

DEFEND THE LEGACY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



**A STUDY PACK ASSEMBLED BY
THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MINISTRY OF PRISONS
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MIM on the BPP

Black Panther Party Paved the Way	1
Black Panthers: Maoists of the 1960s	5
Going Too Far with Mao	7
Huey Newton: North Amerikan of teh Century?	10
Fighting the Patriarchy: George Jackson and the Black Panther Party	13
Maoism Restored: The Black Panther Newspaper, 1968-69	15

BPP in their own words

Anti-U.S. Rallies	24
In Defense of Self Defense	24
New Zealand Hails Triumph of China's Cultural Revolution	25
Reparations for Vietnam	25
Indian Magazine Denounces Revisionism	25
Water Shortage in India	26
Japanese Students	26
Panther Purge	26
What is Ultra-Democracy?	26
Fifth Anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution	27
Message from Huey	27
Colombian People's Liberation Army	28
Washington/Moscow Collaboration Intensifies	28
Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech	29
U.S. Imperialism is Dying	29
Nuclear Fraud Betrays World's Peoples' Interest	30
Serving the People	30
Imperialism, White Chauvinism and PL	30
Excerpt of an "Interview with the Chief of Staff David Hilliard"	31
Why We Support China	31
Statement by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party	32
Black Panther Revolutionary Wedding	32
Chairman Bobby Speaks at May Day Rally to Free Huey	33
Persecution of the Young Lords	33
Young Lord Murdered by Off Duty Pig	34
Field Marshall Don Cox at the Conference	34
Message to Revolutionary Women	34
Huey Newton Talks to the Movement About the Black Panther Party, Cultural Nationalism, SNCC, Liberals and White Revolutionaries	35

Applying Lessons

Generational Gaps and Revolutionary Concepts of the Black Panther Party	44
Applying Lessons from the Black Panthers to our Current Struggle	48

Defending the Legacy

The real two-line struggle within MLM of the majority-exploiter countries	55
The Panther Legacy, Black Riders and Intercommunalism	61
The New Black Panthers	67
An Interview with a student of David Hilliard	68

Black Panther Party Paved the Way

by MC42 & MC86

reprinted with some omissions from *Maoism and the Black Panther Party* pamphlet from MIM (1991)

"In February, 1970, Kathleen Cleaver, Communication Secretary of the Black Panther Party, living in exile in Algiers with her husband, Eldridge, was asked by a reporter from the Women's Page of the Washington Post what was a woman's role in the revolution. 'No one ever asks what a man's place in the Revolution is,' she replied in part.

"Very early in the history of the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and others moved to eliminate male chauvinism from the Party. From the early period, too, Black women were important in the work of the Party. Nor was their activity confined to the typewriter and mimeograph machine. Panther women spoke at rallies and meetings and were interviewed in the underground press."(1)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was the Maoist party of the late 1960s in the United States. Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale wrote the 10-point platform in October of 1966 in Oakland, California. Suddenly, the Black community had a revolutionary party for organization and protection.

MIM learns from the work and the ideology of the BPP. They were the best revolutionary party in U.S. history. We must also learn from their mistakes. The BPP had faults. They exposed themselves too much above-ground to the enemy. They picked up the gun too soon and leaned towards focoist (adventurist) strategies. They supported a cult of personality and down played the evils of gender oppression. They failed to recognize the Patriarchy as part of the "power structure" which needs to be destroyed.

On the other hand, the Panthers were Maoists. They created a strong internal Party discipline. They criticized cultural nationalism and Black capitalist reforms. They built coalitions. They used their newspaper, The Black Panther, as an organizing tool. They carried out programs to improve material conditions in the Black community. They built a mass base of support and unity. They struggled, with limited success, to combat gender oppression.

Community Work

The BPP began as "The Black Panther Party for Self Defense," and that is what it was. Under Newton's instruction, Panthers learned some criminal law and the Bill of Rights and carried guns to help the Black community defend itself against daily police brutality.

Responding to the needs of the people, the BPP began community service projects: breakfast for children problems, free health care clinics, and revolutionary schools. They aimed to improve daily living conditions and develop revolutionary consciousness. The BPP used their newspaper, The Black Panther, to educate, politically stimulate and organize the masses.

Ideology

Contrary to popular distortions of Panther ideology, the Party open identified itself as communist: "The Black Panther Party recognizes, as do all Marxist revolutionaries, that the only response to the violence of the ruling class is the revolutionary violence of the people."(2)

Although the Panthers studied the works of Franz Fanon, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro: Maoism was the primary basis for Panther ideology. At the Party's founding, Newton and Seale had studied the four volumes of Mao Zedong's collected works, and Quotations from Chairman Mao (The Little Red Book) was required reading for Party members.

Seale: "We do not fight racism with racism. We fight racism with solidarity. We do not fight exploitative capitalism with black capitalism. We fight capitalism with basic socialism. We do not fight imperialism with more imperialism. We fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism."(3)

Above Ground: FBI Infiltration

The Panthers were destroyed by state repression. The FBI created internal conflicts within the BPP by forging letters and pretending to be Panthers breaking with the BPP line. This was easy for the FBI because the BPP was completely above-ground and very visible.

The Panthers made the mistake of relying on the same above-ground strategy that Mao and the Communist Party used during the armed struggle in China. But conditions in imperialist countries and oppressed countries are very different. China in the 1920s and 1930s had a weak government and communists could work openly in the countryside with few problems. Not so in the United States in the 1960s. The BPP either underestimated the repressive power of the state or overestimated their own power. Many of the Panthers were framed by the FBI and jailed or assassinated.(4)

Focoism is a theory that says small groups of armed revolutionaries can ignite the revolution by engaging in spectacular guerilla actions. A tendency towards focoism was one of the Panthers' biggest weaknesses. Seizing on righteous militancy, FBI infiltrators were able to stir up adventurism in strategically bad situations. Maoism warns that taking up the gun too soon, and without the proper support of the masses, will result in fighting losing battles.(5)

Women held back - the revolution suffers

Kathleen Cleaver was held back on her revolutionary work by her husband, Eldridge, who was Minister of Information for the Party. In 1970, rallies - at which Kathleen was scheduled to speak - were set back, because "Eldridge changed his mind and refused to let her come."(7) Although Newton, Seale and Eldridge Cleaver himself all spoke out against "male chauvinism" in the Party, women Panthers were in fact held back. The revolutionary movement as a whole cannot succeed without the full participation of all fighters.

This points to another problem in the BPP: a heavy reliance on individual leaders and personalities to keep the ball rolling. The "cult of personality" built up around some of the BPP leaders, like Newton or Seale, created a dependence on individuals and damaged the self-reliance of the revolutionary movement as a whole. The revolution in China also suffered from the cult of personality around Mao. MIM criticizes and avoids this tendency.

The BPP and lesbian/gay movements

In the August 15, 1970 issue of the BPP's newspaper, The Black Panther, Newton wrote a letter to "the Revolutionary Brothers and Sisters about the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements." This letter attempted to open the dialogue between the BPP and those (mostly white) movements. "This was the first time any non-gay black organization ...recognized the

oppression of homophobia; connected that oppression to the plight of Black people; and attempted - based on that connection - to build coalitions openly with lesbians and gay men."(8)

It must have been a hard letter for Newton to write. Both Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver had expressed their homophobia in their books, (Seize The Time and Soul On Ice). Although there are many problems with Newton's letter - sexist overtones, ignoring Black lesbians and gay men, focusing on gay men - it can still be seen as a first step.

But only a few groups recognized it as such. Black newspapers ignored the letter altogether. Many gay and feminist groups responded antagonistically. Some of these groups showed themselves to be outright counter revolutionaries. Others ducked under a "left" cover and insisted that the BPP was still sexist and homophobic and thus unfit for coalition or discussion - even if they were in agreement on other revolutionary points.

In fact, both sides were groping. Neither the Panthers, nor most feminist and gay groups of the time, built practices firmly rooted in an analysis of the actual intersections of gender, nation and class.

The Panther analysis of oppression in the United States was incomplete without an understanding of how all women are oppressed across lines of nation and class - and how Patriarchy, enforced heterosexuality and the myth of the "nuclear family" all reinforce imperialism inside and outside the Black nation. The feminist and gay groups failed to comprehend how gender oppression is conditioned by the nationality of women and men. How dominant nation status lends extended class/social privileges to First World women and gay men at the expense of proletarian women and men.

Third World gay revolution

In November, 1970, three months after Newton's letter was published, The Berkeley Tribe printed the "Third World Gay Revolution" (TWGR). Echoing the format of the BPP Platform - this anonymous document detailed the sexist crimes of "the carnivorous system of capitalism" and called out the heterosexism of all sisters and brothers who "cling to male supremacy" and "still fight for the privileged position of man on top."

The document expanded on the BPP's basic 10-Point analysis of national and class contradictions by infusing their content with revolutionary socialist gender-based demands. It is at least as realistic as the Panther Platform in recognizing that none of these demands can be achieved under capitalism.

On the other hand, TWGR claimed that the Panthers "struggled to maintain and to [e]nforce heterosexuality and the nuclear family." On this basis alone, TWGR labelled the Panthers "counter revolutionary;" a truly ridiculous statement in the face of overall Panther practice and no visible evidence of any practice at all by TWGR.

"Third World Gay Revolution" recognizes that the idea of the nuclear family is a bogus construct - not even practiced by the rich. Gender oppression is part of the rot caused by capitalism. Women are not less oppressed as a group because they serve individual men. Nor are they less oppressed by being made to serve many men. Women are oppressed, globally, because women's labor power - including sexuality and reproduction - is appropriated by the capitalist Patriarchy for profit.

It is unfortunate that the "Third World Gay Revolution" was anonymously written and that the BPP never had the chance to openly struggle with and learn from the authors. Cooperation and

struggle might have broadened the revolutionary-minded social base at hand, improved the analysis of both groups and strengthened our forces. MIM has a solid unity with the 13 beliefs and demands articulated in this Programme. The achievement of its goals would reflect the liberation of humanity from imperialism.

FBI at it again

But the Panthers' above-ground practice and lack of unity in their gender analysis gave the FBI an opportunity to attack them. "The FBI used [Newton's] open letter as an opportunity to discredit Newton's leadership. The FBI wrote bogus letters purporting to be from Party members saying, 'I have seen by last weeks paper that now Panthers are supposed to relate to cocksuckers. Huey is wrong. Something must have happened to him in prison. Panthers got enough things to do in 10 point program and fighting for niggers without taking up with mother fucking queers. All power to the people.' Considering the FBI's tactics, it is not far-fetched to assume that it worked to undermine the organization and more directly the Panther-gay liberation alliance." (8) The possibility of such an alliance must have scared the capitalists pretty good.

MIM does not glorify the Panthers. Individual Panthers suffered from outright male chauvinism and the BPP's undeveloped gender line fractured opportunities to build united fronts with other revolutionary groups.

However, MIM does not doubt that a revolutionary unity between the Panthers and revolutionary queers could have been built upon an analysis of modern gender relations as social inequalities of power imposed and maintained by the capitalist Patriarchy. With such a weapon, Kathleen might have inspired the masses while Eldridge stayed home and made the coffee.

Contact MIM for more analysis on gender, nation, class theory and practice.

Long live the Black Panther Party!

Notes:

1. *The Black Panthers Speak*, Philip Foner ed., New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1970, p.145.
2. *Ibid*, pp.19-20.
3. Bobby Seale, *Seize The Time*, New York: Random House, 1968, p.71.
4. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, Boston: South End Press, 1988, Chapter 3.
5. See MIM Notes 47 for more on focoism.
6. Note: a section on Panthers and Gender was removed from this article because it did not reflect the latest MIM line on gender. More updated gender line is included throughout this pamphlet.
7. *Ibid*, p. 332.
8. Alycee J. Lane in *BLK* 3/91, pp. 11-15.



The Panthers: Maoists of the 1960s

by MC5

reprinted from *Maoism and the Black Panther Party* pamphlet from MIM (1991)

The legacy of the Black Panthers in 1991 is becoming more and more obscure thanks to those who have an interest in rewriting the Panther history. Various activists make the Black Panther Party (BPP) out to be group with a purely nationalist bent, a group that merely sponsored breakfast programs, an historical antecedent for currently harmless political groups, etc.

For example, former Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale, the second ranking member of the Party, is in a recent movie, *Berkeley in the 60s*, said that he did not understand anything about Mao while he was selling Mao's books in the 1960s. Another example is a newspaper dedicated to commemorating the Panthers that comes out of Oakland which focuses on social work programs and government workers.

Because the bourgeoisie, and sometimes the old Panthers, attempt to rewrite the history of the BPP, it becomes more important to understand the historical period in which the Panthers arose in order to understand just how revolutionary they were. For example, Eldridge Cleaver formerly the Minister of Information, the third-ranked Panther leader, has become a born-again Christian; Seale began to career writing bar-b-que cookbooks after leaving the Party.

Here it is important to address the historical connection of the Panthers to Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, who was still alive when the Panthers formed and died. Whatever people may say now about the Panthers from the vantage point of the 1990s, the Black Panther Party of the young Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver was the Maoist party of the United States in the late 1960s.

MIM members cherish the Black Panther Party of the 1960s and defend it against its own sell-out leaders and the bourgeoisie.

Mao's Influence

Recently, a speaker and former Panther in the Detroit area mentioned the importance of Mao's red book to the Panthers but also took pains to say that the Black Panthers were not communists. People who go back and read what the Panthers printed will find otherwise. As Newton said, "The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party." (1)

Another example of Maoist influence is the similarity between the Panther's code of conduct for their comrades and the "Eight Points of Attention" of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Here are the Panther's "points of attention" written by the Panthers:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them (2)

Here are the "Eight Points for Attention" of Mao's People's Liberation Army which were added to other rules already existing in 1928:

1. Speak politely to the people.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Replace all doors and return all straw on which you sleep.
6. Dig latrines away from houses and fill them with earth when you leave.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. Do not ill-treat captives.(3)

The Panthers also adopted "3 Main Rules of Discipline" wholesale from Mao's People's Liberation Army:

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.(4)

The very title of Newton's book, *To Die for the People*, is literally from a saying by Mao, Newton's statement dedicating the book says "To die for the ... racists ... is lighter than a feather. But to die for the people ... is heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea."

Here Newton was paraphrasing a saying of Mao that was widely circulated in China: "In significance, to die for the interests of the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work hard and die for the fascists, for those who exploit and oppress the people, is lighter than a swan's down."(5)

Note here as well Mao's often used slogan "Serve the People." "Serving the People" is a chapter in Mao's "Red Book" circulated in the hundreds of millions throughout the world.

The introduction to Newton's book points out how Huey Newton wanted to be in tune with this chapter of Mao's red book:

"The lesson of the Chinese Revolution shows that it was the Communist Party which evolved a revolutionary vision for all mankind...The Black Panther Party being led by Huey P. Newton is now developing along similar lines with vision, practice, and struggle. Representative of this development is the change in Newton's title: he is no longer the minister of Defense, but the Servant of the People."(6)

It's not that Newton was a plagiarist. He pointed out his admiration for Mao Zedong as often as he could. It's just that some people chose not to listen to him. "Huey made it a point that the revolutionary principles so concisely cited in the Red Book should be applied whenever they could.... Where the book said, 'Chinese people of the Communist Party,' Huey would say, 'Change that to the Black Panther Party. Change the Chinese people to black people.'"(7)

Citing Mao Zedong in a country that still recognized the Taiwan government instead of Mao's government as the government of China was quite courageous on Newton's part. Many people supported Huey Newton as a Black leader. They liked his standing up to cops, racism and national oppression. But many people did not like to think of Newton's ideas as coherently linked together in an ideology of communism, as they were a reality. Even Bobby Seale, the number two leader in the Black Panther Party was publicly and outspokenly opposed to communism for quite some time, even after meeting Huey Newton.(8)

However, while Seale seemed to follow Newton's theoretical lead, other Panther leaders at their height had admiration for Mao as well. A white Students for Democratic Society (SDS) leader explains the lesson he learned from Eldridge Cleaver, the Panther's third ranking leader:

"I was working with the Black Panther Party - this was 1967 - and I was for revolution and I respected the Black Panther Party.... It took me two weeks to work up the nerve to finally ask Eldridge Cleaver why he had that poster in his house.... [H]e said, 'We've got that picture of Mao Tsetung up on the wall because Mao Tsetung is the baddest motherfucker on the planet Earth'

"I respected the Black Panther Party... I thought they were pretty heavy, and if Eldridge Cleaver was saying this was the baddest motherfucker on the planet Earth, I better go look into it!"(9)

When SDS was at its peak and just about to split in 1969, the Black Panthers advocated resolving their conflicts this way: "pick up the telephone and call Chairman Mao Tse-tung' if they doubted that the Panthers were the vanguard organization in the U.S."(10)

Seale had this to say about Huey and other people in his party: "Hey was ten motherfuckers. He would say, 'Bobby, you and I know the principles in this Red Book are valid, but the brothers and the black folks don't.... [S]o what we have to do is to get the white radicals who are intellectually interested in the book, sell the book, make the money, buy the guns ... and protect the community from the racist cops. And in turn we get brothers in the organization and they will in turn relate to the Red Book.'"(11)

The anti-communist turned communist Bobby Seale further pointed out: "You couldn't get around Huey. He knew the Red Book sideways, backwards and forwards. There are brothers in the Party that got to know the Red Book and what else? The gun!" That's what Huey would say."(12) That's what happened at the beginning of the Black Panther Party.

To be true to the spirit of the Black Panther Party of 1966-1969, one should read Mao Zedong's work. The same could be said of the Filipino New People's Army, the Vietnamese People's Liberation Army, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and to a lesser extent the FMLN in El Salvador and countless other groups. In the twentieth century there is simply no greater influence in Third World liberation struggles than Mao Zedong, who set the example by liberating China from imperialism in 1949.

Notes:

1. Huey Newton, *To Die for the People*, New York: Random House, 1972, p.25.
2. Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak*, New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1970, p.6.
3. Roger Howard, *Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese People*, New York: Monthly Review, 1977, p. 78.
4. *The Black Panthers Speak*, p.6.
5. Mao Zedong, "Serve the People," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1956, p.219.
6. *To Die for the People*, p.xviii.
7. Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time*, New York: Random House, 1970, p.82.
8. Bobby Seale, *A Lonely Rage: The Autobiography of Bobby Seale*, New York: Times Books, 1978, p.126.
9. Bob Avakian, "Summing Up the Black Panther Party," Chicago: RCP Publications, 1980, p.3. MIM's extensive differences with Bob Avakian, chair of the Revolutionary Communist Party, are available in MIM's *Critique of the RCP*.
10. Jim O'Brien, "American Leninism in the 1970s," *Radical America*, p.9
11. *Seize the Time*, p.83.
12. *Seize the Time*, p.84.

Going too far with Mao

by MC5

reprinted from *Maoism and the Black Panther Party* pamphlet from MIM (1991)

Sometimes Newton goes too far in taking the inspiration of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. Newton goes so far as to paraphrase Mao on guerilla warfare to be applied in the United States.(1)

He goes on to adopt the above-ground strategy that Mao adopted in China: "If the Chinese Revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party operated quite openly in order to muster support from the masses."(2) Newton left out that Mao pointed out that conditions were fundamentally different in imperialist and oppressed countries. In countries such as China of the 1920s and 1930s where there was a very weak government, communists could operate in many places with impunity. Not so in the imperialist countries.

Actually Newton missed this not-often-seen quote from Mao:

"Internally, capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy (not feudality) when they are not fascist nor at war ...and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military) ... the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries if such wars occur ... the one war they want to fight is the civil war...but this...should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless."(3)

The Black Panthers and focoists after them also missed this from Mao: "The question of China's cities and countryside today is qualitatively different from that of the cities and the countryside in capitalist countries abroad.... It is impossible to conceive of a protracted guerilla war carried on by the peasants in the countryside against the cities in a country such as England, America, France...."(4)

Later period of Panthers

As late as April 1971, Newton was still quoting Mao on how to look at picking up the gun for struggle.(5) In January 1970, Newton put it this way in response to the question: "What has been the most important inspiration for the Black Panthers?"

"I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim Il Sung, but also all the guerilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Palestinian guerrillas who are fighting for a socialist world."

In 1970, when the Panthers were already past their peak, it was not such a great contradiction to say what Newton did. The differences of Mao with the Soviet Union had only been public since 1962. The differences with other countries and leaders in the socialist world were much murkier and did not become apparent right away. Mao agreed with Newton at the time in the generally rosy outlook supporting armed struggles of oppressed nationalities throughout the world.

When Nixon announced his plans to visit China, the Black Panthers called on China to negotiate for the oppressed of the world, including the Attica rebellion. While denouncing Nixon, Newton said about the Attica uprising, "This is why we approached Chairman Mao Tse-tung, because we know of his peace-and-freedom loving nature."(6)

Notes:

1. Huey Newton. *To Die for the People*. New York: Random House, 1972. p. 15.

2. *Ibid.* p. 17.

3. MIM Notes 47, p.6.

4. Steward R. Schram, ed., *The Political Thought of Mao Tse Tung*, New York: Praeger, 1969, p. 288. For MIM's essay on focoism, order the pamphlet "What is the Maoist Internationalist Movement?" for \$2, post-paid.

5. *To Die for the People*, p. 49.

6. *Ibid.*, p.205.



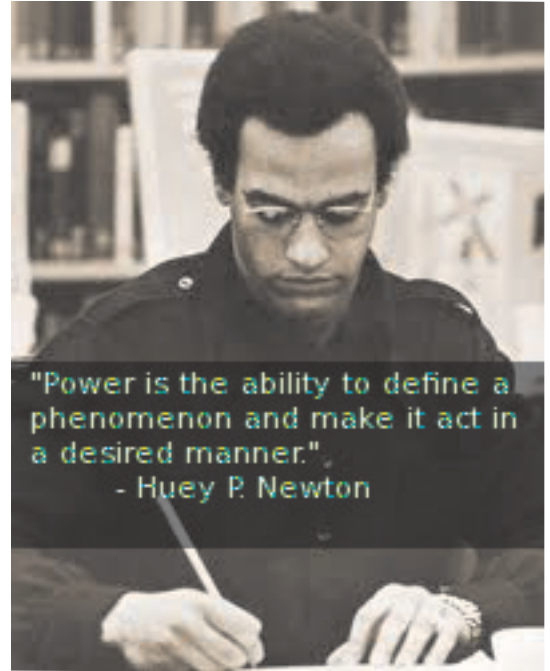
Huey Newton: North Amerikan of the Century?

by MC5, Maoist Internationalist Movement

October 15, 1999 marks the 33rd anniversary of the foundation of the most successful communist organization in U.\$. history, the Black Panther Party (BPP). We would like to use this anniversary date to poll our readers on who the North Amerikan persyn of the century should be.

We exclude Mexico when we say "North Amerika," because "k" stands for the decadence of imperialism. Yes, we lump Quebec, Anglo-Kanada and U.\$. Amerika together as one imperialist entity. We also exclude the indigenous peoples who are not benefiting from U.\$. minimum wage laws and the welfare state.

Some aspects of Black Panther Party founder Huey Newton's success and failure are public knowledge. Through widespread television and newspaper coverage, the plurality of Black people came to see the Black Panthers as the leaders of the future. When he died, many gathered that Newton had already suffered a severe drug problem in the last decade of life or more. He admitted to no longer being a political force. The persyn of the century probably needs to have had a full life devoted to revolutionary struggle, or led a successful revolution. No doubt he cannot be regarded as "persyn of the century," but his weaknesses are also North Amerika's weaknesses. There has been no successful revolution here and our "great" establishment political leaders are leaders of oppression.



Huey Newton reflected the promise and degeneracy of the U.\$. lumpenproletariat. On the up side, he not only inspired millions of white students, Blacks and other oppressed nationals, but also he made unprecedented organizational advances. Although he received widespread bourgeois media attention, he did not rely on it, and he organized Eldridge Cleaver and others to work for a newspaper that had a circulation of 100,000. Yet, he did not stop there. He organized a party along the lines of democratic-centralism in a country with little knowledge of what it was -- a country that just lived through its infamous 1950s decade of sterility in culture and communist regression. Taking the BPP farther than any organization before, he also managed to build an armed organization under the discipline of the party and experimented in how that organization should relate to the community.

It was Huey Newton's relationship to the gun that earned him the attention of the media and the people. He demonstrated leadership energy and courage by getting into shoot-outs with police who were harassing the Black community.

Adding to the greatness of what he did is that he did it with law book in hand, and a knowledge of California law without having been certified a lawyer. He taught the oppressed that law does not mean whatever the oppressor says goes or waiting for experts. The enemy will use the law to its advantage, but there are many ways the people can use it, too. And the people need to build their own powerful institutions to challenge and eventually overthrow that hegemony.

This sense of what was needed on the street also led Huey Newton to develop and apply

Maoism for North American conditions. His emphasis on "self-defense" was the missing piece to bring revitalization to the U.\$. communist movement. Of course, North Americans have that wild frontier history with settlers and their own guns. Taking up arms is not a problem for the average person in North America. The goals of armed activity are the problem for people in North America.

The oppressed's right to self-defense is the foundation of any North American communist movement. The people here had no idea about why "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "class struggle" were necessary. They have a real difficulty envisioning what a class even is. Yet Newton made it clear how foolish it is for the oppressed to think that their survival rights can be negotiated or voted away. There is nothing to be "reasonable" about when it comes to one's survival rights. They are non-negotiable -- the rights to food, shelter, clothing, a non-toxic environment, not serving in imperialist wars and not dying at the hands of occupier police. Because those rights are non-negotiable there must be organized force against those who would deny them, or a country and community will suffer in moral bankruptcy and violence. Internationally, the communists call that organized force "dictatorship of the proletariat," but Newton made it as real as could be for North Americans. Although Newton did not win in an overall sense, he did bring the class struggle up a notch. No longer can oppressor nation police assume they can occupy a community and act with impunity. The arming of oppressed nationalities in the urban areas has changed all that.

Newton also drew the link to the international situation like Malcolm X did and pointed out that Uncle Sam was trying to pick the governments of people all around the world, but the white man was a tiny minority of the global population. So much for the white man's bogus and hypocritical ideas of majority rule and democracy. What the white man really means is that the majority of white people should rule the world majority through the Pentagon, NATO, the CIA etc.

Huey Newton was able to lead the most advanced communist movement in U.\$. history because he did not kow-tow to the petty-bourgeoisie. He did not wait for the white middle-classes, a.k.a. "the workers" to get on with it. No, the passivity of the communists was at fault, and the basic oppressed peoples did not have their vanguard party yet, so of course it was foolish to be thinking of swaying the middle classes over to the proletarian side before there was a proletarian side to be reckoned with. Reckoned with, Huey Newton was. The state killed and imprisoned his followers. True to the weaknesses of our society infected with parasitism and all sorts of degeneracy, Huey Newton himself was not able to "keep his shit together." Yet, he can only be evaluated relative to the rest of us this century, and it is not a matter of moral purity. There have been many people who never succumbed to drugs. Others never had to figure out the proper way to command a military force and never made those kinds of mistakes either. Yet, who contributed what Newton did?

Another way of evaluating what a person contributed is what happened after he was gone. When Newton lost his ideological usefulness to the proletariat, the Black Panther Party went down the drain. The U.\$. communist movement suffered a massive setback; anarchists came out of the woodwork to attack his military discipline; Eldridge Cleaver became a born-again Christian; Bobby Seale made a joke of himself; pseudo-feminists and psychiatrists started sniping and publishing books and social workers went on their liberal ways with no revolutionary spirit. Huey Newton had managed to keep the lid on all these petty-bourgeois, gender aristocracy and imperialist influences, because he led a true proletarian pole with material force worth reckoning with. Had Stalin lived another 30 years with a modicum of his people's support, it seems unlikely U.\$. imperialism would have survived Huey Newton and Mao Zedong.

Many times an impatient activist will give short shrift to theory. Newton not only founded his own theories for U.\$. conditions, but he made sure that the movement he led delved into philosophy. He expressed his impatience with cheering throngs who only wanted short and loud

speeches. Sensing in the air what is called post-modernism today, Huey Newton laid it down raw, that even a KKK-type persyn might have scientific ideas that advance all of society, so attacking the speaker is no substitute for scientific struggle and advance. Newton was the greatest North Amerikan combination of theoretical consistency, courage and action this century, in this writer's view. It was not just energy, physical courage or community connection -- Newton had a scientific plan for society.

