

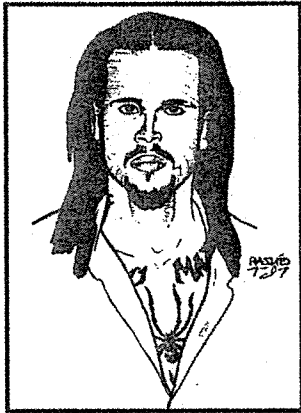
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The Liberator



Greek Communist Partisan

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P.O. Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105



Billy "Spider" Johnson
WPO National Spokesman

Editorial: One Amerikal No Colonial Borders!

Recently the State of Arizona passed a law that makes it a state crime to enter the U.S. illegally. This law allows the local and state pigs to stop, search and detain anyone they suspect might be an "illegal alien." In other words, they've declared open season on anyone who looks Mexican and have given the pigs a free pass to step up their "ethnic profiling" and harassment of non-white people.

Obviously, this will overflow the already overcrowded jails and prisons in Arizona — including where they already house prisoners in tents under the hot desert sun and work them in chain-gangs. And what crime have these people who have crossed the line drawn by U.S. imperialism so they can be exploited oh-so-brutally for less-than-minimum wages committed? Only that of being poor and hungry!

Making such a thing a state crime is a new leap in American fascism. It ups the level of oppression that affects all poor and working class people. It could be shot down by the Supreme Court, or it could serve as a model for other states and spread all over. Whatever the outcome may be, this is a good opportunity for us in NABPP-PC & WPO to make clear our stand on immigration, undocumented workers and the indigenous people of this hemisphere.

Let us put all this in realistic perspective by asking the question: Who isn't here as a result of illegal immigration? Only those with indigenous ancestry — including many this Arizona law is aimed at and who will be targeted by its enforcers. Most of the rest of us are here because our ancestors were brought here as slaves or came as poor refugees fleeing oppression and hunger and seeking jobs at near-starvation wages. Back then they had "Know Nothings" who persecuted the Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, Hungarians and Poles and called themselves the "Real Americans."

The truth is that proletarians (wage slaves) have no country. Countries are an invention of the exploiting classes. They draw a line in the dirt and say "these wage slaves are mine to govern and exploit." They use us as "cannon fodder" to go kill the common people of each other's countries. Nowadays, multinational corporations play with countries like chips in a poker game. They say there are no borders when they want to move goods, capital, jobs or whole factories from one country to another — wherever they can squeeze the highest rate of

profit out of the workers. But for our class it is "Where's your green card 'wetback'?" They try to stir up us poor whites to blame the poor people of or from other countries and blame them for our unemployment or paltry paychecks. On the streets and in the prisons they play the "skin game," white against black, black against brown, everybody against everybody — against everybody but them — the cause of everybody's suffering. Well, in our United Panther Movement, we're not playin' this game anymore.

This whole hemisphere was forcibly colonized by European imperialists through war and genocide. To build up their wealth they imported slaves from Afrika and prisoners and poor people from Europe: Eventually from everywhere. The wealth of the super-rich class has been wrung from our sweat and labor on this colonial plantation.

We take a Pan-American stand. Every square mile from Alaska to Argentina is stolen Indian land. We not only support the right of the indigenous nations to have their own autonomous areas and regions to preserve their traditional culture, languages and customs and be self-governing on, but we also support the right of people to move freely about this hemisphere without fear of persecution or imprisonment.

All revolutionaries and all progressive people should resolutely oppose the Arizona law and any law that criminalizes the poor or any attempt to divide the people and set us against each other. An injury to one is an injury to all! Stand up united! The people united will never be defeated!

In the socialist society we're struggling to create, there must be social justice for everyone. Native peoples will receive native rights and working people will receive worker's rights. The dictatorship of the proletariat will work to do away with all borders and create a unified world based on equality and social justice for all. That's what we mean when we say:

AWAY WITH ALL COLONIAL BORDERS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Billy "Spider" Johnson #322385

PO Box 679

Whiteville, TN 38075 (I can receive mail from other prisoners)





Interview with Comrade Rashid

The following is from an interview by correspondence with Comrade Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, the Minister of Defense of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) conducted by Comrade Anthony Rayson of the South Chicago ABC Zine Distro. Comrade Rashid is a prisoner at the Red Onion State Prison in Pound, Virginia, a supermax facility.

Anthony Rayson: As you know Amerika does not want people to know what you know and are busy articulating. We're told the "civil rights struggle" of the 1960's took care of racism and that Blacks are cool with capitalism (Snoop Dogism). Tell us what the deal really is and the place the vast gulag system plays in society today — particularly with Black people.

Rashid: We both recognize that the last major wave of New Afrikan/Black struggle against this imperialist (monopoly capitalist) system, racism and national oppression here in Amerika, occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. This struggle took place on two fronts, reflecting the aspirations of two *opposite* class poles in Black Amerika. The first was the pro-monopoly capitalist pole (these elements sought an accommodation with and integration into the U.S. capitalist system). The second was the revolutionary national liberation pole (these elements sought independence and separation from the Amerikan capitalist system or fundamental socialist reconstruction of Amerika's political-economy as a condition to Black integration).

The first tendency was most strongly represented in the Civil Rights Movement. The second tendency by the Black Power/Liberation Movement. Because the second tendency represented a direct challenge to the U.S. imperialist system, it was feared the most by the Establishment.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. began as an accommodationist and pro-integrationist. His major gripe with Amerika was that white racism was a major obstacle to Black integration. That the U.S. government in openly fostering racism was not living up to the rhetoric of all people being equal as expressed in its founding creed — the Declaration of Independence.

As a middle class (petite-bourgeois) Black, MLK initially held the same class values as the U.S. capitalist ruling class (big bourgeoisie), so he had no beef with capitalism itself, only with the conditions of white racism which prevented Black integration into capitalist Amerika. But MLK became more class conscious toward the end of his life, and ultimately came to realize that the wealth-worshipping capitalist system was the very cause of social inequalities and exploitation, including white racism. At this point he became an advocate of socialism. But initially, he was an advocate of capitalism. MLK's major presence as a civil rights leader spanned from the late 1950's until his assassination in 1968.

Now at the opposite Black Liberation Pole were revolutionary thinkers like Malcolm X. Malcolm's early political understanding was stifled by what I call 'reverse racism' — the subjective idea that Blacks are by nature superior to whites and whites are the embodiment of 'evil.' This view was initially behind his support for Blacks to separate from Amerika. But he wasn't exactly anti-capitalist. In fact, as a leading member of the Nation of Islam, he belonged to an organization that itself promoted Black capitalism. Despite this, his voice was a beacon to New Afrikans who opposed integration into Amerika and accommodation with its white ruling class.

The power structure repeatedly maneuvered to block *both* trends of our movement, prompting New Afrikans to fight back physically against both racial oppression and enforced poverty, and a broad grassroots movement of poor Blacks spontaneously organized to March on Washington, D.C. in 1963, with the intention of shutting the Capital down — stopping all movement in D.C. including shutting down government operations, traffic, airports, commerce, etc.

This is when President John F. Kennedy decided to open up the Democratic Party to Blacks as a "supporter" of us getting



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basic civil rights and "equality" within the capitalist system. Kennedy and his big money backers financed King, (who was not broadly known then, but was a prominent pacifist civil rights leader in the South), and used him to rein-in and control Black militancy, and the spontaneously-planned 1963 march, which initially MLK had nothing to do with. He became the face and the voice Kennedy and Co. used in the mainstream media, the churches and elsewhere to speak to the riled-up Black masses and contain their festering rage that was threatening to militantly besiege the U.S. capital.

The U.S. government was compelled to use King and the Democratic Party to avert what would have been a major political and economic crisis that would have shattered its world image. At that time, I believe that MLK, confused by his pro-capitalist class interests, naive faith in the federal government, and his avowed pacifism, was sincerely opposed to Black racial oppression and felt he was doing the right thing.

So King was used as a political pawn to convert what was going to be an angry Black militant siege of D.C. into a government-controlled, passive, one-day march where Blacks – manipulated into a pacifist spirit with "things will get better someday" speeches – marched, sang, and cried out their frustrations, pain and misery, with a few white sympathizers on the fringes. It was a general repeat of what we'd done for centuries during and since slavery in the Black churches.

Now Malcolm X witnessed this entire farce, saw it for the trick it was, and bitterly criticized King and his allies. Malcolm pointed out that Amerika had repeatedly stifled, subverted, tricked and infiltrated every Black struggle for genuine freedom from oppressive conditions, government brutality and neglect, endemic poverty and white racism; and that the 1963 march was just another example of this. He predicted that the Black masses recognized this too, were fed up, and as a result Amerika was in for a "long hot summer" of Black revolt. And just as he predicted, beginning in 1964, (just months after the 1963 march), and continuing through 1968, Black ghettos across the U.S. exploded in continual revolt.

Meantime, after being excommunicated from the NOI by Elija Muhammad, Malcolm began traveling across Afrika, studying their liberation struggles, working to build Pan-Afrikan ties between the oppressed New Afrikan masses in Amerika and the newly liberated Afrikan nations. From the 1950s through the 1960s, Afrikans were fighting for and winning political independence from European colonialism, and establishing new formally independent Afrikan-led nations. With the European colonizers being expelled from Afrika, and Afrikans taking over the governments, Amerika sought to establish ties with the new heads of the Afrikan countries, so it could secure access to and control over Afrika's abundant natural wealth. However, racism in Amerika presented an image problem that could prevent the U.S. ruling class from winning the "hearts and minds" of Afrika's new Black leaders, and their diplomats who were visiting or living in Amerika. This was actually the motive behind federal government efforts to outlaw segregation in the southern states, beginning with the landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in the mid-1950s.

Even during the most rabid periods of racial oppression, Amerika always projected a patently false international image of the U.S. being a racial and cultural "melting pot"

where all people lived and were treated equally. Malcolm's efforts threatened U.S. imperialist ambitions in Afrika, as he was actually exposing the true racist face of Amerika to Afrikans and showing them that their own sistas' and brothas' were brutally oppressed in Amerika, as they had been under the European colonial systems they had just struggled to break free of in Afrika.

Unlike MLK, Malcolm X at this stage was a strong advocate of our right to struggle for political independence and separation from Euro-American rule, – as Afrikans were doing in Afrika – and to defend ourselves against racist violence, "by any means necessary," which included by use of arms. Malcolm's views became more and more revolutionary and less rooted in reverse racism, as a result of his international travels. His pilgrimage to Mecca exposed him to the reality that whites were not inherently "evil," but that the brutal racism that he witnessed in Amerika was the result of conditions created by those who ran and "owned" society.

His closer study of U.S. imperialism led him to reject capitalism. The major government fear of Malcolm was that he was winning the support of the nations of color in Afrika and Asia, who were coming to identify Amerika as an imperialist power that was colonizing the Blacks within its own borders, and Malcolm was seen by Afrikan and Asian leaders as the legitimate leader and representative of the oppressed New Afrikans. This threatened to win international support for our right to struggle for national independence from Amerika, just as Afrikans and Asians were doing against European colonialism. Malcolm was also maneuvering to formally present the grievances of New Afrikans against Amerika, including charges of genocide, before the United Nations through a petition he'd drafted. But before all the pieces could come together, the CIA had him assassinated in 1965.

Inspired by Malcolm's revolutionary nationalist and Pan-Afrikan internationalist visions, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party (BPP) the next year to lead this struggle. The BPP openly adopted an anti-capitalist and pro-socialist platform, and implemented socialist [Serve The People/Survival] programs in the ghettos to organize and serve the needs of the people free of dependence on the imperialist system. This quickly earned the Panthers – and the Young Communist Movement they helped inspire – the label of being the major threat to the U.S. capitalist system.

Meantime, King became more and more exposed to the fundamental contradictions in capitalism and became disillusioned with it, and blind faith in the U.S. government, and the idea of Black integration into the U.S. Empire as it existed. He thus broke ranks with the middle class, pro-capitalist, civil rights agenda and came out in support of the poor and working class, and bitterly opposed the war in Vietnam as an adventure in imperial conquest against Asian people struggling for liberation from imperialism.

King became a closet socialist, knowing he'd be killed if he openly championed socialism. But as a devout pacifist he had no concrete ideas on how to pursue a struggle to empower the oppressed poor and working class people to transition Amerika into a socialist society.



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Realizing that he'd been used by the U.S. imperialists in 1963 to stifle the Black movement for fundamental change, MLK planned a new march on Washington to occur in 1968 as a Poor People's Encampment. This campaign would lay siege to the capital as planned in 1963 until subverted, but this time on behalf of all of Amerika's poor and oppressed peoples. Kings "betrayal" of capitalism and radical change of politics could not be tolerated by the imperialists, who'd made him a widely recognized leader whom they knew multitudes of Black people across the nation respected and would follow. Therefore, the U.S. government had him assassinated just months before the Poor People's Encampment was set to occur.

Another factor in his assignation was that, beginning in late 1967, MLK became increasingly vocal that he was losing faith in passive resistance and growing tired of being repeatedly brutalized and arrested by the government. The FBI admitted its aim to "neutralize" (government-speak for murder) King for fear he would ultimately abandon his views on passive resistance and openly embrace a genuinely revolutionary line that included the right of the oppressed masses to defend themselves against official violence and pursue fundamental change through methods that included armed struggle.

When, in latter 1967, he began expressing the need to "fashion new tactics which do not count on government good will, but instead serve to *compel* unwilling authorities to yield to the mandates of justice," I believe Dr. King was beginning to struggle — even if only unconsciously — with the inherent contradictions of pacifism as a political strategy. I think he was coming to realize as well that he was not really a pacifist. Since, for example, he had embraced the government's use of violence as "legitimate," while rejecting that of the people acting in self-defense as "illegitimate." Indeed, while he counseled the people to practice pacifism in the face of racist and oppressive violence, he'd long looked to the federal government to provide *armed protection* to him, his colleagues, and their followers during southern marches and protests.

He came to realize that it was Amerika's "very own government" that was actually "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world," which left him with the realization that no such power could be looked to by the people to genuinely provide protection and that he was likely to meet a violent end himself at the hands of the government. And he did: Hence — his fear to openly promote and lead a mass movement for socialism in Amerika.

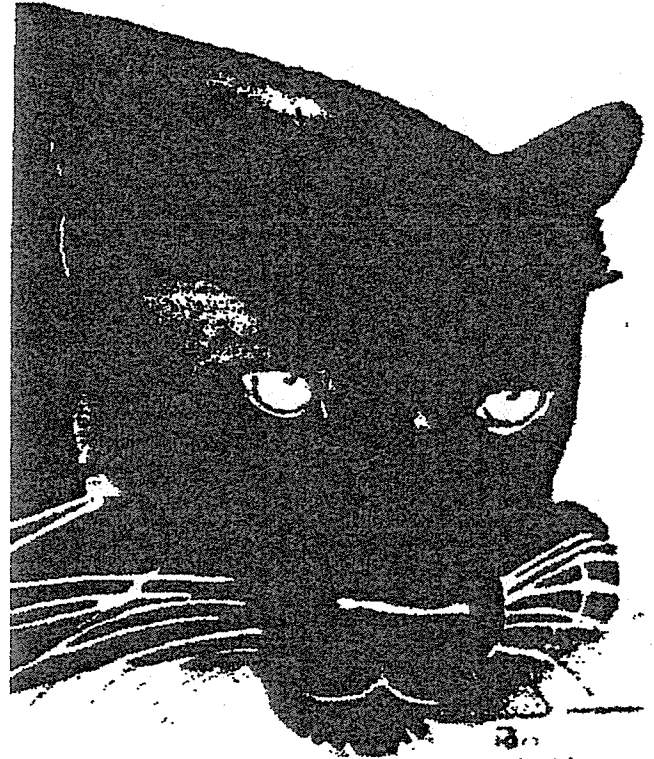
A thorough investigation into the role played by the various U.S. government agencies in King's murder and the cover-up in 1968 can be found in William Pepper's *An Act of State: The Execution of Martin Luther King* (2003).

After MLK's death, the liberal wing of the U.S. capitalist ruling class's political vanguard (namely the Democratic Party), used the 1963 pro-capitalist, integrationist version of MLK and Black-capitalist civil rights leaders like Jesse Jackson, Sr., (in his final years King was opposed to Jackson's Black capitalism), to project the Democratic Party as Black Amerika's friend and champion, and the channel through which we should pursue social justice. "Black capitalism" was promoted by the imperialists as the key to Black progress. In fact, a plan was promoted, since 1967 by FBI assistant director William E. Sullivan, to destroy MLK and other influential, independent,

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Black political leaders and activists, and then handpick a "new national Negro leader" to replace them. Sullivan wrote of his plan to destroy such Black leaders:

"When this is done, and it can *and will be done*, obviously much confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people.... The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficient compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction."



He promoted that Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., A Black, capitalist, corporate lawyer, be groomed to replace the destroyed Black leadership. However, a new leadership emerged from amongst the people to fill the void, before the imperialist scheme could take root.

This new leadership, namely the BPP, came under all-out attack by the U.S. government at all levels. Its key members were openly assassinated by police and/or jailed on obvious frame-ups, the government attempted to manipulate and even financed violence-prone street gangs and street-level Black capitalist groups into "gang-warfare" against the Panthers. Government agents and "friendlies" inside the media were used to publish articles and air reports slandering and demonizing the Panthers to the American public. Agent provocateurs were infiltrated into the BPP to incite and carry out acts of violence that would make government counter-violence appear justified. BPP supporters were harassed, slandered, attacked and arrested, Panther community service programs were disrupted, and so on, all carried out as a counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) of the FBI.

Because of a flawed internal organizational structure, and because it came to be wrongly "commanded" by Huey instead of correctly led collectively by genuine democratic-centralism, the BPP rank and file were unprepared to handle and to



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counter government instigations that caused the Panthers to split into two factions; one wing adopted a rightist-accommodationist, liberal-reformist line [like running Bobby Seale for mayor of Oakland as the Democratic Party candidate], while the other wing adopted an adventurist, ultra-leftist, militarist line. Under continued government attack, while pursuing these flawed and incorrect political lines, the Panthers were unable to combat the government's campaign, and the Panthers ultimately self-destructed, with no suitable leadership in the Black community to replace them.

Although several attempts have been made to regroup and rebuild a revolutionary party to lead and organize the Black masses in our struggles, each has failed or disintegrated because none have correctly summed up the lessons of our previous failures and applied this knowledge. So in this void, the Empire has been able to push Black capitalism on the people free of opposition, challenge or alternative, as the *only viable solution* to our oppressed condition – but capitalism is the very *cause* of our oppression and all of our problems. Indeed, it was the lust for profits and the dollar that was behind the kidnapping and enslavement of our Afrikan ancestors to begin with: Capitalism is the enemy!

The cities, where New Afrikan and other oppressed nationalities are concentrated in large numbers, were and are seen as an area of continual threat by the Empire. Deep-seated mass insecurity and desperation still lie just under the surface. Therefore, if ever organized and united in struggle for fundamental change, the U.S. ghettos and barrios could easily transform into revolutionary fronts and base areas here inside the "Belly of the Beast."

But this cannot happen spontaneously. It demands a conscious and committed revolutionary leadership. The Establishment realizes this, and this is why it has remained committed to undermining and destroying every person or organization that threatens to take up the torch of the original BPP and lead our people in this direction. To stifle urban revolutionary potential, the system has implemented policies to foster and perpetuate instability in the urban centers, flooding them with narcotics (first heroin and then also crack cocaine, PCP and other addictive and deadly drugs) and military-grade weapons (like AK-47's and Uzis) which generated severe social degeneration, fratricidal gang wars and genocidal implosion.

Stripped of revolutionary leadership and organization, the urban youth have only had their neighborhood gangs (which have been manipulated and used by the oppressor). In place of political purpose and cultural pride, and the self-respect the revolutionary leadership gave the urban youth – which united them in struggle against oppression and for liberation, – the Empire and its entertainment media have promoted a self-destructive subculture of "gangsterism," (black and brown imitations of earlier movie images of expensively-dressed, luxury car-driving, Italian Mafioso and other white hoodlums devoid of social consciousness), vulgar materialism, crass consumerism, moral depravity, rampant individualism, self-gratification at the expense of the community, nihilism and an illegal, ghetto version of Black capitalism in general.

