." In *To Die For the People*. New York: Random House, 1972. 191-197. The new 1995 edition by the publisher Writers and Readers may be more accessible.

The standard work on SNCC is Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995.

These basic facts in the Newton "On the Middle East" document were briefly introduced by another Panther David Hilliard. For further information on the Panther's Algeria chapter see Kathleen Neal Cleaver's "Back to Africa: the Evolution of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (1969-1972)" In Charles E. Jones ed. *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998. 211-256.

Newton, 191.

An informative treatment of Stokely Carmichael's politics in the context of the Black Power era can be found in Robert L. Allen's *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990.

An older text worth examining on the emergence of "black capitalism" as a political force which clearly illustrates how populist ethnic entrepreneurial schemes undermine the class struggle within national liberation movements is Earl Ofari Hutchinson's *The Myth of Black Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970.

Newton, 192.

Ibid, 192.

Ibid, 193.

Ibid, 193.

These included other Black Power groups support of Palestine, such as SNCC's and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers', as well as the Ocean Hill-Brownsville (Brooklyn, NY) public school strike for Black community control which clashed with the predominantly Jewish teachers' union.

An interesting argument is made that one source of Black resentment towards Jews is consistent with African resentment to middle or model minorities such as Koreans, South Asians, and Arabs. See Vijay Prashad's *Everybody Was Kung-Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity*.

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) was invented with the help of the FBI to disrupt Black liberation struggles in NYC. See Robert I. Friedman's *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane, From FBI Informant To Knesset Member*. Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill Books, 1990. 96-97.

Newton, 193-194.

The United Arab Republic was a nominal Pan-Arab secular federation of nation-states which was led by Gamal Nasser's Egypt in unity with Syria and for a time Iraq. Defense of Palestine was often the populist basis for this union. Appearing a strong presence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and decimated in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, by 1970 the U.A.R. was proven a myth as a serious opponent of Israel.

Newton, 194.

Ibid, 194.

Ibid, 194.

Ibid, 195.

Ibid, 195.

Ibid, 195.

A concise informative biography of Yasir Arafat is Said K. Aburish's *Arafat: From Defender to Dictator*. New York: Bloomsbury, 1998. Newton, 195-196.

Newton, 195-196.

Ibid, 196.