Other people who come to mind for North Amerikan of the century include Albert Einstein, Charles Lindbergh, W.E.B. DuBois, the environmentalist Rachel Carson and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Many liberals and so-called "Communist Party"-USA members will choose FDR for leading the United \$tates in four presidential terms, winning World War II and implementing several points of the Communist Manifesto's minimum program. We at MIM do not concur, because FDR only accomplished such by taking profits from the Third World section of workers and giving them to the U.\$ section of



Fighting the Patriarchy: George Jackson and the Black Panther Party

by PTT of MIM(Prisons) May 2016
Reprinted from Under Lock & Key 50

A criticism often made of the Black Panther Party (BPP) lies in errors it made around addressing the patriarchy. Most of these criticisms are attempts at subreformism, which is the approach of resolving conflict on an individual or intersynal level in an attempt to resolve social problems. But the patriarchy is a system of oppression. It manifests in intersynal interactions, but can't be stopped without addressing the system of oppression itself. Just by the very fact that the BPP was organizing for national liberation under a Maoist banner, it was making more advances toward a world without gender oppression than all of their pseudo-feminist critics combined.

George Jackson did have some bad gender line in *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*, which covers the years 1964-1970. To wimmin searching for their place in an anti-imperialist prison struggle, the most alienating examples are where Jackson says wimmin should just "sit, listen to us, and attempt to understand. It is for them to obey and aid us, not to attempt to think." (p. 101) Later in the book after Jackson encounters some revolutionary Black wimmin, ey can't help but to sexualize their politics. Much like in our everyday society, *Soledad Brother* tells wimmin their role in this struggle is to shut up or be sexualized. These were not consciously worked out analyses of gender but instead Jackson's subjective responses to frustration and excitement.

A challenge to all revolutionaries is to take an objective approach to our scientific analysis. This is very difficult. To wimmin struggling within the national liberation movements, looking at the social and historical context of these remarks is imperative to overcoming this alienation from sexist brothers in struggle. Jackson was reared in the United States in the 1940s and 50s, with time spent in youth detention facilities. Ey entered the hyper-masculine prison environment at the age of 20. Jackson's social context was our fucked up patriarchal society, and is similar to many of our contributors whose scope of perspective is limited by the conditions of their confinement. Where our sisters need to not split over subreformism, our brothers also need to work to overcome their empiricism and subjectivism in how they approach uniting with wimmin against imperialism and patriarchy.

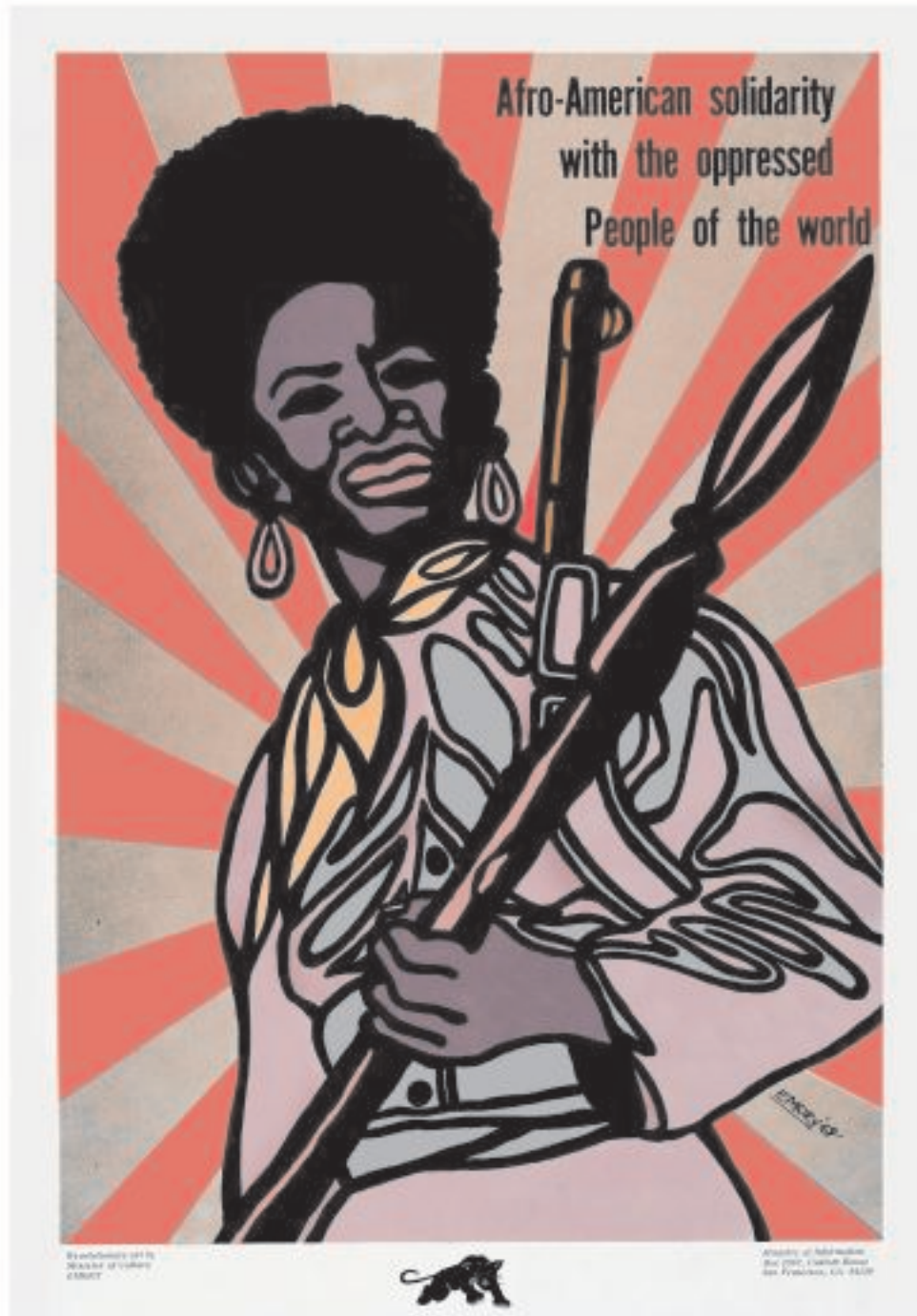
It was after the publishing of *Soledad Brother* that Jackson advanced to be a general and field marshal of the People's Revolutionary Army of the Black Panther Party. While *Soledad Brother* gives more of a look into the prison experience, in eir later work, *Blood In My Eye* (which was published by the BPP posthumously), Jackson lays out eir most advanced political analysis shortly before ey was murdered by the state on 21 August 1971. More than an author, Jackson was a great organizer. Panther and life-long revolutionary Kiilu Nyasha is a testimony to Jackson's abilities, indicating that subjectivity around gender did not prevent him from organizing seriously with wimmin.⁽¹⁾ Of course, Jackson's biggest legacy was organizing men in prison. Eir ability to organize strikes with 100% participation in eir unit serves as a counterexample to those in California today who say we cannot unite across "racial" lines. It's impressive all that Jackson accomplished in developing eir politics and internationalism, and organizing prisoners, considering all the barriers Amerikkka put in the way.

Jackson was a good representative of the BPP's mass base, and the BPP was correct in organizing with Jackson and others with backward gender lines. If the Party hadn't been dissolved by COINTELPRO we can only guess at what advances it could have made toward resolving gender

oppression by now. One thing is certain, it would have done a lot more to combat the patriarchy for the majority of the world's inhabitants than First World pseudo-feminism ever has or ever will.

Note: Black August Commemoration: Part One, Women's Magazine, 14 September 2009.

Revolutionary internationalist art by BPP Minister of Culture Emory Douglas, 1969. Originally in The Black Panther newspaper, later reworked into this poster.



Maoism Restored: The Black Panther Newspaper, 1968-69

In MIM Theory 7 we wrote about the Black Panther Party's Maoism: "Whatever people may say now from the vantage point of the 1990s, the Black Panther Party of the young Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver was the Maoist party of the United States in the late 1960s" (p. 50). Here MIM Theory returns to the early Panther history to lay out in greater detail the full extent of the party's explicit Maoism. --MC12

by MC5
May, 1995
proofread 2003
Reprinted from MIM Theory #10

Boil -- that is what your blood will do when you read the Black Panther Party newspaper from 1968 to 1969. Your class hatred will swell up to make you determined to revive the true history of the Black Panthers. The capitalist media, sell-out Bobby Seale and others seem to get away with murder, as if the printed words of the Black Panthers were all burned and buried. The early issues of this newspaper call out from history, demanding that revolutionaries today speak the truth about the Black Panthers. Maoism literally shouts out of the paper's headlines, articles, reprints and photos.

A yardstick for international comparisons

In less than three years of applying Maoism, a self-consciously youthful party engaged in coordinated armed struggles, obtained the support of the plurality of Blacks as the legitimate leadership of all Black people even according to capitalist television polls, inspired the Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nations to form their own vanguard parties, communicated with admirers from liberation struggles all around the world and inspired the better half of the white student movement of the time. The accomplishments of the Black Panthers were made possible by the mark that previous revolutionaries had made on the consciousness of the world's people. That is the only possible way to explain how the Black Panthers got so far so fast. They outstripped Marx, Lenin and Mao in their first three years of activity; that's how good the Black Panthers were. Only other great leaders such as Jose Maria Sison of the Philippines had comparable or greater success so fast at such a young age, and we are proud to make such a comparison. Huey Newton's party also did not have the advantage of geographic proximity to or similarity of conditions with China.

On the other hand, the Black Panthers obviously had many problems, not the least of which was the coordinated and highly modern state repression that Mao warned about in the imperialist countries, but which the Panthers took too lightly, almost as a matter of perceived internationalist duty to the Vietnamese, to whom they offered support with a Black battalion to fight U.S. troops. The Black Panthers were in a hurry and believed that U.S. imperialism was going to collapse imminently; except in prison they operated in the open. By mid-1969 they were emphasizing the united front against fascism to prepare for the last desperate moves of the oppressor, so great was their confidence in the international situation and their own organizing.

Another problem for the Black Panthers was the division of the white student movement between crypto-Trotskyists trying to use Mao to gut Maoism and other students who eventually realized they had to form their own Maoist parties. However, the biggest problem was not Blacks or the students -- both were on the whole ready for revolution. The problem was that white

women and white labor did not want to move for revolution. If either white women or white labor had been ready, there could have been a more evenly matched revolutionary civil war on the scale of previous civil wars and qualitative leaps beyond the lop-sided war that did take place.

In Paris 1968, a white student movement sparked the highly organized sectors of industry into action. The appearance of student-worker unity would seem superficially to indicate that there was a basis for a white working class revolution in France. Upon closer examination, the difference between the French movement and the movement within U.S. borders is telling.

"Danny the Red" openly explains in his writings on the subject that he and other like-minded leaders did not attempt to seize government power. They strolled past the government ministries in their demonstrations when those ministries had already been abdicated. Furthermore, the Communist Party of France had members who were the key military officers in the imperialist government. When one considers this and the combined student street-fighting and worker factory take-overs, clearly the French people had demonstrated sufficient brute force to be able to overthrow the government. This stands as a lesson to all who say it is not possible. On the other hand, it did not happen -- thanks to the predominance of anarchism over Maoism in France at the time. A revolution in France may have sparked NATO intervention and civil war, but the anarchists had no concern for the Vietnamese or others fighting U.S. imperialism and didn't attempt to draw off the imperialist forces that way.

The student movement in France was similar to the one in the United States, but even more inclined to anarchism. In Euro-America, the leaders of the student movement all claimed to be Maoist, even if what that meant was rather new to students with at most two or three years of studying Maoism. The Black Panthers, and to a lesser extent the Progressive Labor Party, were key reasons why the movement was not dominated by anarchism as it was in France.

Although the imperialists of France and the U.S. Empire are equally able to roam the globe in search of surplus-value, and although they share in each other's financial institutions to divide the loot, the movement in France had fewer oppressed nationalities in the lead. U.S. Maoists were relatively stronger.

This accounts for the two great mysteries and surprises of the French uprising of 1968. One surprise is that it failed despite the momentary but apparent success of the movement. That is explained by a lack of Maoist leadership relative to anarchism. Second, and part of the whole romance of 1968, is that the revolution quickly withered after a few wage concessions and an election. This stems from an incorrect understanding of the political economy of the French working class.

How did a movement so strong turn around so suddenly and then vote DeGaulle back into power? How did so little get left behind from this "revolution"? The romantic aura of 1968 is retraced repeatedly, fueling book and coffee-shop sales.

As Huey Newton explained, the anarchists succeeded in mobilizing the middle-classes while the old revisionist Communist Party did not have much to say to either students or workers politically, never mind the middle-classes.⁽¹⁾ The Old Left revisionists were mired in imperialist economism with little to say about seizing state power or even opposing the government that coopted them. And the New Left organizations were not ready to fill in the gap.

In contrast, the anarchists appealed to the individualism of the middle-classes. In 1968, the middle classes -- the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy -- could clearly see that imperialism was not invincible. From Vietnam, Mao's rising prestige, students fighting police or the anti-colonial struggles throughout Africa, the middle-classes knew that their usual imperialist allies were not unshakable.

The result was not a middle-class identification with the proletariat. Instead, the middle classes went into action on their own: they dissed their government, their trade unions and their school administrations just as the anarchists told them to, but no more. They did not want power, just the aggrandizement of their own class's illusion of independence from the laws of economics -- a heightened individualism of the kind that led Margaret Thatcher to proclaim England a "classless society." This kind of individualism left the power structure in France unchanged, essentially because they didn't believe there was one.

Herein lies the ugly truth: within U.S. borders the Third World-descended peoples and the students were ready to move, but they inspired no such parallel militant movement of workers. The workers of France responded to a middle-class ideology and the Euro-American workers would have too, but the high profile of the Black Panthers, the alliance with the lumpen element and disciplined vanguard organization all repelled the Euro-American workers. The movement was too proletarian for the tastes of Euro-American workers intoxicated by superprofits.

In this Mao erred and succeeded in confusing the imperialist country communist movements -- even though he constantly advised communists from other nations not to take his advice too literally, because ultimately they were responsible for analyzing their own conditions. Ironically, Mao didn't even want to re-establish a Comintern-type organization because he knew the importance of applying revolutionary science within concrete conditions, but still the comrades of many countries followed Mao as if he were a Comintern. But this is not a surprise; it was the tremendous prestige attached to what at the time was called "Mao Tse-tung thought" that created this situation.

On the one hand Mao talked about principal contradictions, national struggles and the need to avoid the straight jacket of class reductionism. He even sanctioned Lin Biao in 1965 to say the imperialists were the cities of the world which had to fall last because of unspecified "temporary reasons" -- which at least some in the Chinese Communist Party believed referred to the thorough corruption of superprofits:

"Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. " In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population."(2)

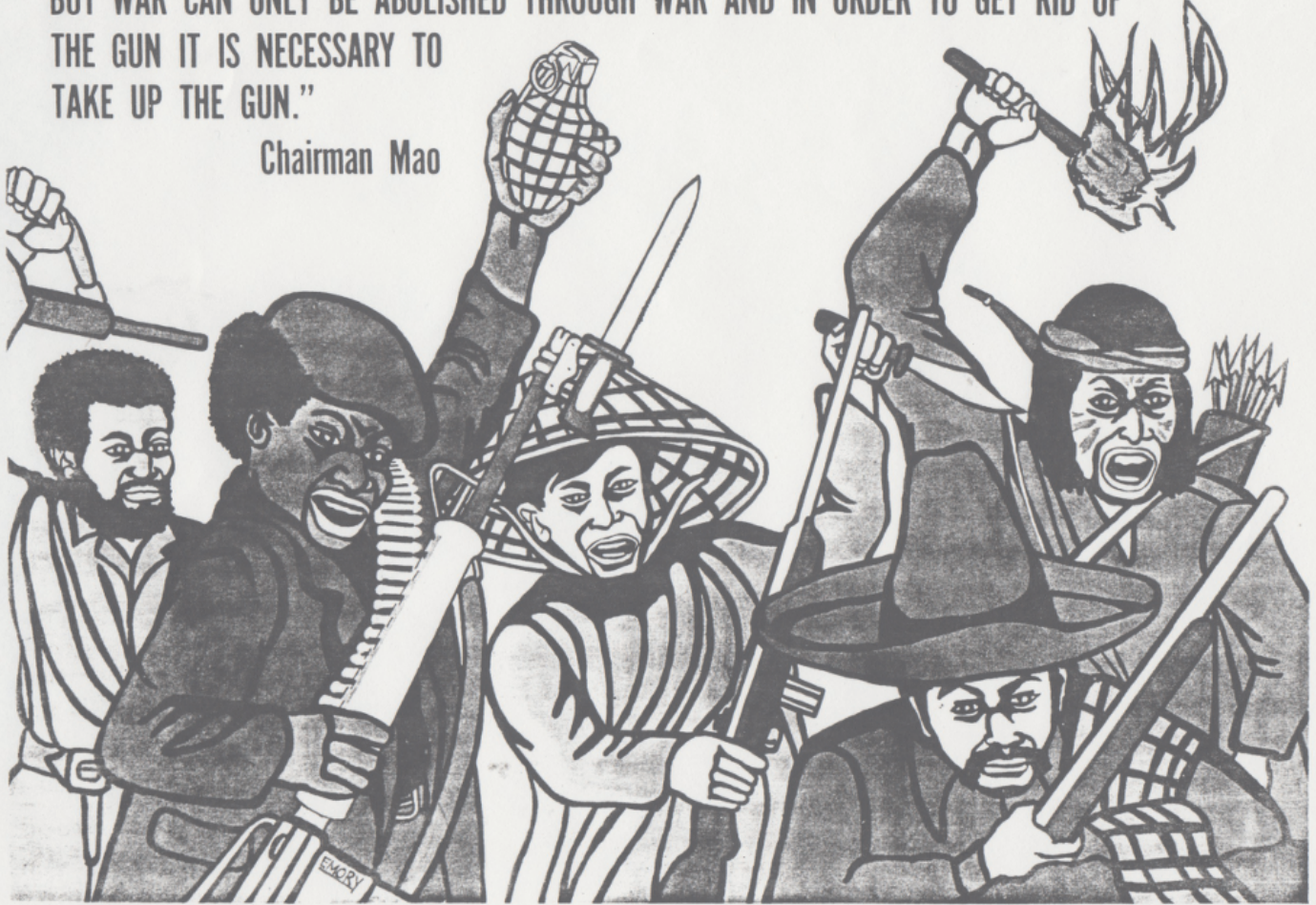
Bob Avakian has been calling us Lin Biaoists for more than 10 years because we uphold this line, but there is no other interpretation of history in line with materialism and the truth that the masses make history.

On the other hand, Mao maintained faith that the proletarian parties, once set up, would be able to attract the support of the workers from the imperialist nations. The 1960s proved this was not true with the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), China's officially fraternal U.S. party. The PLP attempted a "student-worker alliance," as their expression of Mao's faith in the industrial workers, and degenerated as a result. Throughout the imperialist countries, people who started out as good Maoists slammed their heads against the wall of the labor aristocracy and ended up coming unraveled.

These disoriented former Maoists have a lot to do with today's perception of the Black Panthers, even in progressive circles. In competition with the Black Panthers in the 1960s, the Progressive Labor Party took up the Trotskyist line that "all nationalism is reactionary." They only heeded Mao's incorrect advice on being rooted in the industrial workers. Later, Bob Avakian and some PLP critics with closer ties to the Black Panthers did the same thing. Avakian hems and

"WE ARE ADVOCATES OF THE ABOLITION OF WAR . . . WE DO NOT WANT WAR;
BUT WAR CAN ONLY BE ABOLISHED THROUGH WAR AND IN ORDER TO GET RID OF
THE GUN IT IS NECESSARY TO
TAKE UP THE GUN."

Chairman Mao



haws much more, but eventually he also adopted the line that, in the end, all nationalism is bourgeois. He attempted to straddle the Black Panthers and PLP and ended up being a more complicated crypto-Trotskyist than PLP's leaders. Avakian's attacks on Stalin and Mao are more shrouded.

Avakian wrote at least three articles for the Black Panther newspaper in the period reviewed. He also appears to have hand-written an ad for the paper advertising his Bay Area Union organization in a self-conscious attempt to follow Black Panther advice to "form your own party." At the time, Avakian clearly bought into Mao's workerist thesis and went about organizing industrial workers. Not surprisingly, as a result, he moved even further away from the Black Panther Party. Avakian eventually watered down his criticism of the Black Panthers in a pamphlet "summing up" the Black Panthers, but that was years later, in a period of sentimentality regarding the dead Panthers, after Avakian's own self-criticism for earlier economism and as a result of MIM's attack.

PLP and Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP-USA) have done much to distort the image of the Black Panthers. They have succeeded to such an extent that many people believe the Black Panthers were narrow nationalists and never tried to be Maoists. The truth is that the PLP and RCP-USA were and are crypto-Trotskyists while the Black Panthers were the genuine Maoists. We will review the distortions of the historical record after first making clear what MIM upholds and what we do not.

Omali Yeshitela of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) has criticized us because we

uphold the young Huey Newton, but not the APSP, while Huey Newton in later years endorsed the APSP. Unlike most of our critics, Omali Yeshitela is partly correct. The APSP can indeed lay a claim to what MIM calls the late Black Panthers and APSP rightly defends that claim against those who continued the Black Panther Party but took it in a clearly reformist direction into the 1970s and 1980s. Once Bobby Seale sold out the struggle, we can mark a clear end of Black Panther history. The Panthers, after losing their best leaders, were not even a shadow of their former selves.

MIM is willing to let the APSP have the later Panthers, when they were more eclectic and toned down their communism. MIM upholds the original Black Panthers, from their foundation in 1966 to 1969. While some relatively good books from the Black Panthers continued to come out in the early 1970s, on the whole things were already going downhill by the end of 1969. We uphold some Black Panther articles that APSP of today would not. The difference is a matter of timing. The APSP can claim they uphold the concentrated experience and wisdom of the late Black Panthers. MIM upholds the earlier stage that generated the huge success in the first place.

Myth #1: The Panthers were "narrow nationalists"

The reactionaries and the crypto-Trotskyist former Maoists attack the Black Panthers for being nationalists. Although the Panthers denied it repeatedly till they stopped denying it, the reactionaries said the Black Panthers hated whites and substituted one racism for another. The crypto-Trotskyists chimed in that the Black Panthers isolated themselves from their class allies among whites. All these claims are as false as the printed word is black. The Black Panthers willingly gave up Stokely Carmichael's support by opposing Black capitalism, and they had two comrades give up their lives in opposing the narrow nationalism of US's Ron Karenga. How many members of PLP were killed in the line of duty opposing white racism?

Countless BPP articles criticized "cultural nationalism," or "pork-chop nationalism," and in a way consistent with Maoism. The Black Panthers applied Fanon, but only in a way consistent with Maoism and in specific to Black people. The consistent theme is that culture has to be revolutionary to support the people.

The Black Panthers hated the slogans "Black is beautiful" or "I'm Black and Proud." They believed that these ideas were used as a substitute for a real culture of struggle. "Those who believe in the 'I'm Black and Proud' theory -- believe that there is dignity inherent in wearing naturals; that a buba makes a slave a man; and that a common language; Swahili; makes all of us brothers." This led to an emphasis on sleeping with people who had the right hairdos. "On the way to and from this shopping and spending they are still observing the oppression and exploitation of their people -- in different clothes. Cultural nationalism manifests itself in many ways but all of these manifestations are essentially grounded in one fact; a universal denial and ignoring of the present political, social, and economic realities and a concentration on the past as a frame of reference." (3)

Sometimes people say "it's a Black thing" to mean cultural nationalism. Other times we hear this about the Panthers in the same breath as the lie that they weren't communists. This lie comes after the fact, taking advantage of the repression of the Black Panthers and the inaccessibility of their old writings. That is the very common method of distortion used against the Panthers today.

If the Black Panthers were just a "Black thing," then why did they have all that international news in their newspaper, offer to fight for the Viet Cong, call for Third World solidarity, follow Mao, print articles from whites, Chinese and people of all other nationalities, support their Latino and Puerto Rican comrades and even run an article in Chinese once? The Black Panthers helped Latino and Puerto Rican comrades print their own newspapers; the inserts are included with the Black Panther papers. The Black Panther papers also had their own articles about the Latino comrades. (4)

Right into 1969, the Black Panthers were saying they were internationalists. "Not only are we for the right of self determination, but we're also internationalists."(5)

From the beginning the Black Panthers focused on Vietnam, which is why Huey Newton offered to organize fighters to send to Vietnam to help the Viet Cong. They referred to Vietnam as the "highest manifestation" of U.S. imperialist violence. That's not narrow nationalism.

When the Black Panthers asked for support in the effort to free Huey Newton and other leaders, they did not stop in the Black nation. Panthers including Bobby Seale went to Sweden for support and made sure to criticize the Swedish government for not opposing the Vietnam War. Moreover, they called on support from the African, Latin and Asian brothers and sisters. In the same pages, they made a determined effort to support the Arabs against Israel. Articles such as "Third World Appeals for Huey's Freedom" belie the claim that the Black Panthers were just narrow nationalists.(6)

Myth #2: The Panthers didn't fight revisionism

In line with the narrow nationalism charge, there is the charge that since the Black Panthers only cared about national struggle, they ignored the struggle against revisionism. This lie is countered by the truth that the Black Panther newspaper ran articles from Mao's Chinese press service verbatim.

The Black Panthers demonstrated a detailed knowledge of who supports revisionism and who doesn't throughout the period reviewed. In one article, they wrote about Albania: "TIRANA--Today's 'bashkimi' (unity) in a commentary entitled '30 years after Munich' strongly denounced Soviet revisionism and U.S. Imperialism for their collusion to re-divide the world into their spheres of influence and to plot another Munich."(7)

The Black Panthers also linked the U.S. bombing of Laos to Moscow: "Trends in this country to form closer ties to the Soviet Union and the experts of the Soviet Union to reciprocate are further indications of revisionism, which has led the people of Russia and the people under her control, i.e. Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, East Germany and Yugoslavia closer into the gaping jaws of colonialism and the searing teeth of capitalism and has produced the aggressive movements of Russian troops and cut out movements of Russian troops and diplomatic barks thrown at our brothers in China."(8)

Myth #3: Panthers had no class thing

If the Black Panthers were just narrow nationalists who didn't oppose revisionism, the same slander and libel would continue to add that the Panthers didn't grasp the class contradiction within U.S. borders. In truth, the Panthers shared Lenin and Mao's ambivalence about the labor aristocracy workers and wondered how bad the situation was and how far the labor aristocracy would go in opposing revolution. On the other hand, for a time they took Mao's official line on class. Those who oppose the Black Panthers of this period are only opposing Mao's line, not defending it.

Black Panther interviewer: "It's true, is it not Huey, that racism got its birth through economic reasons so that one group could superimpose its economic power over another."

Huey Newton: "I would agree with that. It think the prime thing was the economic rape of Africa."(9)

In the same issue of the paper, the Black Panthers celebrate the fifth anniversary of Mao's statement on the condition of Blacks in North America. Under a picture of Mao in a later issue, an

article explains some of the things that have happened since Mao's statement. The article is so Maoist in content that MIM cannot be sure that it was not written by the Chinese news services, because it appears that the Black Panthers sometimes ran articles from Hsinhua without crediting it.

Without anywhere disagreeing with Mao, and referring to him as "our great leader," the Panthers adopted the position that the Black nation is just another oppressed nation. It fits within Maoist theory as an oppressed nation, not as an imperialist country needing long, legal struggle. "At present, the Black American struggle is, in the main, taking the form of violent struggle." (10)

The Panthers point to violent outbreaks by Blacks in 120 cities in 10 days. They also say that the assassination of Martin Luther King after Mao's statement changed the climate: "The fact that an exponent of non-violence like the clergyman Martin Luther King fell a victim to the violence of the white racists is itself a hard and bitter lesson." (10)

They go on to quote important parts of Mao's article: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." This reminds us of problems the Euro-American labor movement was having. While Lenin said "politics is concentrated economics," he also said that no struggle that is not political and opposing the government is a class struggle of proletarians. Just because politics boils down to economics doesn't mean we can ignore politics. Likewise, the revisionists reading Mao take the above quote to mean that since national struggle boils down to class struggle, then we can ignore national struggle, when Mao clearly stated the opposite. In "On Contradiction," Mao explains that class struggle may take the backseat to national struggle under conditions of occupation and war. In other words, superficial class struggle will take the backseat to what are really more important class struggles.

The article continues: "The broad labouring sections among the white people of the United States have common interests with the Afro-Americans." Quoting Mao further, they say, "The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." (11) Elsewhere we will handle the fact that what Mao predicted about the white workers did not come to pass.

Myth #4: The original Panthers weren't Maoists

Headline titles, beginning quotations, ending quotations, whole pages of quotations, book ads, regular printing of Mao's "Eight Points of Attention" and the "Three Main Rules of Discipline," record ads and Hsinhua and Peking Review articles from the Chinese Communist press reprinted -- all of these paid homage to Mao's works. One would have to be blind not to see all the effort in applying Maoism.