Under these government-created conditions, the youth turned their poverty-driven frustration and potentially revolutionary rage against themselves, with inter-communal violence, street

crime and drug-peddling. The Establishment then used these conditions they had created and facilitated to justify increasing their own violent repression of the urban communities under their declared "War on Drugs," "War on Crime," and "War on Gangs." The result has been enhancing of the militarization of the police occupation of these communities and incarceration of the cream of our potentially-revolutionary youth inside the massive, and ever-expanding prison-industrial complex.

In a 2006 report entitled *Cracks in the System: Twenty Years of the Unjust Federal Crack Cocaine Law*, even the ACLU admitted that the "Drug War" is targeted at Blacks and has in effect turned U.S. prisons into mass disposal sites for Black people. We can see this scheme was greatly enhanced with the added "War on Gangs." And make no mistake about it, Black youth are the principle targets. The CIA has acknowledged that the largely youthful, urbanized ethnic populations present a danger of "regime-threatening unrest." A 1984 [CIA] report stated:

"The youth of a growing population may very well play a major role in pressing for change. They are among those who are usually disproportionately disadvantaged: They have less at stake in the existing structure of authority, more idealism, more impatience, and in a society with a steady or rising rate of growth their proportion to the total population increases. The density of the number of youth relative to the total population may thus be a clue to strength of pressure for change."

Malcolm X also observed that it was the youth who made up the greater portion of the rank and file forces leading the struggles against colonial oppression in Afrika and Asia. And it was the New Afrikan youth who rose up in revolt against neo-colonial oppression in the urban centers here in Amerika from 1964 to 1968. It is this dense, growing population of urban ethnic youth that the strategy of mass incarceration is designed to deplete. The U.S. prison-industrial complex is a fascist tool of social containment, a weapon evolved to a level of sophistication that makes the concentration camps of Nazi Germany appear crude and amateurish by comparison.

The Establishment fears nothing else as much as it fears these disadvantaged and oppressed youth developing a revolutionary consciousness. California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger made this quite clear when he refused to commute Stanley "Tookie" Williams' death sentence in 2006, not because "Tookie" was a founding member of one of Amerika's largest urban youth gangs, but because he dedicated his book – *Life in Prison* – to New Afrikan revolutionary leaders of the 1960s and 70s, specifically George Jackson – the founder of the original BPP prison chapter – who was assassinated at San Quentin by prison guards in 1971.

The prisons were a major front in our liberation struggle in the 60s and 70s. It was in an effort to crush this aspect of our movement and the outside support for our movement after George Jackson's murder and the Attica Uprising that followed, that the system began the proliferation of "control units" and "supermax" prisons, beginning with the Marion control unit established in 1972. The strategy was to weed out and isolate potential leaders while the remainder were pitted against each other with instigated racial and gang violence.



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They want us to be divided by racial hatred and to kill each other off with "gang-bangin'," to shoot-up and peddle dope in our neighborhoods to weaken and harm ourselves and our communities – just as they used alcohol to destabilize the Native American tribes and imported opium to undermine the Chinese in the 1800s. They want us engaged in and degraded by a pimp-ho subculture, objectifying our sistas as commodities and selling their bodies on the block like we were sold into slavery, and catching and spreading deadly sexually-transmitted diseases, like HIV/AIDS and hepatitis, furthering the strategy of genocidal disposal of our youth. That's how much they fear us becoming revolutionaries and uniting and struggling for liberation and to pull down this predatory capitalist system that is the cause of our poverty, insecurity and misery.



Another component of urban population control is "spatial deconcentration," a policy implemented since the 60s' revolts of breaking up large concentrations of poor Blacks, which includes "urban gentrification" of neighborhoods, closing down housing projects, and pushing poor people into the suburbs, smaller cities and towns. It also includes integrating other ethnic poor into formerly all-Black neighborhoods.

Our conditions of poverty, lack of job availability, security and accessible basic services that are essential to survival for urban people, are worse today than they were back in the '60s. So we exist as a perpetually threatening (to the Empire) dependant population with little value to the wealthy elite. Therefore, we face a very real and ever more intense official policy of genocide calculated to spread us thin and pick us off by increasing our death rate, decreasing our birth rate and lowering our life expectancy.

There is a deeply-rooted capitalist logic behind this policy. If we look back to capitalism's early development out of European feudalism, we find capitalist economic theorists like Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo openly advocating the need to mass exterminate populations who couldn't be put to profitable use by the rising capitalists. In his 1798

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treatise *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Malthus suggested that if surplus population groups couldn't "go somewhere else," they should be killed off through artificially-created famines, wars and plagues.

Under the feudal system that preceded capitalism, government policies recognized the need for supporting and providing of the poor with basic necessities in order to maintain stability and avoid rebellions. Yet the monarchs still found it necessary to seal themselves away from the masses whom they plundered from inside walled and fortified palaces. Under capitalism, however, Malthus and others held that providing for the poor would cause an unacceptable loss of profits for the rich, therefore the poor should be removed to "somewhere else" or exterminated. These "Malthusian" concepts were and remain a basic tenant of capitalist logic in a system that put profits over people.

It could be no other way in a system that turns on taking and hoarding the wealth produced by the labor of workers, with the result of rendering them dependent and poor, making mass revolt inevitable. So those in power must contain or deplete this potentially rebellious population to prevent their coming together to pull down the system that exploits them and put things under their own control. This is the hidden logic behind the schemes of displacement and depopulation that threaten Black people and poor and oppressed people everywhere and are most apparent in the 3rd World. From imperialist-instigated tribal, ethnic and gang wars through which we are induced to kill each other; to economically-induced famines, such as the one devastating the Sub-Saharan region; to the unchecked spread of the HIV/AIDS virus that is destroying millions of Black lives on every continent; to flooding our communities with narcotics; to mass incarceration of our young men and womyn in prisons where they cannot reproduce; we are under genocidal attack!

The latter condition basically replicates the same system of using armed lower-class whites to guard and dominate masses of enslaved Blacks that we were subjected to under chattel slavery before the Civil War. The "New Slavery" of the prison-industrial complex shows that "history repeats itself," but as it was then motivated by a shortage of necessary labor to work the land, it is today motivated by a surplus of labor that cannot be profitably exploited by the capitalists. Because we have no value today – as we did on the old plantations – we find ourselves facing genocidal policies much like those historically aimed at the Native Americans.

Also, our conditions become more desperate by the day: with growing mass urban concentrations, and a continuing "Great Migration" of industrial and manufacturing jobs away from the cities, the working class is shrinking fast and Black workers everywhere are being marginalized, even as the urban proletariat keeps growing. They can't find full-time jobs at decent wages, and here in the U.S. there is a cap on welfare. The ghettos have become dead ends leading only to early graves or prisons.

So the power structure has had to feed us false hopes in the form of a "Black" President – a hand-picked Black capitalist-serving President – to mislead us in the face of a genuine leadership vacuum. They now have us chasing dreams of Black capitalism, while we are caught in a crisis of deadly competition with each other and other poor folks for five



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minutes of fame and a temporary shopping spree, through channels that have destroyed our culture, destroyed our history and collective memory, destroyed our communities, and is ultimately destroying us.

And it is no grand conspiracy. It is the simple logic of the globalized capitalist system which operates only to enrich a tiny, super-rich elite class at the expense of everybody else. Just like the dopeman on the block who doesn't care whose lives he destroys or who he uses to turn a profit and gratify his wants. *This* is the logic we've learned from the capitalists.

The first to get the axe are those the capitalists value least – those considered most expendable – and those least able to defend themselves. In other words; *US*. That is our situation today.

Anthony Rayson: I am astounded by the complexity and subtlety of your artwork. Seeing one of your originals, one cannot but be amazed – especially as you are accorded such rudimentary materials. Can you explain to us how you developed as such an accomplished artist (and what your diving motivation is)?

Rashid: In your introduction to this interview you mentioned that my drawing tools consist of pen and pencil. Actually, the only tools I use a five inch long ballpoint pen and standard typing paper.

While I appreciate the compliments I often receive on my art, (which acknowledges that it reaches people on more than a superficial level), I think we all have particular skills and talents – or can develop them – and if driven by a certain level of determination, we can evolve them to exceptional levels.



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My art is driven by my determination to contribute what I can towards educating and inspiring the common people to collectively build the struggle to crush imperialist oppression, which is the cause of all other forms of social oppression. A major front in this struggle, as I've already pointed out, is the cultural front. This front, – which relates directly to raising the consciousness and resolve of the masses, – must directly challenge and counter the dominant bourgeois culture, which reflects and promotes the corrupt values of capitalism and conceals and stifles mass culture. Art (imagery and sound) is a major form of cultural expression. With my art, I aspire to produce images whose quality is both aesthetically pleasing (to capture and hold the eye and emotions) while educating (even if only initially on a subconscious level).



The vast majority of people are affective decision makers rather than cognitive decision makers. Meaning; they base decisions more on emotion than calculated reason. This is especially the case in a society like this where the reasoning faculties of the masses are kept in suspended animation. This is a reality that seems to be lost to most academic "Marxists" and Anarchists alike, and it is why they fail to reach and inspire the masses. (They spend most of their time talking to themselves and going over the common people's heads).

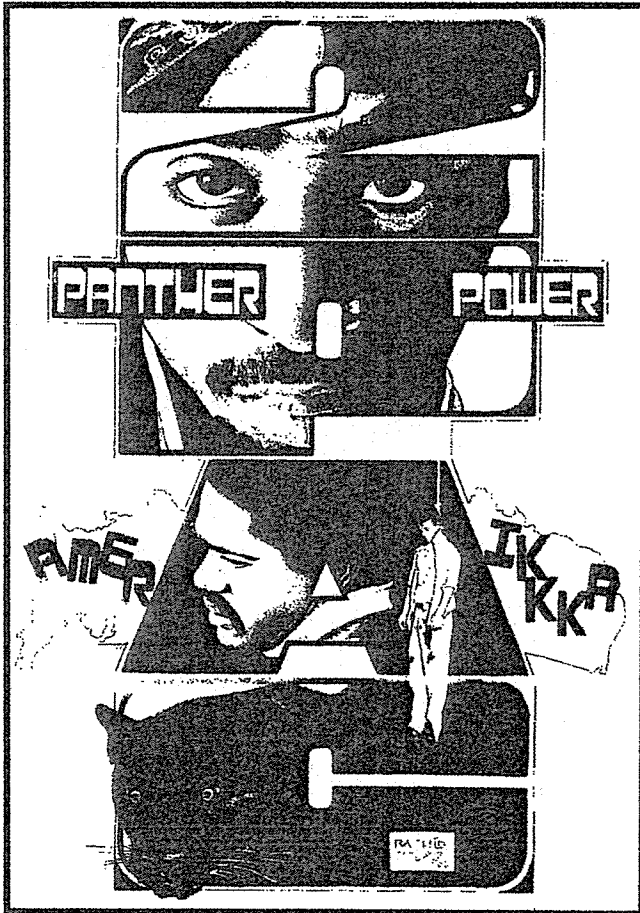
The ruling class realizes this and in fact promotes forms of "education" that basically train the people to function on the spontaneous emotional level rather than cognitively. The masses of Americans function without thinking much at all. This is why the capitalists are so successful at manipulating public opinion through media that is targeted almost



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exclusively at the basest and most primitive emotional levels. They don't call their communications media an *entertainment* industry for nothing. So a big part of our struggle is, as George Jackson recognized, to teach people *how* to think instead of *what* to think. This is a struggle carried out in the ideological and educational fields, and is targeted at *awakening* the conscious mind.

Whereas artistic imagery both captures and informs the emotions, many may be unwilling or unable as yet to grasp the ideas in print or spoken word form. Artistic imagery reaches another, deeper, level of the psyche – often involuntarily and unconsciously. Therefore I try to educate using both words and imagery and reach both the rational and emotional levels of the mind. This allows a dialectical balance in consciousness raising, reaching large numbers of people despite the limitations of my physical surroundings and availability of materials. In fact my art has been copied, circulated and seen by people on a vastly larger scale than my writings. Art makes knowledge accessible across class, race, gender, educational and state boundaries.



I'm also a particularly determined persyn. When I commit to something, I invest my all into it, often to the point of exhaustion or injury. We all have that capacity, it's just where our interests lie and where we are motivated to invest our energies. I'm no different from anyone else. I'm really not exceptional. Most people's limitations are self-imposed: The result of self-doubt or lack of interest. The same factors I believe are behind New Afrikans and other oppressed

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peoples having remained oppressed for so long. We've been conditioned to doubt ourselves and our ability to overthrow our oppressors, or we're distracted to the point of lack of interest in pursuing liberation.

I don't doubt myself, although I often question myself and self-criticize (and by extension I don't doubt the masses), because I know that we/I have the same capacity to do what anyone else can. It just requires correctly analyzing problems and devising correct solutions. This awareness is what often allows me to devise ways to counter or overcome adversity and maneuver around external restraints.

We've been so conditioned to self-doubt and therefore have become so consumed with idolizing others that we forget we can each become or do the same things. For example, since 2006, and as part of a campaign of repression, I've been indicted on some sixteen criminal charges – 3 times for attempted capital murder of a prison guard. In each case I represented myself and got the charges either withdrawn or dismissed. That's pretty much unheard of, but I didn't approach these cases with self-doubt. I know I have just as much sense as any lawyer, and with the right tools and time can do just as well defending myself. Plus, I planned ahead. Before all this came down, I'd already spent years collecting pertinent legal materials and learning law. This is how I approach most problems.

I study, critically analyze material conditions and evaluate what others have done, and what I've done. I investigate mistakes and successes, looking at things from both sides, pro and con, and I search for play in the joints. I use what tools I have at hand and I improvise. I've done this for so long that it's become natural. In this regard, I was a Marxist – a practiced dialectical-materialist – long before I ever heard of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Mao. Studying them just gave me more clarity and a philosophical and ideological explanation of my practice. And my practice, like *genuine* Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is anything but dogmatic and mechanical.

As you recognize, I get results. It all boils down to applying practical judgment, determination, flexibility and also audacity (the will to act) to change material conditions. It's the scientific approach to solving problems and is why Mao called Dialectical Materialism a "living science." This is why "intellectuals" and "academics" who've become conditioned to trying to solve problems inside their heads instead of in the real world don't comprehend Marxist theory and can only perceive it mechanically as a dogma.

I'm just determined. This struggle means a great deal to me, so I will find ways to contribute my best to it. Period: Until I stop breathing, that's what I'll do.

I suppose I've always had an inclination towards art, but never much pursued it. As a child, I used to draw, although infrequently. While I was never consistent with it, I could just do it at will, unlike a lot of "natural" artists I've known who have to be in a certain mood. Between 1990, when I began my present term of imprisonment, and 2001, I probably drew no more than about 15 pictures total. It wasn't until I began studying the struggle that I really set into drawing regularly, creating images that expressed and depicted themes of struggle and oppression and those who organized against oppression, which continues to develop, as does – I feel – the quality of my art.



Anthony Rayson: You've poured a lot of your energies lately into building up your Panther Prison Chapter. Can you tell us what the main tenets are, who the principle activists are, what you hope to achieve, and how it relates to other Panther formations and other anti-imperialists?

Rashid: Yeah, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) has been my main energy focus since Comrade Shaka Sankofa Zulu and I co-founded it 2005.

The major tenet is "Pantherism" as elaborated by the original Black Panther Party (BPP) during its most revolutionary stages. Specifically, Pantherism is revolutionary New Afrikan/Black Nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism and proletarian internationalism illuminated by the "Science of Revolution" (Historical Dialectical Materialism). We identify with the BPP because in our analysis it was, when at its best, the most revolutionary and successful organization on Amerika's Left, and made the greatest all-round gains for New Afrikans in our struggle against national oppression and white supremacy.

Before the BPP was split into two factions by government attacks that left each pursuing opposite erroneous lines, (one of ultra-Leftist militant reaction and the other of rightist-reformism), the BPP was breaking new ground in building the struggle for revolution in Amerika. Through applying HDM, we aspire to rebuild the BPP, learning from and applying the lessons of its advances and mistakes and learning from the lessons of the struggles of today. Especially we are focused

on studying and correcting its errors, because we are determined that this time we shall win.

Our work is at this time focused on transforming the "Razor-wire Plantations" into "Schools of Liberation," to educate, uplift and organize those within the prisons and convert these humyn warehouses into revolutionary universities which will produce Panther cadres and activists of all nationalities and races. 85% of all those incarcerated in the U.S. will eventually return to society. Our goal is to seem many of them empowered to return to their oppressed and poor communities and play a role in transforming them into revolutionary base areas. The next step is to replicate this process on an international level.

At this point in time we have Party collectives in many U.S. prisons. But unlike other formations people can't just join our Party, but are instead recruited based upon *proven* commitment to the struggle, and they must adopt and adhere to our Rules of Discipline and 10 Point Program. This is required because we fully understand that talk is cheap, and many folks who claim aspiration and dedication to push the struggle forward don't have a full understanding of or the resolve to sustain the difficulties of the work, the hardships and self-sacrifice that is required. Some who approach us will be working for the enemy.

So we are setting it up so that commitment and sincerity must be proven through service in a mass organization like the New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO) before a candidate is recruited into the Party. NASO operates under the leadership of our Party and has as its basis of unity support for the 10-Point Program, but it is building its own leadership structure under a National Steering Committee. Folks *can* join or start new chapters very easily. NASO operates on democratic principles (as opposed to democratic centralism), and we seek to include a wide spectrum of ideological and political orientations within this organization.

Contrary to bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois "leadership style," a genuine vanguard party, such as we aspire to become, doesn't lead the people by compulsion or "commandism." Its leadership must be voluntarily accepted by the masses based on its proven commitment to serving their genuine welfare and interests, and demonstrated ability to organize and lead the people in solving their own problems. As Mao pointed out:

"Every comrade... should help the masses to organize themselves step by step and on a voluntary basis to unfold gradually struggles that are necessary and permissible under the external and internal conditions obtaining at a particular time and place. Whatever we do, authoritarianism is always erroneous because, as a result of our impetuosity, it makes us go beyond the degree of the masses awakening and violates the principle of voluntary action on the part of the masses."

In its practical application, this style of leadership is based exclusively on the principle "from the masses to the masses," which means we take the ideas of the masses (raw, unorganized and scattered ideas) and concentrate them (through study and transform them into organized systematic ideas) and return them to the masses in the form of slogans and programs. And we rely upon collective leadership.



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As an illustration, take for example a mass of people confined to a barren land. The overall group doesn't know how to work the land so it will become productive and produce food or sustain livestock and are therefore on the verge of starvation. There can be no doubt that the masses *want* to produce sufficient food to eat and survive. Problem is *they don't know how*. Now there are a couple of their members who have managed to study the ecological factors of their given environment and learned techniques to transform the barren land into a virtual paradise of production. So they go about showing the people by example how to do it and organize their collective power to produce this result.

Now they don't force their leadership on the people, the people embrace them voluntarily because of their proven example and ability to help them help themselves, and because they are themselves *of the people*. Instead of standing *above* the people giving orders and punishing their errors, the comrades work alongside the people and share their knowledge freely, encouraging collective leadership, so that ultimately the leaders and the people become one in understanding and practice. In essence, this is how a mass-based vanguard leadership works – though my example may be a bit oversimplified. And this is what the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership strove for during China's revolutionary years, contrary to bourgeois lies and propaganda – that are often uncritically parroted by many "Leftists."



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Under this leadership style, the masses' disorganized and unsystematic ideas are organized and systematized, returned to them as programs, explained and popularized until they embrace and implement them. Then they are tested and refined through summing up practice. This process is repeated over and over in an ongoing spiral of practice-summation-practice. The ideas thereby become more and more correct and useful – connected to life and productive.

This is the scientific method which reflects the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Theory of Knowledge. Through *proof* of its correctness in theory by practice in serving the people, the Party continuously *earns* the support and confidence of the masses. It makes no claim to leadership except by the consent of the masses it serves.