Before the Black Panthers existed, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), with its multi-"racial" working class approach, obtained recognition from Mao as the vanguard within U.S. borders. This caused the only jab against Mao found anywhere in two years of the Black Panther paper. "PL, with Mao's support, has done everything possible to slander, expose and jail every Black nationalist leader. PL used the prestige of Chinese support and urged Malcolm X to work openly." (12) PLP broke with Mao in 1971 and said the break dated back to 1969. Elsewhere, we will look at the changing relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and its fraternal parties within U.S. borders.

The Black Panther paper of this period was as clear as could be that the Black Panthers were

Maoists and internationalists, not just revolutionary nationalists. Page 1 of Oct. 19, 1968 has one article and it starts in bold print headlines: "Chairman Mao's great statement points out direction of struggle of the Black people in the United States." Again, the paper goes over the statement from Mao of Aug. 8, 1963 concerning Black people.

In the same issue, an article on Japan exclaims in all capital letters: "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought!" Then it quotes Mao again in a typical statement: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."(13)

The extent of this dedication includes a good practice of criticism and self-criticism. Having run a photo of Mao and Lin Biao together, later issues of the paper made an apology to Chairman Mao. In one mystery of foresight, the Black Panthers spoke of Lin Biao as "purged" long before it became official.(14)

The Black Panthers loved to run articles hailing Mao from all over the world. They showed that liberation fighters everywhere were taking up "Mao Tse-tung thought." Examples included the statements from the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Bechuanaland People's Party, ZANU of Zimbabwe, a New Zealand party, South West African communists -- all of whom supported Mao Tse-tung Thought and opposed Soviet revisionism.

We don't know how much clearer the Panthers could have been when they said, "Revolution Depends On Mao Tse-Tung's Thought" in their article on Southwest Africa.(15)

The Panthers did not only adopt Mao as their leader, they also saw China as a key ally of the world's people. "Now with the advent of the People's Republic of China on the scene as an alternative supplier of essential goods, the United States is no longer in a coercive position. The non-white nations can now go to China for their needs. This freed them from the strings which forcibly attached them to the United States."(16) The Black Panthers did not take a narrow nationalist view where international aid is necessarily refused, especially where the result will be greater dependence on U.S. imperialism.

Myth #5: The Panthers were just charity workers

Many now want to remember the Black Panthers as only a breakfast program for children or medical clinic, devoid of revolutionary content. Again and again, even making it a front page headline, the Panthers said, "youth make the revolution," and "Feed the youth and they will feed the revolution."

An article by Landon Williams explained the original view of the breakfast program: "The chain was broken: a free breakfast program was born in Oakland. To the half-baked, the narrow-minded and the avaricious fool, this may seem as though the Black Panther Party now endorses reform action and is no longer interested in revolution."(17)

Myth #6: The Panthers didn't have a vanguard party structure

After one article in the newspaper suggested how to organize "rip-offs," Huey Newton and the Central Committee acted swiftly in following issues of the newspaper. First there were criticisms of the whole idea of having rip-offs as just an action of "provocateurs" and various fools. Then there was a purge that went into 1969.

The purges of 1969 followed Mao's advice of combating liberalism and ultrademocracy. They adopted the strategy of raising the ideological level of the membership and not taking in new members. This was especially important because later in 1969 the BPP changed strategies and

emphasized its united front against fascism, as Mao signaled it should by among other things references to Nixon's fascism.(18)

"The governing body of the Black Panther Party, which is our Central Committee, has decided that in order to preserve democratic centralism and to destroy ultrademocracy in our ranks, that it is of absolute necessity to understand the decadence of ultra-democracy. In conclusion, we say that all those who aspire to opportunism are directly related to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."(19)

During this purge, Bobby Seale mustered his most radical stuff before copping out entirely shortly thereafter. He attacked cultural nationalism, opposed Black capitalism, defended white revolutionaries, supported purges and drew the line on accepting new members.(20)

David Hilliard also took a strong role at that time. According to Hilliard, "we relate to what Lenin said, 'that a party that purges itself grows to become stronger.'" Addressing fears of Stalin that white radicals and others were raising, Hilliard said, "the one thing we respect about Stalin, is that Stalin was able to capture the will of the people. He was able to put forth the will of the people more so than anyone else."(21)

Hilliard had a poster of Stalin on his wall. The Chinese probably supplied the poster as they did many graphics used on the pages of the Black Panther newspaper. The connection between the Chinese Communists led by Mao and the Black Panthers was both ideological and highly concrete. Just as in the 1960s, tiny Trotskyist sects criticized the Black Panthers for "Stalinism," so today the crypto-Trotskyists hide behind their own alleged Maoism or "Marxism-Leninism" and libel and slander the Black Panthers as part of their continuing plot against Maoism.

Notes:

1. Dated references are to the Black Panther newspaper. Nov. 16, 1968, p. 12.
2. "Long Live the Victory of the People's War!" Sept. 3, 1965.
3. Feb. 2, 1969, p. 6.
4. See "One Pig Dead -- One Wounded: Brown Brothers Beat the Heat," May 11, 1969, p. 4; "Persecution of the Young Lords," May 19, 1969, p. 14.
5. Aug. 9, 1969, p. 13.
6. Sept. 14, 1968.
7. Oct. 12, 1968, p. 8.
8. "Why We Support China," April 20, 1969, p. 20. See also "Washington/Moscow Collaboration Intensified," March 3, 1969, p. 8; "Nuclear Fraud Betrays People's Interest," March 31, 1969, p. 11; "Inducing & Forcing Arab People to Surrender," March 31, 1969, p. 15.
9. March 16, 1968, p. 18.
10. May 18, 1968, p. 11.
11. May 18, 1968, p. 25.
12. "Imperialism, White Chauvinism and PL.:" April 20, 1969, p. 7.
13. Oct. 19, 1968, p. 4.
14. October 26, 1968.
15. Oct. 12, 1968, p. 8; Nov. 2, 1968, p. 2; Dec. 21, 1968, p. 18; March 16, 1969, p. 12.
16. Sept. 14, 1968, p. 3. See also twice reprinted article from Peking Review, "The Just Struggle of the Afro-Americans Is Sure to Win," May 25, 1969, p. 14.
17. "Reform or Revolution?" March 3, 1969, p. 12.
18. The turning point for that is seen in the May 31, 1969 issue, when they started the practice of printing lengthy quotes from Georgi Dimitroff in 1935 on the united front.
19. Jan. 25, 1969, p. 17.
20. March 3, 1969, p. 10. See also "What is Ultra-Democracy?" Feb. 2, 1969, p. 14.
21. April 20, 1969, p. 18.

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER COLLECTION

Articles reproduced by the Maoist Internationalist Movement

This collection makes available some of the original writings of the Black Panther Party from its first three years of existence (1966-1969) when it grew to be an explosive power and the predominant influence in the Black nation. These articles dispell a number of myths about the Black Panthers currently circulated by opportunists, lecture-circuit parasites and wannabe Hollywood directors.

October 19, 1968. Page 4

"ANTI-U.S. RALLIES"

PEKING, October 8 - Japanese workers, peasants and students held anti-U.S. rallies and demonstrations simultaneously in Tokyo, Osaka, Saitama, and Fukuoka on October 6, demanding the dismantling of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," according to a Toho news agency report.

The rally in Tokyo of about 1,000 workers and students was held at a place designated for the expansion of the Tachikawa U.S. Air Base. After the rally, the participants held an impressive demonstration at the shopping center near the base.

Despite the annoying roaring of low-flying U.S. planes, the workers, peasants and students persisted in holding the rally. Speakers at the rally wrathfully condemned the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Viet Nam and voiced their determination to struggle to the end against U.S. bases.

A worker read out the inscription written by Chairman Mao for Japanese worker friends: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution." He said: "We must study this inscription seriously." Let us firmly arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive to win final victory.

After the rally, the workers and students staged a militant demonstration around the base. Marching at the head were demonstrators holding red banners inscribed with the slogan: "LONG LIVE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT EXCLAMATION." They appealed to the citizens to fight together with them for the dismantling of U.S. military bases.

In Saitama Prefecture, about 300 young workers and students held a rally in Osaka City where a U.S. army field hospital and the offices of the U.S. information service are located. The demonstrations expressed the determination to carry on till victory, the struggle for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and for the dismantling of U.S. military bases.

After the rally, the participants held a demonstration and fought fiercely with 500 police sent by the reactionary Sato government.

In Ibaraki Prefecture, about 5,000 workers, students and other citizens held a rally and demonstration in Katsuta City demanding the immediate dismantling of the U.S. military base in the city and opposing the building of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Tokai Village outside the city.

About 400 young workers, students and other citizens held a rally near the U.S. army field hospital in Yokohama City to demand the removal of the hospital. The rally was followed by a demonstration.

About 200 young workers and students from Kansai Area held a rally and demonstration in Toyonaka City, Osaka Prefecture, expressing their determination to struggle for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China and the smashing of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty."

Some 300 workers held a rally in front of Yamada ammunition depot of the U.S. air base in Kitakyushu City, Fukuoka Prefecture, to demand the immediate dismantling of the depot. A vigorous demonstration was held after the rally.

November 16, 1968. Page 12

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE" EXCLUSIVE BY: HUEY NEWTON

(Huey on Anarchists and Individualists as related to revolutionary struggle and the Black Liberation Movement)

We should understand there is a difference between the rebellion of the anarchists and the black revolution or liberation of the black colony.

This is a class society; it always has been. This reactionary class society places its limitation on individuals, not just in terms of their occupation, but also regarding self expression, being mobile, and being free to really be creative and do anything they want to do.

The class society prevents this. This is true not only for the mass of the lower or subjugated class. It is also true within the ruling class, the master class. That class also limits the freedom of the individual souls of the people which comprise it.

In America, we have not only a class society, we also have a caste system and black people are fitted into the lowest caste. They have no mobility for going up the class ladder. They have no privilege to enter the ruling structure at all.

Within the ruling class they're objecting (resisting?), because the people have found that they're completely subjected to the will of the administration and to the manipulators. This brings about a very strange phenomenon in America, that is, many of the rebelling white students and the anarchists are the offspring of this master class. Surely most of them have a middle class background and some even upper class. They see the limitations imposed upon them and now they're striving, as all men strive, to get freedom of the soul, freedom of expression, and freedom of movement without the artificial limitations from antique values.

Blacks and colored people in America, confined within the caste system, are discriminated against as a whole group of people. It's not a question of individual freedom as it is for the children of the upper classes. We haven't reached the point of trying to free ourselves individually because we're dominated and oppressed as a group of people.

Part of the people of this country - which is a great part - are part of the youth themselves. But they're not doing this as a group of people because, as a group, they're already free to an extent. Their problem is not a group problem really, because they can easily integrate into the structure. Potentially, they're mobile enough to do this: they're the educated ones, the "future of the country," and so forth. They can really gain a certain amount of power over the society by integrating into the rulership circle.

But they see that even within the rulership circle, there are still antique values that have no respect for individualism. They find themselves subjugated. No matter what class they're in, they find themselves subjugated because of the nature of this class society. So their fight is to free the individual's soul.

This brings about another problem. They're being ruled by an alien source that has nothing to do with freedom of individual expression. They want to escape this, to overturn this, but they see no need to form a structure or a real, disciplined vanguard movement. Their reasoning is that, by setting up a disciplined organization, they feel they'd be replacing the old structure with other limitations. They fear they'd be setting themselves up as directing the people, therefore limiting the individual again.

But what they don't understand, or it seems that they don't understand, is that as long as the military-industrial complex exists, the structure of oppression of the individual will continue. An individual would be threatened even if he were to achieve the freedom he's seeking. He'll be threatened because there will be an organized lower group there ready to strip him of his individual freedom at any moment.

In Cuba they had a revolution, they had a vanguard group that was a disciplined group, and they realized that the state won't disappear until imperialism is completely wiped out, structurally and also philosophically, or the bourgeois thoughts won't be changed. Once imperialism is wiped out they can have their communist state and the state or territorial boundaries will disappear.

In this country the anarchists seem to feel that if they just express themselves individually and tend to ignore the limitations imposed on them, without leadership and without discipline, they can oppose the very disciplined, organized, reactionary state. This is not true. They will be oppressed as long as imperialism exists. You cannot oppose a system such as this without opposing it with organization that's even more extremely disciplined and dedicated than the structure you're opposing.

I can understand the anarchists wanting to go directly from state to non-state, but historically it's incorrect. As far as I'm concerned, thinking of the recent French Revolution, the reason the French uprising failed is simply because the anarchists in the country, who by definition had no organization, had no people that were reliable enough, as far as the mass of the people were concerned, to replace DeGaulle and his government. Now, the people were skeptical about the Communist Party and the other progressive parties because they didn't side with the people of medium living. They lagged behind the people, so they lost the respect of the people and the people looked for guidance from the students and anarchists.

But the anarchists were unable to offer a structural program to replace the DeGaulle government. So the people were forced to turn back to DeGaulle. It wasn't the people's fault; it was Cohn-Bendit's fault and all the other anarchists who felt they could just go from state to non-state.

In this country - getting back home to North America now - we can side with the student radicals. We would try to encourage them and persuade them to organize and wield a sharp cutting tool.

In order to do this they would have to be disciplined and they would have at least some philosophical replacement of the system. This is not to say that this itself will free the individual. The individual will not be free until the state does not exist at all, and I think - I don't want to be redundant - this cannot be replaced by the anarchists right away.

As far as the blacks are concerned, we are not hung up on attempting to actualize or express our individual souls because we're oppressed not as individuals but as a whole group of people. Our evolution, or our liberation, is based first on freeing our group, freeing our group to a certain degree. After we gain our liberation, our people will not be free. I can imagine in the future that the blacks will rebel against the organized leadership that the blacks themselves have structured. They will see there will be limitations, limiting their individual selves, and limiting their freedom of expression. But this is only after they become free as a group.

This is what makes our group different from the white anarchists - besides he views his group as already free. Now he's striving for freedom of his individual self. This is the big difference. We're not fighting for freedom of our individual selves, we're fighting for a group freedom. In the future there will probably be a rebellion where blacks will say, "Well, our leadership is limiting our freedom because of the rigid discipline. Now that we've gained our freedom, we will strive for our individualistic freedom that has nothing to do with organized group or state." And the group will be disorganized, and it should be.

But at this point we stress discipline, we stress organization, we do not stress psychedelic drugs and all the other things that have to do with just the individual expansion of the mind. We're trying to gain true liberation of a group of people, and this makes our struggle somewhat different from the whites.

Now, how is it the same? It's the same in the fact that both of us are striving for freedom. They will not be free - the white anarchists will not be free - until we are free so that makes our fight their fight, really. The imperialists and the bourgeois bureaucratic capitalistic system would not give them individual freedom while they keep a whole group of people based upon race or color oppressed as a group. How can they expect to get individual freedom when the imperialists oppress whole nations of people? Until we gain liberation as a group, they won't gain any liberation as individual people. So this makes our fight the same, and we must keep this in perspective and always see the similarities and the differences in it.

There's a tremendous amount of difference in it, and there's a due amount of similarity between the two cases. Both are striving for freedom and both are striving for liberation of their people, only one is advanced to a degree higher than the other. The anarchists are advanced a step higher, but only in theory. As far as actuality of conditions, they shouldn't be advanced higher because they should see the necessity of wiping out the imperialistic structure by organized groups just as we must be organized.

December 21, 1968. Page 18

"NEW ZEALAND HAILS TRIUMPH OF CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

WELLINGTON -- The political committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in a statement in the "People's Voice" today, warmly acclaim the great proletarian cultural revolution in China and the great victory of the enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The statement says, "An intense struggle is being waged between two powerful forces in the international arena. One of these forces represents the toiling and oppressed people of the world. The other represents the exploiters and oppressors."

It continues, "At the head of the alliance of all the exploited classes and nations stands revolutionary China, under the leadership of the Lenin of our time, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. At the head of the other alliance of exploiters and traitors to socialism stand the imperialist leaders and Soviet revisionist leaders."

"The struggle between the two totally opposed forces is going on in all countries of the world, including New Zealand. Every victory for the forces of revolutionary socialism and national liberation is a victory for the working class and exploited of New Zealand against the people's enemies."

"For this reason, the political committee applauds the triumph of the proletarian cultural revolution in China, which has kept China firmly on the path of evolutionary socialism against all attempts from within and without to turn China back to capitalism," the statement emphasizes.

It points out that the schemes of China's arch revisionist Liu Shao-chi to restore capitalism have been thoroughly smashed by the revolutionary workers and peasants of China under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the people of China. This is a victory of the working people of all countries.

January 4, 1969. Page 7.

"REPARATIONS FOR VIETNAM"

AT LEAST A million Vietnamese people have been killed by the Americans or by puppet forces armed and directed by the U.S. Precious human lives can never be replaced with money or goods. Yet material compensation must be granted to the survivors. Using the racist standards of imperialism, the U.S. government has paid \$34 per person to relatives of persons killed by its armed forces "by accident" in so-called "friendly areas." Such token payments measure nothing but the depravity of the U.S. military rules.

Here is a suggested standard. The U.S. grants each serviceman a \$10,000 life insurance policy, for a token premium of \$2 yearly. This maybe taken as the minimum value of a human life. Applied to the million plus killed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, it comes to a total of more than \$10 billion.

January 4, 1969. Page 8.

INDIAN MAGAZINE DENOUNCES REVISIONISM

NEW DELHI (Pan. African Press) -- The Indian Monthly "LIBERATION" published an article in its latest issue condemning the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for betraying the road of the October Revolution. It also denounced the Dange renegade clique in India and the revisionists of India for their counter-revolutionary crimes.

The article said: "By using the State machine, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, headed by Krushchev and his successors, Kossygin and Brezhnev, has restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and itself practices neo-capitalism."

The article stated that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "invasion of Czechoslovakia conclusively proves that this clique has degenerated into social-fascism and social-imperialism."

It said: "This revisionist renegade clique is the sworn enemy not only of the Soviet working people, but of all the workers and oppressed nations of the world including the Indian people."

The article denounced the Dange renegade clique and the revisionists of India for stubbornly opposing the path of the Naxalbari armed revolution. It said that after the Twentieth Congress of the C. P. S. U., they have openly renounced the path of the October Revolution, the path of violent revolution, and have been trying their utmost to lead the Indian revolutionary people astray by advocating the peaceful "parliamentary road."

It said that the Dange renegade and the revisionists of India have openly stood on the side of the domestic reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the U. S. imperialists. They have degenerated into the running dogs of the U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. The rising tide of the Indian revolution will sweep them away like garbage, however, widely they may now rage against the peasant struggle and against socialist China.

January 4, 1969. Page 8

WATER SHORTAGE IN INDIA

NEW DELHI -- A large part of India's Rajasthan State is hit by a devastating drought and the reactionary Indian ruling circles' cruel exploitation and apathy have added much suffering to the people there.

Indian newspapers reported recently that heavy drought hit the entire Western and Northwestern Rajasthan, especially five districts bordering on Pakistan. Nearly 3 million people, or one third of the state's population, were seriously affected.

Poor peasants were forced to leave their villages, and in October, about one million villagers were roaming the cities and towns in search of work. Many of them especially children were starved to death. A large number of cattle died of shortage of water and fodder. In some villages carcasses of oxen piled up like hills.

Rain is the main source of water supply. But all tanks and reservoirs for collecting rain water had dried up. Under the ruthless exploitation by the reactionary Indian authorities, the people could not afford to dig enough wells. In the Jaisalmer district, 200,000 people needed about 100 tube-wells. They only received 10 working ones. They had to share their ration, with their cattle, which they received on alternate days.

Food rations for the people in the drought-stricken areas fell far short of demand. The local princely families, though, had huge stocks of food-grains and fodder. So did the big landlords and usurers. With the help of the local bureaucrats they sold food-grains at high prices to make fabulous profits from the misery of the people.

The reactionary Indian government forced the people, thousands of hungry people, including women and small children to build military roads. They were treated cruelly by foremen; wages were withheld for weeks.

Diseases were high as a result of the starvation and hot weather. The reactionary Indian authorities provided no medical facilities for the people. They even refused it. In Sangarh, a place in the drought-affected areas, a village woman was desperately looking for a doctor to cure her sick, four month old child. A government doctor refused to let her bring the child near him.

January 4, 1969. Page 8.

JAPANESE STUDENTS

TOKYO (Third-World Press) -- The patriotic Japanese students of Ryukyu University held a rally and demonstration in Naha City, Okinawa prefecture last week to voice their strong demand for the withdrawal of the bandit B-52 bombers of the U.S. armed pig forces now stationing in Okinawa.

Following the explosion of a B-52 shortly after taking off from the Kadena base in Okinawa last month which resulted in injuring a number of local residents and damaging their houses, another incident took place in the same base last week when one of the B-52 bombers made an emergency landing after it took off.

Furious over the incident, about three hundred students of Ryukyu University held a rally in front of the U.S. Civil Administration in Naha City to express their determination to struggle resolutely for the withdrawal of B-52 bombers from Okinawa and the dismantling of U.S. military bases in the island.

Right after the rally, the students staged a demonstration, marching in high spirits to the Kadena U.S. military base. They shouted such anti-U.S. slogans as "Withdraw immediately the B-52 bombers," and "Smash the Japan-U.S. 'Security Treaty'." Merging with another group of people demonstrating in front of the base, they condemned the crimes committed by the U.S. bandit planes.

The forceful action of the students threw the U.S. and Japanese reactionary pigs into a panic. The latter sent out about five hundred armed policemen to ruthlessly suppress the demonstrators. Braving the pigs'

brutal suppression, the students stormed the base several times and fought bravely with the police.

January 25, 1969. Page 17.

"PANTHER PURGE"

BY: VIRTUAL MURRELL

The governing body of the Black Panther Party, which is our Central Committee, has decided that in order to preserve democratic centralism and to destroy ultra-democracy within our ranks, that it is of absolute necessity to understand the decadence of ultra-democracy. First, it must be crystal clear that ultra-democracy damages the party organization and seeks to undermine the Party. We must also point out that the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline is directly related.

They are not only practicing ultra-democracy, but they are opportunistic, and these individuals are not only opportunistic or counter-revolutionaries, but individuals who are renegades, jacknapes, and factionalizers who, with their obvious stupidity, try to divide our people by their very action.

It is necessary for the Black Panther Party to expose those fools that go against the Party's rules. They exhibit without doubt that their personal opportunistic gain is worth more than the liberation of black people.

It is necessary for the Black Panther Party, which is a People's Party, to purge members within the Party to rid ourselves of opportunism, the petty-bourgeoisie desires. You see, we believe in the teachings of our leader, the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party, when he says, "Have faith in the party and have faith in the people." If the masses are going to have faith in the party, it's necessary and an absolute principle that we are very sincere and honest with the people, because it is necessary to restore the much needed trust and dedication which has been lacking for hundreds of years. If we, as the vanguard, failed to criticize and denounce buffoons, and simpletons, then we will be put into a position of hypocrisy. In actuality, we would be the fools for allowing it to exist without moving to remove those who aspire to opportunism, filthy reprobates.

Purging is a process which must be used, as "defined," as a cleansing process. In view of what has happened in the past, it was very clear that it was necessary to purge those who by their very overt actions try to destroy the Party and the Party's image.

One of our objectives is to build and to unite black people and to lift their level of consciousness.

In conclusion, we say that all those who aspire to opportunism are directly related to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which simply means "Power by the People." It is an unmistakable sign of treason in the highest form, betrayal of black people.

All Power To the People.

Black Power to Black People.

[MIM Comments: MIM liked this article except for the slogans at the end. The proletariat is not all people.]

February 2, 1969. Page 14.

"WHAT IS ULTRA-DEMOCRACY?"

BY: FIELD MARSHAL D.C.

Ultra-Democracy is individualism manifesting itself as an aversion to discipline.

Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, pointed out in his essay on Anarchists and Individualists that, "This is a class society; it always has been." The majority of the people that become Panthers are from the lowest class. One of the major characteristics of this class is to think and act as an individual. This tendency was, and is, perpetrated by the ruling class (capitalists) in its rhetoric and in its governmental documents such as the declaration of independence, constitution, bill of rights, etc. Having people thinking and acting individually is an aid to the ruling class in its exploitation and oppression of people around the world in general, and the exploitation and oppression and the perpetration of racism against Black people in particular. All laws and institutions of the society are structured to create individual thinking and action. This prevents oppressed and exploited people from seeing their problem as a collective one, such as the exploitation and racism perpetuated against all Blacks. Therefore, collective thinking and action is required if op-

pressed and exploited people are to wage a successful struggle to gain their freedom and liberation.

All things having a dual nature, let us examine what can be called the positive aspects of individualism on the part of the masses of Black people in this present society.

Due to exploitation, oppression and racism of this society, the masses of Black people are mainly unemployed or under-employed. Therefore, means of survival other than employment were developed by Black people. Prime Minister Stokely Carmichael says, "You get things three ways: you work, you beg, or you take." Although Black people employ all three methods to fulfill their desires and needs, the latter receives priority.

Many Black people become very revolutionary in the process in their action if not in their thought. They develop ways of surviving on this society but not in this society. This is done individually or in very small groups, never collectively. These are the people who most readily see the Black Panther Party as a means to change their lot in particular and the lot of the Black people in general.

When these people come into the Party they bring these individualist tendencies with them. Within the Party these tendencies prevent Party policies from being carried out well or not at all. On the one hand, an individual trying to survive in the present society following only the rules and laws that serve you individually and rejecting those that do not is revolutionary by nature. On the other hand, coming into the Party and continuing to obey only orders and directions of the Party that please or satisfy you individually is counter-revolutionary and is called ultra-democracy.

A few examples are: "the Panther Party should apply democratic centralism from the bottom to the top, or should let the lower levels discuss all problems first and then let the higher levels decide." On an individual level, a Panther was told by an officer to clean one of the Panther cars, and he responded by saying, "I don't drive the car; therefore I won't clean the car." This is ultra-democracy. If it is not eradicated it will damage or completely wreck the party organization.

Some methods of correction are as follows: (a) Education of the rank and file to destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. (b) To ensure democracy under centralized guidance (1) the leadership must give correct guidance and solve problems when they arise in order to establish themselves as centers of leadership; (2) the leadership must know the life of the masses and be familiar with the situation in the rank and file in order to have an objective basis for correct guidance; (3) at no level in the Party should decisions be made casually in solving problems; (4) all major decisions and policies made by the leadership of the Party must be immediately communicated to the rank and file; (5) the rank and file must discuss decisions and policies of the leadership of the Party in order to understand them and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

February 17, 1969. Page 17

"FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION"

Eliel Paul Mwaluko, Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to China, gave a reception to Peking on January 11, to mark the fifth anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution.

Present on the occasion were Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and leading members of the government department concerned, and of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

In his speech at the reception, Ambassador Mwaluko described the significance of the Zanzibar people's armed revolution and their achievements in construction after the victory of the revolution. The Ambassador warmly greeted the success of China's new hydrogen bomb test. He said: "This great victory is a fruitful result of the great proletarian cultural revolution being carried out under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao. We rejoice over China's victories and achievements just as if they are our own."

Speaking of China's aid to his country, the Ambassador said: "The sincere aid provided by China to Tanzania has increased our revolutionary courage and confidence. We are very grateful to Chairman Mao and the Chinese Government."

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Peng-fei, in his speech, paid tribute to the Zanzibar people who bravely took up arms and waged an armed struggle to oppose the reactionary role of imperialism and its running dogs and finally won national independence. He also paid tribute to the Tanzanian people who, under the leadership of President Nyerere, have in the past five years scored one achievement after another in the struggle to safeguard national independence and in building their country.

Chi Peng-fei added: "The great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao, has pointed out: 'The world revolution has entered a great new era.' We are deeply convinced that in this new year, the people of Tanzania and other countries in Africa will win new victories in their anti-imperialist struggles, and that there will be a new development in the friendly relations between the Chinese and Tanzanian peoples."

March 3, 1969. Page 2.

"MESSAGE FROM HUEY" - "Taped in Prison"

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party
REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, WHITE RADICALS WHO ARE BECOMING BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

I'm very happy that we are all here together today, not because it's my birthday, but because we should be together on any and every occasion that we possibly can in the name of solidarity.

February 17th, fortunately, is also the Tet of the lunar new year. So we're celebrating the lunar new year with our brothers in Viet Nam. We're daily making the people more and more aware of the need for unity among all revolutionary people and also that it's impossible for us to overcome the treacherous bureaucratic class without an organized force.

The students at the many universities across the nation are challenging the reactionary authority of the schools and are also pointing out very vividly that it's impossible to have a free university, free schools, or a free society in a society that's ruled by a fascist military-industrial complex. The community is now seeing that our fight on the campuses is more than just a fight for "freedom of speech" on the campus, or Blacks gaining a knowledge of our heritage; it's also showing the direct relationship between the reactionary government and the agencies and institutions that are only an arm of these reactionaries. Until we penetrate the community and make them aware and plant the seed of revolution, we will never have freedom at our schools. The community now is being mobilized by the Black revolutionary forces and along with them are our white revolutionary comrades.

It seems that the time has come for an escalation of our offensive. Just as our brothers in Viet Nam had the Tet offensive last year, this celebration today will only be a prelude or celebration to the offensive that we are going to wage in the not-too-far future. "In the near future a colossal event will occur where the masses of the people will rise up like a mighty storm and a hurricane, sweeping all evil gentry and corrupt officials into their graves." Brother Mao put that quite well, and we will follow the pattern and follow the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

Today it should mark a new time for the TWO-REVOLUTIONARY force in the country (the TWO-REVOLUTIONARY force I'm speaking of is the alienated white group and the masses of Blacks in the ghettos, who for years sought freedom and liberation from a racist, reaction system). After approximately three years now that the Panthers have been organized, we have gained an even closer relationship with our Latin American brothers, our Chicano brothers in the United States, the Cuban people, and every other people who are striving for freedom.

I would like to thank everyone very much for coming and we must remember that we must never make excuses for such gatherings as this. Today we'll use the excuse of my birthday; but the real issue is the need to come together in unity and brotherhood.

Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, is with us in spirit and I'm very sure that this decadent fascist society wasn't worthy of him and couldn't tolerate his presence because he acted as a guide flag for the people. So we must make a society that will welcome people like our Minister of Information.

The Oakland Seven are now standing trial for resisting the fascist system, and we would like to let them know and would like to rally the community for support. They have a very able representative in court

with them, Charles Garry, who is very capable and truly a revolutionary. Brother Eldridge Cleaver has said on more than one occasion that he would go into any court in the world with an attorney like Charles Garry. I would like to bear witness to that from a personal experience. With a representative like Charles Garry we're sure that we would have victory as long as the community supports us. We have, with the support of the community and with the fine attorney such as Charles Garry, we have nothing to fear.

A short time ago we suffered a very tragic experience in that two of our very talented and gifted and dedicated brothers were assassinated in Los Angeles: Brother "Bunchy" and Brother Huggins. This was only an escalation of the oppression against us. The assassins were agents of the establishment and they took the occasion to eliminate the people's fighters, or fighters for the people. Knowing that the people have no recourse, the institutions and the court institutions give us no recourse because they're only representatives of the reactionary system. The community will have to erect revolutionary courts and also a community militia to protect the community and see that the community gets justice.

Brother Ruben has suffered many investigations, and now he's under investigation. He's going to trial on or about four or five different alleged crimes, and the crimes are SEEKING JUSTICE. The society views any person who's striving after justice and freedom and to end exploitation as a "criminal." We know that if we are criminals, the criminals have received their ultimate revenge when Karl Marx indicted the bourgeoisie of grand theft. We realize that it's they who are criminals and it's they who will have to be brought to justice. We will have to go on fighting in spite of the losses and in spite of the hardships that we're bound to suffer, until the final downfall of the reactionary power structure.

So, POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE, and PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD!

March 3, 1969. Page 6.

COLOMBIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

"REVOLUTION," organ of the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), recently published a document which pointed out the tremendous achievements in the first year of the revolutionary armed struggle unfolded by the Colombian People's Liberation Army, and called upon the revolutionary people of Colombia to strengthen their struggles and strike hard at U. S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies.

The document was jointly issued by the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the Regional Patriotic Committee of Alto Sino and Alto San Jorge.

It pointed out first of all that the broad masses of the Colombian people are rising up in struggle in all parts of the country and their political consciousness is rapidly heightening.

It said: "Standing in the forefront of the triumphant struggle of the Colombian people is the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)." In Colombia, "the People's Liberation Army, the armed arm of our Party, has emerged and has been growing stronger daily. Today, it has become the brain and spine of the armed struggle of our people.

"The People's Liberation Army," it continued, "has unfolded its struggle on three principal fronts: fighting the enemy; undertaking and developing production; and mobilizing, educating, organizing and arming the broad masses of the people. Our people's army is fighting under the slogans of 'absolute confidence in victory, profound and boundless love for our people and irreconcilable hatred for our class enemies.' We are convinced that 'we are bound to win the fight.'"

The document said: "Parallel to the People's Liberation Army, there have appeared the revolutionary peasant militia and the regional patriotic committees. The last-mentioned are the embryo of a patriotic front for liberation."

It pointed out: "The People's Liberation Army replied to the suppression of U. S. imperialism and the operations in the first year beginning from June 1967. In the first year's combats, the People's Liberation Army killed or wounded many enemy soldiers, captured a number of weapons and recovered the U.S. imperialist enterprises and from the oligarchies hundreds of thousands of pesos worth of goods. It also re-

covered several thousand hectares of land and thousands of cattle and horses from the hands of the big latifundists. In the course of fighting, 'the People's Liberation Army has forged ahead in its development and its combat determination has brought about great success. These successes have strengthened our people's confidence in and profound love for their own armed forces.'"

The document condemned the reactionary authorities for cruelly persecuting the peaceable inhabitants. It stated: "The Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the patriotic committees, carrying out the line of the Party and applying the thought of the great teacher Comrade Mao Tse-tung, shall continue to stand at the head of the people and point out to them the road of revolution."

It called on the Colombian people to counter with conscious struggles the repression, oppression and exploitation of the people by U. S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies and to firmly support the People's Liberation Army. It also called on all the fighters of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary peasant militia to redouble their efforts in annihilating the enemy.

Revolution has also published war communique No. 9 of the People's Liberation Army which reported the combat achievements of the People's Liberation Army in June and July, 1968. The communique pointed out that the People's Liberation Army has grown stronger in the course of fighting.

In the first eight months of fighting, eight detachments were set up, including the "Maria Cano" detachment composed of women fighters.

March 3, 1969. Page 8.

WASHINGTON/MOSCOW COLLABORATION INTENSIFIED

Shortly before and immediately after Nixon took office, the renegades in the Kremlin went out of their way, openly and covertly, to flatter and toady to the new boss of the U. S. imperialism. Impatient to establish connections with the new set-up of the American monopoly capitalist class, they engaged in wide-scale diplomacy behind the scenes in Washington, New York and other American cities. They even sent a delegation of what they called "public leaders" to the United States to "exchange opinions on Soviet-American relations and a number of current international problems." In their own words, all this represents "joint efforts . . . to solve the ripe international problems" with U. S. imperialism. Even Western reporters were "surprised" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's feverish anxiety to do business with U. S. imperialism at the first opportunity.

The British paper "EVENING STANDARD" published a Washington report on January 29, saying: "Soviet diplomats, it is now known, contacted members of the Nixon staff in New York shortly before the inauguration and extended talks took place with Henry Kissinger, Nixon's White House adviser on foreign policy. And over the last few days Georgi Zhukov, the political commentator of "PRAVDA" . . . has been in Washington for quiet talks with key members of Congress." The paper added: "The pace and urgency of the Soviet approaches have surprised most experts here." It quoted a U. S. official as saying, "It's so promising. . . I've never known them to be in this much of a hurry."

The nauseating fawning on the new U. S. imperialist chieftain by the clique of Soviet revisionist renegades and their impatience to fraternize with U. S. imperialism are not only a new exposure of their true colors as renegades but also a confession of their difficulties and dire plight both at home and abroad.

U. S. imperialism quite appreciates the way the Soviet revisionist renegades dance to its tune. "U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT," a U. S. monopoly capital mouthpiece said, "High on the Nixon agenda is the search for better relations with Russia."

One of the important items in the further counter-revolutionary global deals between the United States and the Soviet Union now under preparation is the so-called limitation of nuclear missiles. As a "gift" to Nixon on the day of his inauguration, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique made a "proposal" on this question to U. S. State Department spokesman McCloskey declared that U. S. imperialism "is giving priority consideration to the question of beginning talks" with the Soviet revisionists.

Nixon himself made it clearer still on January 27 at his first press conference after assuming office that talks on this question were only the beginning of a series of counter-revolutionary global deals between the two countries. He said: "What I want to do is to see to it that we have strategic arms talks in a way and at a time that will promote, if possible, progress on outstanding political problems at the same time." Western news agencies pointed out that Nixon's statement showed he was ready to have "a broad dialogue" with the Soviet revisionists and he hoped this could gradually lead to "concerted efforts" by the U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism "on a scale never previously achieved."

At his February 6 press conference, Nixon indicated that the United States agreed to the recent proposal repeatedly put forward by the Soviet revisionists that representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France should hold meetings at the United Nations to discuss a so-called "political solution" to the Middle East problem. He stressed that "initiative" on the problem "must be multilateral." This means U. S. imperialism wants the four countries to take "joint action" to put pressure on the Arab people and compel them to swallow a fraudulent "political solution." Nixon again dropped the hint to the Soviet revisionists that if they wanted to clinch the deal with the United States on the "limitation" of the missile race, they must collaborate still further with the United States regarding a settlement of the Middle East problem, that is, they must join the United States in efforts to stifle the just struggle of the Arab people, the armed struggle of the Palestinian people in particular.

In response to the call by Nixon for an "open society," the Soviet revisionists have granted permission to the U. S. Overseas National Airways to operate 20 chartered flights between New York and Leningrad for 1969, beginning from March. Each flight will bring 200 American "tourists" to the Soviet Union to spread malodorous bourgeois influence among the Soviet people. For its part, the Soviet revisionism sent delegation after delegation to the United States in "exchange." It is also quietly agreed to send an "observer" to a conference on the "communications satellite system" in Washington this month. This means that the Soviet revisionists will join the U. S. imperialists in the dirty activities of collecting information.

During this intensified collaboration that was being worked out between U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, "U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT," in a recent article, divulged the criminal objective of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the two most ferocious enemies of the revolutionary people of the world, which are collaborating and struggling with each other in their vain effort to re-divide the world between themselves. It said: "What the Kremlin wants from Mr. Nixon is an agreement that the U. S. and Russia should get together and divide the world into spheres of interest and influence, with a few 'no man's lands' open for grabs."

The more U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism intensify their collusion, the more clearly will they reveal their ferocious features before the people of the world and the more quickly will they go to their doom.

March, 1969

"CULTURAL NATIONALISM ATTACKED IN EMORY DOUGLAS SPEECH"

This article is a reprint from Western Front newspaper -- Washington State Peace and Freedom Party.

By Calvin Winslow

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was scheduled to speak February 1, at the Encore Ballroom. That afternoon the Panthers announced that Seale would not be able to make it to Seattle. Those who passed up the meeting, however, made a mistake.

Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the BPP, stood in for Seale and proved once again that the leadership of the BPP includes many of the most articulate, dedicated revolutionaries of our time.

The central issue raised in the meeting, discussed by both Douglas and Aaron Dixon, Seattle Panther Captain, was the recent assassination in Los Angeles of Alprentice Carter and John Huggins, L.A. Panther leaders. The Panthers have accused US, a cultural nationalist organization led by Ron Karenga, of killing "two beautiful black brothers in the prime of revolutionary life of serving our people."

US, based in Watts, has put forth the idea of uniting all black people, regardless of class or ideology, while at the same time accepting federal money and promoting black capitalism. That cultural nationalism has now become so blatantly counter-revolutionary should not be surprising. Huey Newton pointed out some time ago that blacks can easily be used by the state to oppress their brothers. US has now turned its guns on the Panthers. This must certainly be another indication that the United States government spends its money carefully--the system can find its real enemies.

In declaring their opposition to cultural nationalism, the Panthers have increased the number of their enemies, but far more importantly, they have also rededicated themselves to serving the real interests of the people. Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalism will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor.

Emory Douglas said the Panthers will continue to organize the black community on a revolutionary basis. "The whole of Westwood (part of white Los Angeles, where UCLA is located and where the two Panthers were assassinated)," he added, "is not worth a few organized blocks of the Oakland flatlands." The Panthers now have over 80 branches, and from each an ultimatum has been issued warning Karenga and his followers to stay away. Dixon added that Seattle was included.

For those who are still looking forward to hearing Bobby Seale, Dixon said that the Panthers plan to bring him to Seattle in the near future. Watch for the time.

March 16, 1969. Page 15.

U. S. IMPERIALISM IS DYING

U. S. imperialism is intensifying fascistization at home. Tightening the machinery of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with redoubled efforts, it is subjecting the American people to a reign of terror and bloody suppression that is worse than before and has turned the United States into a huge prison.

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1949: "The governments of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Franco and Chiang Kai-shek discarded the veil of democracy for the bourgeoisie or never used it because the class struggle in their countries was extremely intense and they found it advantageous to discard, or not to use, this veil lest the people too should make use of it." Chairman Mao also predicted at the time that the U. S. imperialism would inevitably follow the same road.

Events have turned out exactly this way!

Since the end of World War II, U. S. imperialism has been playing the role of "international gendarme" in frantically suppressing the people of many countries. But inside the United States it has tried hard to put on an air of respectability by hiding its ruthless rule behind a veil of "democracy." However, with the daily sharpening of the class struggle in the country, this veil has long been torn to shreds by U. S. ruling circles themselves. U. S. imperialism is now stepping up its fascistization and making savage onslaughts on the people. This completely reveals its ferocious features.

The intensified fascistization by U. S. ruling circles reflects the rapid exacerbation of the political-economic crisis of U. S. imperialism, the inevitable result of the rapid and vigorous development of the American people's revolutionary struggle. Like roaring waves, the struggle of the Black Americans against racial oppression, the workers' movement and the student movement have violently pounded the reactionary rule of the U. S. monopoly capitalists in recent years. Since deception and trickery have failed to stop the tempestuous torrents, U. S. ruling circles are banking on the bayonet to maintain their rule. Thus the intensified fascist dictatorship at home by U. S. imperialism is by no means a sign of strength. It only betrays its weakness. It is a sign of U. S. imperialism nearing the end of its rope.

Fascism is itself the product of the imperialist system in decline. Once fascism is introduced it inevitably accelerates the collapse of this system. Outright violence under the savage rule of the U. S. imperialists will only disabuse the masses of much of their illusions about bourgeois democracy and help bring about a greater awakening of the American people. It will help them see more clearly that only by using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence can genuine emancipation be achieved. Fascist dictatorship, far from destroying the

revolutionary movement of the American people, will only create powerful grave-diggers of U. S. imperialism. Fascism did not save Hitler from destruction. Neither can it save U. S. imperialism from its final doom!

March 31, 1969 Page 11.

NUCLEAR FRAUD BETRAYS WORLD'S PEOPLES' INTEREST

To maintain their nuclear hegemony and carry out nuclear blackmail against other countries so as to push their counter-revolutionary "global strategy," U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have for years tried to make a deal over the so-called "nuclear non-proliferation" question. They have become more eager than before to reach an earlier agreement on this question since China successfully conducted a number of nuclear tests which have struck terror into their hearts. They cooked up a so-called "treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" at the beginning of 1968 after compromises and concessions were made by the Soviet revisionists, and manipulated the U. N. General Assembly into adopting it last June. Under this treaty, not only can the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists produce and stockpile nuclear weapons and expand their nuclear bases, they make no commitments whatsoever not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states. The non-nuclear states, however, are totally deprived of their right to develop nuclear weapons for self-defense and are even restricted in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. To put it bluntly, the treaty is something imposed on the non-nuclear states to bind them hand and foot. The Soviet revisionists also joined with the U. S. imperialists in manipulating the U. N. Security Council into adopting a so-called "nuclear protection" plan, scheming to turn the non-nuclear states into their "protectorates" so as to control and subjugate them at will.

Scared out of their wits by the remarkable progress of socialist China in the development of guided missiles and nuclear weapons, Soviet revisionism and U. S. imperialism have in the past few years intensified their collusion against China on the nuclear question. In fact, the Soviet revisionists have formed a nuclear military alliance with the U. S. imperialists against China.

At present, further deals are in the brew between Soviet revisionism and U. S. imperialism on the so-called question of "limiting the anti-ballistic missile race." Not long ago, the Soviet revisionists deliberately chose the day of Nixon's inauguration to issue a "statement of the Soviet Union on the policy of the disarmament question," brazenly praising the counter-revolutionary deals between the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of nuclear weapons and expressing the hope of the Soviet revisionists to reach further agreement with U. S. imperialism on the "curbing of the strategic arms race." The U. S. imperialist boss Nixon openly expressed his appreciation of this. Many heinous moves of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique made in collusion with U. S. imperialism under the cloak of "nuclear disarmament" constitute an additional grave crime in betraying the interests of the people the world over and in allying with U. S. imperialism to oppose China.

April 6, 1969. Page 14.

SERVING THE PEOPLE

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

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

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

It is only the People that can overthrow the present imperialistic environment that we are exposed to and only the People can institute a socialistic government that will serve them. The spirit of the People is

greater than the man's technology, and that spirit will be guided by the vanguard party of this present liberation struggle.

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

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

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

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

---Marsha

April 20, 1969. Page 7.

IMPERIALISM, WHITE CHAUVINISM AND PL

The farcical trial in Memphis, Tennessee, proved that 1) any Black man, regardless of class or fame, can be murdered by agents of the ruling 60 families, and 2) that there was a conspiracy to murder Reverend (Martin Luther) King.

Immediately prior to Reverend King's murder, President Johnson publicly supported the white-supremacist, Klan-ridden Memphis police force. Large numbers of F. B. I. men were working with the Memphis police; Reverend King was surrounded by Memphis police and F. B. I. men when shot.

James Reston, the "NEW YORK TIMES" Washington editor, played a leading role in hunting up Johnson's and J. Edgar Hoover's role in the murder of Reverend King. Now the "NEW YORK TIMES" "regrets" the farcical court actions in Memphis while still covering up the role of Johnson and Hoover. The "TIMES" wants those who urged attacks on Reverend King to determine if there was a conspiracy. This is the "free" press in action.

In our newsletter of May, 1968, we reported the lynching of a Black man in South Boston. Three white men were arrested. The "prosecution" first reduced the charge to second-degree murder. Then an all-white jury could not agree -- mistrial. The next step will be, if the usual system of white supremacy prevails, either a suspended sentence or complete freedom for the lynchers.

With the above events in mind, consider Progressive Labor's attack on Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther leader. The PL magazine, page 33 of the February, 1969 edition, says, "Some of the reasons he (Cleaver) gave for not returning to jail were that prison would be too rough for him, because he is an intellectual or because he can't take it any more. We state that every Black man has the right and duty to stay out of imperialist jails. This, like all other questions, is a political question. But to see jail only in personal terms without any relationship to the entire movement and to run to save one's own skin, is giving no political leadership."

PL, with Mao's support, has done everything possible to slander, expose and jail every Black nationalist leader. PL used the prestige of Chinese support and urged Malcolm X to work openly. PL attacked Reverend King's support to Black garbage workers in Memphis, thus covering up the conspirators against Reverend King. Note that PL claims it opposes the jailing of Black men in general. But Black leaders should surrender! If PL leaders feel it is so wrong for a Black leader such as Robert Williams or Cleaver to avoid jail, "to run away," then what is their practice? To keep them from running away, to help the F.

B. I. find them, is the only conclusion that can be drawn from PL's position.

[MIM comments: This is the only negative reference to Mao we found in the Black Panther Party literature, and we believe it is appropriate, because Mao did originally recognize PL (Progressive Labor) as a fraternal communist party. PL split from Mao in 1969 and thereafter pioneered crypto-Trotskyism and integrationism on imperialist terms.]

April 20, 1969. Page 18.

EXCERPT OF AN "INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID HILLIARD"

Q: You speak of the strength and organization of the Longshoremen but do you think they will be able to fight off the ill effects of containerization without the help of the community?

A.: I doubt it. They will not need the community to retain their right to work, in terms of loading and unloading the vans. I think that it will probably be solved in the next two weeks. We have seen in the past that they have come up with threats of walking out or striking, but we know that the waterfronts are a major means of export and importation here in North America. I don't think they (employers) could stand the economic effect of having the longshoremen go out. Because they need the longshoremen for more reasons than containers.

Q. So they will give them another one of the concessions out of the bag?

A. That's right. So, they will gladly concede to those demands in order to further their imperialistic means. To further exploitation and prolong their war on the Vietnamese people. The longshoremen play an important part in that because they work at the military bases.

Q. What is the reason for the purge that is going on in the Black Panther Party?

A. We related to what Lenin said, "that a party that purges itself grows to become stronger." The purging is very good. You recognize that there is a diffusion within the rank and file of the party, within the internal structure of the party. So the very fact that you purge strengthens the party. You get rid of all the criminal elements, and work with the people left. You will become stronger, more of a fortress. Quoting from Stalin, I think he said something like "the party used to be hospitable, it would yield to the opinions of all the sympathizers. "But, now the party has become like a fortress." And that the party is only interested in the very best and the most revolutionary sections of society. We try now to attract the very best. And our doors are not open to anyone that decides that they want to join the party. Now the people that become a part of the rank and file of the Black Panther Party will definitely have to be somebody who wants to carry out the desires and aspirations of the oppressed people."

Q. What of the alliance with "DRUM" "FRUM"?

A. That was an alliance that was put together by Kenny Horston. He is the leader of the Black Panther Caucus out at General Motors in Fremont. Kenny had went back east to do some investigation because he became interested in trying to organize the workers, the black workers in particular. He went back and had discussions with members of DRUM and members of the Ford revolutionary movement that they have back there. He found out that the majority of the members within the two organizations were Panther Party members. That was a very gladdening experience to know, that the brothers back there had begun to organize the workers. And really moving to try and put up a working class force in order to deliver a very mighty and telling blow to the imperialistic system.

I think the credit should be attributed to Kenny Horston the brother that came up with the idea of trying to make some coalition with the Black Caucus here in Fremont, and the brothers in Detroit.

We see the necessity of making some alliances with the working class, black, white, Latin American, Orientals, and or what have you. We see that as being a very grave necessity that the revolution as a whole is dependent upon making a coalition with the other working class people. Panthers themselves are workers, it is just that we consider ourselves the most advanced detachment of the working class. Because of the theoretical analysis and because we have applied theoretically the ideas and works of Marx and Lenin and we have tested them in the external world, which proves that there is a need for the masses of the

people, and a need for solidarity of the working class. Our whole thing about discovering the triumvirate consisting of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. It is just a matter of trying to give a very complete picture of history. It's like considering the part without the whole to talk about Lenin and Marx, to talk about Mao Tse Tung and his deed without really bringing Stalin in on the overall historical scene. Stalin played a very important part in the Russian revolution and he played an important part in the first Socialist State manifested in Russia.

It is not a thing that we are Maoist or Stalinist, Leninist. We say that there is no such animal as a Maoist --- that there is just Marxist, Leninist, and that Stalin was truly a Marxist-Leninist. He always praised Lenin and carried out the ideas of Lenin. It's just a matter of people and history in its totality and telling the true story of what took place.

The reason that they fear Joseph Stalin is because of the distorted facts that they have gained through the Western press.

The one thing that we respect about Stalin, is that Stalin was able to capture the will of the people. He was able to put forth the will of the people more so than anyone else.

[MC5 comments: At that time Mao himself denied there was Maoism. He called himself "Marxist-Leninist." Since that time, we of MIM and a few others in the world have started to speak of "Maoism" to enshrine the contributions Mao made in fighting the bourgeoisie under socialism. The phrase "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" or just "Maoism" indicates that Mao raised Marxism-Leninism to a third stage of development.]

April 20, 1969. Page 20.

"WHY WE SUPPORT CHINA"

It seems highly unlikely that the intentional involvement of the United States Airforce plans, in the intrusion into and the exercising of territorial domain over parts of Laos called the Ho Chi Minh trail, is a random move.

This involvement is designed to coincide with the United States undercover Pig the Soviet Union of Russia. Trends in this country to form closer ties to the Soviet Union and the experts of the Soviet Union to reciprocate are further indications of the revisionism, which has led the people of Russia and the people under her control, i.e. Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, East Germany and Yugoslavia closer into the gaping jaws of colonialism and the searing teeth of capitalism and has produced the aggressive movements of Russian troops and cut out movements of Russian troops and diplomatic barks thrown at our brothers in China.

This move then must be taken as an endorsement of the war in Viet Nam, otherwise how could it be possible for the campaigns to proceed simultaneously. Is it so diametrically unopposed to one another over night. Or could the avaricious fools who dictate foreign policy have for both countries decided that even though they differ somewhat when they are dealing with a "Civilized Country," means anything that has a white or a white thinking puppet when it comes to dealing with a non-oppressive or non-white country, their differences cease to exist.

Marxist-Leninist theory indicates that we must unite with real friends in order to distinguish real enemies, and we all know that capitalism is our real enemy. Marxist-Leninist practice because it is nice to never become divorced from practice, proves out the theory that anything that our enemy attacks must not be all bad for us, and anything that our enemy does not attack cannot be all good for us and in most cases will be more good than bad. We know capitalism is our enemy. Capitalism is the United States government and the U.S. government is capitalism. The U.S. is preparing for directly and is attacking indirectly the People's Republic of China; it is not yet attacking the Soviet Union. Unite with real friends in order to defeat real enemies.

There is too much co-existing with the oppressor. There is one common denominator that is very glaring in the previous sentence in each case there are two dominant classes, the haves and the have nots, the oppressor and the oppressed.

China stands as a beacon to all revolutionaries around the world: the guiding light showing the path to freedom to all of our brothers in Africa and Asia. For this and only this reason has she been singled out for attack. The imperialists in Russia and the U.S. realize in their cunning that if they can stop the revolutionary and dynamic thrust, of China,

them and their lackeys, with no China to face can continue to subjugate and exploit Africa, Asia, Latin America, Harlem, Watts, Oakland and your neighborhood wherever you may happen to be, but what they don't realize is that you and I will not let them.

FREE HUEY

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE -- FREE HUEY

Raymond Jennings, East Oakland branch, BPP

[MCS comments: The BPP was right about China then. After Mao died and the revisionists arrested the Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan and Wang Hongwen, China had capitalism restored and it ceased to be a beacon for revolutionaries everywhere. Now there are no socialist countries anymore.]

April 27, 1969. Page 14.

"STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY"

Twenty one New York Black Panther Party members busted by pig power structure. Statement from the Black Panther Party Central Committee at National Headquarters, Oakland, California, delivered by the Deputy Chairman, David Brothers of the New York State Black Panther Party Central Staff.

Historically, all REACTIONARY forces (the pig power structure and their "cultural" Black capitalist lackeys) on the verge of EXTINCTION invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces (all workers, the unemployed, Mexicans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, poor whites, et. al., but especially poor black and oppressed peoples and their vanguard, the Black Panther Party. And some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves (the revolutionary peoples) are nearing victory. (Mao's little Red Book, page 83)

TWO MILLION ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL AND THE CHARGES AGAINST THE 21 BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS IS ABSURD AND OUTRAGEOUS. Concerning the charges, every Black Panther Party chapter and leadership knows that we would not waste dynamite on the blowing up of some jive railway stations and department stores simply because some of our own poor people would be killed and we know this is completely wrong when it comes to organizing the people against the demagogue politicians, the avaricious businessmen, and the racist pig police forces. They are the enemies of the people of America, be they white, brown, black, yellow or red.

We will not try to fight fire with fire because all of the people that FIRE is best put out with WATER. Therefore, the Black Panther Party will not fight racism with racism. But we will fight racism with solidarity. We will not fight capitalism with capitalism (Black capitalism), but with the implementation of socialism and socialist programs for the people. We will not fight U.S. government imperialism with more imperialism because the peoples of the world and other races, especially in America, must fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism. All peoples and revolutionaries must defend themselves with organized guns and force when attacked by the PIG POWER STRUCTURE.

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist-racist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." (Mao's little Red Book, page 24)

The Black Panther Party is informing and calling on all the peoples of the communities across the country to SCORN and DENOUNCE the actions of this capitalist-racist government's attempts to try and destroy the Black Panther Party which has chapters and branches across the nation. SCORN, DENOUNCE, and DESTROY the lies by capitalists and racists, from the Nixons, the Rockefellers, and all their pig lackeys, to the bootlicking cultural nationalists and black capitalists. They are the real conspirators where we see their obvious attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party's revolutionary leadership. They, of course, try to do this by murders, jailings, unfair court trials, the forcing of Eldridge Cleaver into exile, and the temporary imprisonment of the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton in California. FREE HUEY. THE REVO-

LUTION IS HERE. We the people of the world must FREE HUEY AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS because if it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, free BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN programs before school would not be spreading across the nation. If it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, the idea of having free medicine and FREE HEALTH CLINICS wouldn't be in the process of being implemented. If it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, the teaching that "it's not a race struggle, but a class struggle" would not begin to be understood. IF IT WASN'T FOR HUEY P. NEWTON, THE TEN POINT PLATFORM AND PROGRAM OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WOULD NOT BE IN THE PROCESS OF BEING IMPLEMENTED, PRACTICAL SOCIALIST PROGRAMS FROM THE BLACK NATION IS WHERE IT'S AT, WHEN EVEN OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS COPY IT, AND THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD KNOW THIS IS THEIR AND THAT IT'S RIGHT.