It takes an organization of people who share a certain level of consciousness, commitment and discipline to provide this sort of leadership, and an organizational structure that facilitates the maximum degree of inter-party discussion with the maximum degree of unity in action. It requires constant struggle to check corrupting influences and tendencies. In this context, the New Afrikan masses and the Party must be able to expect a high degree of commitment and dedication to the cause of revolution and social justice – even unto death.

We Panthers must put the highest interests of humynity above self-interest and endure hardships and self-sacrifices when they are called for. The oppressed masses have a right to expect us to be consistent and not vacillate or sell them out – no matter what – to build strength and not weakness, to be honest and humble and never dishonor ourselves or the Party. Our duties as revolutionaries are many, among which I think are:

1. To embrace Historical Materialism (HM) and Dialectical Materialism (DM) and not sentimentalism, romanticism or any kind of idealism.
2. To proletarianize ourselves and be loyal to the class of the future (the proletariat) and not the petty-bourgeoisie and their petty (and less than revolutionary) concerns over bourgeois rights and privileges.
3. To be all-the-way revolutionary thinkers and leaders in the fight against *all* oppression, *all* forms and manifestations of racism, sexism, ageism and any other divisive prejudices harmful to uniting all who can be united to overthrow capitalist-imperialism and build socialism.
4. To reject sectarianism while at the same time standing firm for proletarian ideology and struggling for a correct ideological and political line to lead our movement forward.
5. To combine unity with struggle and be principled and aboveboard.
6. To oppose liberalism (see Mao's Sept. 7, 1937 essay) *Combat Liberalism* and rectify incorrect styles of thinking, work and conduct.
7. To be open to criticism by comrades and the masses and to practice self-criticism.
8. To struggle for objectivity, seek truth from facts and learn from the masses and the struggle.



9. To be fair-minded, to listen to the people's concerns and suggestions and apply HDM to deepen their understanding and raise their level of consciousness and ability to solve problems.

10. To be loyal to the Party and regard its life as your own, to defend it, build its strength and influence and strive to perfect it as the vanguard of the people's struggle.

11. To respect, uphold, build and defend the democratic centralism of the Party, the subordination of lower bodies to higher bodies, the minority to the majority and the whole Party to the Central Committee or a sitting Party Congress.

12. To be united in spirit and action and to speak with one voice and act as one body.

13. To be self-disciplined, to live by the Party's Rules of Discipline, uphold proletarian morality and represent the bright future in the struggles of today, striving always to be the people's pride and a credit to the Party.

14. To have courage and dare to struggle and dare to win all power to the people, to die for the people if necessary and endure any oppression as a true red-hearted revolutionary.

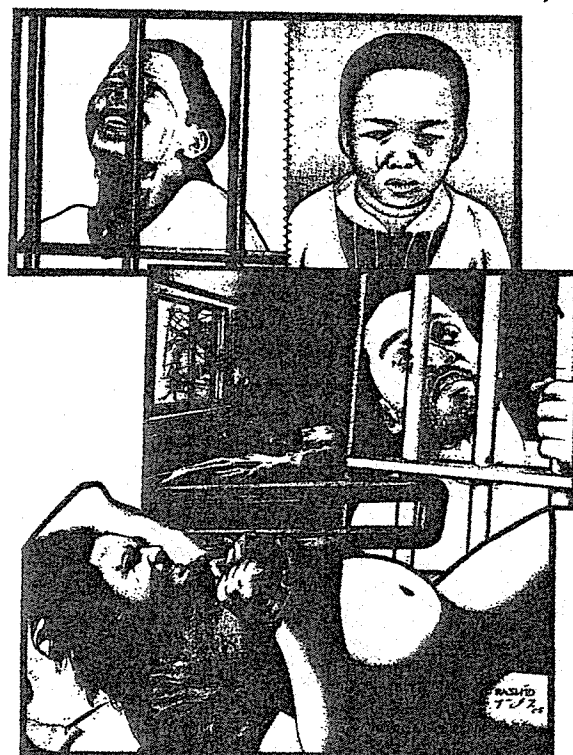
15. To practice and promote revolution and not reformism, Pantherism and not cultural nationalism, and revolutionary optimism and not cynical defeatism.

16. To uphold and defend and work to extend revolutionary intercommunalism and unite all the people in all the oppressed communities on the planet through the United Panther Movement.

I think these sixteen points should be kept in mind at all times and serve as a basis for further discussion throughout the Party and our movement.

Now, there are a lot of misconceptions and distortions about democratic centralism, some of which I addressed in *On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations*. These misconceptions are largely the result of bourgeois-propagated disinformation about the role and character of communist parties, but also they reflect historical misapplications of the concept by groups on the Left where *commandism* was substituted for the *mass line* while claiming to be practicing democratic centralism either out of ignorance or revisionism. Also many critics have seized one-sidedly on errors made by various organizations on the Left and presented those errors (while ignoring their correct aspects) as the essence of these organizational forms and practices.

As Dialectical Materialists, we recognize and understand that nothing proceeds in a straight line, that every positive has a negative side (and vice versa), and that humyn error is inherent in life. We simply aspire to honestly evaluate things from both sides, to identify and correct errors instead of throwing out the baby with the bath water. If we fail to act for fear of making mistakes then we give victory to our oppressors by default.



The NABPP-PC includes the White Panther Organization (WPO) and the Brown Panther Organizing Committee (BPOC), which are arms of our Party being set up to represent our Party among and give ideological and political leadership to oppressed white and brown people in the prisons and oppressed communities. Our Party unites with all anti-imperialist forces, including other Panther formations – such as the Black Riders Liberation Party, the National Alliance of Black Panthers, the New Panther Vanguard Movement, the Anarchist Panthers, etc. – even if we have disagreements with their line and practice.

There have been some inquiries and assumptions made regarding ties or similarities we might have with the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) which came out of the Nation of Islam (NOI) in the 1980s. We began as an autonomous chapter of NBPP aspiring to change the orientation of the outside NBPP into that of a genuine vanguard party in the New Afrikan communities, however, we soon realized it was better to separate ourselves from NBPP's narrow nationalism and reverse racism. We also changed our name to the New Afrikan BPP – Prison Chapter to further distinguish ourselves and reflect our orientation towards revolutionary New Afrikan nationalism.

Folks interested in leaning more about or linking up with NABPP-PC can do so by writing us care of:

Rising Sun Publications
PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105

Information and some of our publications can also be obtained through the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) network.



*Transform the Prison Plantations
Into Schools of Liberation*

Lastly, we feel the U.S. prisons are an important front in the struggle against imperialism. Prisoners are among the most oppressed sectors of the U.S. population, and because many have a good deal of time and opportunity to read and study, we stand to be potentially one of the most advanced sections of the people. This is why prisons are sometimes called the "poor man's universities." Comrade George Jackson once stated that only two types of people ever leave these concentration camps – the rebels and the broken. But there's one other type he overlooked, namely the revolutionaries. The oppression inherent in these expanding humyn warehouses by nature breeds rebels, but infused with proletarian revolutionary theory, prisoners can make the qualitative leap from rebels to revolutionaries.

Comrade Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." And it is these revolutionary prisoners who, upon their release, can hit the streets like paratroopers, joining and building the outside movement to educate, organize and lead the less advanced masses in determined struggle to deal this dying capitalist-imperialist system the *coup de grace*.

We don't plan to build our Panther movement just in the U.S. but wherever poor and oppressed Black people (and all oppressed people) are concentrated throughout the world. We plan to build WPO wherever there are concentrations of poor whites and BPOC wherever poor and oppressed brown people are concentrated. And I am sure we will eventually have a section of the Party dedicated to organizing Asian people as well. Half the world's people now live in urban settings, jammed together in urban slums or shantytowns, and we aspire to transform these into revolutionary Panther base areas throughout the global capitalist empire.

We aim to create and build people's power from the grassroots up, and to organize Serve The People (STP) survival programs, People's security forces and liberation schools. And we aim to link these urban revolutionary base areas into an inter-communal network through the Party and our own media and United Panther Movement. Between our work in the prisons and the oppressed communities, we aim to raise up a revolutionary generation schooled in the *Science of Revolution*, trained and tested in class struggle

through the Party and the mass organizations, so that we will not be dependent upon petty-bourgeois intellectuals to lead our revolutionary movement. There will of course be a role for these types who are willing to commit "class suicide" and dedicate themselves to becoming all-the-way revolutionaries and remold themselves to adopt the class stand of the revolutionary proletariat.

Anthony Rayson: As you know, I am a serious Anarchist, as you are a dedicated Communist. At this point, we are on the same side of the barricades. The fundamental difference of course, is the Communists want to take state power, as the "leader" of the oppressed, and the Anarchists have as their goal the elimination of oppressive state power altogether. As international capitalism, led by the voraciously murderous U.S., gets more and more desperate to retain its empire, the world's people will suffer through more hellacious wars, occupations, enslavements, lack of life's basics such as food, water, health, safety, etc. People will become more and more politically polarized. Some will be suckered-in as fascist dupes (or outright agents and killers of the criminal state). Others will look for truth, protection, and involvement in revolutionary opposition – Communist, Anarchist, New Afrikan, or otherwise.

Anarchists believe that state power is the epitome of evil – the ultimate corrupter. Now let's assume that through a worldwide effort we are able once-and-for-all to destroy the centuries' old nightmare of capitalism. Let's also assume we were also able to stop them from dragging all life on earth down with them.

So, there's a chance at "Socialism." Anarchists believe in the equitable distribution along anti-authoritarian principles. Communists want to assume state power and orchestrate it all from a "Central Committee." Every other time Communists have attained power, they've repressed Anarchists, other revolutionaries, etc. What would be different this time?

Rashid: I think this question offers the opportunity for an important discussion in the ongoing debate between Anarchism and Communism. Also, it exposes a common tendency I've observed of critics of Communism, namely that their critiques are often pretty inaccurate and just repeat



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charges based on superficial stereotypes. In fact, when one pushes Anarchists to the wall, and compels them to give concrete answers to concrete problems, instead of abstract criticisms, they begin to sound a lot like genuine Communists. Otherwise, they don't go deeply and thoroughly into solving the real problems that arise in struggling to defeat an oppressive class system such as capitalism. But many of their criticisms are valid and worthy of consideration.



You begin with placing emphasis on the fact that Anarchists want an equitable distribution of social wealth and to abolish the state, but, by implication, you suggest Communists do not. Even the "mainstream" recognizes these implications to be untrue. Take for example this definition of "Communism" given by the *Merriam Webster Collegiate Encyclopedia* (2000):

"Communism: Political theory advocating community ownership of all property, the benefits of which are to be shared by all according to the needs of each. The theory was principally the work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Their *Communist Manifesto* (1848) further specified a 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' a transitional stage Marx called socialism; communism was the final stage of in which not only class division but even the organized state – seen by Marx as inevitably an instrument of oppression – would be transcended. That

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distinction was lost and 'communism' began to apply to a specific party rather than a final goal..."

This summary of the nature and goals of Communism sounds pretty similar to what you state are the goals of Anarchism: equitable distribution of property and abolition of the state. Indeed, both Communists and Anarchists agree that the state is an "instrument of oppression." But it seems, just as the mainstream reference book points out, you've embraced the erroneous view that Communism is a "specific party" rather than a "final goal." Can it be that the imperialists have a more accurate and fair understanding of what Communism is than the modern Anarchists?

However, prominent Anarchists of the past have conceded that the goals of Anarchism and Communism are much the same. Indeed, Alexander Beckman in his *ABC of Anarchism* (1929) saw the goals of Communism and Anarchism as synonymous. In fact, he used the term "Anarchism" to describe Communism:

"The greatest teachers of socialism – Karl Marx and Frederick Engels – had taught that anarchism would come from socialism. They said that we must first have socialism [the dictatorship of the proletariat], but that after socialism there will be anarchism, and that it would be a freer and more beautiful condition of society to live in than socialism."

So the "fundamental difference" between Anarchism and Communism is *not* in their views on equal distribution of wealth and abolishing the state. The fundamental difference is on *how* to go about achieving these ends and their class basis. Anarchism promotes an *idealistic* approach rooted in a petty-bourgeois class perspective, while Marxist Communism promotes a materialist and dialectical approach rooted in a working class perspective.

Now Communists and most Anarchists agree that armed struggle will be required to compel and wrest control of property relations from the bourgeoisie (or capitalist ruling class) and to overthrow and smash the state it rules through – because the essence of state power is a specialized armed force of men (and now also wimyn). The capitalists aren't going to relinquish their power and wealth without a fight – never have, never will!

So essentially, it is a question of what to do after the bourgeois class is overthrow, and when do we lay down our arms? Because that is what *state power* is all about. So by resorting to arms in the first place, the Anarchists are taking part in the *exercise of dictatorial power* and the use of *authoritarian* means to repress the bourgeois class. Here's how Frederick Engels made the point:

"The anti-authoritarians demand that the political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social relations that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? a revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon, all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must



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maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted more than a day if it had not used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Cannot we, on the contrary, blame it for having made too little use of that authority? Therefore one of two things; either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion, or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case, they serve only reaction."

So we see an inherent contradiction in Anarchism that renders it fundamentally either pro- or counter-revolutionary, namely, whether it supports or opposes the armed struggle of the proletariat and consolidation of people's power. In either event, overthrowing the state power of the bourgeoisie won't in one stroke abolish the bourgeois class and its aspirations to regain state power. The Communists' goal is to smash the state power of the capitalists *right away*; to do away with their army, their police, their courts and their prisons. *But*, we cannot get rid of the bourgeois class so easily, nor the petty-bourgeoisie, nor the bourgeoisified workers and lumpen-proletarians.



If we were to put down our guns at this point, — if we did not maintain our own army, police, courts and prisons — these elements would turn right around and rig up a new bourgeois state. They would rig up a bourgeois state and

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use it to repress us — everyone connected with the revolution and the masses. This is exactly what happened in the Mexican Revolution when Emiliano Zapata listened to his American Anarchist advisors and gave up state power after victory and went home. The new reconstituted bourgeois state quickly hunted him down and murdered him like a dog — and Mexico has been under a bourgeois dictatorship and U.S. imperialist domination ever since.

This is also what happened in the very short-lived Spanish Revolution, the revolution the Anarchists claim to have been successful at. The bourgeoisie overthrew it overnight and immediately reasserted their rule. The occurred because the Anarchists opposed establishing a workers' state and the Communists who were trying to create one. The Fascists reaped the victory and ruled Spain with an iron fist for decades after.

In *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell's memoir of the Spanish Revolution, he gave an account of how instantly and completely bourgeois rule reasserted itself in Barcelona only months after it had been overthrown by the working class. In the beginning of his memoir, Orwell gives a glorious account of Barcelona when the popular revolution was still underway in latter 1936. He then contrasts how only months later the revolutionary successes had vanished without a trace. Here is his description of conditions in April 1937:

"Everyone who has made two visits, at intervals of months, to Barcelona during the war has remarked upon the extraordinary changes that took place in it. And curiously enough, whether they went there first in August and again in January, or, like myself, first in December and again in April, the thing they said was always the same: that the revolutionary atmosphere had vanished. No doubt to anyone who had been there in August, when the blood was scarcely dry in the streets and the militia was quartered in the small hotels, Barcelona in December would have seemed bourgeois, to me, fresh from England, it was liker to a worker's city than anything I had conceived possible. Now the tide had rolled back. Once again it was an ordinary city, a little pinched and chipped by war, but with no outward sign of working-class predominance.... The officers of the new Popular Army, a type that had scarcely existed when I left Barcelona, swarmed in surprising numbers... [wearing] an elegant khaki uniform with a tight waist, like a British officer's uniform, only a little more so. I do not suppose that more than one in twenty of them had yet been to the front, but all of them had an automatic pistol strapped to their belts, we, at the front, could not get pistols for love or money...

"A deep change had come over the town. There were two facts that were the keynote of all else. One was that the people — the civil population — had lost much of their interest in the war; the other was that the normal division of society into rich and poor, upper class and lower class, was reasserting itself."

Communists simply recognize the state for what it is — namely an instrument by which one class asserts its power over another. Unless the proletariat overthrows the bourgeois capitalist state and replaces it with a proletarian socialist state, the bourgeoisie will maintain its dominance. Only under working class state rule can massive Cultural Revolutions take place to



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purge bourgeois thinking and practices, which, once this process succeeds, will bring about the egalitarian stateless social order. So our object is to create a proletarian state with our own special bodies of armed wimyn and men, our own courts and our own prisons for those who commit crimes against the people. Under this system the armed workers will defend the revolution and use their power to transform all of society to eliminate classes and lay the basis for advancing to the kind of society both the Anarchists and Communists want.

It is at this point, *and not a moment sooner*, that we will lay down our guns and move forward to advance the stateless society, because only then will it be *possible* to do so. Any other approach is just pipe-dreaming idealism. We believe in the principle of from each according to their ability and to each according to their needs – that is, doing away with the whole concept of commodity exchange. In short: abolishing money. But there has to be a whole lot of cultural revolution and transforming of society to make that possible. There has to be basic changes in how production and distribution of goods are organized. People have to be willing to participate in socialized production without being forced to by economic necessity, and we have to produce enough of everything for everybody to be able to get what they need to survive and be happy.

Another factor is that you've got to do it in such a way as to preserve and protect the natural environment so future generations will be able to get what they need and be able to keep society running. This calls for revolution in the cultural, social and political realms and also in science, production and ecology. This all has to be planned, organized and done on a global scale as well as regionally and locally. A stateless society must by definition be a global society without borders. And we can't have one section of humanity hogging all the world's resources, like we do now, which is just what would happen if we didn't start with a worldwide dictatorship of the proletariat.

As to who will get repressed along the way, well, that's up to the proletariat. Isn't it? We advocate a step by step, planned transformation of society rather than anarchy. We believe the masses can be won to understand the logic of this and support it. In this way, repression can be kept to a minimum and democratic methods of persuasion will be the primary focus and means of the struggle. But counter-revolutionaries will be repressed at every stage, and the proletariat will decide how and when and who – no matter what the counter-revolutionaries call themselves – through the organs of people's power and the people's courts.

One thing we've learned from past revolutions is that the greatest threat of capitalist restoration will come from within the upper ranks of the Party and state from those who betray the class stand of the proletariat and assume that of the bourgeoisie. As socialism is a stage of transition from capitalism to communism, it is relatively easy for those at the top to rig up a state capitalist system under the cover of building socialism and take the country back down the capitalist road. This is what happened in the Soviet Union after Stalin, when Khrushchev came to power, and in People's China after Mao died in 1976.

The lesson here is for the proletariat to keep a firm grip on its Party and to exercise all round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie – and especially on those in leadership positions

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in the Party and the workers' state. Cultural Revolution is the weapon to prevent capitalist restoration and to keep moving society down the path of socialist revolution.

The working class must arm itself with a through understanding of the *Science of Revolution* and increasingly take power into its own hands directly to revolutionize every aspect of society. When we say "All Power to the People!" we mean that literally in an ever deepening and all-round way. So long as classes exist, it is the proletariat who will be exploited and oppressed, and it is the proletariat who must play the leading role in waging class struggle to overcome it. The class struggle leads inevitably to the elimination of classes and communist society. But at every step it will be a struggle – against idealism and those who would sidetrack and derail the class struggle to preserve and enhance their own privileged positions and keep on exploiting the masses of people.

There is no way to avoid this protracted struggle, and certainly not by disarming the proletariat as soon as the old bourgeois order is overthrown. It certainly can't be done by substituting anarchy for a rational strategy. Only the petty-bourgeoisie – anxious to replace the old bourgeoisie – would intentionally propose such a short-sighted "solution." The true solution is for the petty-bourgeoisie – *including those who become upwardly mobile through the revolution* – to be won to a position of *committing class suicide* and aligning themselves with the oppressed and exploited masses struggling to end all oppression and exploitation by revolutionizing every aspect of society – in a planned, organized and disciplined way through the application of the *mass line* and the illumination of the *Science of Revolution*.

Do we see the contradiction between ourselves and the Anarchists as inherently antagonistic? No, we do not. We believe that it can be resolved non-antagonistically so long as it remains a contradiction within the people. We do not want to repeat the Stalinist errors of treating contradictions within the people the same as contradictions with the enemy.

For many people, as it was with me, Anarchism is a starting place, because it is fundamentally an *emotional* response to the evils of capitalist-imperialism. This was the case with Mao Tse-tung, who self-identified as an Anarchist before becoming a Communist. Throughout his political career he was accused of still being an Anarchist by both dogmatists and revisionists alike. Three times he was kicked off the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), but he maintained that it was a Marxist-Leninist principle to go against the tide and stand firm for revolution. At the Lushan Conference, he threatened to quit his post as Chairman and go back to the mountains and start a new CCP and People's Liberation Army if it was necessary.

As Chairman of the CCP Mao was not the Head of State and was constantly at odds with the state bureaucracy. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he suspended the democratic centralism of the Party so that lower bodies were no longer subordinated to higher bodies and he issued the call to the youth, workers and peasants to "Bombard the Headquarters!"

Does this mean he was not really a Communist? No, it does not! It means that as a Communist his first and foremost loyalty was to proletarian socialist revolution and the class struggle. "A revolution is not a dinner party," he said, "it is



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the violent overthrow of one class by another." "By any means necessary!" was the way Malcolm X put it.

Many of the criticisms of the Communist movement made by Anarchists or others are right on. But they are also usually non-dialectical and one-sided. Often they obscure the criticisms of the proletariat who look at the same problems differently. Mao was a firm believer that Communists should openly reveal, criticize and struggle against their "dark side."

We can't do without a proletarian state any more than we can do without smashing the bourgeois state. Does this mean we love violence or love authority? No! It means we are serious enough about ending wage slavery, and all of the evils of capitalist-imperialism, that we are willing to be scientific about revolution and go beyond an emotional response.

As a New Afrikan and a condemned slave of the state, I can't afford not to be serious and scientific about the liberation of my people — and all oppressed people everywhere — through socialist revolution. Our fates are intertwined. Only by carrying the class struggle all the way to Communism will there be a bright future for our posterity. For us, there is only slavery or liberation, so we can have no hesitation when it comes to applying Brother Malcolm's dictum to our struggle. Step by step, stage by stage, we shall advance the revolution through all the twists and turns, setbacks and victories until full liberation is won.

As I said, we can't do without a proletarian state, but there is a tendency for it to turn into its opposite — and we are wise to it. Power does corrupt, and the inevitable continuation of old class relations — particularly in the lower stages of socialism — and the deeply-rooted ideology of the past will nurture the tendency for capitalist restoration. Commodity relations — even under socialist state control — do regenerate capitalism and bourgeois ideas. Non-proletarian class forces — who are necessary to keep the economy and social services going — are going to demand concessions, such as higher wages, personal power and retention of bourgeois rights.

Technicians and professionals in all spheres will defend their privileged position in society and resist the encroachment of the common people in their *business*. And only when the proletariat can do without them can we move from the lower to the higher stage of socialism. The struggle between "Reds" and "Experts" was a major aspect of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. We all know that after Mao's death, the "Reds" were defeated and that the "Experts" now live "high on the hog" in China and the so-called "Communist Party" has become a fascist party of "Experts" and capitalists.

Mao predicted that this outcome was "very possible," but he also predicted that their rule would be short-lived and that they "would know no peace," and we see that today there is a resurgence of Maoism in China and internationally, and we see that China's masses are waging sharp class struggle against their exploitation and oppression.

We also see a resurgence of Anarchism today, and particularly among the youth of the imperialist countries. I *should* say among the *white petty-bourgeois* youth and students, because there is a class and race basis to this resurgence. Anarchy extols the supremacy of the individual and individual freedom, which is also a way to separate

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oneself from identifying with one's *skin* and *class privileges*. One can say, "I am not responsible for racist and class oppression or for global imperialism. I reject all that. I am an Anarchist." But that neither threatens the ruling class nor helps the oppressed class. It's merely a lifestyle choice, a fashion. You can dress up for it, dye your hair black and get a "bad" haircut, eat vegan food, ride a bicycle, pierce your nose, nipples or tongue, dumpster dive and make the scene.

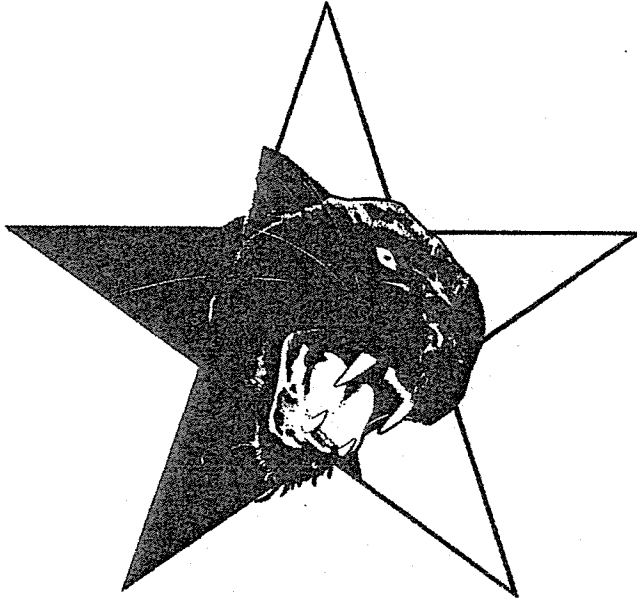
Then there are the Anarchist careerists, which brings to mind admissions made and the example set by Greg Wells, an Anarchist journalist out of Richmond, Virginia, with whom I was corresponding a few years back. At a time when I was facing a high-point of repression from prison officials, I proposed a few ideas to him about consolidating discrete activists into a practical support network for prisoner activists and other oppressed individuals. He replied that my proposals definitely needed doing, and that "as much as" he'd "love to" help he was "simply too comfortable to do any such thing." He added, "I'll tell you something that other Anarchists won't admit, but it's true. You know that most Anarchists are comfortable white middle-class and aren't going to do much more than a little protesting and critical writing."

Greg is a prolific writer who has made a career out of railing at capitalism, racial and gender oppression, U.S. imperialist wars, etc., yet he concedes his unwillingness to jeopardize his status and comfort level by allying himself in practice with the oppressed. As he confessed, this is typical of most of the milieu of petite bourgeois Anarchists. Indeed, I would say it is typical of most radical intellectuals on the Amerikan Left. As I stated in a previous unpublished article:

"99% of the radicals are divorced from the masses. They attend rallies and protests but lock their doors when driving through oppressed neighborhoods. They don't know how to do mass work, how to agitate and organize. They think it's their opinions that matter, that they fulfill their political duty by expressing them. Whereas, they need to create a presence on the street, amongst the oppressed workers and nationalities, and time is of the essence."

Of course, there are some Anarchists like ABC, whom we consider to be comrades, who actually do play a role in assisting the struggle in the prisons and are groping with the question of making revolution. We are, as you say, "on the same side of the barricades." The question is can we build a *higher* level of unity and what would that take? Well, we've created the White Panther Organization (WPO) as an arm of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party — Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), so white comrades can fully unite with us and represent our Party among the oppressed white people. They do have to accept the democratic-centralism of the Party and its rules of discipline, the same as the Black Panthers. They have to study and apply the Science of Revolution and commit to being all-the-way revolutionaries.

NABPP-PC is not a Communist Party per se. We are revolutionary nationalists and internationalists. Our ideological and political line, "Pantherism," is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and we are committed to fighting for proletarian socialist revolution. We see the key alliance in the United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism to be between the oppressed nations and nationalities and the multi-ethnic, multi-national working class.



For New Afrikans, the solution to our national oppression is socialist revolution. As long as Black people are oppressed *because we are Black*, there needs to be a Black Panther Party to lead the Black Liberation Struggle. We need to stand together as a Nation under the leadership of our proletarian vanguard. To fight most effectively against white racism, we need white comrades to stand with us – as fellow Panthers or as supporters. We also need to stand in solidarity with all other oppressed peoples and have them stand with us. This is the basis of the United Panther Movement. We believe that the Nation of New Afrikans in Amerika must play a vanguard role in this revolution because of our historical oppression and because we are in a position to do so.

We live in the "Belly of the Beast." We are concentrated in the urban centers of the sole imperialist superpower, and we are infiltrated throughout the oppressor's military and political-economic infrastructure. We are everywhere, even if only pushing a broom or a mop.

We are also part of the Third World, and we are kindred to all other sons and daughters of Afrikan decent. Everywhere we are oppressed because of our black skin under white world domination. As Mao said:

"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

He said, "The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation" but that it is a "clarion call" to all the oppressed peoples. This history and this positioning gives us the opportunity to play a vanguard role in the world revolution, not exclusive of others but in dialectical relationship to all people of color and all who suffer oppression. This does not negate the leading role that must be played by the international proletariat as the class of the future, for it is the ideology and worldview of this class that guides our struggle for liberation.

The New Afrikan Nation is primarily a proletarian nation – on the whole, we own nothing and are forced to sell our labor power to survive or otherwise to survive by any means necessary. Even most of our lumpen-proletariat has an on again off again relationship with wage slavery. Our Party must work ceaselessly to ground our cadre and comrades in a thorough-going proletarian class stand and struggle resolutely against lumpen and petty-bourgeois influences and tendencies.

For several decades now the ruling class has been pursuing a strategy of criminalization of the poor and our mass incarceration – particularly of our Black youth – and we must counter this with proletarianizing and revolutionizing our young wimyn and men by teaching "Pantherism" and raising up a generation of revolutionary warriors.

But let me return to your question and your point about Anarchists wanting nothing to do with state power and their accepting nothing short of its instant abolition. Well, *the* foremost modern Anarchist intellectual, Noam Chomsky – affectionately known in Anarchist circles as "Uncle Noam" – was both a proponent of using state power (and *bourgeois state power* at that) to address social ills, and he conceded that Anarchism is not an instantly attainable social order. Were it not for his speaking in support of *bourgeois* state power, instead of promoting *proletarian* state power, one would think Chomsky was a Communist espousing the need for the rational use of state power to transform society. "Uncle Noam" put it like this:

"Well it's true that the Anarchist vision in just about all its varieties has looked forward to dismantling state power – and I personally share that vision. But right now it runs directly counter to my goals: My immediate goals have been, and now very much are, to defend and even strengthen certain elements of state authority that are now under severe attack. And I don't think there's any contradiction there – none at all, really.

"For example, take the so-called 'welfare state.' What's called the 'welfare state' is essentially a recognition that every child has a right to have food, and to have health care and so on – and as I've been saying, those programs were set up in the nation-state system after a century of very hard struggle, by the labor movement, and the socialist movement, and so on. Well, according to the new spirit of the age, in the case of a fourteen-year-old girl who got raped and had a child, her child has to learn 'personal responsibility' by not accepting state welfare handouts, meaning by not having enough to eat. Alright, I don't agree with that at any level. In fact I think it is grotesque at any level. I think those children should be saved. And in today's world, *that's going to involve working through the state system*, it's not the only case.

"So despite the anarchist 'vision,' I think aspects of the state system, like the one that makes sure children eat, have to be defended – in fact, defended very vigorously. And given the accelerated effort that's being made these days to roll back the victories for justice and human rights which have been won through long and often extremely bitter struggles in the West, in my opinion the immediate goal of even committed anarchists should be to defend some state institutions, while helping to pry them open to



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more meaningful public participation, and ultimately to dismantle them in a much more free society.

"There are practical problems of tomorrow on which people's lives very much depend, and while defending these kinds of programs is by no means the ultimate end we should be pursuing, in my view we still have to face the problems that are right on the horizon, and which seriously affect human lives. I don't think those things can simply be forgotten because they might not fit with some radical slogan that reflects a *deeper vision of a future society*. The deeper vision should be maintained, they're important – but *dismantling the state system is a goal that is a lot further away*, and you want to deal first with what's at hand and nearby, I think....

"So I think it's completely realistic and rational to work within structures to which you are opposed, because by doing so can help to move to a situation where then you can challenge these structures."

Chomsky's proposing that radicals work *within* bourgeois state institutions to address social needs actually conforms to a strategy of absorbing and controlling dissidents and activists within government structures, which was proposed by the U.S. National Security Council in the late 1970s. This reflects how the confused class stand of the petty-bourgeoisie leads to erroneous approaches to opposing imperialist oppression. But, *that* Chomsky recognized the need to use state power along the road to ultimately abolishing the state shows that Communist and Anarchist theory is no so irreconcilable. Anarchists must simply recognize the role of the proletariat as preeminent in the struggle against capitalist-imperialism and the advance to classless society.

I want to add that we reject the nihilism that is so often associated with both Anarchism and gangsterism. We base ourselves on *Panther Love*. As both Ché Guevara and Mao pointed out, love is the motivation of a true revolutionary. Our love for the people, for liberty and justice, and for the unborn generations for whom we stand ready to sacrifice our lives, is manifested in everything we do and say.

On the question of who should legitimately coordinate the application of state power and lead society in general, again "Uncle Noam" promotes the need and role for a leading structure very similar to our concept of a genuine vanguard party operating with committee structures and democratic centralism. He opposed the ultra-democratic approach to running even a basic community as impossible. Indeed there has never existed a society without some form of leadership. Here again is Chomsky:

"No, I don't think [a large mass of people could actively participate in all the decisions that need to be made in a complex modern society]. I think you've got to delegate some of those responsibilities. But the question is, where does authority ultimately lie? I mean, since the very beginnings of the modern democratic revolutions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it's always been recognized that people have to be represented – the question is, are we represented by, as they put it, 'countrymen like ourselves,' or are we represented by 'our betters'?

"For example, suppose this was our community, and we wanted to enter into some kind of agreement with the

community down the road – if we were fairly big, we'd have to delegate the right to negotiate things to representatives. But then the question is, who has the power to ultimately authorize those decisions? Well, if it's a democracy, that power ought to lie not just *formally* in the population, but *actually* in the population – meaning the representatives can be recalled, they're answerable back to their community, they can be replaced. In fact, there should be as much as possible in the way of constant replacement, so that political participation just becomes a part of everybody's life.

"But I agree, I don't think it's possible to have large masses of people get together to decide every topic – it would be unfeasible and pointless. You'd want to pick committees to look into things and report back, and so on and so forth. But the real question is, where does authority lie."

Now compare Chomsky's emphasis on the legitimacy of representative committee structures lying in the election and recall by votes of leading members and such organizations being accountable to the masses by full exposure of their activities, with this 1905 Bolshevik summery of democratic centralism:

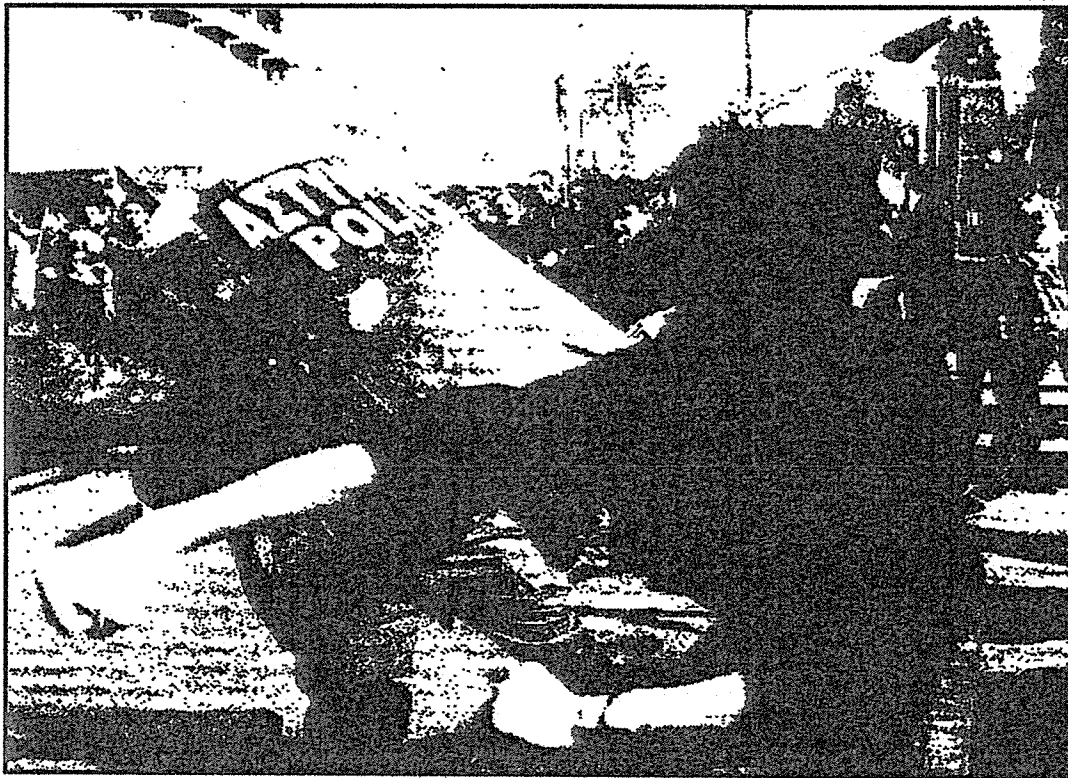
"Recognizing as indisputable the principle of democratic centralism, the Conference considers the broad implementation of the elective principle necessary, and while granting elected centers full powers in matters of ideological and political leadership, they are at the same time subject to recall, their actions are given broad publicity, and they are strictly accountable for these activities."

Also, consistent with Chomsky's point that political power should be vested in the common people and not with "our betters," the struggle which Mao initiated during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution between the "Reds" and the "Experts" was to displace political power from those who by virtue of their technical expertise considered themselves the "betters" of the common laboring people, and to have that power spread broadly amongst the working people.

This is one of the reasons why the petty-bourgeoisie cannot lead all-the-way revolution – or even the struggle to defend the human and democratic civil rights of the oppressed – as their class conditioning has them seeing themselves as the intellectual "betters" of the masses towards whom they have a "superior" attitude. George Jackson demonstrated that you don't have to be middle class or attend a university to become a *revolutionary intellectual* – a "Red" who is also armed with intellectual expertise. Some would say that I demonstrate this myself.

Those of us who have nothing to lose but our chains, who have no reason to hesitate or vacillate and every reason to be serious, dedicated, all-the-way revolutionaries have a responsibility to be in the vanguard and to struggle relentlessly against every form of oppression to build the mass-based revolutionary vanguard party to unite and lead the masses of oppressed people to rise up and end oppression at its source through proletarian socialist revolution and proletarian cultural revolution.