THE NEW YORK BLACK PANTHER PARTY 21 MUST BE SET FREE AS HUEY P. NEWTON MUST BE SET FREE. THEY, AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS, MUST RECEIVE THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT AS A NATIONAL RESISTANCE AGAINST THE PIG POWER STRUCTURE WHICH IS IMPERIALISTIC, CAPITALISTIC AND RACIST.

A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN IS NOW IN THE PROCESS OF BEING WAGED TO PUT TOGETHER A "FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS FOR THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE." THE NEW YORK BLACK PANTHER PARTY 21 MUST BE SET FREE. BAIL MONEY IS NEEDED FOR THE 21, HUEY P. NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AND "THE CONSPIRACY 8" OF CHICAGO, WITH BOBBY SEALE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY CHAIRMAN. DONATIONS MAY BE SENT TO:

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND; BLACK PANTHER PARTY; BOX 1224;

POWER TO ALL THE PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

"REVOLUTIONARY HEROS"

JOSE RIOS; MARIO MARTINEZ; NELSON RODRIGUES

"ONE PIG DEAD -- ONE WOUNDED BROWN BROTHERS BEAT THE HEAT"

Pigs in San Francisco have stepped up their repression of the Black and Brown community. They are committing murder at will; they are busting in doors and ripping of the people's property. Mayor Pig Alioto has chosen a top flight crew of murderous pigs to patrol and control the Brown and Black Communities of San Francisco. On May 1st, May Day, the day of the gigantic Free Huey rally, two of Alioto's top executioners vamped on the brothers from the Brown Community who were attending to their own affairs. These brothers, who are endowed with the revolutionary spirit of the Black Panther Party defended themselves from the racist pig gestapo.

Pig Joseph Brodnik received his just reward with a big hole in the chest. Pig Paul McGoran got his in the mouth which was not quite enough to off him.

The revolutionary brothers escaped the huge swarm of pigs with dogs, mace, tanks and helicopters, proving once again that "the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology."

To these brothers the revolutionary people of racist America want to say, by your revolutionary deed you are heroes, and that you are always welcome to our camp.

May 11, 1969. Page 7.

"BLACK PANTHER REVOLUTIONARY WEDDING"

On May Day, Thursday, May 1st a revolutionary wedding took place. The wedding was to unite in revolutionary matrimony, Black Panther Brother Charles Bursey and Panther Sister Shelly Sanders.

The wedding was the first of its kind here in the decadent, racist America. The ceremony was performed at the Church of the Minister of Religion of the Black Panther Party, Father Earl Neil. The Church is located at 27th and West Streets in West Oakland.

The Church is also the site of one of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children programs. The ceremony was officially carried out by the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. In place of a Holy Bible, Chairman Bobby used the Red Book "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung." The crowd attending the wedding

consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the community, who attended the breakfast program every morning.

The marrying couple looked radiantly revolutionary in their Panther uniforms of black and Panther blue. After the ceremony, the united couple were serenaded by the children to the revolutionary song of "We want a pork chop, off the pig."

May 11, 1969. Page 11.

"CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT MAY DAY RALLY TO FREE HUEY"

What's happening people? (FREE HUEY) Good evening, Good morning. I think it's about 12:00 right now. It's about 12:00 and if you look in the back of you, you will see Reagan's state building, with his state pigs observing the people. And, of course, if you look in front of you, you will see Nixon's U.S. federal building, with the pigs inside, observing the people. And if later on you decide to leave here and go on down Polk Street, you'll walk in front of pig mayor Alioto's office, and they'll be observing the people. Now I know you've heard a lot lately about what pig Mafioso, Moussili, Alioto, has had to say, (right on I know you've heard this pig with his ignorant backwards, minded butt sit up and say crazy things, like he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party. But the Black Panther Party, and black people, and Mexican-American people, and all people are saying there will always be Huey P. Newton, and a Black Panther Party, as long as there are black people living here in this city. (right on). Pig mayor Alioto said that he wanted to destroy the Black Panther Party. Richard Nixon, from the United States White House, is saying that he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party, by lying to the people, (right on) and by not telling the truth; and the reason they're not telling the truth is 'cause they always told lies. Right on. They told lies about the people, trying to protect their own self-capitalist interests. In the papers this morning (and I want the papers to get ahold of this) they're saying or trying to imply that the Black Panther Party is "subversive." Well, this is all the Black Panther Party has to say to all those pigs in the power structure. The Black Panther Party, along with other members of the community are feeding 2,000 young brothers and sisters every morning (right on), if that's subversive, then damn it we're subversive. (More right on's). The Black Panther Party is going forth implement Free Health Clinics in the black community, and we hope the Mexican-Americans, and the Chinese-Americans and all the other people do the same thing -- and if Free Health Clinics are subversive then damnit, mayor Alioto, and pig Reagan and Nixon, damnit, we're subversive. (Right on). We're saying that the Ten Point Platform and Program that our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton put together, is in the process of being implemented. That if it had not been for Huey P. Newton we would not have people with an understanding that they got a right to use weapons to defend themselves against any pigs who attack them. (Right on.) We're saying that if it had not been for Huey P. Newton, there would not be any BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN. (Right on.) If it had not been for Huey P. Newton COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE would not be in the process of being implemented by the people. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, FREE HEALTH CLINICS would not be in the process of being implemented in the black community. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, the TEN POINT PLATFORM AND PROGRAM of the Black Panther Party would not begin to be implemented by the people. And not only black people, because the Chinese-American, the Red Guard, has copied the same Platform and Program, and they got a right to it. And the Indian-American organization named NARP has copied the same Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party and they got a right to it. We're just waiting for this racism to break down when we see in the poor white Appalachians up in the mountains copy the same Ten Point Platform and Program and go forth to destroy the Nixons, the Reagans, and the pig Aliotos. (Right on.) When the Party says "Power to the People, " we ain't jiving a pound. We say Power To The People. And when the people say to Reagan, when the people say to Alioto, when the people say to pig Richard M. Nixon, that we want Huey P. Newton free, we're saying you bald headed pig punks better get out of the way (Right on.) because we're tired. And we saying you better let Huey go. They let that pig O'Brien, who killed Basket go, right on. You let him go on the very minute you allowed him in the street to murder

our brothers. They let that other pig go who killed Brother Lindstrom out in Hunter's Point (right on). Wait a minute, the Young Men of [no text --ed.] And this damn bald-headed Mafioso, Alioto jumped up talking about (right on), wait a minute, the Young Men of Action are his boys. Aint he an ass-hole, shame. (Right on.) What we're saying is this. We're saying this here. We heard the brothers say in a press conference that they denounced pig mayor Alioto, and mayor Alioto is saying that that's his boys. But we're saying this here: the Panther Party aint mayor Alioto's boys. (laughter) We are the people's workers, and we're going to keep serving the people, everybody. I mean everybody. The man don't like it, but we gone show him. You got your Red Books, hold your Red Books up and tell the brothers where we getting some new ideology from. We're saying like Huey P. Newton said, "that we're going to follow the thoughts of Chairman Mao." We're saying we going . . . Panther Party standing up and proving through social practice that we're not racist, but proving that they in fact are the real racists. They have never liked the Black Panther Party and the people talk about "We want some community control of police." They have never respected Huey P. Newton. But we respect Huey P. Newton. We love Huey P. Newton. (Right on.) I say: We love Huey P. Newton (repeated). We love Eldridge Cleaver (repeated). We love Kathleen Cleaver. We love all our people. We love our people so much that if the pigs attack us, we gone defend ourselves rightfully with guns and force. (Right on.) We love the people (audience repeats) and we love the people so much that we gone say: I am a revolutionary and that's our message to pig Alioto and Richard M. Nixon's America. That you and FREE HUEY, (repeated). FREE HUEY. FREE HUEY. Some Brothers are walking around with some buckets, some plastic buckets, they gone be asking for some donations for all the money that had to be put out, and we had to borrow it, to put this rally over, and so let's get it together, there some more speakers coming, sister Kathleen Cleaver is here, Eldridge Cleaver's wife, the Chief of Staff David Hilliard is here, we gone donate to the bucket, because are what, we say: I am a revolutionary. (Audience repeats each statement): FREE HUEY P. NEWTON. Down with the pigs. Down with all the pigs. Power to all the people. The collection is going on. Power to the people and thank you brothers and sisters. Right on. Applause.

May 19, 1969. Page 14.

"PERSECUTION OF THE YOUNG LORDS"

In this country where illegality is systematic and injustice deliberate, not only Black people but Brown people as well, suffer the brunt of repression. The American eagle, with its predatory instincts, vamps and Miss Liberty, with her deliberate ruthlessness, tramples on those people they find it profitable to attack and crush. America compresses its oppressed between an atmosphere of vileness and a ground of hostile instability and dares them to challenge the mediums. The Young Lords Organization, a Latin-American revolutionary group who are working in Chicago, have dared to dispel the mediums; they are demanding an end to the injustices heaved upon Latin-American people.

Latin-American people in this country face some of the same problems that we, Black people face, i.e., inadequate food, indecent housing, irrelevant education, police brutality, and unemployment. And what are the Young Lords doing? They are working for adequate food, decent housing, relevant education, police brutality cessation, and employment for their people. The power structure would have these problems continue, as people who have little power to solve these problems are easy to exploit. The Young Lords, however, cannot be placed into this category because they are showing their people the strategic method to resist the oppressive forces of the power structure. This has made them the "enemy" to the power structure and the "friend" to all who desire an end to imperialism. The power structure's perception of them has resulted in them being harassed, arrested, beaten, and shot by the pigs who "protect and serve" (yes, protect capitalistic enterprises and serve us with arrest warrants, search warrants, subpoenas, summons, and the like).

On Sunday, April 4, one of the Young Lords, Manuel Ramos, Minister of Defense was killed and Ralph Rivera, Minister of Education was critically wounded. yes these two were dedicating their lives to the

revolutionary struggle. They were shot by pigs who made it their goal to deal with them as all protesting poor and exploited people are dealt with: elimination.

These brothers who sought to overtake those who have unjustly taken over, whose love was liberation and hate was oppression, whose bodies lie stiff and contorted, whose blood overflows the State of Illinois and surges into those adjacent states, whose words (Todo eo poder a la genta - All power to the people) can be heard reverberating in response to the scream of the oppressed --- these brothers we hold sacred; these brothers we hold dearest; these brothers we hold highest.

Presently facing many trumped up charges (such as mob action, disorderly conduct, inciting to riot, and everything else that is false) Chairman of the Young Lords, Cha Cha Jimenez is picked up at least once a week by the pigs. Many other Young Lords as well have been arrested on similar conspired charges. The news media and the pigs would have us believe that the Young Lords are a menacing gang, but we know otherwise. Their continuous community efforts have proven this. But the massive intimidations and negative propaganda have not made the Young Lords cease their struggle for the liberation of their people -- quite the contrary. More determined than ever, they are now intensifying their efforts to see that the needs of their people are met.

We ask the people to witness the Young Lords as they attempt to improve their community and place its control in the hands of the Latin-American people, to witness the pig persecution of those who believe that power should be vested in the people and not in minority enterprises. We call on the people to judge whether the struggle for justice now being waged by the Young Lords is invalid; whether the murder of one and the intended murder of the other is right. We call on the people to judge whether the Young Lords deserve such persecution.

Regarding you, the Young Lords, as our true revolutionary brothers, as our comrades, and as our allies, the Black Panther Party is working jointly with you to see that aggression is thwarted and suppression is ended. Illinois Chapter Reporter Carletta Fields

May 19, 1969. Page 14.

"YOUNG LORD MURDERED BY OFF DUTY PIG"

On May 4, 1969 an off-duty pig who works twenty-four hours a day murdering oppressed people took the life of one revolutionary brother (Manuel Ramos) and left another lying there seriously wounded. Both of these brothers were shot in the head. Both Brothers were members of the Central Staff of the revolutionary party. These brothers and the Young Lord organization have continued to "practice" revolutionary ideology. They pattern themselves after the Black Panther Party; they identify with the class struggle and that makes us class brothers. When the news was out about this premeditated murder, the community was up in arms, but it was Cha Cha (Chairman) and the Lords that said let's educate, let's organize and let's arm ourselves. Let's inform the community of the pigs' attempt to wipe out the Young Lords.

The Young Lords will be opening a free Breakfast program to meet the needs of the people.

Power to the People; Panther Power to the Black Panther Party; Young Lord Power to the Young Lords

July 26, 1969. Page 11.

"FIELD MARSHALL DON COX AT THE CONFERENCE"

(United Front Against Fascism conference)

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! You can do better than that. All Power to the people! Right on!

Huey P. Newton says, "Any unarmed people are slaves, or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If the guns are taken out of the hands of the people and only the pigs have guns, then it's off to the concentration camps, the gas chambers, or whatever the fascists in America come up with. One of the democratic rights of the United States, the Second Amendment to the Constitution, gives the people the right to bear arms. However, there is a greater right; the right of human dignity that gives all men the right to defend themselves."

As the black liberation struggle in the United States developed from a lower to a higher level, from a lunch counter sit-in in Alabama to guerilla type actions all across the United States, we saw and we see the demagogues beginning their campaign against 'crime in the streets.' We see the demagogues mobilizing supporters, the forces of fascism under

the philosophy of 'law and order,' the guise under which fascism is growing in America. Backing up the rhetoric of the demagogue is the "beefing up" of the gestapo pig police forces all across America. In addition, more and more gun control legislation, the guise under which the people are being unarmed, is being passed every day to take away the democratic right to bear arms, which in turn dehumanizes you by preventing you from exercising your human right to self-defense.

Eldridge Cleaver said, "The oppressor has no rights that the oppressed are bound to respect." Because those people that own and control the institutions of finance capital, the Rockefellers, the Kennedys, the Hunts, etc., want to maintain their control because they want to maintain the oppression and exploitation of mankind. They do not have the right to dispatch their fascist troops through the cities of America to brutalize and murder to maintain their terror over the people. The only way they can exercise their right to oppress and exploit you is if you give up your right to human dignity, and do not defend yourself.

We, the members of the Black Panther Party, say there is an alternative to fighting racism, other than with more racism. We say the way to fight racism is with solidarity. We also say the only alternative to the violence perpetrated against the people by the fascist troops of finance capital or slavery, is revolution.

Many people throughout America have not decided or even dealt with how they're gonna deal with the power of finance capital as manifested in those fascist pig police forces. But, black people, unorganized, have shown through the many rebellions that they ain't goin' for it. Huey P. Newton didn't for it. The Black Panther Party ain't goin' for it. Los Siete de la Raza didn't go for it. You'd better make up your minds quick. Because [] don't see much time left. Black people in general, may not relate to the word, or the definitions of fascism as articulated by Dimitrov but black people sure relate to the social practice of 400 years of brutality and murder perpetrated on us by the fathers of fascism. Huey P. Newton says, "racist dog police must withdraw from the black community, or face the wrath of the armed people. The Black Panther Party has a motto. It is a quote by Chairman Mao Tse Tung of the Chinese Communist Party, "We are advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. In order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun." POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

August 9. Page 23.

"MESSAGE TO REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN"

Black Women, Black Women, Hold your head up, and look ahead. We too are needed in the revolution.

We too are strong. We too are a threat to the oppressive enemy. We are revolutionaries. We are the other half of our revolutionary men. We are their equal halves, may it be with gun in hand, or battling in streets to make this country a socialist lead.

Sisters, let's educate our people. Combat liberalism, and combat male chauvinism. Awaken our men to the fact that we are no more nor no less than they. We are as revolutionary as they. For too long, we have been alone. For far too long we have been women without men, for far too long we have been double oppressed, not only by the capitalist society, but also by our men.

Now we are no longer alone, our men are by our sides. We revolutionary men and women are the halves of each other.

We must continue to educate our men, and bring their minds from a male chauvinistic level to a higher level.

Our men need, want and will love the beautiful children that come from our fruitful wombs.

They need our trust and encouragement as well as we need theirs. They need us to educate them, the people and our children as well as we need them to educate us. Sisters, we are being called by life itself. We are being called by the revolution. We are mothers of revolutionaries, with us is the future of our people.

We my sisters, are mothers of revolution and within our wombs is the army of the people.

Sisters! Revolution Is Here! Bring Forth The Army! Bring Forth the Guns! We my sisters are revolutionary women of revolutionary men! We are mothers of revolution!

Comrade Candi Robinson

Huey Newton Talks to the Movement About the Black Panther Party, Cultural Nationalism, SNCC, Liberals and White Revolutionaries

THE MOVEMENT: The question of nationalism is a vital one in the black movement today. Some have made a distinction between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Would you comment on the differences and give us your views?

HUEY P. NEWTON: There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He's against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

Revolutionary Nationalism

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out

but it was a people's revolution because the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive where they could exploit the people and keep them in a state of slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits into the community. That's what socialism is all about in a nutshell. The people's representatives are in office strictly on the leave of the people. The wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary Nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

MOVEMENT: Directly related to the question of nationalism is the question of unity within the black community. There has been some question about this since the Black Panther Party has run candidates against other black candidates in recent California elections. What is your position on this matter?

HUEY: Well a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had some privileges, a little more. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field black. He came to respect the master to such an extent until he identified with the master because he got a few of the leftovers that the field blacks did not get. And through this identity with him, he saw the slavemaster's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than the slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm makes the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire the house Negro will work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the master's house, while the field Negro, the field blacks was praying that the house burned down. The house black identified with the master so much that when the master would get sick the house Negro would say, "Master, we're sick!"

Black Bourgeoisie

The Black Panther Party are the field blacks, we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the black have-nots; the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promotion of the interests of the black have-nots, which represents about 98% of blacks here in America. We're not controlled by the white mother country radicals nor are we controlled by the black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy. And they will be attacked and treated as such.

MOVEMENT: The Black Panther Party has had considerable contact with white radicals since its earliest days. What do you see as the role of these white radicals?

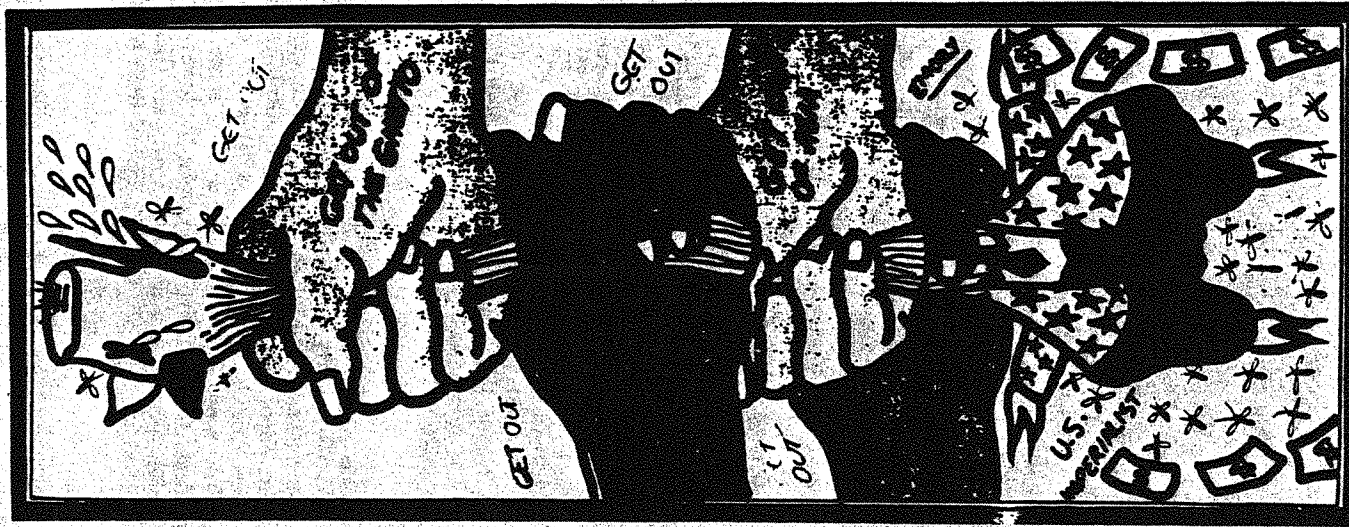
HUEY: The white mother country radical is the off-spring of the children of the beast that has plundered the world exploiting all people, concentrating on the people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who were slave masters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers.

The white mother country radical, in resisting the system, becomes somewhat of an abstract thing because he's not oppressed as much as black people are. As a matter of fact his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.

Black people in America and colored people throughout the world suffer not only from exploitation, but they suffer from racism. Black people here in America, in the black colony, are oppressed because we're black and we're exploited. The whites are rebels, many of them from the middle class and as far as any overt oppression this is not the case. So therefore I call their rejection of the system somewhat of an abstract thing. They're looking for new heroes. They're looking to wash away the hypocrisy that their fathers have presented to the world. In doing this they see the people who are really fighting for freedom. They see the people who are really standing for justice and equality and peace, throughout the world. They are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Asia, the people of Africa, and the black people in the black colony here in America.

White Revolutionaries

This presents somewhat of a problem in many ways to the black revolutionary especially to the cultural nationalist. The cultural nationalist doesn't understand the white revolutionaries because he can't see why anyone white would turn on the system. So they think that maybe this is some more hypocrisy being planted by white people.



I personally think that there are many young white revolutionaries who are sincere in attempting to realign themselves with mankind, and to make a reality out of the high moral standards that their fathers and forefathers only expressed. In pressing for new heroes the young white revolutionaries found the heroes in the black colony at home and in the colonies throughout the world.

The young white revolutionaries raised the cry for the troops to withdraw from Vietnam, hands off Latin America, withdraw from the Dominican Republic and also to withdraw from the black community or the black colony. So you have a situation in which the young white revolutionaries are attempting to identify with the oppressed people of the colonies and against the exploiter.

The problem arises then in what part they can play. How can they aid the colony? How can they aid the Black Panther Party or any other black revolutionary group? They can aid the black revolutionaries first by simply turning away from the establishment, and secondly by choosing their friends. For instance, they have a choice between whether they will be a friend of Lyndon Baines Johnson or a friend of Fidel Castro. A friend of Robert Kennedy or a friend of Ho Chi Minh. And these are direct opposites. A friend of mine or a friend of Johnson's. After they make this choice then the white revolutionaries have a duty and a responsibility to act.

The imperialistic or capitalistic system occupies areas. It occupies Vietnam now. They occupy them by sending soldiers there, by sending policemen there. The policemen or soldiers are only a gun in the establishment's hand. They make the racist secure in his racism. The gun in the establishment's hand makes the establishment secure in its exploitation. The first problem it seems is to remove the gun from the establishment's hand. Until lately the white radical has seen no reason to come into conflict with the policemen in his own community. The reason I said until recently is because there is friction now in the mother country between the young white revolutionaries and the police. Because now the white revolutionaries are attempting to put some of their ideas into action, and there's the rub. We say that it should be a permanent thing.

Black people are being oppressed in the colony by white policemen, by white racists. We are saying they must withdraw. We realize that it is not only the Oakland police department but rather the security forces in general. On April 6 it wasn't just the Oakland police department who ambushed the Panthers. It was the Oakland police department, the Fimerville police department and I wouldn't be surprised if there were others. When the white revolutionaries went down to close up the Army terminal in October 1965 it wasn't the Oakland police by themselves who tried to stop them. It was the Oakland police, the Berkeley police, the Highway Patrol, the Sher-

iff's Department and the national guard was standing by. So we see that they're all part of the security force to protect the status quo; to make sure that the institutions carry out their goals. They're here to protect the system.

As far as I'm concerned the only reasonable conclusion would be to first realize the enemy, realize the plan, and then when something happens in the black colony—when we're attacked and ambushed in the black colony—then the white revolutionary students and intellectuals and all the other whites who support the colony should respond by defending us, by attacking the enemy in their community. Every time that we're attacked in our community there should be a reaction by the white revolutionaries; they should respond by defending us, by attacking part of the security force. Part of that security force that is determined to carry out the racist ends of the American institutions.

As far as our party is concerned, the Black Panther Party is an all black party, because we feel as Malcolm X felt that there can be no black-white unity until there first is black unity. We have a problem in the black colony that is particular to the colony, but we're willing to accept aid from the mother country as long as the mother country radicals realize that we have, as Eldridge Cleaver says in SOUL ON ICE, a mind of our own. We've regained our mind that was taken away from us and we will decide the political as well as the practical stand that we'll take. We'll make the theory and we'll carry out the practice. It's the duty of the white revolutionary to aid us in this.

So the role of the mother country radical, and he does have a role, is to first choose his friend and his enemy and after doing this, which it seems he's already done, then to not only articulate his desires to regain his moral standard and align himself with humanity, but also to put this into practice by attacking the protectors of the institutions.

MOVEMENT: You have spoken a lot about dealing with the protectors of the system, the armed forces. Would you like to elaborate on why you place so much emphasis on this?

HUEY: The reasons that I feel very strongly about dealing with the protectors of the system is simply because without this protection from the army, the police and the military, the institutions could not go on in their racism and exploitation. For instance, as the Vietnamese are driving the American imperialist troops out of Vietnam, it automatically stops the racist imperialist institutions of America from oppressing that particular country. The country cannot implement its racist program without the guns. And the guns are the military and the police. If the military were disarmed in Vietnam then the Vietnamese would be victorious.

We are in the same situation here in America. Whenever we attack the system the first thing the administrators do is to send out their

THE BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK

strongarm men. If it's a rent strike, because of the indecent housing we have, they will send out the police to throw the furniture out the window. They don't come themselves. They send their protectors. So to deal with the corrupt exploiter you are going to have to deal with his protector, which is the police who take orders from him. This is a must.

MOVEMENT: Would you like to be more specific on the conditions which must exist before an alliance or coalition can be formed with predominantly white groups? Would you comment specifically on your alliance with the California Peace and Freedom Party?

HUEY: We have an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party. The Peace and Freedom Party has supported our program in full and this is the criterion for a coalition with the black revolutionary group. If they had not supported our program in full, then we would not have seen any reason to make an alliance with them, because we are the reality of the oppression. They are not. They are only oppressed in an abstract way; we are oppressed in the real way. We are the real slaves! So it's a problem that we suffer from more than anyone else and it's our problem of liberation. Therefore we should decide what measures and what tools and what programs to use to become liberated. Many of the young white revolutionaries realize this and I see no reason not to have a coalition with them.

MOVEMENT: Other black groups seem to feel that from past experience it is impossible for them to work with whites and impossible for them to form alliances. What do you see as the reasons for this and do you think that the history of the Black Panther Party makes this less of a problem?

SNCC and Liberals

HUEY: There was somewhat of an unhealthy relationship in the past with the white liberals supporting the black people who were trying to gain their freedom. I think that a good example of this would be the relationship that SNCC had with its white liberals. I call them white liberals because they differ strictly from the white radicals. The relationship was that the whites controlled SNCC for a very long time. From the very start of SNCC until here recently whites were the mind of SNCC. They controlled the program of SNCC with money and they controlled the ideology, or the stands SNCC would take. The blacks in SNCC were completely controlled program-wise; they couldn't do any more than these white liberals wanted them to do, which wasn't very much. So the white liberals were not working for self-determination for the black community. They were interested in a few concessions from the power structure. They undermined SNCC's program.

Stokely Carmichael came along and realizing this started to follow

Huey P. Newton Speaks

Malcolm X's program of Black Power. This frightened many of the white liberals who were supporting SNCC. Whites were afraid when Stokely came along with Black Power and said that black people have a mind of their own and that SNCC would be an all-black organization and that SNCC would seek self-determination for the black community. The white liberals withdrew their support leaving the organization financially bankrupt. The blacks who were in the organization, Stokely and H. Rap Brown, were left very angry with the white liberals who had been aiding them under the disguise of being sincere. They weren't sincere.

The result was that the leadership of SNCC turned away from the white liberal, which was very good. I don't think they distinguished between the white liberal and the white revolutionary, because the white revolutionary is white also and they are very much afraid to have any contact whatsoever with white people. Even to the point of denying that the white revolutionaries could give support, by supporting the programs of SNCC in the mother country. Not by making any programs, not by being a member of the organization, but simply by resisting. Just as the Vietnamese people realize that they are supported whenever other oppressed people throughout the world resist. Because it helps divide the troops. It drains the country militarily and economically. If the mother country radicals are sincere then this will definitely add to the attack that we are making on the power structure. The Black Panther Party's program is a program where we recognize that the revolution in the mother country will definitely aid us in our freedom and has everything to do with our struggle!

Hate the Oppressor

I think that one of SNCC's great problems is that they were controlled by the traditional administrator: the omnipotent administrator, the white person. He was the mind of SNCC. And so SNCC regained its mind, but I believe that it lost its political perspective. I think that this was a reaction rather than a response. The Black Panther Party has NEVER been controlled by white people. The Black Panther Party has always been a black group. We have always had an integration of mind and body. We have never been controlled by whites and therefore we don't fear the white mother country radicals. Our alliance is one of organized black groups with organized white groups. As soon as the organized white groups do not do the things that would benefit us in our struggle for liberation, that will be our departure point. So we don't suffer in the hangup of a skin color. We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor. And if the oppressor happens to be white then we hate him. When he stops oppressing us then we no longer hate him. And right now in

America you have the slave-master being a white group. We are pushing him out of office through revolution in this country. I think the responsibility of the white revolutionary will be to aid us in this. And when we are attacked by the police or by the military then it will be up to the white mother country radicals to attack the murderers and to respond as we respond, to follow our program.

Slave Masters

MOVEMENT: You indicate that there is a psychological process that has historically existed in white-black relations in the U.S. that must change in the course of revolutionary struggle. Would you like to comment on this?

HUEY: Yes. The historical relationship between black and white here in America has been the relationship between the slave and the master; the master being the mind and the slave the body. The slave would carry out the orders that the mind demanded him to carry out. By doing this the master took the manhood from the slave because he stripped him of a mind. He stripped black people of their mind. In the process the slave-master stripped himself of a body. As Eldridge puts it the slave-master became the omnipotent administrator and the slave became the supermasculine menial. This puts the omnipotent administrator into the controlling position or the front office and the supermasculine menial into the field.

The whole relationship developed so that the omnipotent administrator and the supermasculine menial became opposites. The slave being a very strong body doing all the practical things, all of the work becomes very masculine. The omnipotent administrator in the process of removing himself from all body functions realizes later that he has emasculated himself. And this is very disturbing to him. So the slave lost his mind and the slave-master his body.

Penis Envy

This caused the slave-master to become very envious of the slave because he pictured the slave as being more of a man, being superior sexually, because the penis is part of the body. The omnipotent administrator laid down a decree when he realized that his plan to enslave the black man had a flaw, when he discovered that he had emasculated himself. He attempted to bind the penis of the slave. He attempted to show that his penis could reach further than the supermasculine menial's penis. He said "I, the omnipotent administrator can have access to the black woman." The supermasculine menial then had a psychological attraction to the white woman (the ultra feminine freak) for the simple reason that it was forbidden fruit. The omnipotent administrator decreed that this kind of contact would be punished by death. At the same time in order to re-

inforce his sexual desire, to confirm, to assert his manhood, he would go into the slave quarters and have sexual relations with the black woman (the self-reliant Amazon). Not to be satisfied but simply to confirm his manhood. Because if he can only satisfy the self-reliant Amazon then he would be sure that he was a man. Because he doesn't have a body, he doesn't have a penis, he psychologically wants to castrate the black man. The slave was constantly seeking unity within himself: a mind and a body. He always wanted to be able to decide, to gain respect from his woman. Because women want one who can control. I give this outline to fit into a framework of what is happening now. The white power structure today in America defines itself as the mind. They want to control the world. They go off and plunder the world. They are the policemen of the world exercising control especially over people of color.

Re-capture the Mind

The white man cannot gain his manhood, cannot unite with the body because the body is black. The body is symbolic of slavery and strength. It's a biological thing as he views it. The slave is in a much better situation because his not being a full man has always been viewed psychologically. And it's always easier to make a psychological transition than a biological one. If he can only recapture his mind, recapture his balls, then he will lose all fear and will be free to determine his destiny. This is what is happening at this time with the rebellion of the world's oppressed people against the controller. They are regaining their mind and they're saying that we have a mind of our own. They're saying that we want freedom to determine the destiny of our people, thereby uniting the mind with their bodies. They are taking the mind back from the omnipotent administrator, the controller, the exploiter.

In America black people are also chanting that we have a mind of our own. We must have freedom to determine our destiny. It's almost a spiritual thing, this unity, this harmony. This unity of the mind and of the body, this unity of man within himself. Certain slogans of Chairman Mao I think demonstrate this theory of uniting the mind with the body within the man. An example is his call to the intellectuals to go to the countryside. The peasants in the countryside are all bodies; they're the workers. And he sent the intellectuals there because the dictatorship of the proletariat has no room for the omnipotent administrator; there's no room for the exploiter. So therefore he must go to the countryside to regain his body; he must work. He is really done a favor, because the people force him to unite his mind with his body by putting them both to work. At the same time the intellectual teaches the people political ideology, he educates them, thus uniting the mind and the body in the peasant.

Their minds and bodies are united and they control their country. I think this is a very good example of this unity and it is my idea of the perfect man.

The Guerrilla

MOVEMENT: You mentioned at another point that the guerrilla was the perfect man and this kind of formulation seems to fit in directly with the guerrilla as a political man. Would you like to comment on this?

HUEY: Yes. The guerrilla is a very unique man. This is in contrast to Marxist-Leninist orthodox theories where the party controls the military. The guerrilla is not only the warrior, the military fighter; he is also the military commander as well as the political theoretician. Debray says "poor the pen without the guns, poor the gun without the pen".³ The pen being just an extension of the mind, a tool to write down concepts, ideas. The gun is only an extension of the body, the extension of our fanged teeth that we lost through evolution. It's the weapon, it's the claws that we lost, it's the body. The guerrilla is the military commander and the political theoretician all in one.

In Bolivia Che said that he got very little help from the Communist Party there. The Communist Party wanted to be the mind, the Communist Party wanted to have full control of the guerrilla activity. But yet weren't taking part in the practical work of the guerrillas. The guerrilla on the other hand is not only united within himself, but he also attempts to spread this to the people by educating the villagers, giving them political perspective, pointing out things, educating them politically, and arming the people. Therefore the guerrilla is giving the peasants and workers a mind. Because they've already got the body you get a unity of the mind and the body. Black people here in America, who have long been the workers, have regained our minds and we now have a unity of mind and body.

MOVEMENT: Would you be willing to extend this formula in terms of white radicals; to say that one of their struggles today is to get back their bodies?

HUEY: Yes. I thought I made that clear. The white mother country radical by becoming an activist is attempting to regain his body. By being an activist and not the traditional theoretician who outlines the plan, as the Communist Party has been trying to do for ever so long, the white mother country radical is regaining his body. The resistance by white radicals in Berkeley during the past three nights is a good indication that the white radicals are on the way home. They have identified their enemies. The white radicals have integrated theory with practice. They realize the American system is the real enemy but in order to attack the American system they must

attack the ordinary cop. In order to attack the educational system they must attack the ordinary teacher. Just as the Vietnamese people to attack the American system must attack the ordinary soldier. The white mother country radicals now are regaining their bodies and they're also recognizing that the black man has a mind and that he is a man.

MOVEMENT: Would you comment on how this psychological understanding aids in the revolutionary struggle?

HUEY: You can see that in statements until recently black people who haven't been enlightened have defined the white man by calling him "the MAN". "The Man" is making this decision, "The Man" this and "The Man" that. The black woman found it difficult to respect the black man because he didn't even define himself as a man! Because he didn't have a mind, because the decision maker was outside of himself. But the vanguard group, the Black Panther Party along with all revolutionary black groups have regained our mind and our manhood. Therefore we no longer define the omnipotent administrator as "the Man" ... or the authority as "the MAN". Matter of fact the omnipotent administrator along with his security agents are less than a man because WE define them as pigs! I think that this is a revolutionary thing in itself. That's political power. That's power itself. Matter of fact what is power other than the ability to define phenomenon and then make it act in a desired manner? When black people start defining things and making it act in a desired manner, then we call this Black Power!

MOVEMENT: Would you comment further on what you mean by Black Power?

HUEY: Black Power is really people's power. The Black Panther Program, Panther Power as we call it, will implement this people's power. We have respect for all of humanity and we realize that the people should rule and determine their destiny. Wipe out the controller. To have Black Power doesn't humble or subjugate anyone to slavery or oppression. Black Power is giving power to people who have not had power to determine their destiny. We advocate and we aid any people who are struggling to determine their destiny. This is regardless of color. The Vietnamese say Vietnam should be able to determine its own destiny. Power of the Vietnamese people. We also chant power of the Vietnamese people. The Latins are talking about Latin America for the Latin Americans. Cuba Si and Yanqui, Non. It's not that they don't want the Yankees to have any power they just don't want them to have power over them. They can have power over themselves. We in the black colony in America want to be able to have power over our destiny and that's black power.

MOVEMENT: A lot of white radicals are romantic about what Che said: "In a revolution one wins or dies..." For most of us it is really

THE BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK

an abstract or theoretical question. It's a real question for you and we'd like you to rap about how you feel about it.

HUEY: Yes. The revolutionary sees no compromise. We will not compromise because the issue is so basic. If we compromise one iota we will be selling our freedom out. We will be selling the revolution out. And we refuse to remain slaves. As Eldridge says in SOUL ON ICE: "a slave who dies of natural causes will not balance two dead flies on the scales of eternity." As far as we're concerned we would rather be dead than to go on with the slavery that we're in. Once we compromise we will be compromising not only our freedom, but also our manhood. We realize that we're going up against a highly technical country, and we realize that they are not only paper tigers, as Mao says, but real tigers too because they have the ability to slaughter many people. But in the long run, they will prove themselves paper tigers because they're not in line with humanity; they are divorced from the people. We know that the enemy is very powerful and that our manhood is at stake, but we feel it necessary to be victorious in regaining ourselves, regaining our manhood. And this is the basic point. So either we will do this or we won't have any freedom. Either we will win or we will die trying to win.

Mood of Black People

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize the mood of black people in America today? Are they disenchanted, wanting a larger slice of the pie, or alienated, not wanting to integrate into a burning house, not wanting to integrate into Babylon? What do you think it will take for them to become alienated and revolutionary?

HUEY: I was going to say disillusioned, but I don't think we were ever under the illusion that we had freedom in this country. This society is definitely a decadent one and we realize it. Black people are realizing it more and more. We cannot gain our freedom under the present system; the system that is carrying out its plans of institutionalized racism. Your question is what will have to be done to stimulate them to revolution. I think it's already being done. It's a matter of time now for us to educate them to a program and show them the way to liberation. The Black Panther Party is the beacon light to show black people the way to liberation.

You notice the insurrections that have been going on throughout the country, in Watts, in Newark, in Detroit. They were all responses of the people demanding that they have freedom to determine their destiny, rejecting exploitation. Now the Black Panther Party does not think that the traditional riots, or insurrections that have taken place are the answer. It is true they have been against the establishment, they have been against authority and oppression

within their community, but they have been unorganized. However, black people learned from each of these insurrections.

They learned from Watts. I'm sure the people in Detroit were educated by what happened in Watts. Perhaps this was wrong education. It sort of missed the mark. It wasn't quite the correct activity, but the people were educated through the activity. The people of Detroit followed the example of the people in Watts, only they added a little scrutiny to it. The people in Detroit learned that the way to put a hurt on the administration is to make Molotov cocktails and to go into the street in mass numbers. So this was a matter of learning. The slogan went up "Burn, baby, burn". People were educated through the activity and it spread throughout the country. The people were educated on how to resist, but perhaps incorrectly.

Educate Through Activity

What we have to do as a vanguard of the revolution is to correct this through activity. The large majority of black people are either illiterate or semi-literate. They don't read. They need activity to follow. This is true of any colonized people. The same thing happened in Cuba where it was necessary for twelve men with a leadership of Che and Fidel to take to the hills and then attack the corrupt administration; to attack the army who were the protectors of the exploiters in Cuba. They could have leafleted the community and they could have written books, but the people would not respond. They had to act and the people could see and hear about it and therefore become educated on how to respond to oppression.

In this country black revolutionaries have to set an example. We can't do the same things that were done in Cuba because Cuba is Cuba and the U.S. is the U.S. Cuba has many terrains to protect the guerrilla. This country is mainly urban. We have to work out new solutions to offset the power of the country's technology and communication; its ability to communicate very rapidly by telephone and teletype and so forth. We do have solutions to these problems and they will be put into effect. I wouldn't want to go into the ways and means of this, but we will educate through action. We have to engage in action to make the people want to read our literature. Because they are not attracted to all the writing in this country; there's too much writing. Many books makes one weary.

Threat from Reformers

MOVEMENT: Kennedy before his death, and to a lesser extent Rockefeller and Lindsay and other establishment liberals have been talking about making reforms to give black people a greater share in

the pic and thus stop any developing revolutionary movement. Would you comment on this?

HUEY: I would say this: If a Kennedy or Lindsay or anyone else can give decent housing to all of our people; if they can give full employment to our people with a high standard; if they can give full control to black people to determine the destiny of their community; if they can give fair trials in the court system by turning over the structure to the community; if they can end their exploitation of people throughout the world; if they can do all of these things they would have solved the problems. But I don't believe that under this present system, under capitalism, that they will be able to solve these problems.

People Must Control

I don't think black people should be fooled by their come-ons because every one who gets in office promises the same thing. They promise full employment and decent housing; the Great Society, the New Frontier. All of these names, but no real benefits. No effects are felt in the black community, and black people are tired of being deceived and duped. The people must have full control of the means of production. Small black businesses cannot compete with General Motors. That's just out of the question. General Motors robbed us and worked us for nothing for a couple hundred years and took our money and set up factories and became fat and rich and then talks about giving us some of the crumbs. We want full control. We're not interested in anyone promising that the private owners are going to all of a sudden become human beings and give these things to our community. It hasn't ever happened and, based on empirical evidence, we don't expect them to become Buddhists overnight.

MOVEMENT: We raised this question not because we feel that these reforms are possible, but rather to get your ideas on what effects such attempted reforms might have on the development of a revolutionary struggle.

HUEY: I think that reforms pose no real threat. The revolution has always been in the hands of the young. The young always inherit the revolution. The young population is growing at a very rapid rate and they are very displeased with the authorities. They want control. I doubt that under the present system any kind of program can be launched that will be able to buy off all these young people. They have not been able to do it with the poverty program, the great society, etc. This country has never been able to employ all of its people simply because it's too interested in private property and the profit motive. A bigger poverty program is just what it says it is, a

program to keep people in poverty. So I don't think that there is any real threat from the reforms.

MOVEMENT: Would you like to say something about the Panther's organizing especially in terms of the youth?

HUEY: The Panthers represent a cross section of the black community. We have older people as well as younger people. The younger people of course are the ones who are seen on the streets. They are the activists. They are the real vanguard of change because they haven't been indoctrinated and they haven't submitted. They haven't been beaten into line as some of the older people have. But many of the older people realize that we're waging a just fight against the oppressor. They are aiding us and they are taking a part in the program.

Jail

MOVEMENT: Tell us something about your relations with the prisoners in the jail.

HUEY: The black prisoners as well as many of the white prisoners identify with the program of the Panthers. Of course by the very nature of their being prisoners they can see the oppression and they've suffered at the hands of the Gestapo. They have reacted to it. The black prisoners have all joined the Panthers, about 95% of them. Now the jail is all Panther and the police are very worried about this. The white prisoners can identify with us because they realize that they are not in control. They realize there's someone controlling them and the rest of the world with guns. They want some control over their lives also. The Panthers in jail have been educating them and so we are going along with the revolution inside of the jail.

MOVEMENT: What has been the effect of the demonstrations outside the jail calling for "Free Huey"?

HUEY: Very positive reactions. One demonstration, I don't remember which one, a couple of trustees, white trustees, held a card-board sign out the laundry window reading "Free Huey". They say people saw it and responded to it. They were very enthusiastic about the demonstrators because they too suffer from being treated unfairly by the parole authorities and by the police here in the jail.

Open or Underground

MOVEMENT: The Panthers' organizing efforts have been very open up until this point. Would you like to comment about the question of an underground political organization versus an open organization at this point in the struggle?

HUEY: Yeah. Some of the black nationalist groups feel that they have to be underground because they'll be attacked. But we don't feel

that you can romanticize being underground. They say we're romantic because we're trying to live revolutionary lives, and we are not taking precautions. But we say that the only way we would go underground is if we're driven underground. All real revolutionary movements are driven underground. Take the revolution in Cuba. The agitation that was going on while Fidel was in law school was very much above ground. Even his existence in the hills was, so to speak, an above the ground affair because he was letting it be known who was doing the damage and why he was doing the damage. To catch him was a different story. The only way we can educate the people is by setting an example for them. We feel that this is very necessary.

This is a pre-revolutionary period and we feel it is very necessary to educate the people while we can. So we're very open about this education. We have been attacked and we will be attacked even more in the future but we're not going to go underground until we get ready to go underground because we have a mind of our own. We're not going to let anyone force us to do anything. We're going to go underground after we educate all of the black people and not before that time. Then it won't really be necessary for us to go underground because you can see black anywhere. We will just have the stuff to protect ourselves and the strategy to offset the great power that the strong-arm men of the establishment have and are planning to use against us.

White Organizing

MOVEMENT: Your comments about the white prisoners seemed encouraging. Do you see the possibility of organizing a white Panther Party in opposition to the establishment possibly among poor and working whites?

HUEY: Well as I put it before Black Power is people's power and as far as organizing white people we give white people the privilege of having a mind and we want them to get a body. They can organize themselves. We can tell them what they should do, what their responsibility is if they're going to claim to be white revolutionaries or white mother country radicals, and that is to arm themselves and support the colonies around the world in their just struggle against imperialism. But anything more than that they will have to do on their own.

—Pamphlet published by *The Movement*

Message on the Peace Movement

The Peace Movement is extremely important, more important than I thought it was, say, two years ago. Matter of fact, it's one of the most important movements that's going on at this time. Because a person is in the Peace Movement and he works with the Peace Movement, the Peace Movement is not necessarily a pacifist movement. I think that the reason I place so much emphasis now upon the Peace Movement I see that if peace were to come about this would force a re-evaluation and a revolution in the basic economic composition of the country.

I'll explain that further. For instance, we all know now this is a garrison state, the warfare state. And this is not by accident. After capitalism reaches a point where it can no longer expand, it looks for other avenues, other deposits, other places to expand the Capitalist interest. And at this time super-capitalists (we know people like General Motors, Chrysler, General Dynamics, and all the SUPER COMPANIES—I understand there's about 76 that control the whole economy of this country) and these companies, including the automobile companies that I just named are the prime people, or they are the military contractors. They run the defense plants as far as getting the contracts from the Pentagon. Chrysler made that batch of tanks that wouldn't fire, (you probably saw in the paper) through a contract with the government and with the Pentagon. In other words, super-capitalists are now putting their over-expanded capitalistic surplus into military equipment. And this military equipment is then placed in foreign countries, which is the final depository for expendable goods, such as Viet Nam, such as what happened in the Dominican Republic some years ago.³ In other words, with the wedding of the industry with the Pentagon, they have a new avenue to invest. And they invest in military equipment. And this equipment is expendable, because this is the purpose of it: To explode it and then build new ones, you see. So it's a perpetual type of process.

We know now that the U.S. has a secret pact with Thailand. These things are not by accident, are not by chance; but it's all part of a super-plan in order to keep the economy going. What would happen then, if peace were to come about? If peace were to come about then you wouldn't have that final depository for expendable

Generational Gaps and Revolutionary Concepts of the Black Panther Party

by Loco1 of United Struggle from Within March 2016
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From this end of the bend the only subject relevant to prisoners in regards to the early Black Panther Party (BPP) is the party as a Maoist organization and how prisoners should apply the teachings of the early Panthers to free themselves - resisting the foolishness of the late personality cliques capitalizing off of the party's reputation. What is most important is getting to the truth between the legacy of the BPP and what it was that the founders were really getting at. What role, if any, do later groups play in keeping the vision alive? And how is it that prisoners should use these lessons in these later years of anti-imperialist prison organizing efforts?

Many New Afrikan lumpen organizations inside prison take their plays directly from the playbook of early BPP members while never truly crediting the party for its works. This in turn creates further confusions between the Lumpen Organization's (LO's) followers and former members of the authentic movement. Others within U\$. prisons are charismatic individuals working hand over hand with the bourgeois nationalist organizations, spreading misinformation about the BPP.

Recently PBS ran a piece on a program called Independent Lens that documented the history of the Black Panther Party. As expected it was as watered down as the bourgeois press and media felt it could get away with.(1) Several of the prisoners housed on this facility burst at their seems with inspiration of the works of the Black Panther Party. It was information that they felt they should have known, being they are Afrikans.

Other BPP images being portrayed on this 50th anniversary year include one specific article written by a charismatic imprisoned individual that went on and on about Huey P. Newton, a co-founder of the Black Panther Party, and not on how prisoners should learn from the early lessons of Newton, applying their lessons of political education in the struggles of today.(2) And probably the most noticed recent portrayal of the Panthers came in the form of sexual media, with Beyonce and eir Super Bowl 50 performance. Capitalizing off of the history of the Black power era, Beyonce adorned eirself and eir backup dancers with black leathers, black boots and black berets. Prisoners should question the significance of Black Panther costume jewelry and make-up versus scientific relevance inside U\$. prisons.(3)

Very few prisoners appreciate the political significance of the difference between the early BPP and the late BPP. This is the reason so many prisoners crowd towards movements that appear authentic and genuinely interested in liberation struggles. The masses are presented with ideas of Black, Brown, red, yellow and white power by superstar groups like #BlackLivesMatter, but prisoners have very few tools of independence to combat the misinformation spewed by these bourgeois nationalist organizations and their personalities. Movements built on single issue organizing, swabbing the support of the populations using identity politics, do a disservice to the oppressed, depriving them of the truth.

The Black Panther Party held the correct line in its early stages, and because of this it was rewarded with the support of the internal semi-colonies of the United \$tates, the majority being lumpen youth. In its early years the BPP was truly independent, concentrating on its services to Blacks, at a time when the term Black was just as independent as the party. So the organization was able to operate in a loose way within the First World. The early party took its science from a variety of teachings, from the Pan-Afrikan movement to the Chinese communist movement, Lenin's Russia, Stalin's theory of nation, and Mao's People's War. Mao influenced much of the Black

Panther Party's position as a structured organization. The early members had a very real practice of materialist solutions provided to those in the same environment suffering under conditions of class indifferences, national isolation and gender extinction. They did not believe in struggling against a system while at the same time becoming liberated by the very same system they struggled against.

The prison personality contest conflicts become prominent, with prison identity politics valued above the peace that independence-building projects bring to a self-reliant and self-determined people's anti-imperialist prison movement. Too many prisoners and prison LOs see the end of their individual suffering at the expense of exploiting entire prison populations. MIM(Prisons) and United Struggle from Within (USW) see it differently as we define in the United Front for Peace in Prisons (UFPP) principle of independence. Independence is building our own institutions and programs independent of the united states government and all its branches, right down to the local police, because this system does not serve us. By developing independent power through these institutions we do not need to compromise our goals.

The Black Panther Party prioritized the momentum of the people in its early years because of the line and position it had on Maoism. The BPP transitioned for some time to a level above many of the revisionist and liberal bourgeois nationalist organizations of the late sixties and was able to attract some of the most progressive members of the lower class, that many now refer to as the First World lumpen. The Panthers at this time studied history from the perspective of dialectical materialism, in contrast to the methods of metaphysics and idealism, and had a clear program that was being adopted by various sectors of the masses across the United States. They applied practices that included designing programs that required members to perform services for the community at large, from education to self defense. The services of the Black Panther Party reflected its line in such a way that it was mandatory that members knew the rules of the BPP, the 8 points of attention and the 3 main rules of discipline, off the top of their head. The early Panthers were really on point.

It is in the later stages of the party's existence that things began to take a turn as a result of the organization shifting from its earlier positions on independence, self-determination and liberation in the interest of the oppressed. This shift occurred in 1970-71, and was marked by the development of the theory of "intercommunalism" by Huey P. Newton. With the added pressures of government-launched campaigns to destroy the Black Panther Party, the party became split on every level one possibly could imagine.

Walking in the Panther Legacy Today

Since the demise of the BPP, though the movement never actually died, a wide gap has grown between the generation of Huey, George, Bunchy, Fred, Kathleen and Geronimo and the generation of Freddie Gray, Mike Brown and Sandra Bland. Since the Panthers, many organizations became infected with a type of Pantherism/inter-communalism fervor. These organizations hold that they themselves keep the work of the Black Panther Party alive, all the while erasing the Maoist politics of the BPP. See our article on the Black Riders Liberation Party for a discussion of another group confusing this legacy today.(4)

United Struggle from Within (USW) is a mass organization led by the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons for prisoners and former prisoners in the United States. USW is made up of various political prison activists struggling against their oppressive conditions. We are part of an ongoing struggle against the imperialist state to liberate ALL peoples, not only the select few who have made themselves popular at the expense of the people. While USW seeks immediate goals to improve prison conditions, it does not lose sight of the ultimate goal of national liberation and ending imperialism.

"There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a peoples revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore to be revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal is the oppression of the people."(5)

Like their parent organization, many comrades of USW see the Black Panther Party developed by Huey P. Newton as the Maoist vanguard of the United States in the late 1960s. The Black Panther Party grew so rapidly at that time that many of the new recruits and larger memberships had very little opportunity to establish a deep understanding of the political objectives of the party. A lack of political education allows political movements to be co-opted, infiltrated, and run into the ground by enemy line.(6)

USW learns from the Black Panther Party, its good, bad and ugly. Parallel to the method practiced by our parent organization MIM(Prisons), USW comrades apply righteous actions by righteous studies of logic and these are some lessons we take:

1. No investigation, no right to speak. USW will not misrepresent or misinform the masses.
2. Correctness of ideas assessed independent of who says them. USW does not engage in the persynality contest so popular in the United \$tates and its prisons.
3. We do not give out information that the pigs could use to assess or destroy our movement. Fishing is a favored method amongst the agent provocateurs and their drones inside the belly of the beast. USW comrades have a clear definition of what a snitch, a rat and a pig is. We don't use the terms loosely and never false jacket individuals, as our pledge to the United Front for Peace in Prison principle of unity requires.

Anonymity isn't just about security, it's also about teaching prisoners to think scientifically rather than follow the person with specific skin tone or hair style. USW must struggle against identity politics and the way it shall go about confronting it as its membership crosses paths with the prison lumpen organization leaders, with their cult-like followings, is in the most peaceful way possible, Under Lock & Key. This issue of ULK is a further advancement into serious dialogues between politically conscious prisoners and the masses. Prisoners as a whole must take from this history, from a Maoist point of view and decide what side they are on. The side of half truths, or the always evolving side of deep study and materialist dialectics.

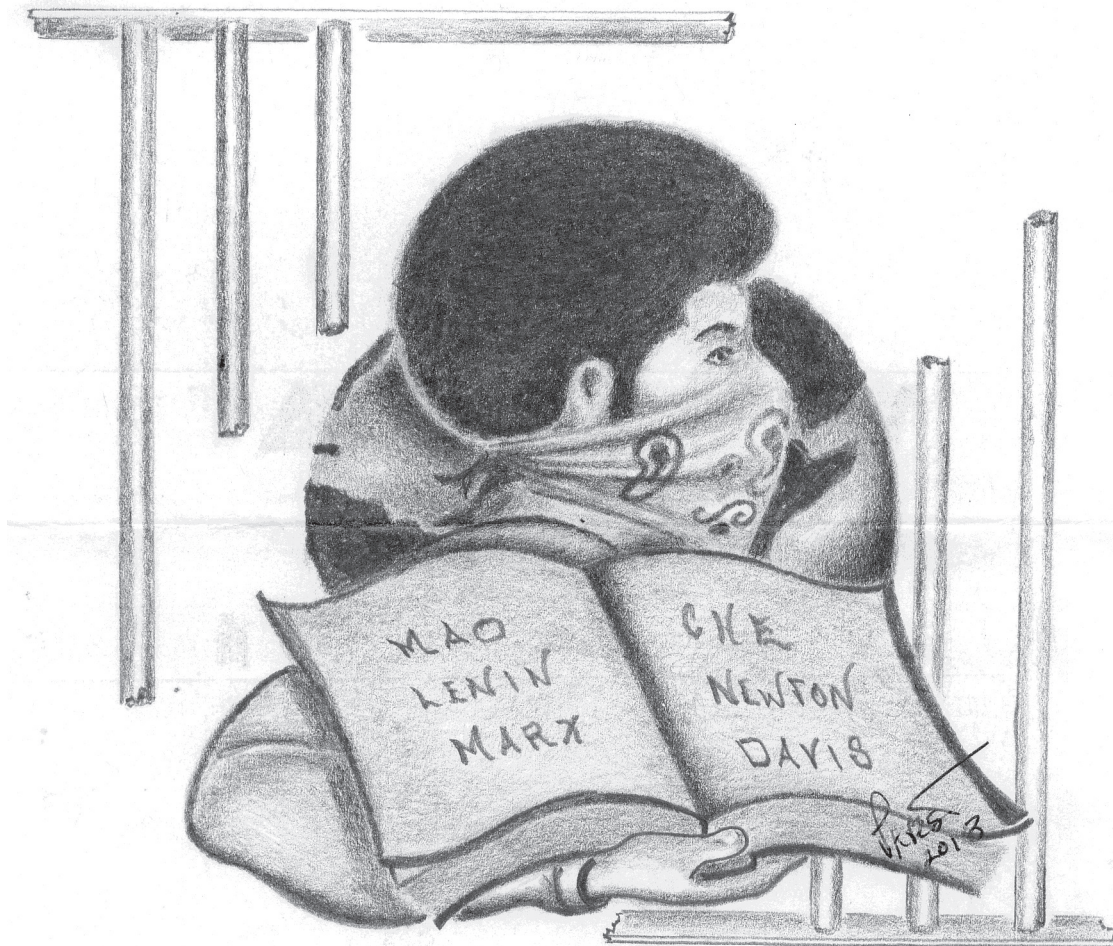
As Sukant Chandan of Sons of Malcom put it, identity politics is doing the imperialist divide and rule for the enemy, by "focusing purely on individualistic frameworks and issues of oppression which overshadow or totally obliterate understanding, learning and support for Resistance of peoples against imperialism."(7) So just as the Panthers were not about costume jewelry and black berets, they were not about petty beefing and slights towards small groups of people.