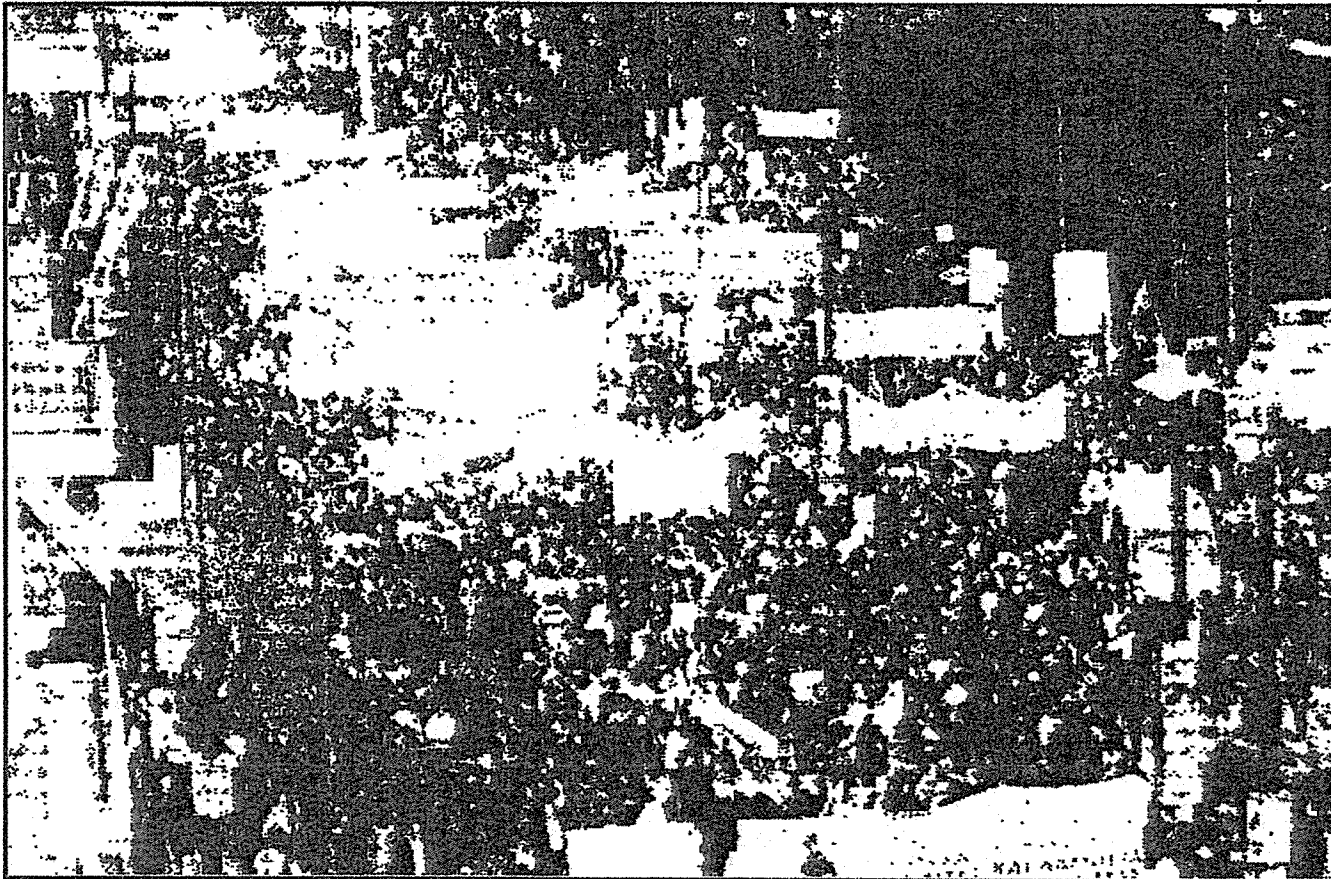
May Day 2010 Athens

Of all the mass demonstrations on International Workers Day – May Day – in Europe this year, the most significant was in Athens, Greece, where some 20 to 30,000 workers marched with red flags and many youth clashed with police. The focus of the anger of the workers and youth was the austerity measures being imposed by the cash-strapped “Socialist” government to obtain a three-year \$160-billion bail-out package from the European Economic Union (EEU) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Among the measures being imposed is raising the sales tax to 25%.

Protestors threw gas-bombs at police and set a TV van on fire. The militant demonstrations continued with a general strike in which some 200,000 workers participated that brought the capital city to a standstill in the first week of May. Anarchists were accused of setting fire to a bank in which three people lost their lives. Demonstrators chanted, “No to the IMF Junta!” in reference to the right-wing military dictatorship that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974.

In Germany, the primary investor in the bail-out, hundreds of rock-throwing protestors clashed with police. In all, hundreds of thousands of workers protested in cities all across Europe, and some 140,000 demonstrated in Istanbul, Turkey. In Italy, thousands of leftist workers rallied in the southern town of Rosarno, where clashes between African immigrants and locals have marked the worst racial violence in modern times. A common theme was discontent over the high unemployment rate. In Moscow, many thousands of protesters marched carrying posters of Stalin, while in a separate protest they accused Vladimir Putin of being “like Stalin.”





Mass May Day demonstration in Athens

New People's Army wipes out a platoon of the 23rd Division Reconnaissance Company in Mindoro

From the Communist Party of the Philippines, March 10, 2010



AFP to suffer more losses after big defeat in Mindoro-CPP
The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) today lauded the New People's Army in Mindoro for its successful tactical offensive Saturday morning that practically wiped out a platoon of fascist troops in Mansalay, Oriental Mindoro. The NPA ambushed a platoon of the 23rd Division

Reconnaissance Company (DRC) resulting in the death of 11 soldiers and the wounding of eight troopers.

The number of soldiers wiped out in the Oriental Mindoro ambush was the biggest loss suffered so far by government forces this year. Since the start of this year, at least 40 AFP officers and soldiers have been killed and 43 wounded in action as the NPA stepped up its tactical offensives nationwide. The CPP has directed the NPA to launch more tactical offensives in an effort to implement its objective of reaching the strategic stalemate stage of its people's war by mid-decade.

"The AFP is bound to suffer bigger losses this year. The Mindoro tactical offensive will be surpassed several times over by more NPA tactical offensives in various provinces. NPA Red fighters are keen on seizing the biggest ever number of weapons from the AFP in the coming months as growing numbers of NPA recruits need to be armed."

"The Filipino people are elated with the NPA's tactical military victory in Mindoro. The tactical offensive is just punishment for the hideous crimes and human rights abuses perpetrated by the fascist troops of the AFP," said the CPP.



The CPP noted that the 23rd DRC belongs to the Philippine Army's 2nd Infantry Division which was responsible for the illegal arrest, trumped-up charges, torture and other violations of human rights of 43 health workers in Morong, Rizal last February 6. The health workers continue to be detained and suffer various deprivations at the Philippine Army headquarters in Tanay, Rizal.

The CPP said the successful tactical offensive in Oriental Mindoro undeniably shows the continuing vitality of people's war and the strength possessed by the NPA and its valiant Red fighters. "With the deep and broad support of the peasant masses, the iron determination Red fighters to fight, creative application of guerrilla tactics and mastery of the terrain, the people's army continues to be an invincible force, which a rotten mercenary and fascist armed forces, such as the AFP, cannot defeat."

"The fascist enemy forces are bound to commit more and more military fumbles and political foul-ups in their desperation to suppress the Filipino people's revolutionary resistance and stop the relentless growth of people's war nationwide," said the CPP in reaction to a statement by the AFP's Southern Luzon Command that the commanding officer of the ambushed platoon may only have committed a "tactical blunder."

The AFP has launched several division-size operations in different regions since the start of the year but these have consistently been rebuffed by the deft maneuvers and

counter-offensives of the NPA. "The AFP's repeated promise to reduce the armed revolution to insignificance if not decimate it by the end of last year has blown up in its face," added the CPP.

Communist Party of the Philippines:

Let the Fires of Armed Struggle Blaze Like a Prairie Fire Across the Land

Ang Bayan, April 7 issue, posted at PhilippineRevolution.net.

The New People's Army (NPA) and all the revolutionary forces are ready, able and determined to go all-out in advancing guerrilla warfare to reach the strategic stalemate in the next five years.

In heeding the call issued by the Communist Party of the Philippines' (CPP) central leadership to further intensify tactical offensives, the NPA launched small and big tactical offensives every other day in March. Last month, Red fighters annihilated 30 armed elements of the enemy and seized at least 60 firearms. These victories added to the joyous celebration by Red fighters, Party members, the revolutionary forces and the people of the NPA 41st anniversary within and outside the guerrilla fronts.

Through the CPP Central Committee's statement issued on March 29, the revolutionary forces have become more enlightened on their tasks in further advancing guerrilla warfare and completing the stage of strategic defensive of the people's war in the next five years and entering the stage of strategic stalemate. This has further strengthened the unity of the entire Party and all the revolutionary forces and fired up the determination of every Red commander and fighter to spread and advance people's war to every corner of the nation.

The reactionary ruling classes tremble with fear, especially the worst reactionaries and power-hungry elements among them in the face of the further intensification of armed struggle. In their desperate attempt to maintain themselves in power, they have relentlessly used the entire fascist machinery of the puppet reactionary state to suppress the people's armed and unarmed resistance. Oplan Bantay Laya, its exceedingly brutal nine-year long counterrevolutionary campaign has failed to defeat the revolutionary armed struggle. Nonetheless, the ruling classes will not relent in using fascist violence, deceit and terror in their foolish desire to suppress the people's revolutionary resistance and block the continued advance of people's war.

It is the duty of all leading cadres and members of the Party, commanders and fighters of the NPA and all the revolutionary forces to continue to closely study the enemy's strategy and tactics to effectively defeat it and further advance people's war. Party committees and NPA commands at all levels of leadership must take the lead in confronting the enemy's military campaigns. The enemy's movements must be closely monitored and quickly analyzed and appropriate, prompt and effective measures must be taken in response. Party committees and NPA commands must plan and coordinate the further intensification of guerrilla warfare in their respective areas of responsibility.



**Message to the New People's Army from the
Central Committee, Communist Party of the
Philippines, March 29, 2010**

On the occasion of the 41st founding anniversary of the New People's Army (NPA), we salute the Red commanders and fighters and pay our highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. We congratulate the rank and file for the victories won in the past year and urge them on to garner further victories in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Since we announced our strategic plan to advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate in the protracted people's war, our Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters, mass activists, allies and the broad masses of the people have been enthusiastically discussing the basis, political requirements and strategy and tactics for the advance. Why and how shall we succeed?

First, the chronic crisis conditions of the world capitalist system and those of the domestic ruling system serve as the basis for our strategic plan and its implementation in the next five years. They continue to worsen and are increasingly favorable conditions for advancing the people's war.

Second, the CPP has maintained the correct ideological, political and organizational line and effectively leads the people and the revolutionary forces. It has rich revolutionary experience and all-round strength gained from more than 40 years of people's war for fulfilling the political requirements for people's war.

Third, the people's army under the leadership of the CPP has the correct strategy and tactics set forth by the Party for advancing the people's war. The Red commanders and fighters have high morale and are determined to inflict blows on the enemy and carry out the strategic plan.

I. Crisis conditions in the world capitalist system

The world capitalist system has been shaken from base to rafters by one serious economic and financial crisis after another since the mid-1970s. The policy shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism has merely deepened and aggravated the recurrent crisis.

The full restoration of capitalism in several revisionist-ruled countries has been touted by the monopoly bourgeoisie as proof that the socialist cause is hopeless and that the world capitalist system is stronger than ever before. But in fact, the increase of industrial capitalist countries has made the world more cramped for capitalism and has aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The economic and financial crisis has become extremely destructive in the imperialist countries and more so in the less developed and underdeveloped countries. It is pushing the imperialist powers to become more plunderous, more repressive and more aggressive than ever before. The crisis is generating conditions similar to those that brought about the two world wars of the 20th century, with the difference that there is far higher potential for peoples to wage revolution, nations to fight for liberation and non-imperialist countries to assert independence.

The revolutionary forces are now in a position to daringly mobilize hundreds of thousands up to several millions of people in all arenas of revolutionary struggle — in the further intensification of armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the mass movement; in further expanding and deepening the revolutionary mass base; and in meticulously establishing and raising the level of organs of political power. The Party must take deeper root among the masses and train cadres, members and mass activists in the various lines and spheres of work for the revolution. Let us give full sway to the masses' initiative and creativity in waging resistance.

Urban-based Party units and revolutionary forces must contribute massively to the advance of people's war. They must invigorate now and in the coming years their efforts to encourage, prepare and deploy thousands of cadres, members and activists from among the ranks of workers, educated youth, professionals and other sectors who are willing to offer themselves and their skills to advance armed struggle. Various political and propaganda initiatives as well as material support from the urban revolutionary movement to the armed struggle now raging in the vast countryside will also help in a big way.

As the fires of people's war spread like a prairie fire across the nation, the enemy is sure to suffer even more demoralization and factiousness, especially among the AFP's junior officers and rank-and-file. All leading Party committees and NPA commands must see that the necessary steps are taken to expand among enemy ranks, clandestinely recruit and mobilize them and in some cases, to cause them to openly defect for the revolution.

The Philippine revolution has a bright future. In the face of the relentlessly worsening chronic socio-economic crisis in the country and with the entire rotten ruling political system caught in the quagmire of successive and intense crises, the masses are intensely desirous of revolutionary change. The fires of people's war will certainly blaze like a prairie fire, spread across the nation and devour the rotten, exploitative and oppressive system in its flames as the people take action on a massive scale under the leadership of the Party and the revolutionary forces.

**Advance from Strategic Defensive
to Strategic Stalemate**



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The class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is surfacing in the imperialist countries. The imperialist powers have become frenzied in their competition for economic territory and for spheres of influence. The inter-imperialist contradictions are becoming more intense and more violent.

However, the imperialist powers are still avoiding direct violent clashes among themselves and are directing their violence towards oppressed peoples in the neocolonial and underdeveloped countries. Even as China has become the main U.S. global partner in carrying out the U.S. policy of "neoliberal globalization," the bankruptcy of this policy is pressing China to secure its own markets; sources of fuel and other raw materials; and fields of investments. This tends to upset the balance of forces among the imperialist powers.

The ongoing economic and financial crisis of the U.S. and the world capitalist system is not being solved as the imperialist powers stick to their neoliberal dogma. The bailout money from public coffers is being used merely to improve the balance sheets of the big banks and corporations in the military-industrial complex instead of reviving production and employment. Thus, the crisis of global capitalism is protracting and deepening.

Having become a big debtor, the U.S. is vulnerable to efforts of China to adopt economic, trade and finance policies serving its national interest. Of long term importance to the Philippines are ASEAN-China economic relations as a departure from the sole dominance of U.S. imperialism in East Asia. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization can be a counterweight to U.S. hegemonism in the whole of Asia.

The U.S. continues to be sucked in by the quagmires made by its wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan. Its military interventions in the Middle East, Africa, Central Asia and South Asia are adversely affecting its overall dominance. Certain countries have been asserting their national independence in East Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The people continue to wage armed resistance against the U.S. and its puppets. In other countries like India, the Philippines, Peru, Turkey and Colombia, the people persevere in armed struggle for national liberation and democracy. Revolutionary parties of the proletariat are waging or preparing to wage people's war in a growing number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The social and political turmoil and the rise of revolutionary armed struggles in the world capitalist system will favor the advance of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. The high propensity of the U.S. and other imperialist powers to unleash wars of aggression and state terrorism against the people drive the people to engage in revolutionary war.

II. Crisis conditions in the domestic ruling system

The Arroyo regime has been extremely reactionary and obscurantist in misrepresenting the character of the ruling system in the Philippines. It has brought upon the people the crushing weight of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism under such U.S.-dictated policies as "neoliberal globalization" and "global war on terror."

And yet the regime has harped on turning the Philippines into a "first world country" and perversely puts the blame on the people's resistance to oppression and exploitation as the cause of underdevelopment and poverty. And it is using such a big lie as the rationale for seeking to destroy or reduce the revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality through brutal campaigns of military suppression since 2001.

Oplan Bantay laya (OBI) has utterly failed in all its counter-revolutionary objectives. The New People's Army has successfully launched tactical offensives nationwide, thus belying the regime's psy-war claims and demonstrating the growing strength of the armed revolutionary movement.

The people dismiss the psy-war claims of the reactionary military about so many "NPA camps overrun," "NPA mass surrenders," "social integration of rebel returnees" and the like. Abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings of social activists and ordinary people are passed off as legitimate actions against the "enemies of the state" and the perpetrators rewarded and cited as "heroes."

The chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system in the Philippines will persist and continue to worsen. Nothing in sight indicates that a new administration would arise from the current presidential election\$ to make the Philippines truly independent and take the path of industrial development through land reform and national industrialization. Those in power at the highest level tend to monopolize bureaucrat looting and increase their take by further exploiting and oppressing the people, especially the toiling masses.

The abject semi-colonial agrarian character of the Philippines provides the conditions for the development of people's war. The absence of genuine thoroughgoing land reform guarantees that the peasant masses follow the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out agrarian revolution and participating in the people's war.

The chronic socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will generate an unprecedentedly worse political crisis enough to render the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords incapable of ruling in the old way. Factions of the ruling classes have become more violent against each other as spoils of political power are reduced as a result of the worsening crisis.

As exposed by the Ampatuan massacre, the reactionary factions can use parts of the military, police and paramilitary forces as their private armed groups and build their own undisguised private armies by taking military supplies from the armories of the state. The rampancy of private armies has been generated by the U.S.-Arroyo policy of state terrorism against the people.

The current presidential elections will not muffle but will intensify the contradictions among the reactionaries. The periodic elections for officials of the reactionary government have served to ensure the dominance of the politicians who are pro-imperialist and are representatives of the big compradors and landlords and have been a process for excluding the representatives of the working people and for redistributing and rotating power among the political dynasties and factions.



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But the current presidential elections are becoming the gateway to further crisis of the system and further violence among the reactionaries. The competing political factions are spending more heavily than ever before on the electoral campaign. The winners will try to recoup and profit from their government positions. The losers will become bitter with disappointment.

Whichever reactionary faction captures the presidency in May will continue the U.S.-dictated policy of state terrorism against the people and the revolutionary forces. Not one among the four major presidential candidates is expressing a determination to carry out peace negotiations to address the roots of the armed conflict through social, economic and political reforms.

The resistance of the reactionaries, especially the pro-imperialist militarists and clerico-fascists, to serious peace negotiations is a good thing. It serves to cast away false illusions about peace negotiations and to drive the revolutionary forces further on to the great task of waging people's war.

The worst among the reactionaries and their pseudo-progressive followers, including the renegades exposed by the Second Great Rectification Movement, have long claimed that the people and forces in the new democratic revolution have been undercut and debilitated by the unarmed people's uprisings in 1986 and 2001 and the succession of pseudo-democratic post-Marcos regimes.

The detractors of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war obscure the fact that the revolutionary forces have contributed greatly to the success of the unarmed people's uprisings and that the NPA has not only preserved but has also expanded its revolutionary armed strength to stand out in Philippine history as the largest ever revolutionary army of the people.

Oplan Bantay Iaya I and II have failed to suppress the armed revolutionary movement. The reactionaries unwittingly admit the significant strength of the people's army every time they declare that it remains the biggest threat to the ruling system. They merely make fools of themselves by endlessly repeating the lie that the NPA had 25,000 fighters in the mid-1980s and is now reduced to a few thousands.

From week to week, from month to month and from year to year, the NPA has demonstrated its capability to wipe out enemy units and will continue to do so under the policy and strategic plan of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate. The NPA is bound to grow in strength ever more rapidly by continuing to apply the specific line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

III. Political requirements of people's war

The No.1 political requirement for the new democratic revolution in the Philippines and for the advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the protracted people's war is the revolutionary political leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Party has laid out the general line of new democratic revolution against the semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party has accumulated experience and achievements in leading the new democratic revolution. By carrying out the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998, it has recovered the mass base it previously lost through grave errors of "left" and Right opportunism in the 1980s and has revitalized the armed revolutionary movement since the 1990s.

The key task of the Party in the next five years is to recruit at least 200,000 Party members in order to strengthen the revolutionary leadership and core of the revolutionary mass movement. The Party membership is an adequate base for reaching this goal within two years under the policy of expanding the Party membership boldly without letting in a single undesirable. The Party must recruit and swear in as Party candidate-members the activists in the mass organizations who accept the Constitution and Program of the Party.

Candidate-members of worker and peasant origin become full members within six months and those of petty-bourgeois origin, within one year. During the period of candidature, the concerned Party organ or unit must verify the good character and militancy of the candidate members in the mass movement and must provide to them the basic Party education. All leading Party organs and units must work fast to elevate to full membership both the backlog and the new crop of Party candidate-members.

There should be no unnecessary delays for Party candidate-members to become full members. The delays in elevating someone from candidature to full membership are often caused by negligence and lack of concern for the desire of candidate members to become full members. It suffices that the candidate-member gets the basic Party education and proves serious in carrying out his/her assigned tasks in the Party unit and mass organization.

To be able to build the Party rapidly, we must accelerate the building of the mass organizations for peasants, workers, youth, women, children, cultural activists and other sectors. It suffices at the start for the applicants/recruits to become members by accepting the program and constitution of the mass organization. Without a growing mass movement from which it can recruit candidate-members, the Party cannot expand and perform the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing a still greater number of people. Relative to the strategic task of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, both our Party organization and organized mass base are small. But they are more than adequate for us to aim for the level of strength necessary for reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate in less than five years if we sum up well the causes of the slow growth of the Party and the organized mass base and if we set the tasks for maximizing our strength and overcoming errors and weaknesses.