So why are there so many groups inside prisons who claim to identify with the Black Panther Party but do not uphold Maoism? Their class loyalty is to the bourgeoisie and they refuse to accept the most scientifically designed methods of discovering concrete practices that elevate the peoples. Study Maoism, study proletarian internationalism, study the actual words of the Black Panther Party from the late 1960s.

Notes: 1. Wiawimawo, March 2016, *Vanguard of the Revolution: More Revisionist Panther History*, Under Lock & Key Issue 49: March/April 2016.

2. Mumia Abu-Jamal, 15 January 2016, "The genius of Huey P. Newton," *SF BayView*. 3. PTT, February 2016, *Beyonce's "Formation" and Super Bowl 50*, Under Lock & Key Issue 49: March/April 2016.

4. MIM(Prisons), June 2016, *The Panther Legacy. Black Riders and Intercommunalism*, Under Lock & Key Issue 50: May/June 2016.
5. Philip S. Foner, *The Black Panthers Speak. Huey Newton Talks to the Movement...* p. 50.
6. MIM(Prisons), November 2014, *Party People Problems*, Under Lock & Key Issue 42: January/February 2015.
7. Sukant Chandan, 15 October 2015, *Identity Politics is Doing the Imperialist Divide and Rule for the Enemy*.



Applying Lessons from the Black Panthers to our Current Struggle

by USW11 of United Struggle from Within June 2016
Reprinted from Under Lock & Key 50

As we reflect on the legacy of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP), we are reminded that the struggle for national liberation continues. Fifty years ago, the Panthers emerged from similar conditions of national oppression to what we face today. Armed with Maoism and the gun, Panther leaders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale set out to organize their Oakland community against police brutality and other social inequalities. And what they accomplished distinguished the BPP as the greatest revolutionary organization in the history of the New Afrikan/Black liberation struggle.

During its height, the BPP established itself as the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Revisionists try to paint the Panthers as simple nationalists who only wanted to improve their community. But history proves otherwise, because the Panthers' revolutionary work went beyond the Serve the People programs they implemented. The BPP was a Maoist party which criticized the bankrupt ideas of cultural nationalism and Black capitalist reforms. They attacked revisionism in the Soviet Union, while offering troops to support the Vietnamese in their struggle to push out the American invaders, and upholding the progress of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. It understood that the relationship between the Euro-American settler nation and the many oppressed nations internal to the United States was (as it still is today) defined by semi-colonialism, and that national liberation was the only path forward. To this end, the Panthers formed strategic alliances and coalitions that broadened their mass base of support and unity. Eventually they succeeded in forming Panther chapters in virtually every major city, precipitating a revolutionary movement of North American oppressed nations vying for national liberation.

Despite this progress the BPP made serious mistakes, mistakes that arguably set the movement for national liberation back tremendously. Even though the Panther leadership adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), they failed to assess the changing landscape of social and political conditions, which inevitably led them to take up fascist positions. This error in analysis resulted in security issues as repression from the U.S. reactionary forces intensified. With J. Edgar Hoover's plan to destabilize and neutralize the revolutionary movement underway, the Panther leadership continued to promote a "cult of personality" around Newton instead of democratic centralism. Consequently, these mistakes placed such intense pressure on the party that it was unable to overcome the tide of repression.

Ultimately, the point of this article is to honor the revolutionary legacy of the BPP by demonstrating how the Panther practice is relevant to our current struggle. For our national liberation struggles to gain traction we must learn from the successes and failures of the most advanced revolutionary organization in U.S. history.

Fuck the Police!

"The Party was born in a particular time and place. It came into being with a call for self-defense against the police who patrolled our communities and brutalized us with impunity."(1) — Huey P. Newton

There is no greater tragedy for the oppressed nation community than the unjust murder of one of its own at the hands of the pigs. The impact is two-fold. On one hand, police brutality demonstrates to members of the oppressed nation community that there are two sets of rules

governing society, one for the oppressor and one for the oppressed. On the other hand, it removes all doubt from the minds of oppressed nationals that their lives are virtually worthless in the eyes of the white power structure.

This point was just as much a sobering reality during the Panther era as it is for us today. In *The Black Panthers Speak*, Phillip S. Foner cites a 1969 report that captured a snapshot of the police relations with the Oakland community. It read in part:

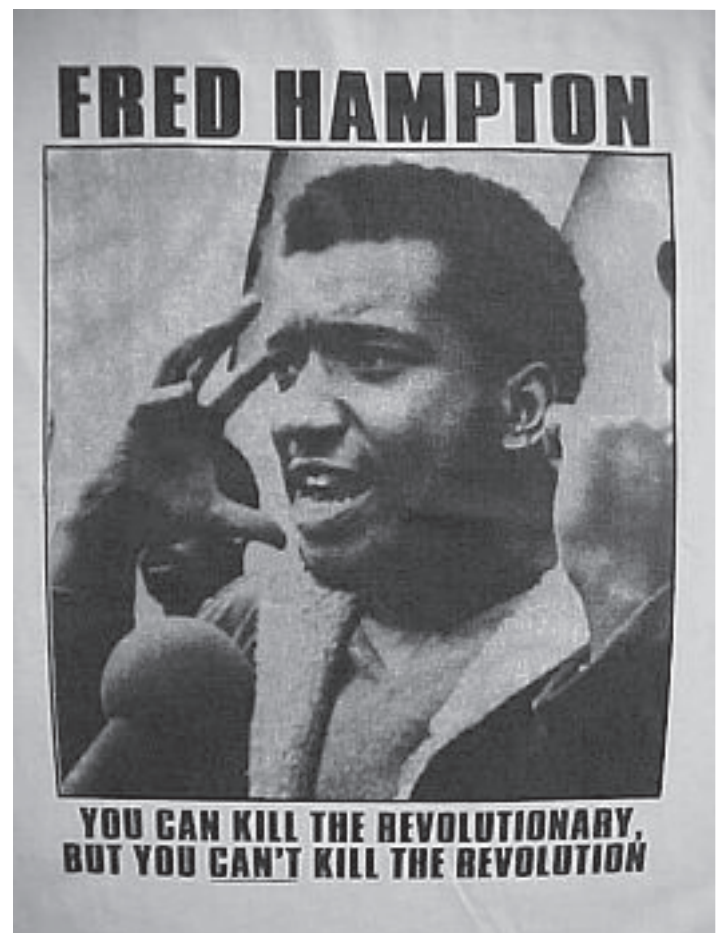
"...for the black citizens, the policeman has long since ceased to be — if indeed he ever was — a neutral symbol of law and order...in the ghetto disorders of the past few years, blacks have often been exposed to indiscriminate police assaults and, not infrequently, to gratuitous brutality...Many ghetto blacks see the police as an occupying army..."(2)

Under these circumstances, the BPP was formed and began to transform the Oakland community in a revolutionary manner.(3) Newton and Seale understood that the terrorist actions by the pigs undermined the oppressed nation community's ability to improve its conditions. So they organized armed patrols to observe and discourage improper police behavior. These unprecedented actions by the Panthers gave them credibility within the community, particularly as community members experienced the positive effects brought about by the patrols. Therefore, when the Panthers engaged in mass activities, such as the Free Breakfast for Children program, they did so with the full support of the community.

Naturally, the BPP met resistance from the local and state reactionary forces. Challenging the Gestapo tactics of the pigs and building institutions that served the needs of the oppressed was seen as too much of a threat by and to the white power structure. But the revolutionary movement had already picked up steam, and, given the momentous energy and support from the anti-war movement, it was not about to be derailed. It was upon this platform that the BPP spoke to the oppressed nations across the United States and saw its message resonate and take root within the consciousness of all oppressed peoples.

Today, we face the same challenge. Whether it's the pig murder of Denzil Dowell that mobilized the Panthers into action fifty years ago, or the more recent pig murder of Jamar Clark this past November, there has been no significant change in the conditions of national oppression that U.\$. internal semi-colonies are subjected to.

Police brutality continues to keep the oppressed nations from addressing a system of national oppression and semi-colonialism. But there is an even more sinister dynamic involved today. Mass incarceration, and the "War on Drugs" and "War on Crime" rhetoric and policies that fuel it, further divides the oppressed nation community against itself. With the lumpen section of these oppressed nation communities criminalized and incarcerated so too is the revolutionary potential for national liberation



neutralized and restrained. Here, the Panther practice provides a blueprint for our current struggle in respect to revolutionary organizing.

Recently, we have seen the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement come into being in response to the unbridled pig terrorism that occurs across U.\$. oppressed nation communities. So the basis for revolutionary organizing against the current system exists. Nonetheless, BLM is a reformist organization that advocates for integration and not liberation. What we need are Maoist revolutionary organizations — organizations that seek to build the political consciousness of oppressed nationals through mass activities and proletarian leadership similar to the Panther practice.

Maoism, not Focoism

Maoism demands that in determining correct revolutionary practice we must first proceed from an analysis of contradictions. This means that we must identify the contradiction that is principal to our situation, and then assess its internal aspects as well as its external relationships. In contrast, focoism "places great emphasis on armed struggle and the immediacy this brings to class warfare!"(4) Where Maoism takes account of the national question in its entirety and pushes the struggle for national liberation forward according to the prevailing conditions, focoism seeks to bring about favorable conditions for national liberation (or revolution) through the actions of a small band of armed individuals. To date Maoism has informed many successful people's wars; focoism, on the other hand, has mostly made the prospect for revolution much less likely.

In this regard, Newton, in developing the Panther practice, saw the international situation of the time as favorable to revolutionary organizing within the United States. Given the historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China representing the furthest advancement toward communism to this day, the national liberation wars of Afrika and Asia dealing blows to imperialism, and the Vietnam War stoking the fire of discontent and rebellion among sections of the white oppressor nation, Newton was correct in organizing and politicizing U.\$. oppressed nation communities for liberation.

Bloom and Martin explain in their book, *Black Against Empire*, that these conditions, in particular the anti-war movement, assisted the Panthers' organizing efforts greatly.(5) This coalition between the Panthers and the Peace movement was so dynamic that U.\$. veterans returning from Vietnam joined the BPP and other revolutionary organizations. The link between Vietnamese liberation and New Afrikan liberation (and other U.\$. oppressed nation liberation struggles) became a central point in building political consciousness.

Nonetheless, Newton took eir analysis too far. It is clear that ey believed the armed struggles abroad were inextricably tied to the U.\$. national liberation struggles. Newton maintained, "As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalates the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America."(6) From this standpoint, Newton assumed that the police brutality in U.\$. oppressed communities created a military situation, to which a military response from the U.\$. revolutionary movement was appropriate.

Newton's error was mistaking the weakness of imperialism abroad as indicative of a weak U.\$. imperialist state. Instead of assessing the changing landscape of social and political conditions, created by a period of concessions by U.\$. imperialists, the Panthers continued to organize as if the stage of struggle was an armed one.(7) Even when Newton recognized the dramatic changes and began to adapt, a split occurred within the Party, as a faction held that revolution was imminent.(8)

With respect to our current struggle, we are in the stage of building public opinion and

independent institutions of the oppressed. In this work we must establish a united front of all those who can be united against imperialism.

Therefore, when we see the Ferguson or Baltimore protests against pig terrorism descend into scenes of mayhem and senseless violence we must criticize these methods of resistance. Many of the individuals who engage in these spontaneous uprisings mistakenly believe that this will bring about some change or vindicate the wrongs done to them and their community. The only thing these focoist actions change, however, is the focus from pig terrorism to people terrorizing their own community. This basically undermines our ability to organize and build public opinion in this stage of struggle.

Part of this problem lies in the fact that there is no revolutionary organization at this time representing these oppressed nation communities. There is no BPP or Young Lords Party going into these communities and doing agitation and organizing work. As a result, a lack of political consciousness prevails among these communities, underscoring the need for a revolutionary organization.

A Maoist party would guide the U.\$. oppressed nations with a concrete revolutionary practice and strategy. This revolutionary organization would use MLM study and analysis to determine the correct actions and methods to take in order to liberate those oppressed nations and avoid the pitfalls of focoism.

Ultimately, this lesson can be summed up in one sentence: "Maoism warns that taking up the gun too soon, without the proper support of the masses, will result in fighting losing battles." (9)

On the Necessity of Security Culture

Furthermore, the Panthers' incorrect analysis of conditions that led to focoist positions eventually compromised the security of the Party as well. Once the period of concessions began to sap support for the BPP's militant posture, FBI head J. Edgar Hoover was able to ratchet up repression against the Panthers. This was seen most clearly when agent provocateurs were able to infiltrate and exploit the focoist tendencies held by some Panthers. Undercover FBI agents would literally join the BPP and begin to incite other members to engage in criminal activities or "make revolution." These repressive measures, their ever-increasing frequency and intensity, began to take a detrimental toll on the Panthers.

Make no mistake, since day one of the BPP's organizing efforts it faced repression. Armed New Afrikan men and wimmin organizing their community toward revolutionary ends was intolerable for the white power structure. However, the anti-war movement created such a favorable climate for revolutionary organizing that the more reactionary forces attacked the BPP, the more support the Panthers received, the more its membership grew and its chapters spread throughout the country.

But when those favorable conditions shifted, the BPP's strategy didn't. The Panthers continued to operate above ground, maintaining the same militant posture that initially placed them in the crosshairs of Hoover's COINTELPRO. Ironically, Newton was well versed in the role of the Leninist vanguard party. Ey explained that "All real revolutionary movements are driven underground." (10) Though, by the time Newton put this principle into action and attempted to adapt to the changing situation the Party as a whole was thoroughly divided and beaten down by wave after wave of relentless repression.

For us, the important point to draw from this lesson is the assessment of conditions for revolutionary organizing. Because we live in a point in time where we consume our daily social lives openly through various social media, it is easy to forget that the reactionaries are observing.

We must therefore place a high priority on security culture as it pertains to our organizing efforts going forward. In addition, we must strongly emphasize the importance of avoiding death and prison. A robust security culture will protect our organizing efforts and dull the blows of repression that are certain to come.

Currently, we face a strong imperialist state that is more than capable of disrupting a potential revolutionary movement. This point is evidenced by the fact that Hoover's repressive practices are "mirrored in the far-reaching high-tech surveillance of the US National Security Agency."⁽¹¹⁾ Maintaining a strong revolutionary organization thus requires us to maintain strong security practices informed by MLM theory and practice.

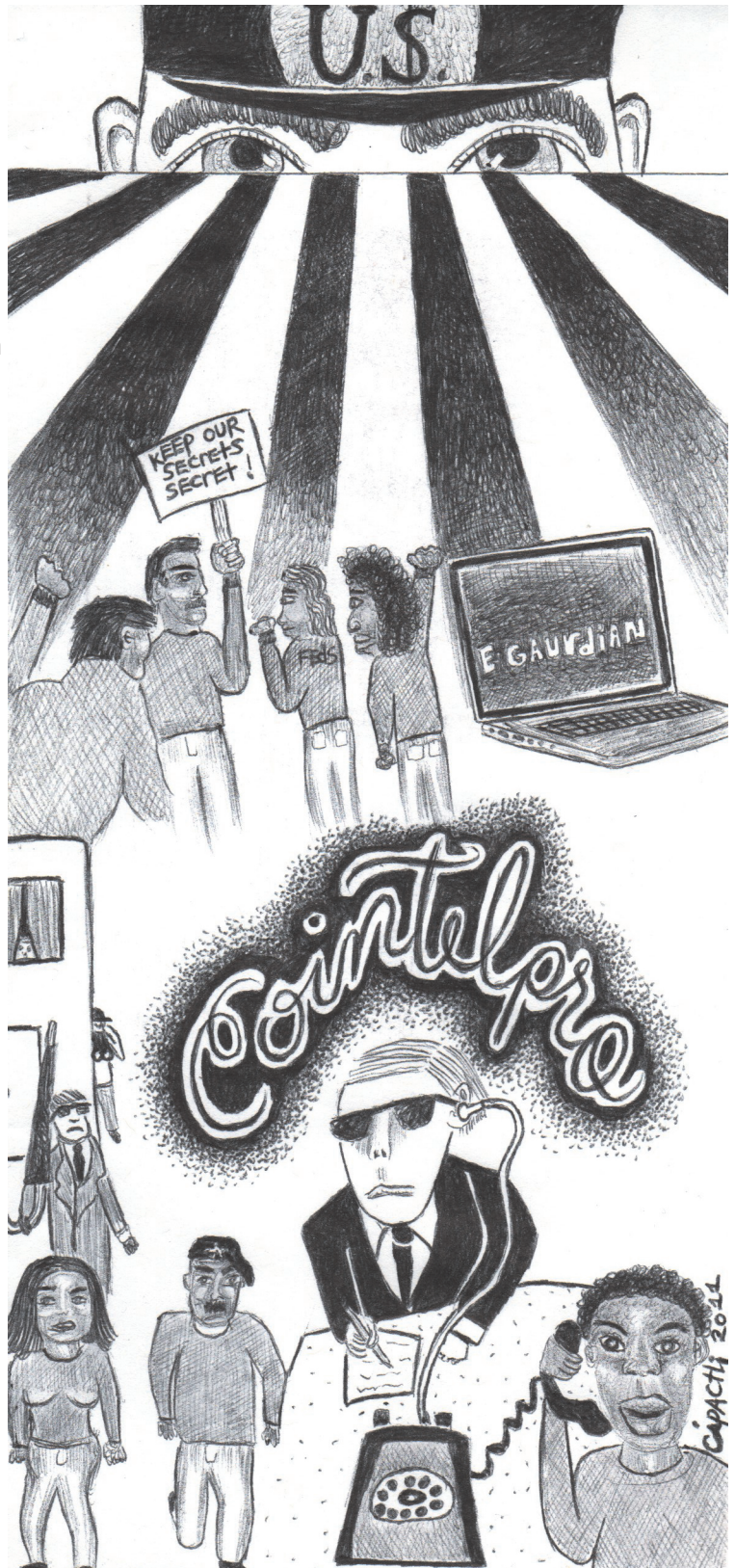
Party Discipline over Party Discipline

Hystory is a testament that some revolutionary organizations and movements have fallen victim to the "cult of persynality." This is more true in an imperialist society as bourgeois individualism nurtures a response in people to associate or reduce organizations and movements to the characteristics of one persyn. And the BPP was no exception in this regard.

Newton was very intelligent, charismatic, and embodied qualities of a true leader. In truth, ey was a symbol of black power and strength that had been missing from the New Afrikan nation for centuries. The militant image that Newton projected was undeniably magnetic and a source of inspiration for U.\$. oppressed nations.

Yet, the BPP relied too heavily on Newton as an individual leader and not enough on the party as a whole. Eir ideological insights and theoretical contributions were unmatched within the party. And to a certain extent this was a weakness of the party. Newton was the primary source of oxygen to the party whereas other members of leadership didn't meet the demands that the revolutionary movement required of the party.

Bloom and Martin hint at this cult of persynality around Newton, arguing "In late 1971... Hilliard recalls that Newton was surrounded by loyalists who applauded Newton's every action, challenged nothing, and would do anything to win his approval."⁽¹²⁾ For example, when Newton



was imprisoned on the bogus pig murder charges, the BPP adapted its struggle and practice toward the "Free Huey" movement. Even Eldridge Cleaver, who was one of those members of leadership that reneged on their revolutionary principles, criticized this move that ultimately confused mass work with party work. The oppressed masses began to associate the party and the Panthers with freeing Newton and not liberating themselves. The BPP had let its practice become dictated by Newton who was for the most part disconnected from the people and community because of his imprisonment.

The Panthers should have developed a strong party discipline, one based on democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means that any decisions that the party makes is debated and discussed through a democratic process. Even if party members do not agree with the decisions, they must support them in public. This ensures that the party maintains unity in the face of reactionary forces. Those party members who are still in disagreement with the decision have the opportunity to utilize the democratic process of the party and make their case. Overall, this strengthens the theoretical basis of the party and does not allow one person to hijack it or undermine it.

The thrust of this lesson is not to discourage party members from developing leadership. The revolutionary movement will certainly need all the leaders, in whatever role or capacity, which the struggle for national liberation demands. But the point is the importance of party discipline. Because as we see with the Panther practice many of the major mistakes stemmed from not maintaining party discipline. Democratic centralism would have promoted the space and opportunity for members to challenge and question decisions by Newton. And as members engaged in this process they would have developed their theoretical practice, shouldering some of the load that Newton, even while imprisoned, had to bear.

This is not to say that the Panthers would not have made mistakes. But with the same party discipline that saw the Bolsheviks lead the successful Russian Revolution of 1917 or the Chinese Communist Party execute at a high level throughout the many stages of its liberation struggle, surely the Panthers could have avoided the divisions that were largely fomented by FBI interference. In addition, proper application of democratic centralism should have led to the distinction between party cadre and mass organizations to take on campaigns like "Free Huey" and doing the support work to run Panther programs. Such a distinction would have helped prevent the decline of the Oakland-based party into reformism as conditions changed.

What our current struggle does not need is a party disciple or some demagogue who is proclaimed our savior. What will liberate the U.S. oppressed nation is a Maoist revolutionary organization connected and related to the masses. Consolidating the mass line is a necessary part of applying democratic centralism within the Party.

Conclusion

We are at a critical point in the history of U.S. national liberation struggles. No longer can we continue to allow the police to murder us with impunity or for our communities to exist merely as pathways to imprisonment. Revolutionary nationalism is needed. And that begins with relating the thought and struggle of the most advanced revolutionary organization in U.S. history to our current struggle.

This article has highlighted a few mistakes of the BPP. But in no way does this discard the Panther practice overall. On the contrary, our path to national liberation has been illuminated by the lessons drawn from the revolutionary legacy of the BPP. It is in this spirit that this article honors the Black Panther Party, and represents a theoretical step on that path to liberation.

Power to the people!

Notes:

1. Huey P. Newton, 2009, *Revolutionary Suicide*, New York: Penguin Group, p. 355.
2. Philip S. Foner, 2014, *The Black Panthers Speak*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, p. 40.
3. Newton and Seale formed the Black Panther Party, its platform and program, during the spring of 1966. Seale became Chairman of the Party, and Newton chose the position of Minister of Defense. While Newton revealed in his autobiography, *Revolutionary Suicide*, that he was reluctant to lead formally, he was in fact the ideological leader of the Party. The revolutionary movements occurring across the world at that time heavily influenced Newton and Seale in which Mao Zedong, Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon became prime sources for the Panther ideology. However, Malcolm X's "by any means necessary" message of self-defense informed the vision of the Black Panther Party. Newton was convinced that the BPP was acting in the spirit of Malcolm X's legacy.
4. See MIM (Prisons) Glossary
5. Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr., 2013, *Black Against Empire: The history and politics of the Black Panther Party*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 347.
6. Bloom (2013), p. xxix.
7. Bloom (2013), p. 366. Bloom and Martin contend that this period of concessions consisted of increased access of petty bourgeois New Afrikans to social and political representation, and a scaling down of the Vietnam War to appease the anti-war movement. Consequently, much of the revolutionary fervor that once existed during the BPP's height began to dissipate quickly. The support for the ultra-militant BPP ran out and a corresponding demand for more moderate positions filled the void. This put the Panthers in a compromising position as they had relied too heavily on support from these moderate groups. For example, the Panther practice led to arrests that required legal assistance from outside groups. And these groups who were once fervent supporters of the BPP's militant posture now wanted more moderation on the part of the BPP as concessions began to be distributed. In the end, the party was driven apart because some members believed revolution and national liberation was imminent while a Newton-led faction supported a change in strategy.
8. Newton (2009), p. 355. Well after the rise and fall of the Black Panther Party, Newton acknowledges that the Panthers were too militant and that he misjudged the changing social and political landscape of U.S. imperialist society at that time as it related to the revolutionary movement. He notes: "The emphasis of weapons was a necessary phase in our evolution... We saw this action as a bold step in making our program known and raising the consciousness of the people. But we soon discovered that weapons and uniforms set us apart from the community... We saw ourselves as the revolutionary 'vanguard' and did not fully understand then that only the people can create the revolution... The people misunderstood us and did not follow our lead in picking up the gun... Perhaps our military strategy was too much of 'a great leap forward.'" This was a cardinal error because the Party became disconnected from the masses and got too far ahead that they couldn't keep up. The Panthers could have shifted from a more militant posture to one that was still critical and confrontational but based on actually politicizing the masses.
9. MC42 & MC86 of MIM, "Black Panther Party Paved the Way," from the pamphlet *Maoism and The Black Panther Party*, April 1992.
10. Foner (2014), p. 66.
11. Foner (2014), p. xvi.
12. Bloom (2013), p. 381–2

The real two-line struggles within Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of the majority-exploiter countries

by the Maoist Internationalist Movement Web Minister
17 May 2004

There may be some people caught between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie not sure which way to go. They may think that there is a two-line struggle between those calling themselves Maoist but upholding the Amerikan petty-bourgeoisie on the one hand and MIM on the other hand. Thinking about this, I wanted to make sure that people realize that's not true by pointing to examples of actual two-line struggles that require more interest and attention.

Previous examples of two-line struggle in MIM history

Maybe the best example of two-line struggle is over the initiation of armed struggle in the imperialist countries. In that case, either MIM is "right opportunist" for not initiating it or our critics are "ultra-left adventurists" for wanting to start it. Either MIM lags behind conditions for armed struggle or our critics are ahead of conditions. We can say this, because we know our critics share some basic underlying ideas with us. We share enough to know this is a two-line struggle.

The question of when to begin armed struggle in the imperialist countries is something that is going to involve a two-line struggle and we do have an obligation to listen patiently to our critics on this question while we dismiss out of hand modern social-democracy disguising itself as "Marxism."

Connected with that question is the struggle over whether the united \$tates is already fascist. Some comrades would say the united \$tates is already fascist and therefore armed struggle is necessary.

Another example of two-line struggle occurs constantly over the relative biological role in gender oppression. That there is something undeniably different about an infant's biology than an adult's shows that biology cannot be left out of gender oppression discussions, especially if we believe children are the most gender oppressed. How far to go with a role for biology is an important area of two-line struggle.

There is also a two-line struggle that goes into making a party's by-laws and lifestyle recommendations and policies for itself. For that matter, how much revolutionaries should support reformists in their struggles will also be a point of two-line struggle.

Hopefully people have thought about these above questions before and realize that MIM has demonstrated some signs of two-line struggle and there is a matter of two-line struggle within the camp of the exploited and oppressed.

Class and national questions embodied in three thoughts

When it comes to exploitation and national oppression, it may be more correct to speak of at least three lines struggling within Maoism for the imperialist countries--Classic Thought, Newton Thought and Garveyesque Thought.

I set up these three thoughts as examples of where two line struggle could happen within

Maoism. Once we try to put things into a common Marxist- Leninist-Maoist framework and then center on the Black nation just for this essay at least, we may be able to see real two-line struggle pop out.

Newton Thought

I'm going to start with Newton Thought, the teachings of Huey P. Newton, especially from 1966 to 1969 but also some material up to 1972. Even a drug-addled Huey Newton in the early 1970s would be better material to work with than today's social-democrats. The reason to start with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Newton Thought is that that's the quickest way to see some distinctions within the Maoist camp.

When we look at the national question, we see Newton sidestep the land question by coming to his idea of revolutionary intercommunalism. When we center the question on the Black nation, it becomes clear why there is a Marxism-Leninism- Maoism-Newton Thought.

Huey Newton negated some thoughts current in his day. He was not comfortable with Blacks taking land in the u\$a and making it a central question. The land came from First Nations and Stalin's analysis of sharecroppers seemed outdated by the 1960s when Blacks had been industrialized and the process of "post-industrialization" started. At the same time, Huey Newton did not proclaim "Back to Africa" for the land question. As Eldridge Cleaver rightly pointed out, Blacks could be "schizo" about land, because of how they ended up in their tens of millions in North Amerika.

Now on account of this "schizo" position on land seeming to reject Stalin's thesis on the national question, did the Black Panthers turn to Martin Luther King multiracialism? Obviously not. The reason is that Huey Newton had a highly critical underlying assumption about the white "working" class. All genuine Maoist thought in the imperialist countries shares this characteristic rejection of the Martin Luther King road of seeking unity with exploiters based on the exploiters' supposed innate goodness in direct opposition to a proper understanding of parasitism and national oppression.