The expansion of the Party organization and organized mass base in both urban and rural areas can run ahead of the expansion of the people's army. The Party and the organized mass base can grow in all congressional districts of the reactionary state. Wherever they exist, their membership must be increased. Subsequently, some of the Party members and mass activists can be redeployed from time to time in order to cover areas where the Party and mass organizations do not yet exist and are too small.



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In the next five years, Party branches must be built in at least 20,000 villages and Party cadres must be developed at the regional, sub-regional, provincial, district or guerrilla front and section levels through various levels of Party education and through work in the mass movement. The Party cadres and members in the localities must be able to lead the work of the mass organizations, organs of political power, people's militia, barrio self-defense corps, and self-defense units of mass organizations. The people's militias assume the role of serving as the principal forces in launching local guerrilla warfare and standing as centers of gravity of the barrio self-defense corps and the self-defense units of the local mass organizations.

They must enable the units of the NPA to carry out tactical offensives. Thus, new fighting units can be created with the firearms seized from the enemy. We must depart from the old practice of overloading units of the people's army with tasks that can be performed by the local Party branches, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power that take charge of public education, economic affairs, health, self-defense, cultural activities and arbitration.

Under the leadership of the Party, the organs of political power can form and administer the people's militia and barrio self-defense corps for the purpose of internal security and police work. The mass organizations can also form and administer their own self-defense units. The members of the people's militia and barrio self-defense corps should run into tens of thousands, with every village having a militia platoon and a self-defense corps platoon. The self-defense units should run into hundreds of thousands, with every mass organization in every village having a self-defense platoon.

The NPA must put its units through distinct periods of politico-military training, combat, mass work and production. It must provide politico-military training to its combat units as well as to instructors for the people's militia and the self-defense units. NPA units may be rotated and deployed for battles for three to six months, depending on the situation. The point is to accelerate the seizure of weapons from the enemy forces. NPA units must also be rotated in mass work and production so that they remain close to the people and produce part of what they consume.

It is necessary for the Party to sum up its experience and current situation and to draw up the guidelines and plans for the NPA in every regional, sub-regional, provincial and district or guerrilla front level with definite reasonable targets for the number of weapons to seize from the enemy forces. What is reasonable is based on previous experience and current capabilities of the NPA units. An NPA command, for instance, may recommend to the Party committee a 10% increase in the number of weapons every three months.

Soft targets for raids, ambushes and disarming operations abound. These include police stations, small army detachments, paramilitary units, private security agencies, private armed groups and armed individual reactionaries. There are even softer targets for attritive actions to sap the strength and morale of the enemy forces, force them to do guard duty and commit mistakes in deploying troops and resources. Operations can be easily launched on the basis of intelligence buildup and timely reconnaissance.

It is by entrusting mass work and the mass movement to local Party branches, local organs of political power and the mass organizations, that the NPA can be confident that the mass base is being maintained and developed while it is concentrated on fighting and destroying the power and apparatuses of the reactionary state on a wide scale in the localities. Thus, the NPA can inspire and enable the people in the localities to take revolutionary power.

The revolutionary organs of political power grow stronger and more secure when reactionary power is destroyed and the reactionaries flee or are deprived of their local power and authority. The organs of political power should be based mainly on the mass organizations of the working people and are augmented through united front relations at various levels against the worst reactionaries.

IV. Strategy and tactics

The Party has correctly set the politico-military strategic line of protracted people's war. This means encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength over a long period of time until enough strength and capability have been accumulated to seize the cities on a nationwide scale in the stage of strategic offensive.

This line is based on the reality of the Philippines where the majority of the people are peasants, and the countryside offers the social and physical terrain for building the people's army and carrying out the people's war in stages.

The correctness of the strategic line is well proven by the fact that the New People's Army has been able to preserve itself and has grown from small to big and from weak to strong against brutal enemy attacks. Such attacks include campaigns of division-size task forces to nip the people's army in the bud from 1969 to 1972, the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos and the series of national counter-revolutionary military campaign plans launched by the successive pseudo-democratic regimes after Marcos. "

In the long course of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, we were able to build the people's army that started with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms (single-shot rifles and handguns) in early 1969 and reached the national total of 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985. Since 1985, however, it had become obvious that the NPA was being debilitated by such "left" opportunist lines as the "strategic counter-offensive" and the "Red area-white area" line.

These "left" opportunist lines undermined the strength of the NPA and wrought havoc on the revolutionary mass base and caused the reduction of the mass base by more than 60% in the 1980s. They played into the hands of the enemy that carried out Oplan lambat-Bitag (OIB) I, II and III designed to put the NPA units under strategic encirclement and "gradual constriction," and hunted them down with "special operations teams."

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized and repudiated the "left" opportunist lines as engaging in self-constriction and separation from the masses under the guise of strengthening the NPA through unwarranted verticalization and premature formation of larger units. In areas where the "left" opportunist lines took hold, the need for the horizontal spread of NPA units was laid aside, thus undermining and destroying our close links with the masses.



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The organized mass base of the revolutionary movement shrank even as the prematurely formed companies had bigger logistical demands.

Under the direction of the Party in the rectification movement, the NPA had to go back to the basics of guerrilla warfare. It was reoriented, reorganized and redeployed to carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The enemy knew about the return to small units and was emboldened to deploy its scout ranger teams against these units. But the NPA was able to preserve itself and recover the mass base precisely by adhering to its correct line during the entire period of the Ramos and Estrada regimes.

The stress on the horizontal spread of small NPA units in order to counter the harmful results of the premature verticalization and to recover the mass base was not without any negative aspect. It engendered guerrilla-ism or the roving rebel mentality and conservatism, especially where there were no conscious and resolute efforts to develop the revolutionary forces in a balanced way and the necessary correlation of the center of gravity and dispersed units in the work of the people's army. However, so long as the mass base was growing, it was much easier for the Party to rectify conservatism and guerrilla-ism.

The next big test of the NPA has been Oplan Bantay laya (OBI) with its brutal campaign against legal social activists and forced displacement of peasants and indigenous people in the countryside. OBI far exceeded OIB in scope, duration, intensity and brutality. The U.S. and the Arroyo regime (agitated by militarists and clerico-fascists who are U.S. CIA assets) harped on the line that progressive social activists are NPA fighters in disguise and calculated that the military campaigns would be more effective in the countryside if such social activists were suppressed through abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings.

OBI has proven the inadequacy of the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces to cover even only 10% of Philippine territory at every given time. The NPA can easily move about in 90% of the territory. Thus, it has been able to grow in strength and defeat the objectives of OBI. With OBI, the Arroyo regime has gained notoriety throughout the world for its gross and systematic violations of human rights.

But we must learn well the lessons from the various tactics the enemy has used in OBI, such as the "shock and awe" tactics of General Palparan in Oriental Mindoro, Eastern Visayas and Central Luzon, the "convergence" approach of General Gomez in Bohol, the "center of gravity" approach of Colonel Dagoy and the "sitio" approach of Colonel Bustillos.

From a strategic view, all these are paper tigers. But at the tactical level, where they pounced upon the guerrilla fronts and the masses, they were real brutal tigers inflicting a measure of damage, generating real problematic conditions for the revolution and causing errors and weaknesses on the part of the subjective forces of the revolution.

The Party has brought together and analyzed the reports from the regions concerned and has come up with plans to overcome the problems and to further strengthen the revolutionary forces. We have learned valuable lessons in overcoming the attacks of the enemy, preserving and

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upgrading our forces and mass base, launching full-scale guerrilla warfare and advancing the revolutionary struggle. Our difficult experiences have tempered us and we have emerged stronger, continue to inflict more widespread and heavy blows against the enemy, and are ever determined to advance and win our people's war.

At present, the NPA stands as the largest people's army that the Filipino working people have ever been able to put up, surpassing the number of riflemen in the revolutionary army of 1896 to 1902 and the old people's army of 1942 to 1952. To claim false credit, the reactionary forces keep on repeating the lie that the NPA had 25,000 fighters in 1986 and that they have succeeded in cutting the number down to 5,000 or even less.

The NPA rifle strength in 1986 was only 6,100 (an increase of 500 over the 1985 figure of 5,600), with no accurate accounting of the consequence of the "Left" opportunist lines and anti-informer hysteria, particularly *Kampanyang Ahas* in Mindanao. From figures of the 1985 Central Committee plenum, Mindanao had accounted for about 50% of NPA armed strength.

The current strength of the NPA is of critical mass in terms of its thousands of fighters with high-powered firearms. With proper deployment and employment, it can rapidly grow and advance in waves and in well-defined phases (middle and advanced) of the strategic defensive and the threshold and early phase of the strategic stalemate. Wherever NPA units exist under any level of command: barrio, section, guerrilla front, interfront, provincial, sub-regional and regional, there must be a relatively concentrated force as center of gravity. The center of gravity must be situated on the best available terrain. As wide areas are saturated with adjoining company-strength guerrilla fronts and transformed into sub-regional military areas and later further on into fluid war fronts, their centers of gravity develop larger vertical forces.

At the same time, the further development of horizontal forces consisting of a full-time guerrilla platoon at the municipal level would be beefed up with the proliferation of platoon-size people's militias, barrio self-defense corps and self-defense units of mass organizations at the barrio level, and the deployment of armed city partisans in urban centers within guerrilla fronts.

The current number of guerrilla fronts is more than adequate a base for aiming to cover almost all if not all the 179 rural congressional districts of the reactionary state with the Party, mass organizations, alliances and units of the people's army within the next two or three years. The strength of the NPA must not be divided and dissipated just to cover said congressional districts in an absolutely equal and even way. The NPA must grow in strength where they are and advance wave upon wave or deploy advance or seed units in such districts on the best available terrain.

In the next five years, the NPA is bound to deliver more telling lethal blows on the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces that would belie the false claims of reactionaries, pseudo-progressives and renegades that the NPA has been undermined and weakened by the post-Marcos antinational and antidemocratic regimes and by their military campaigns. Most importantly, the Party and the NPA



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are determined to increase the armed strength and political power of the working people.

The probable stages of development for the people's war are from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and from the latter to the strategic offensive. After being at the strategic defensive for four decades, we have developed the basis to aim at and reach the stage of strategic stalemate in the next five years and then strive to move onward to the final stage of strategic offensive.

We must sum up our fighting experience and current situation and develop guidelines and plans at the levels of the Central Committee, the Military Commission and NPA operational command; at the level of the regional Party committees and the regional operational commands; and at the sub-regional, provincial and district or guerrilla front levels for the purpose of launching tactical offensives and increasing the armed strength of the NPA to enable us to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

It is feasible for us in the next five years to have a guerrilla front in each of the 179 rural congressional districts and to deploy armed city partisans in all urban congressional districts. The coverage of a rural congressional district by a guerrilla front is facilitated by the existence and growth of guerrilla fronts in adjoining districts. The emergence and growth of guerrilla fronts will be uneven but we must always strive to realize the standard requirements and raise the general level of development. The regional Party committee and NPA operational command must make sure that centers of gravity at the regional, sub-regional, provincial and guerrilla front levels are located on terrain favorable for maneuver.

The guerrilla fronts would have more breadth and depth and become relatively stable as they become better coordinated under the inter-front, provincial, sub-regional or regional levels of the Party leadership and NPA command. The enemy forces would still have the capability to concentrate forces on the entirety or a part of a particular guerrilla front. But the interconnection and coordination of several adjoining guerrilla fronts under commands higher than that of the guerrilla front and the availability of strike forces for counterattacks by regional, sub-regional, provincial or inter-front commands will be crucial for preserving, strengthening and expanding the guerrilla fronts and launching coordinated tactical operations in the areas covered. Adjoining guerrilla fronts would be more easily coordinated than before and have an echelon of commands, such as the regional, sub-regional and provincial.

The enemy will always try to put our forces on strategic encirclement and launch strategic offensives. But the NPA would have increased initiative and ability in launching tactical encirclements and tactical offensives as the levels of regional, sub-regional and provincial commands are developed. Our increased offensives will compel

the enemy forces to increase personnel for the defense of camps, police stations and vital installations and reduce the number of enemy armed personnel for Offensive operations. And yet the enemy lines of patrols and supplies will remain vulnerable to NPA tactical offensives.

Wherever the enemy forces choose to encircle our forces, we engage in tactical counter-encirclements and fight on

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exterior lines. At the same time, we can take the initiative of launching tactical offensives elsewhere. We maintain a war of fluid movement. We continue to master and apply the tactics of concentration, shifting and dispersal in order to achieve our objectives according to concrete circumstances.

Whenever necessary, we trade space for time. We do not engage in any hard-headed defense of territory and allow ourselves to be forced into battles that put at risk any main unit of the NPA in any guerrilla front, province, sub-region or region. At all times, our small units that are dispersed for mass work must be vigilant against being caught by surprise and forced to fight purely defensive battles or chance encounters.

We wage only those battles of quick decision that we can win. We give priority to delivering blows on the weakest points of the enemy forces. The enemy is blind and deaf because it is hated by the people. They cannot tell when and where our forces are poised to strike. We take the full initiative in waging battles of annihilation, which would yield weapons for further strengthening the people's army and would inflict casualties that reduce the strength and weaken the morale of the enemy forces.

We have a wide array of tactics, which are more complex and more unpredictable to the enemy than a single-occasion ambush, raid and arrest operation, which may have its own complexity in the deployment of blocking, containing and close-in units. The complex tactics we refer to include the following: luring the enemy in deep and leading it to our zone of fire; ambushing or raiding one enemy force and as prelude to a bigger strike against the reinforcements; feigning to attack the east in order to attack the west; inducing an enemy force to go out of its base and destroying the base; tiring the enemy force by letting it march deep into our territory and ambushing it when it tries to return to base; and so forth.

Our principal objective is to wage and win battles of annihilation against the enemy forces. We must also wage attritive actions that serve to weaken and demoralize the forces of the enemy. These include sniping at enemy personnel by sniper teams or sparrow units, use of explosives against enemy vehicles, burning enemy fuel and motor depots and so on. We can make the monster bleed to death from battles of annihilation and attritive actions.

The advance of our people's war in stages and phases will mean the advance of our military tactics and technique. We learn our tactics from the summing up and analysis of our positive and negative experiences. We capture weapons, communications equipment and other forms of logistics from the enemy.

Even now we have access to sophisticated electronic equipment for communications and storing and retrieval of information. We must be strict in using these properly in our communications, work and offensives. Used irresponsibly, the same equipment can facilitate the infliction of harm on us by the enemy. We must never neglect the use and development of primitive but more reliable forms of communication such as the courier system on the basis of organized mass base and alliances.

We must conduct political work to recruit medical personnel and other professionals and technicians for various

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departments of the people's army and to develop alliances to enable us to have access to various types of professional and technical services. We must promote production by the people's army for its own needs and by the people to support the people's army and families of our Red fighters. We must gather the contributions of the working people who have benefited or stand to benefit from the policies of the revolutionary government and movement.

The people's government has the power of taxation in order to control and regulate enterprises and assets that earn rent and profit and in order to collect the resources for the delivery of social services much needed by the masses, including the administration and support for the programs of production, education, health, defense and cultural development. When certain political groups and individuals make donations to the people's government, these are used for social purposes and are not payment for the right to campaign or win a position in reactionary elections.

Aside from combat operations to wipe out units of the military, police and paramilitary forces and private armed groups, we must carry out operations to arrest for trial and punishment the exploiters and oppressors who have incurred blood debts, violators of human rights, the plunderers, land-grabbers, destroyers of the environment and the top purveyors of prohibited drugs. We must dismantle the reactionary organs of political power and anti-people enterprises that grab land and destroy the environment.

We must remove the incorrigible oppressors and exploiters from our guerrilla fronts. We expand and consolidate Red political power by eliminating or driving them away from the guerrilla fronts. We must prepare ourselves against the further increase of U.S. military intervention forces as we succeed in advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We must be prepared against all-out U.S. military aggression.

Take advantage of the crisis conditions by intensifying the people's war!

Fulfill the political requirements under the leadership of the Party!

Continue extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare!

Advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate!

Carry forward the new democratic revolution through people's war!



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Israeli soldier aboard hijacked relief ship

Gaza flotilla attack: British activists tell of abuse by Israelis

London Telegraph June 3, 2010

By Justin Vela in Istanbul

British activists who took part in the Gaza aid flotilla have been deported from Israel, alleging they were abused, humiliated and beaten by troops after the raid on their ships.

Paveen Yaqub from Manchester, was on board the Mavi Marmara, on which nine people were killed when it was stormed by Israeli commandos on Monday. She said she was later kicked and abused by two Israeli policemen.

"They were kicking my legs to make me fall and mocking me in Hebrew," she said. "They were trying to take trophy pictures with me, and they liked laughing in my face. They also searched me, but I won't go into that. They took pleasure in humiliating us."

Speaking at Istanbul Airport, where planes full of hundreds of deportees landed on Thursday morning, she said the experience had been "a nightmare."

"We were terrorized for the last few days by the Israeli authorities," she said, visibly shaken and holding back tears. "It was an insane situation. I'm exhausted. I haven't slept for days. I was on hunger strike for the last few hours."

Ms Yaqub said that the Israeli authorities had tried to force her to sign a document written in Hebrew, but she refused.

Sarah Colborne, director of campaigns and operations at the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, was also on board the Mavi Marmara. Insisting that no one on board the boat was armed, she said the attack was an act of piracy and a "massacre."

At one point, she saw a man being shot dead by an Israeli commando.

"We still don't know how many people were actually murdered because there are still many missing," she said.



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"When I was on the upper deck I saw an injured person being brought to the back of the deck being tended to by a doctor and someone who is trained in first aid. He was shot in the head. It was clear it was not some paint ball. It was a bullet." Ms Colborne described scenes of chaos on the ship in the moments after the Israelis boarded.

"As I walked up, the dinghies the Israelis used were bristling with arms. I couldn't even count how many ships there were in the water. It was just literally bristling with ships, helicopters, gunfire. The whole thing was just horrific."

"All I know is that there was gunfire everywhere around. The people on board the ship had no idea that the Israelis might use deadly force," she said.

"We had no weapons. We were on a peaceful humanitarian mission. We knew there might be problems with the Israelis because of the way they treated previous convoys in the past and because of the way they treat the Palestinian people.

"We never considered that they would murder so many people on a humanitarian mission. It was very clear there was no way we could have been carrying weapons on board. Yet we were attacked with live gunfire."

Planes carrying 527 activists from the six ships seized by the Israeli navy finally left in the early hours of Thursday morning, most to Turkey but some to Greece. Some of the almost 700 arrested had agreed to be deported immediately, while 126 from Muslim countries with no relations with Israel were driven over the Allenby Bridge into Jordan to be repatriated from there.

The Israeli authorities have defended their seizure of the boats, saying they had to prevent the blockade on Gaza, which they say is necessary to stop weapons and supplies to Hamas, from being breached.

They also say their troops only opened fire in self-defence, after coming under sustained attack from activists wielding metal bars and knives. Members of the activist groups have admitted that the first troops to land on the boat were seized and had their weapons taken off them.

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, was unrepentant when he spoke on Israeli television on Wednesday night.

He said easing the blockade, in line with demands from the United Nations, the European Union and political leaders including David Cameron, the prime minister, would put Iranian missiles in the hands of the Gaza's Hamas rulers.

"Once again, Israel faces hypocrisy and a biased rush to judgment," Mr. Netanyahu said.

"The international community cannot afford an Iranian port on the Mediterranean. The same countries that are criticising us today, should know that they could be targeted tomorrow."

U.S. Woman Loses Eye After Being Hit During Anti-Israeli Protest

huffingtonpost.com/2010/06/01

JERUSALEM — An American woman has lost her eye during a demonstration in Jerusalem against Israel's naval raid on a Gaza aid flotilla, a hospital official said Tuesday.

Emily Henochowicz, 21, of Maryland, underwent surgery after suffering the injury, said hospital spokeswoman Yael Bossem-Levy.

Henochowicz was hit in the face by a tear gas canister shot by an Israeli border policeman, said witness Jonathan Pollak.

He said Palestinian youths were hurling rocks, but Henochowicz didn't participate in any violence and was standing at a distance.

Mark Toner, a State Department spokesman, said, "We can confirm that a U.S. citizen, Emily Henochowicz, suffered a serious injury when a gas canister hit her in the face, as she was standing among other protesters in the West Bank at the Qalandiya checkpoint between the West Bank and Israel."

There was no immediate military comment.

In a Facebook message to The Associated Press, Sarah Henochowicz said the family would have no comment about her sister, calling it "a private matter."

On her Facebook page, Emily Henochowicz's current city is listed as Ramallah, West Bank, and her latest posting on Monday read: "Gaza on my Mind." Her page says she is a student at Cooper Union, a college in New York, and Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design.

On another page, a posting said: "A message from Emily's sister Sarah Henochowicz: This is to notify everyone concerned about my sister Emily. The surgery was successful and she is currently recuperating in Hadassah Hospital. Thank you for your kind words and support, my family and I greatly appreciate it. Her father is by her side and will bring her home as soon as she is able to travel."



I am Palestinian!



Carl Sandburg (1878-1967)

I Am the People, the Mob

By Carl Sandburg

I AM the people-the mob-the crowd-the mass.

Do you know that all the great work of the world is done through me?

I am the workingman, the inventor, the maker of the world's food and clothes.

I am the audience that witnesses history. The Napoleons come from me and the Lincolns. They die. And then I send forth more Napoleons and Lincolns.

I am the seed ground. I am a prairie that will stand for much plowing. Terrible storms pass over me. I forget. The best of me is sucked out and wasted. I forget. Everything but Death comes to me and makes me work and give up what I have. And I forget.

Sometimes I growl, shake myself and spatter a few red drops for history to remember. Then -- I forget.

When I, the People, learn to remember, when I, the People, use the lessons of yesterday and no longer forget who robbed me last year, who played me for a fool -- then there will be no speaker in all the world say the name: "The People," with any fleck of a sneer in his voice or any far-off smile of derision. The mob-the crowd -- the mass -- will arrive then.



Greek Communists and the Struggle Against Imperialism and Revisionism

By Tom Big Warrior

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was founded in 1918 as the Socialist Labor Party (Sosialistike Ergatike Komma Elladas). In 1920 it added "Komunist" to its name, becoming the SEKE-K, and joined the Communist International (Comintern) headquartered in Moscow. In 1924, it adopted democratic-centralism and became the KKE.

Its roots, however, go back to the 1880s, to the Greek Socialist Party and the path-breaking work of Dr. Dracoules, who in 1901 was elected to the Greek Parliament representing the Socialist Party. In 1909, the military rose up and swept away the elected government, and Dr. Dracoules established the Labor League, with political and trade union wings.

The Greek Communists strongly opposed the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). The Party led strikes and anti-war demonstrations and founded the General Greek Workers Confederation out of the many trade unions it helped to initiate. In 1929, the workers' movement came under government repression and many leftists were placed in prison camps. In 1932, the Party founded the anti-fascist People's Front, and in 1936, the KKE was banned by the dictator Metaxas.

Around 400 Greeks joined the International Brigade to fight the fascists in Spain, including many of the ranking KKE cadre. By 1940, half the Party members were either in prison or exile leaving only around 1,000 to deal with Italy's invasion in 1941.



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The "Old Central Committee" took a line of collaboration with the Italian fascist invaders, but Georgias Siantos, who escaped from prison, and Nikos Zachariades, who didn't, called for armed resistance. On April 6, 1941, the German Nazis invaded Greece to help out their Italian allies who were getting their butts kicked by the Greek Army.

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the KKE closed ranks. The "Old Central Committee" deferred to the new, but the Germans transferred Zachariades to their concentration camp at Dachau. Georgias Siantos stood in for him as acting General Secretary. The KKE organized its first two partisan units in Macedonia at the end of June 1941. In September, the KKE united with five smaller leftist organizations to form the National Liberation Front (EAM).



On February 16, 1942, the ELAS was formed and within a year counted more than 150,000 volunteers, both men and women, as well as some 30,000 in reserve units in the cities. The Greek partisans acted in cooperation with other communist-led partisans in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Some of the imprisoned Greek comrades had been able to or were allowed to escape during and after the German invasion, but most were turned over to the Germans, and many were executed as reprisals for attacks by the ELAS.

In September of 1943, the Armistice allowed the ELAS to seize control of the weapons of the Italians garrisoned in Greece. More and more the fighting was shifting to fascist security units armed by the Nazis who were sent in to areas the Germans feared to enter. These collaborationists perpetrated many atrocities on the Greek people. Nearly 800 officers of the old Greek Army joined up with the ELAS.

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"In March 1944, EAM established the Political Committee of National Liberation (*Politiki Epitropi Ethnikis Apeleftherosis*, or PEEA), in effect a third Greek government to rival those in Athens and Cairo. Its aims were 'to intensify the struggle against the conquerors... for full national liberation, for the consolidation of the independence and integrity of our country... and for the annihilation of domestic Fascism and armed traitor formations.' PEEA consisted not only of communists but also of progressives, who had nothing to do with communist ideas.

"The moderate aims of the PEEA (known as 'the Mountain Government') aroused support even among Greeks in exile. In April 1944 the Greek armed forces in Egypt, many of them well-disposed towards EAM, demanded that a Government of National Unity be established, based on PEEA principles, and replace the government-in-exile as it had no political or other link with the occupied home country. The movement was violently suppressed by British forces and Greek officers loyal to the exiled government. Approximately 8,000 Greek soldiers and officers were sent into prison camps in Libya, Sudan, Egypt and South Africa. Later on, through political screening of the officers, the Cairo government created the III Greek Mountain Brigade, composed of staunchly anti-Communist personnel, under the command of Brigadier Thrasyvoulos Tsakalotos." – Wikipedia

In May 1944, representatives from all political parties and resistance groups came together at a conference in Lebanon which ended with an agreement for a government of national unity. Under the Caserta Agreement of September 1944, a British officer, General Ronald Scobie, was placed in command of all resistance forces. In October, British troops began landing in Greece, after the ELAS had already liberated almost all of the country.

By the end of the war, membership in KKE had swelled to 800,000. Nikos Zachariadis had managed to survive his stay at Dachau, and he returned to Greece in 1945 and was elected General Secretary of KKE. The British-backed government in exile also returned, and fighting soon broke out between it and EAM after police (backed by British troops) opened fire on a EAM-called demonstration of more than 100,000, killing 28 and wounding 148. This instigated the 37-day Battle of Athens.

President Truman instigated the "Cold War" in Greece, as he was determined to prevent the Communists from gaining power there based upon the support they had earned from the masses during the Resistance. He spurred the British to take a hard line. Churchill went to Greece to take charge personally on December 25th.

The Battle of Athens had ended with the Treaty of Varkiza, in which the ELAS agreed to lay down its arms and disband its units. But this had left the Left vulnerable to attack by the Right – including militia that had collaborated with the Nazis during the war – and state-sponsored terrorism backed by the Brits. In the few months that followed, some 100,000 EAM members and former ELAS partisans were imprisoned or forced into exile. Thousands were murdered, hundreds of



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women were raped and homes and even villages were burned by the police-armed right-wing militias.

Many comrades returned to their old partisan hide-outs and rearmed themselves by ambushing the militias and the police. Stalin had promised to allow Britain's rulers to have Greece as part of their sphere of influence in exchange for their conceding Rumania. But other socialist countries, most notably Yugoslavia, were willing to help. By mid-1946 the KKE leadership were willing to fight for national liberation. They boycotted the elections and formed the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE), whose symbol was the Greek letter "D" for *Demokratia*. Armed resistance soon spread all over the country, including the Aegean Islands.



In 1947, the Provisional Democratic Government was formed under the premiership of Markos Vafiadis to deal with issues in the territory under the control of the DSE. The self-determination of ethnic minorities was an issue of particular concern: Most particularly the issue of Macedonian independence and alliance with the Macedonian people as coequals in DSE, the majority of whom were Macedonians.

In March of 1946, Winston Churchill delivered his famous "Iron Curtain" speech, but by December the Brits were pleading to the Americans that they could no longer afford to support the counter-insurgency in Greece or contain Communist influence in the region. On March 12, 1947, President Truman announced the "Truman Doctrine," pledging to support Greece and Turkey with military and economic aid to prevent their falling into the Soviet sphere. Actually the Soviets were growing concerned about Yugoslavia's growing influence in the region as well as Tito's growing independence from Moscow. The combination of massive U.S. aid to the Greek government and Stalin pressuring Tito to close the Yugoslavian border to the Greek partisans tilted the balance in the Greek Civil War (1946-1949).

Stalin forced the Greek communists to choose between him and Tito, when he expelled Yugoslavia from the socialist bloc of countries, and they chose Stalin – even though it meant losing their principle ally. This also meant purging their ranks of those who were inclined to support Tito. Where they had been

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winning the Civil War, their support now declined sharply. U.S. advisors pressed the National Army to evacuate the villages the partisans relied on for food, recruits and logistical support. The Greek Army was expanded to 90,000 men: While the DSE was at the height of its strength at 20,000 armed fighters. Lacking ammunition, the DSE forces in southern Greece faced a huge defeat in the summer of 1948. In the summer of 1949, the Greek Army launched a huge counter-offensive in northern Greece codenamed "Operation Torch" – which gives some indication of the tactics employed.

Backed into a corner, the Greek Communists had no choice but to withdraw across the border to Albania:

"At the end of August 1949, after a three-and-a-half-year armed struggle against the Greek monarchist-fascist reaction and the Anglo-American imperialism, following a decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), the partisans of the Democratic Army of Greece (DA) left behind their homeland and retreated to Albania. It was a mass exodus. In 1949-50, an overall number of 55,381 people (of which 67.6% were adults 18-55 years old, 1.7% were very old and 17,352 were children up to 17 years) abandoned Greece and settled in the various People's Republics and the Soviet Union. Almost 18,000 communist refugees went to Tashkent, the capital of the SSR of Uzbekistan where they were organised in separate residential quarters called *Politeies*.

"After adjusting to the new life conditions, the Greek communists proceeded to reorganise their party. From the 10th to the 14th of October 1950, the 3rd Conference of the KKE took place. This body purged almost all the opportunists from the party. For the first time since 1940, a heavy blow was dealt to the right opportunism and to all opportunists who had betrayed the popular movement during the time of the Nazi occupation by signing the agreements in Lebanon (20/5/1944), Gazerta (26/9/1944) and Varkiza (12/2/1945) and who, moreover, had sabotaged the development and enlargement of the DA during the Civil War.

"Shortly after the death of Stalin in 1953, the revisionist faction of Khrushchev-Mikoyan-Brezhnev that prevailed in CPSU started making approaches to the secretaries of the Communist Parties in order to assess their readiness to adopt its counter-revolutionary line. They found out that the KKE leadership headed by Nikos Zachariades was not willing to abandon the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist course and follow the anti-Stalinist revisionist course. In particular, they requested that he revise his attitude in three fundamental questions of the world communist movement: 1) to regard the capitalist Yugoslavia as a 'socialist' country, 2) to turn against Stalin by writing articles in Pravda on the 'cult of personality' – this infamous, Khrushchevian myth of idealist origin, and 3) to assent to the liquidation of Cominform. The reply given by the great and unwavering communist leader on all the above requests was negative.

"When the members of the Khrushchevian revisionist clique became sure that this kind of pressure will not have any effect, they tried to form a right opportunist faction in the Tashkent Party Organisation (KOT) – the

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largest KKE Party Organisation in the socialist countries – and to push it right up to the Organisation's leadership. Unfortunately for them there was a lack of support for it save for a few opportunists. The revolutionary KKE leadership headed by Nikos Zachariades acted immediately; the faction leaders were unmasked and removed from the leadership of KOT.



"Nikos Zachariades, speaking in a meeting of Party cadres in the theatre Mu Ki Mi in Tashkent, said the following among other things: 'comrades, several speakers attacked Demetriou and more or less consider him the leader of the revisionists. Demetriou, comrades, is just the end of the tail of a clumsily camouflaged elephant. The serious and historic task allotted to all of us is to pull this tail so that the whole world will see the elephant: Khrushchev.'" – "The Struggle of the Greek Communists against Revisionism," Organisation for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Greece 1918-1955

Realizing that Zachariades was not going to bend, the Khrushchevites made repeated attempts to assassinate him. Failing at this, they organized an assault on the KOT offices with around 200 of the Greek exiles on September 9, 1955, but they failed to capture it. The masses of exiled partisans rushed to defend their leadership. Clashes and beatings followed and lasted until the Soviet police and cadets rescued the opportunists and arrested hundreds of the Greek Communists. Their leaders were tried for "hooliganism."

This marked the first act of international resistance to the Khrushchevite revisionist clique that would eventually escalate into the Sino-Soviet split – in which the Albanian Communists



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sided with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party in defending Stalin – with some criticisms – and opposing the rigging-up of state capitalism in the Soviet Union under the cover of phony "socialism."

"The overwhelming majority of the Greek communists, more than 95% of the KOT members, condemned the Khrushchevian revisionists' intervention in KKE and they rallied around their Party headed by Nikos Zachariades. Their violent and bloody confrontation with the factionists was the first act of resistance in the communist movement against revisionism before the 20th Congress. This anti-revisionist attitude, was clearly expressed in the historic 5th Plenum of the CC of KKE convened at the end of December 1955 (26-28.12 1955). It was historic because: 1) it openly condemned the anti-communist Khrushchevian revisionist intervention in KKE and 2) it was meant to be the last convened body of our heroic party before its final liquidation. In the Plenum's decision, in relation to the situation in KOT, it is mentioned that: 'the faction would have achieved nothing at all had it not received the support by certain Soviet comrades, who were convinced that the faction is the strongest and the most pro-Soviet part of KOT which they must support and help.

"This fact encouraged the factionists even more to act and to openly declare that 'whatever we say and do are approved by the Soviets' (Demetriou) and that 'I am not afraid of anything because 200 million Soviets stand behind me' (Hatouras) etc. etc.

"The 5th Plenum was a real triumph for the Marxist-Leninist side in KKE and Nikos Zachariades personally. This is actually admitted by the main factionist leader in KOT, Demetriou ('Eleutherotypia', 2004). However, the revisionist faction was not yet totally defeated and the outcome of internal struggle in KKE would be decisively determined by the corresponding struggle in CPSU between the supporters of Stalin and the supporters of Khrushchev.

"The overwhelming and militant opposition of the Greek communist political refugees, headed by Nikos Zachariades against the Khrushchevian clique in September 1955 in Tashkent, was chronologically the first in the history of the international communist movement's struggle against Khrushchevian revisionism, and, also, a culmination of the revolutionary KKE (1918-1955) heroic struggle. If one takes into account the unheard-of disaster that inevitably followed the enforcement of Khrushchevian revisionism to the communist parties (destruction of socialism and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, breaking-up of the capitalist Soviet Union, liquidation of the communist parties), it can be said that it was not just a culmination of the long struggle of the Stalinist-Zachariadist KKE, but was at the same time a great and unique moment in the struggle of the international communist movement (Comintern-Cominform) against the new counter-revolutionary treacherous trend of Khrushchevian revisionism which emerged in its lines in the mid-1950s: it was precisely this moment that marked the beginning of the most fierce ideological-political struggle against Khrushchevian revisionism in international level, a struggle that has been going on for



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half a century now, is still going on and it will be going on in the future until its final victory.

"In this context, the 'Tashkent events' acquire a triple historical importance: First, they constituted the first open and brutal intervention of the Khrushchevian revisionists in the internal affairs of a communist party aiming at its liquidation. Second, they marked the beginning of the resistance and struggle of the Greek communists against Khrushchevian revisionism even before its emergence as a complete ideological-political trend in the 20th Congress of CPSU (February 1956). Third, they raised the banner of struggle of the communists in all countries against this counter-revolutionary trend. The rising and battle of the Greek communists in Tashkent, in September of 1955, ushers in the period of struggle against Khrushchevian revisionism on international level." – Ibid.

The revolutionary leaders of the KKE were shipped off to Siberia after ridiculous show trials in Tashkent, and the Greek Party was liquidated and replaced by the current revisionist KKE, a parliamentary party committed to playing the role of reformist opposition leader. Nikos Zachariadis died in Siberia in August 1973 at the age of 70. The Soviet authorities contradicted themselves with two different stories as to his cause of death, claiming first heart attack and then suicide.

The Greek Civil War left the people of Greece sharply divided and highly polarized. The Brits restored the monarchy before they turned Greece over to the Americans, who quickly brought Greece (as well as Turkey) into NATO. The KKE was outlawed, and a large number of Communists and sympathizers were in prison or exile. Several prominent cadre were executed, including Nikos Beloyannis in 1952 and Nikos Ploumpidis in 1954. The former king, Constantine II, claimed he had proposed re-legalizing the KKE in 1964, but it did not happen until 1974, when the monarchy was abolished.

In April of 1967, a CIA-backed group of right-wing colonels led by Georgios Papadopoulos carried out a coup d'état on the pretext of an "imminent Communist threat," and all political parties were dissolved. The crisis began in 1963, with the assassination of a leading Leftist politician, Gregoris Lambrakis, depicted in the movie "Z" by Costa Gavras. As the involvement of the colonels in the plot (and behind them NATO) was being exposed, the imperialists resorted to imposing overt fascism that lasted until 1974.

The extent to which the U.S. imperialists were involved in the coup and the "government of the colonels" is revealed in the book *Killing Hope* by William Blum:

"It's the best damn government since Pericles,' the American two-star General declared. (The news report did not mention whether he was chewing on a big fat cigar.)

"The government, about which the good General was so ebullient, was that of the Colonels' junta which came to power in a military coup in April 1967, followed immediately by the traditional martial law, censorship, arrests, beatings, torture, and killings, the victims totaling some 8,000 in the first month. This was accompanied by the equally traditional declaration that this was all being done to save the nation from a 'communist takeover.' Corrupting and subversive influences in Greek life were

to be removed. Among these were miniskirts, long hair, and foreign newspapers; church attendance for the young would be compulsory.

"So brutal and so swift was the repression, that by September, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands were before the European Commission of Human Rights to accuse Greece of violating most of the Commission's conventions. Before the year was over Amnesty International had sent representatives to Greece to investigate the situation. From this came a report which asserted that 'Torture as a deliberate practice is carried out by both Security Police and the Military Police.'

"The coup had taken place two days before the campaign for national elections was to begin, elections which appeared certain to bring the veteran liberal leader George Papandreou back as prime minister. Papandreou had been elected in February 1964 with the only outright majority in the history of modern Greek elections. The successful machinations to unseat him had begun immediately, a joint effort of the Royal Court! the Greek Military, and the American military and CIA stationed in Greece.

"Philip Deane (the pen name of Gerassimos Gigantes) is a Greek, a former UN official, who worked during this period both for King Constantine and as an envoy to Washington for the Papandreou government. He has written an intimate account of the subtleties and the grossness of this conspiracy to undermine the government and enhance the position of the military plotters, and of the raw power exercised by the CIA in his country. ...Greece was looked upon much as a piece of property to be developed according to Washington's needs. A story related by Deane illustrates how this attitude was little changed, and thus the precariousness of Papandreou's position: During one of the perennial disputes between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, which was now spilling over onto NATO, President Johnson summoned the Greek ambassador to tell him of Washington's 'solution.' The ambassador protested that it would be unacceptable to the Greek parliament and contrary to the Greek constitution. 'Then listen to me, Mr. Ambassador,' said the President of the United States, 'fuck your Parliament and your Constitution. America is an elephant. Cyprus is a flea. If these two fleas continue itching the elephant, they may just get whacked by the elephant's trunk, whacked good! We pay a lot of good American dollars to the Greeks, Mr. Ambassador. If your Prime Minister gives me talk about Democracy, Parliament and Constitutions, he, his Parliament and his Constitution may not last very long.'

"In July 1965, George Papandreou was finally maneuvered out of office by royal prerogative. The king had a coalition of breakaway Center Union Deputies (Papandreou's party) and rightists waiting in the wings to form a new government. It was later revealed by a State Department official that the CIA Chief-of-Station in Athens, John Maury, had 'worked in behalf of the palace in 1965.' He helped King Constantine buy Center Union Deputies so that the George Papandreou Government was toppled. For nearly two years



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thereafter, various short-lived cabinets ruled until it was no longer possible to avoid holding the elections prescribed by the constitution.

"What concerned the opponents of George Papandreou most about him was his son Andreas Papandreou, who had been head of the economics department at the University of California at Berkeley and a minister in his father's cabinet, was destined for a leading role in the new government. But he was by no means the wide-eyed radical. In the United States Andreas had been an active supporter of such quintessential moderate liberals as Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey. His economic views, wrote Washington Post columnist Marquis Childs, were 'those of the American New Deal.'

"But Andreas Papandreou did not disguise his wish to take Greece out of the cold war. He publicly questioned the wisdom of the country remaining in NATO, or at least remaining in it as a satellite of the United States. He leaned toward opening relations with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries on Greece's border. He argued that the swollen American military and intelligence teams in Greece compromised the nation's freedom of action. And he viewed the Greek Army as a threat to democracy, wishing to purge it of its most dictatorial — and royalist-minded senior officers.

"Andreas Papandreou's bark was worse than his bite, as his later presidency was to amply demonstrate. (He did not, for example, pull Greece out of NATO or U.S. bases out of Greece.) But in Lyndon Johnson's Washington, if you were not totally and unquestionably with us, you were agin' us. Johnson felt that Andreas, who had become a naturalized U.S. citizen, had 'betrayed America.' Said LBJ:

"We gave the son of a bitch American citizenship, didn't we? He was an American, with all the rights and privileges. And he had sworn allegiance to the flag. And then he gave up his American citizenship. He went back to just being a Greek. You can't trust a man who breaks his oath of allegiance to the flag of these United States."

"What, then, are we to make of the fact that Andreas Papandreou was later reported to have worked with the CIA in the early 1960s? (He criticized publication of the report, but did not deny the charge.) If true, it would not have been incompatible with being a liberal, particularly at that time. It was incompatible, as he subsequently learned, only with his commitment to a Greece independent from U.S. foreign policy.

"As for the elder Papandreou, his anti-communist credentials were impeccable, dating back to his role as a British-installed prime minister during the civil war against the left in 1944-45. But he, too, showed stirrings of independence from the Western superpower. He refused to buckle under Johnson's pressure to compromise with Turkey over Cyprus. He accepted an invitation to visit Moscow, and when his government said that it would accept Soviet aid in preparation for a possible war with Turkey, the U.S. Embassy demanded an explanation. Moreover, in an attempt to heal the old wounds of the civil war, Papandreou began to

reintroduce certain civil liberties and to readmit into Greece some of those who had fought against the government in the civil war period.

"When Andreas Papandreou assumed his ministerial duties in 1964 he was shocked to discover what was becoming a fact of life for every techno-industrial state in the world: an intelligence service gone wild, a shadow government with powers beyond the control of the nation's nominal leaders. This, thought Papandreou, unaccounted for many of the obstacles the government was encountering in trying to carry out its policies.

"A CIA report dated 23 January 1967 had specifically named the Papadopoulos group as one plotting a coup, and was apparently one of the reports discussed at the February meeting.

"Of the cabal of five officers which took power in April, four, reportedly, were intimately connected to the American military or to the CIA in Greece. The fifth man had been brought in because of the armored units he commanded. George Papadopoulos emerged as the defacto leader, taking the title prime minister later in the year.

"The catchword amongst old hands at the U.S. military mission in Greece was that Papadopoulos was 'the first CIA agent to become Premier of a European country.'"

The Johnson administration put the Junta in power, but in 1968, the Junta backed the campaign of Nixon and Agnew with a \$549,000 contribution. Some speculate that the CIA used the Junta to channel funds to their preferred candidate.



In 1968, the KKE split into rival revisionist parties with the KKE (Interior) adopting a very liberal Eurocommunism, and aligning with the revisionist Communist Party of Italy, while dubbing the other bunch the "KKE (Exterior)" — implying that they were run by Moscow. Both groups were underground and worked through other center and left parties and the trade unions. Resentment against the repressive Junta gave rise to



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a student movement and the formation of the underground Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) in the universities.

The revisionism of the KKE (Interior and Exterior) left the Greek masses without a genuine revolutionary vanguard party, and they were cowed by the brutality of the police and state security forces, who boasted of their unaccountability and Amerikan patronage:

"Perhaps nothing better captures the mystique of the bond felt by the Greeks to their American guardians than the story related about Chief Inspector Basil Lambrou, one of Athens well-known torturers:

"Hundreds of prisoners have listened to the little speech given by Inspector Basil Lambrou, who sits behind his desk which displays the red, white, and blue clasped-hand symbol of American aid. He tries to show the prisoner the absolute futility of resistance 'You make yourself ridiculous by thinking you can do anything. The world is divided in two. There are the communists on that side and on this side the free world. The Russians and the Americans, no one else. What are we? Americans. Behind me there is the government, behind the government is NATO, behind NATO is the U.S. You can't fight us, we are Americans.'

"Amnesty International adds that some torturers would tell their victims things like 'The Human Rights Commission can't help you now... The Red Cross can do nothing for you. Tell them all, it will do no good, you are helpless.' 'The torturers from the start,' said Amnesty, 'had said that the United States supported them and that was what counted.'

"In November 1973, a falling-out within the Greek inner circle culminated in the ousting of Papadopoulos and his replacement by Col. Demetrios Ioannidis, Commander of the Military Police, torturer, graduate of American training in anti-subversive techniques, confidant of the CIA. Ioannidis named as prime minister a Greek-American, A. Androutsopoulos, who came to Greece after the Second World War as an official employee of the CIA, a fact of which Mr. Androutsopoulos had often boasted.

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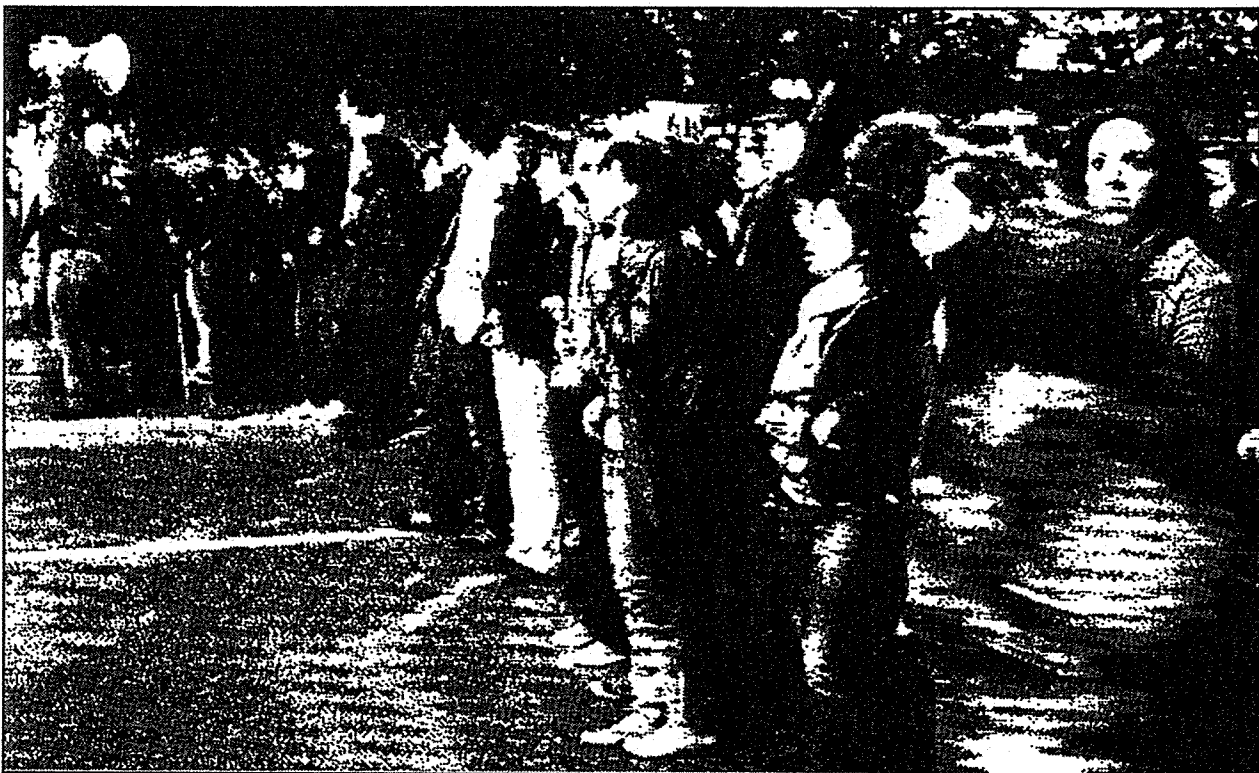
"Eight months later, the Ioannidis regime overthrew the government of Cyprus. It was a fatal miscalculation. Turkey invaded Cyprus and the reverberations in Athens resulted in the military giving way to a civilian government. The Greek nightmare had come to an end."
- Ibid.

The turning point, actually, was the rebellion of the students that began with a sit-in demonstration at the Law School in Athens in February of 1973. There were other sit-ins and protests as well, with growing participation. But things took a qualitative leap when students at the Athens Polytechnic sat-in to protest the Junta's interference in their student elections on the 14th of November. Despite the police presence, more and more people started gathering on the campus to show solidarity with the students, and the banners and signs the students put up on the occupied buildings got bolder and more revolutionary, such as; "People Break Your Chains!", "U.S. Out!", "Down With the Junta!" and "Papadopoulos, You Fascist, Take Your Washerwoman Wife, Take Despina, and Go, the People Don't Want You!"

The students took over the university radio station and cranked it up, belting out calls for the people to rise up. "Polytechnic here... This is the radio station of the fighting students. Down with the Junta! Down with Papadopoulos! U.S. Out of Greece, Now! End Fascism, Now! Join Us!" And the people responded.

By the evening of February 15th, some 300,000 people, mostly workers and working class youth, surrounded the Polytechnic. The police hesitated, and the masses surged forward. The colonels had been taken by surprise, but the resentment of the people had been building for a long time. The students had provided the spark, they had given the Greek masses their courage back. Farmers and factory workers came to put their bodies on the line beside the fighting students. The Junta responded predictably with brute force, sending in their tanks, soldiers and police prepared to use deadly force to crush the non-violent rebellion at whatever cost.







Late on the 16th, the government assault began with tanks surrounding the campus, firing on the demonstrators. Running fights break out along the city avenues, as demonstrators hurl back tear gas canisters, bricks, bottles and anything they can lay hands on. Students call out to the soldiers on loud speakers and bullhorns, "We are brothers, don't shoot us, join us!"

At 2:50 AM a tank breaches the gate to the university, the gate falls and the tank continues up the steps. It is followed by LOK Special Forces and other riot-gearred government security forces. More shots are fired and dozens of students fall, bleeding from wounds.

By 3:20 AM the Polytechnic and the streets are empty, except for the police and soldiers. Dozens lay dead, and many others have been wounded and carried away by comrades. But the Junta has won an empty victory. The people's movement is again on the rise. The people's fear has turned to resolve.

Replacing Papadopoulos with Ioannidis does not satisfy their demand for Democracy. After the Cyprus disaster, the Army steps in and returns power to a conservative civilian government that ends the monarchy and legalizes the EEK, but mass radicalization continues to grow with a massive strike wave and demonstrations against imperialism.



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Every year since, the anniversary of the Polytechnic uprising is commemorated with marches, speeches and demonstrations. It marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle. The struggle has advanced in waves.

From the rebellion of the Polytechnic in 1973 and through the occupations of the universities in the years 1978-1979, to the great occupations during the political crisis in 1990-1991, and since the student movement grew in militancy and consciousness and through building ties with the workers' movement and professional associations.

Opposition to the U.S. attack on Iraq in 2003 had a dramatic radicalizing effect. As the bombs were falling on Baghdad, almost every Greek city was rocked by mass demonstrations against Bush's war. They were the biggest street demonstrations since the fall of the Junta. Teenage high school students were at the heart of the anti-war explosion, shutting down their schools and converging on the urban centers in their thousands on March 21, 2003. Another radicalizing influence on the youth was the worldwide anti-capitalist globalization movement, which brought youth and students from all over Europe to Athens in May of 2003.

Many of those radicalized as high schools students in 2003 later took part in the massive student strike of 2006, in which 90% of the universities in Greece were either occupied or shut-down. The spark that ignited the student strike explosion was a bill proposed by the right-wing New Democracy government to promote cut-backs, privatization and for-profit universities.

Greece has the lowest education budget in the European Union (EU) and the highest unemployment rate among university graduates. Most of those who are lucky enough to find employment are often still stuck competing with students and immigrant workers for low-wage service sector jobs. Many can only find part-time work or conversely must work 10-hour days in sweat shops.

A striking student explains in an interview by *Justice*:

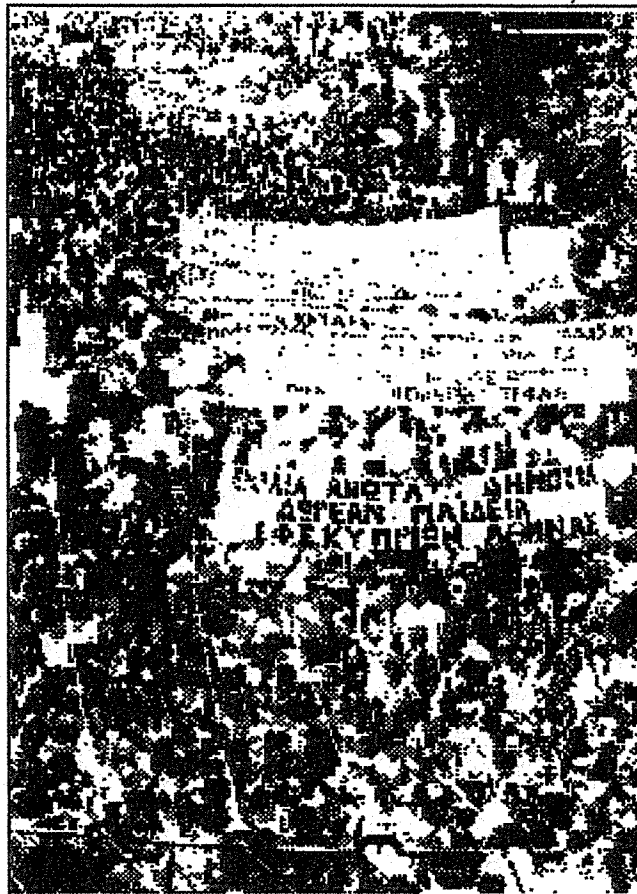
"How did the occupations begin?"

"The Minister of Education wanted to change the constitution to make it easier to privatize universities. Right now, tuition is free at universities. They wanted to take away the rights of students in the universities, for example the right to asylum, meaning the police aren't allowed into the universities. They wanted us to pay for books. Right now, we can study for as long as we want, but now they want to limit it to six years. Many students already work, [but under the proposed changes] they would have to work even more. This makes it impossible for many students to finish their courses on time.

"How was the movement organized?"

"Each university formed its own assembly. In the beginning, the Minister of Education said it was just radical students. But many students participated, with a lot of enthusiasm and imagination. Even we were surprised by this."

Despite the opposition of the student faction of the KKE, the majority of the students voted for occupations, and for the first time participation was proportionately greater in the provinces than in the capital. After four weeks, 330 out of 447 university departments were occupied by striking students.



The United Independent Anti-Capitalist Movement (EAAK), which had been formed in the student upheavals of 1990-1991, has continued to play a leading role in promoting unity of all the forces and mass participation in decision making during occupations. Besides the students, the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Lecturers declared an all-out strike, which broadened the front against the government.

On June 8th, a mass demonstration of striking students, lecturers and supporters was brutally attacked by the police special forces. Dozens were injured and some beaten unconscious, and around 40 students were arrested. Some 3 to 4 thousand of the marchers took asylum within the Polytechnic University. Even reporters from the Establishment press were attacked, leading to the Establishment mass media running pictures and footage of bleeding students and bullying, club-swinging police in contrast to the usual footage of Anarchists attacking people's cars or small family-owned shops.

In the face of growing opposition, the New Democracy government was forced to back off temporarily, but an even greater storm was to break in December of 2008 following the brutal police murder of a 15-year old boy in Athens:

"On Saturday night, an officer of the Special Forces of the Greek Police killed a young 15-year old school student, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, in Exarchia in the centre of Athens, (just 200 meters from the office of our paper). This is the modern 'democratic' manner in which a police officer answered the usual anti-police slogans



The Liberator

that a small group of ordinary and completely unarmed school students were raising against him. The police officer shot at the group of school students in an area where there are many coffeehouses full of people and at an hour (9 PM) when there are many youth gathered together enjoying an evening out." – "The Greek police kill school student – big wave of mobilizations all over Greece," *Marxistiki Foni*, December 8, 2008



Alexandros Grigoropoulos

The night of the killing, thousands of youth took to the streets of Athens, Thessalonica and Patras to demonstrate their anger, clashing with police throughout the night and into the early morning. The next day, thousands of people demonstrated in 14 different cities, and the following day, a Monday, the majority of high schools were occupied by the students and the high school teachers' union voted to go on a 3-day strike. The primary school teachers followed suit, and so did the university students and lecturers.

The police killing coincided with a wave of mass discontent that was already brewing over the policies of the right-wing New Democracy government:

"One important element that has to be underlined is that three weeks ago, long before the killing, the Greek Confederation of Workers' Unions in the private and public sectors (GSEE and ADEDY), had already called a general strike against poverty and the threat of unemployment to the Greek working class for this coming Wednesday. Without a doubt, the general strike will now be much more different after the killing of the young Alexandros...."

"The Marxists strongly support and actively participate in the, big movement against police terror, but they also explain that the killing of the young Alexandros was not an accident, but the expression of the reactionary nature of the bourgeois state and of the present ND government. State terror, for the ruling class, is a necessary weapon in support of the capitalist system. Police violence is the twin brother of poverty, exploitation and privatisations." – Ibid.

New elements, such as cell phones, facebook and e-mail created new dynamics unleashing the rapid mobilization of the youth and their coordinated action:

"On Monday morning we witnessed a phenomenon that we have not seen in Greece since the uprising of

Summer, 2010

December 1944. In every town of Greece a total of about forty thousand school students, young 15-year old teenagers, attacked the police stations. In Athens, Thessalonica, Patras, Larissa, Corfu, Komotini and in many other towns across the country the attack of the school students pinned down the heavily armed and well-equipped police officers inside their stations simply with the use of small rocks, tomatoes and yoghurts! Without any fear whatsoever, thousands of teenagers gave an example of heroic struggle against police brutality." – "Massive school student attack against police stations all over the country!", *Marxistki Foni*, December 10, 2008



"Yesterday, the school students and thousands of people demonstrated all day long in the centre of Athens and after that they attended en masse the funeral of the young Alexandros who had been killed a few days earlier. But the police, not happy at having killed one student, provocatively attacked the demonstrators outside the cemetery. One team of police officers tried to terrorize the demonstrators by shooting many times in the air with live ammunition. All these scenes were broadcast on the TV channels, provoking a new big wave of anti-government feelings throughout the country." – Ibid.

This history and the current wave of mass struggle in Greece demonstrates the need for the creation of a genuine revolutionary communist vanguard party to lead the masses beyond resistance and protest to seize the power with their own hands, free Greece from the grip of U.S. imperialism, the IMF and capitalist-imperialism altogether. Once again the people must pick up the gun to fight for national liberation and socialism. Generation after generation must rise up to advance the class struggle until it is won. Revisionism and all idealism and opportunism must be swept aside and genuine MLM theory must be used to illuminate the path forward.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!