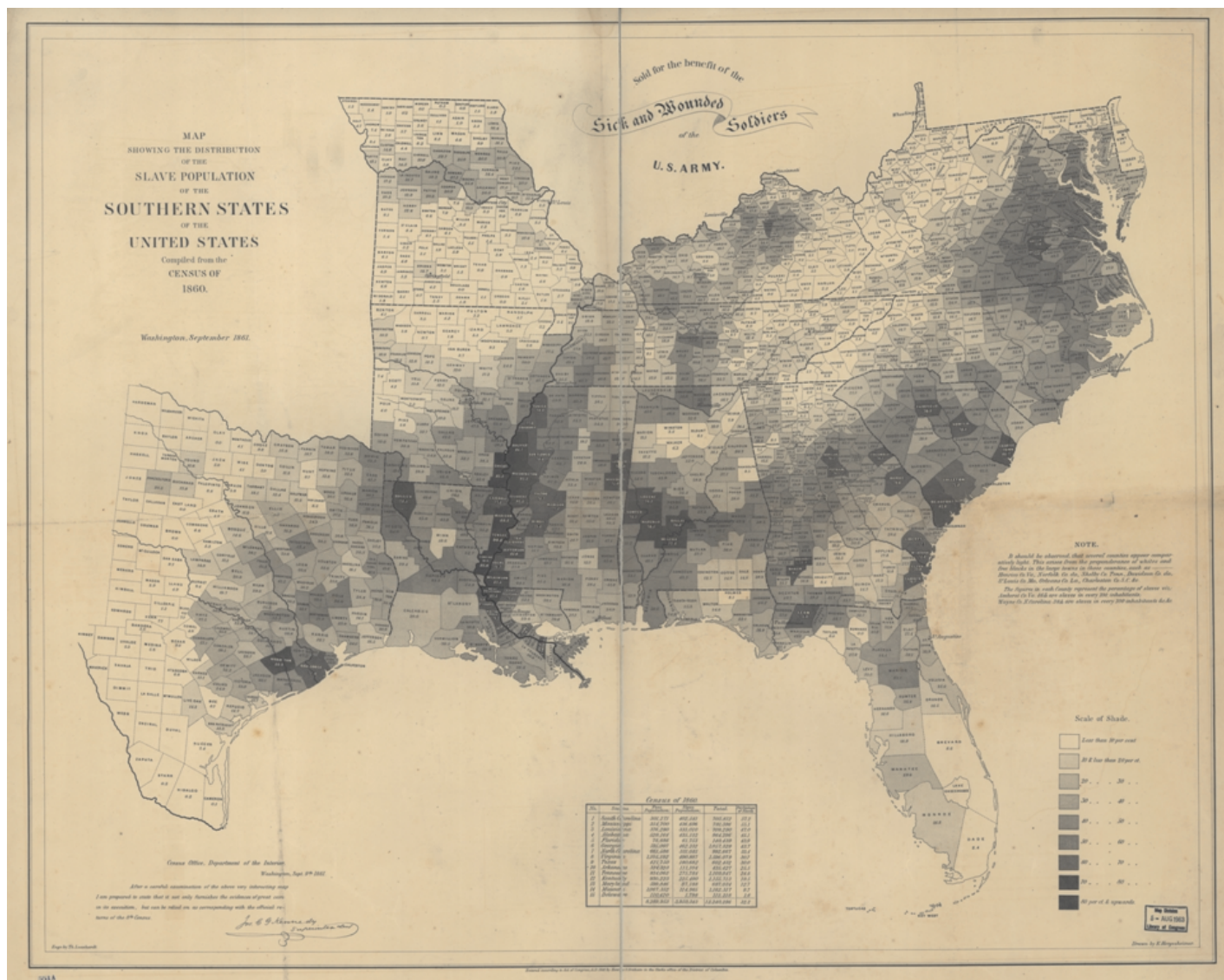
Classic Thought

Having mentioned Stalin's thesis on the Black belt nation in the South, we can turn to Marxism- Leninism-Maoism-Classic Thought. By this view, parasitism has swamped the white "worker," but a land question continues to exist for oppressed nations.

It's actually easier to see this with First Nations. The way the Mohawks made the land question stick at Oka in the 1990s is perhaps the best recent example of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Classic Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Classic Thought is also good for an Aztlan on the territory stolen from Mexico.

Huey Newton was actually criticizing M-L-M Classic Thought when he talked about Taiwan, and perhaps worse, Korea. In Korea, there was a single territory, language, culture and economy, but the imperialists succeeded in dividing it despite national struggle against the u.\$. imperialists. The key to understanding Newton Thought is that it holds that u.\$. imperialism, in something we would call "globalization" today, changed the rules of the game with its power. Newton was concerned that u.\$. imperialism would be able to buy off entire communities and influence others with consumerism and hence, nations could not really be built and constructed as envisioned by Lenin and Stalin.

Even more sharply than Korea, Vietnam influenced Huey Newton. Newton did not believe that Mao should make Korea, Vietnam and the Black nation stick to M-L-M Classic Thought, because



some cultures simply could not make Stalin's nation definition stick and work for them. (Here Kim Il Sung's substitution of "common blood" for Stalin's nation thesis is relevant.) According to Newton, even with the best efforts by Mao, Uncle Sam got Taiwan. Newton Thought claims that there is a better approach that could go further--intercommunalism.

One contrast between M-L-M Classic Thought and M-L-M Newton Thought would be that Newton Thought implies that where revolutionaries have seized territory, they can let go of the language, land and culture appeals to keep a nation "together" and on the road to liberation. There might be a more favorable approach to the mixing of ethnicities in such a view; although we would warn that even in M-L-M Classic Thought there is never talk of ethnically pure nations or national liberation achieved by the efforts of a single nationality. When we picture the birth of the intercommunalist idea, we can just see Newton's discomfort in visiting Koreans and Vietnamese and saying that Blacks do not have a territory or language or even contiguous economy, and that he, Newton, is not going to fight for one either within u.\$. borders or in Africa. It is more or less Newton saying to the world: "look at u.\$. imperialist power. It has destroyed the national question for at least some peoples as conceived by Stalin and hence it has destroyed the classic internationalist strategies of Lenin and Stalin."

It is also a burden on M-L-M Classic Thought that Stalin said the national question boiled down to an agrarian question. The Black Belt Thesis again comes to mind. Newton concluded it was out-of-date, but oppressed people potentially within the Maoist camp disagreed and continue to fight for an actual Black territory. The Black revolutionaries seeking territory do not turn down the

Martin Luther King road.

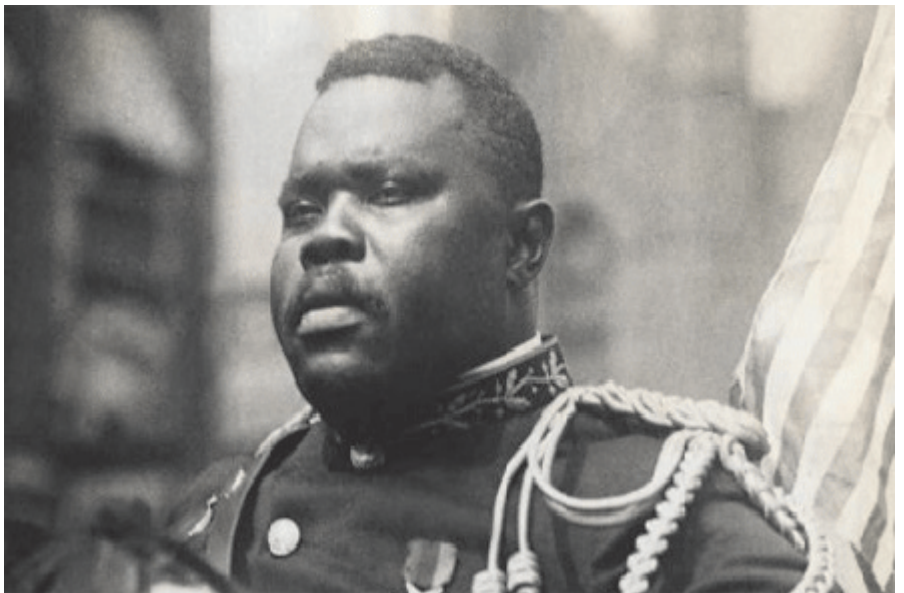
The two main practical contributions of M-L-M Classic Thought involve Lenin's and Stalin's specific interventions on how to do work without relying centrally on white industrial workers. Stalin backed the Black Belt thesis centering on Black share-croppers. He also gave Pepper's theses on ruined farmers of North Amerika as the "main force" a hearing during the Comintern days.

Garveyesque Thought

We have to recast Marcus Garvey in the language of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist framework. To put it in proper Maoist language, we can justify the "return to Africa" strategy and its affiliated Pan-Africanism this way: 1) the white oppressor nation is not going to allow Black development; 2) sovereignty belongs to the First Nations anyway; 3) there is no progressive role for the Black bourgeoisie to play in Amerika, because it already has capitalist-imperialism. 4) super-profits will corrupt the political development of Blacks turned into middle classes unless we take action; 5) even the worst Black bourgeois might play some progressive role in Africa where there is still an agrarian question and stunted industrial development.

Garveyesque Thought is perhaps the most straight-forward rejection of the Martin Luther King road of integration with exploiters and oppressors. It is completely friendly to the M-L-M super-profit thesis as well.

MIM has objected to Garveyism before. Allying with white fascists to drive Blacks "back" to Africa does not seem defensible even for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Garveyesque Thought agenda.



Also in contrast with M-L-M Classic Thought, there is even more of a real material problem for M-L-M Garveyesque Thought. Whereas M-L-M Newton Thought claims that Stalin's national question formulation does not provide tools powerful enough for the Black nation, Koreans and Vietnamese (and let's remember that Newton wrote about intercommunalism before Vietnam liberated itself finally as a nation in 1975) to overcome u.\$. imperialism, and that many nations cannot go down Mao's precise road in an equivalent sense, thereby justifying intercommunalism instead of copying Mao's precise road, M-L-M Garveyesque Thought claims that Blacks born in North Amerika will be able to "go back to Africa" and operate effectively.

Stalin might have counselled against the M-L-M Garveyesque idea, because the African economy is not contiguous with the Black economy in North America and there are even language barriers with Francophone Africa and other parts of Africa. What it all means is that Blacks trying to go back to Africa might be less effective than trying to seize a Black belt nation in the South of the united \$tates.

On the other hand, many Maoists do operate effectively within M-L-M Garveyesque Thought and those are exiles who plan to go back to Peru, Turkey, India, the Philippines etc. While in theory, many of these comrades might even be the most confused by imperialist country social-

democracy, in practice they are most prone to M-L-M Garveyesque Thought, an utter rejection of imperialist country social-democracy.

If we think about people who are "first generation" "immigrants," in many cases we see people sending money back home and shuttling back and forth. In practice, these "immigrant" or "exile" or "sojourner" M-L-Mers are rejecting the Martin Luther King road by not showing up in the imperialist countries to join a multiracial party as the first priority of their work. In contrast, MIM has said that at least ideologically speaking, these comrades do have a right to show up in the imperialist countries to participate directly in revolution there and see to the global proletariat's interests.

General discussion of the three lines

M-L-M Garveyesque Thought may become an excuse for aspiring Black imperialists. It might be that a "Back to Africa" movement may end up shipping more Amerikkka to Africa instead of building an organic connection of Blacks to the African economy they resettle in. Much of M-L-M Garveyesque Thought may seem Trotskyist in saying that "advanced" Blacks will bring progress to Africa instead of imperialist decadence.

The temptation to work through official comprador channels and cater to u.\$. imperialism will be stronger in M-L-M Garveyesque Thought simply because the challenges are greater than in M-L-M Classic Thought for example, where revolutionaries simply work in the oppressed nation environment "on the land" that they know and are used to. For its part, MIM has always condemned "revolutionary tourism." We do not have to say that Blacks have sovereignty instead of First Nations to believe that Blacks are more familiar with U.\$. territory than African territory.

Against its competitors, M-L-M Garveyesque Thought is usually the most reticent. Many of its participants are go-getters like Ho Chi Minh, but the development of a scientific road for the imperialist countries is often so far on the backburner as to be out of sight. That most M-L-Mers practice Garveyesque Thought when they first encounter the imperialist countries may not even occur to these M-L-Mers. Most only start to raise the question for the "second generation" of M-L-Mers living in the imperialist countries.

If we were to imagine a real M-L-M Garveyesque polemic, it would be that we do not want to contaminate our people with imperialist country middle-class ideas. M-L-M Garveyesque Thought would write off revolutionary work within imperialist country borders, implicitly because super-profits flow to such an extent that the Black petty-bourgeoisie will inevitably go down the Martin Luther King road, thereby contributing nothing to anyone's liberation. What we admire about M-L-M Garveyesque Thought is that it sets an outer limit on cooperation with exploiters and oppressors. It says that no matter what, even if the imperialists buy off everyone in North Amerika, and put them into "Matrix"-like stupor, the last proletarian-minded persyn left can go to Africa and the struggle will go on.

Against this notion, Huey Newton said that the Black lumpen was going to become the Black majority. Obviously MIM practice has adopted a heavy influence from this idea. Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver acknowledged a huge Black middle-class as well, but we at MIM believe they proved that they could cause the Black petty-bourgeoisie to vacillate in a revolutionary direction by starting with a lumpen-student base. What is more, the lumpen plays a particular international role in shooting down imperialism's rhetoric about spreading "freedom." When the Iraqi torture story broke in the bourgeois media, MIM was able to point to the treatment of prisoners in the united \$tates by Graner and another prison guard turned soldier. This alone is a powerful rebuttal to M-L-M Garveyesque Thought.

The Mohawks are the clearest recent example of advance where M-L-M Classic Thought is

nearly there in the words of revolutionary leaders in North Amerika. We suspect that Aztlan is not far behind. While it is true that Mexico also had its conflict between dominators and the indigenous peoples, as a whole, both the Mexican people and the indigenous peoples of the Southwest are exploited and share an interest in attacking Uncle \$am.

Most comrades of Asian ethnicity are still grappling with the M-L-M Garveyesque question for the "first generation." The "second" and "third" generations are looking closely at Martin Luther King's road. It's doubtful that M-L-M Classic Thought will have much direct appeal for Asian ethnicity comrades in North Amerika: there's no identifiable land question--even more so than for Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver--unless we count the indigenous struggle for land in Hawaii as "Asian."

Against Newton Thought, the Classic Thought comrades could say that those with doubts about their own nationality's land claims should assist those who have definitely righteous ones. For example, the Koreans, many living in Manchuria, were helping the Chinese Communist Party defeat the Japanese oppressors. Before there was a Korean communist party, Koreans were in the Chinese one. Obviously the struggle was in Korean self-interest, but it was also true that Manchuria ended up in Chinese hands. It's a big mistake to think that Mao's revolution had only one nationality's participation.

Against this, the Newton Thought comrades might say there are more Blacks than First Nation people, so it is not practical to join First Nation M-L-M Classic Thought parties to lead the struggle for national liberation based on land against Uncle \$am. The Newton Thought comrades can also say that Classic Thought would be right had not Newton proved that the Black Panther Party could force the Black petty-bourgeoisie to line up with the lumpen and guided by proletarian thought. Then again, Classic Thought might rebut that Newton's success came from a period before Newton's intercommunalist theses arose, even if Newton was practicing them unconsciously before publishing his intercommunalist theses.

I hope I have given an indication where MIM sees the real Marxist-Leninist-Maoist two-line struggles. There is no doubt that among the Classic, Newton and Garveyesque roads there will be sharp and bitter conflict from time to time. The lines of Wang Ming, Chen Tu-hsiu, Kao Kang etc. became synonymous with disgrace within Chinese communism. We can expect likewise that different lines will arise within the camp that sees a need to avoid representing Amerikan parasitism in the international communist movement.

All Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is scientific and holds that comrades of all colors can possibly understand truth. Genuine M-L-M within the majority-exploiter countries holds that the Martin Luther King road is not good for the goals of ending exploitation and oppression and that the white "working" class is neither oppressed nor exploited. Within genuine M-L-M, we can devise "Thoughts" for the concrete conditions based on our best estimates of the fastest revolutionary roads out of oppression and exploitation.

In two line struggles in the genuine Maoist camp we proceed from a point of view of unity-struggle-unity. This process applies to the participants of each school of "Thought" combined with the others.

The Panther Legacy, Black Riders and Intercommunalism

by Wiawimawo of MIM(Prisons) June 2016
Reprinted from Under Lock & Key 50

Uhuru of the Black Riders Liberation Party - Prison Chapter: 2016 marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the original Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) by Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. This year also marks the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Black Riders Liberation Party, the New Generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, under the leadership of General T.A.C.O. (Taking All Capitalists Out).

The original BPP arose out of an immediate need to organize and defend the New Afrikan (Black) nation against vicious pig brutality that was taking place during the 1960s and 70s; while at the same time teaching and showing us through practice how to liberate ourselves from the death grip of Amerikkkan-style oppression, colonialism and genocide through its various Serve the People programs.

The Black Riders Liberation Party (BRLP) came about in 1996 when former Bloods and Crips came together in peace and unity while at the Youth Training School (a youth gang prison) in Los Angeles. The BRLP, which follows the historic example set by the original BPP, is a true United Lumpen Front against pig brutality, capitalism, and all its systems of oppression.

The political line of the BRLP, as taught by our General, is Revolutionary Afrikan Intercommunalism, which is an upgraded version of Huey's Revolutionary Intercommunalism developed later in the party. Revolutionary Afrikan Intercommunalism is a form of Pan-Afrikanism and socialism. This line allows us to link the struggles of New Afrikans here in the Empire with Afrikans on the continent and in the diaspora. Thus Revolutionary Afrikan Intercommunalism is, in essence, revolutionary internationalism as it guides us towards building a United Front with Afrikan people abroad to overthrow capitalist oppression here in the United \$tates and imperialism around the globe.

Our Black Commune Program is an upgraded version of the original BPP's Ten-Point Platform and Program, which includes the demand for treatment for AIDS victims and an end to white capitalists smuggling drugs into our communities. [The Black Commune Program also adds a point on ecological destruction as it relates to the oppressed. -MIM(Prisons)]

Mao recognized, as did Che, that every revolutionary organization should have its own political organ — a newspaper — to counter the psychological warfare campaign waged by the enemy through corporate media, and to inform, educate and organize the people. Like the original BPP newspaper, The Black Panther, the BRLP established its own political organ, The Afrikan Intercommunal News Service, and took it a step further by creating the "Panther Power Radio" station to "discuss topics relative to armed self-defense against pig police terrorism and the corrupt prison-industrial complex," among other topics.

Like the original BPP, the BRLP have actual Serve the People programs. When Huey would come across other Black radical (mostly cultural nationalist) organizations, he would often ask them what kind of programs they had to serve the needs of the people because he understood that revolution is not an act, but a process, and that most oppressed people learn from seeing and doing (actual experience). The BRLP's programs consist of our Watch-A-Pig Program, Kourt Watch Program, George Jackson Freedom After-school Program, Squeeze the Slumlord project, BOSS Black-on-Black violence prevention and intervention program, gang truce football games, and

Health Organizing Project, to name just a few. These lumpen tribal elements consciously eschew lumpen-on-lumpen reactionary violence and become revolutionaries and true servants of the people!

Finally, the BRLP continues the example set by the original BPP by actively building alliances and coalitions with other radical/revolutionary organizations. George Jackson stated that "unitary conduct implies a 'search' for those elements in our present situation which can become the basis for joint action." (1) In keeping with this view and the BPP vision of a United Front Against Fascism, in 2012 the BRLP launched the Intercommunal Solidarity Committee as a mechanism for building a United Front across ideological, religious, national and ethnic/racial lines.

While I recognize that the white/euro-Amerikkkan nation in the United \$tates is not an oppressed nation, but in fact represents a "privileged" class that benefits from the oppression and exploitation of the urban lumpen class here in the United \$tates and Third World people, there exist a "dynamic sector" of radical, anti-racist, anti-imperialist white allies willing to commit "class suicide" and aid oppressed and exploited people in our national liberation struggles. And on that note I say "Black Power" and "All Power to the People."

Note: George L. Jackson, 1971, Blood In My Eye.

Wiawimawo of MIM(Prisons) responds: For this issue of Under Lock & Key we received letters attempting to feature the BRLP (like this one) as well as to critique them. For years, MIM(Prisons) and the readers of ULK have been watching this group with interest. We made a few attempts to dialogue directly with them, but the most concerted effort happened to coincide with the release of an attack on us by Turning the Tide, a newsletter that has done a lot to popularize the work of the BRLP. No direct dialogue occurred. We thank this BRLP comrade for the article above. The following is a response not directly to the above, but to the many statements that we have come across by the BRLP and what we've seen of their work on the streets.

On the surface the BRLP does have a lot similarities to the original BPP. It models its platform after the BPPs 10 point platform, which was modeled after Malcolm X's. The BRLP members don all black as they confront the police and other state actors and racist forces. They speak to the poor inner-city youth and came out of lumpen street organizations. They have worked to build a number of Serve the People programs. And they have inspired a cadre of young New Afrikans across the gender line. In order to see the differences between MIM, the BRLP, and other organizations claiming the Panther legacy today, we need to look more deeply at the different phases of the Black Panther Party and how their political line changed.

APSP, AAPRP, NBPP

The BRLP regularly presents itself with the tagline, "the New Generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense." And it is not the first, or the only organization, to claim this mantel. The African Peoples' Socialist Party (APSP) was perhaps the first, having worked with Huey P. Newton himself at the end of his life. That is why in discussing the Panther legacy, we need to specify exactly what legacy that is. For MIM, the period of 1966 to 1969 represented the Maoist phase of the BPP, and therefore the period we hold up as an example to follow and build on. Since the time that Huey was alive, the APSP has shifted focus into building an African Socialist International in the Third World. We see this as paralleling some of the incipient errors in the BRLP and the NABPP that we discuss below.

While the APSP goes back to the 1980s, we can trace another contemporary organization, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, to the 1960s.(1) The brain-child of Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, the AAPRP in the United \$tates was led by Kwame Toure, formerly Stokely Carmichael. The AAPRP came to embody much of the cultural and spiritual tendencies that the

Panthers rejected. The BPP built on the Black Power and draft resistance movements that Carmichael was key in developing while leading the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).(2) Carmichael left SNCC, joining the BPP for a time, and tried to unite the two groups. But the Panthers later split with SNCC because of SNCC's rejection of alliances with white revolutionaries, their promotion of pan-Africanism and Black capitalism. Carmichael's allies were purged from the BPP for being a "bunch of cultural nationalist fools" trying "to undermine the people's revolution..." "talking about some madness he called Pan-Africanism."(3)

In the 1990s, we saw a surge in Black Panther revivalism. MIM played a role in this, being the first to digitize many articles from The Black Panther newspaper for the internet and promoting their legacy in fliers and public events. MIM did not seem to have any awareness of the Black Riders Liberation Party at this time. There was a short-lived Ghetto Liberation Party within MIM that attempted to follow in Panther footsteps. Then the New Black Panther Party began to display Panther regalia at public rallies in different cities. While initially optimistic, MIM later printed a critique of the NBPP for its promotion of Black capitalism and mysticism, via its close connection to the Nation of Islam.(4) Later the NBPP became a darling of Fox News, helping them to distort the true legacy of the BPP. Last year the NBPP further alienated themselves by brutalizing former Black Panther Dhoruba bin Wahad and others from the Nation of Gods and Earths and the Free the People Movement. While there is little doubt that the NBPP continues to recruit well-intentioned New Afrikans who want to build a vanguard for the nation, it is evident that the leadership was encapsulated by the state long ago.

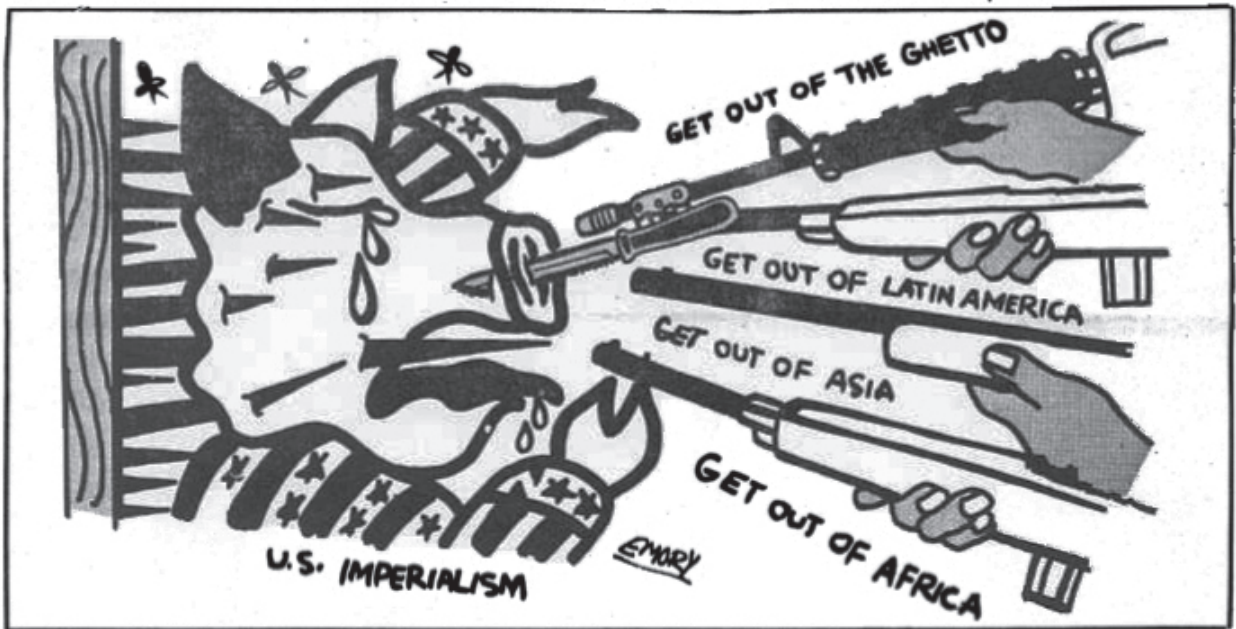
Huey's Intercommunalism

Readers of Under Lock & Key will certainly be familiar with the New Afrikan Black Panther Party, which was originally an independent prison chapter of the NBPP. Their promotion of Maoism and New Afrikan nationalism was refreshing, but they quickly sided with Mao and the Progressive Labor Party against the BPP and more extreme SNCC lines on the white oppressor nation of Amerikkka. They went on to reject the nationalist goals of the BPP, embracing Huey's theory of intercommunalism. The NABPP and the BRLP both embrace forms of "intercommunalism" as leading concepts in their ideological foundations. And while we disagree with both of them, there are many differences between them as well. This is not too surprising as the theory was never very coherent and really marked Newton's departure from the original Maoist line of the Party. As a student of David Hilliard, former BPP Chief of Staff, pointed out around 2005, Hilliard used intercommunalism as a way to avoid ever mentioning communism in a semester-long class on the BPP.(5) In the early 1970s, Huey seemed to be using "intercommunalism" in an attempt to address changing conditions in the United States and confusion caused by the failure of international forces to combat revisionism in many cases.(6)

Probably the most important implication of Huey's new line was that he rejected the idea that nations could liberate themselves under imperialism. In other words he said Stalin's promotion of building socialism in one country was no longer valid, and Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was now true. This was in 1970, when China had just developed socialism to the highest form we've seen to date through the struggles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which also began 50 years ago this year. Huey P. Newton's visit to China in 1971 was sandwiched by visits from war criminal Henry Kissinger and U.S. President Richard Nixon. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, who would go on to foster normalized relations with the U.S. imperialists, stated that China was ready to negotiate or fight the United States in 1971.(7) The Panther visit was a signal of their development of the second option. But after 1971, Chinese support for the Panthers dissipated as negotiations with the imperialists developed.

A bigger problem with Huey's intercommunalism was how do we address the Amerikkkan oppressor nation when ey claims there are no more states, there are no more nations? In eir "speech at Boston College" in 1970 ey specifically refers to Eldridge Cleaver's "On the Ideology of

the Black Panther Party" in order to depart from it. Newton rejects the analysis of the Black nation as a colony of Amerikkka that must be liberated. That Cleaver essay from



1969 has great unity with MIM line and is where we depart with the NABPP and BRLP who uphold the 1970-1 intercommunalism line of Huey's.(8)

Black Riders and NABPP Interpret Intercommunalism

To take a closer look at the BRLP itself, let us start with General T.A.C.O.'s essay "African Intercommunalism I." Tom Big Warrior of the NABPP camp has already written a review of it, which makes a number of critiques that we agree with. He calls out the BRLP for accepting "race" as a real framework to analyze society, yet the NABPP line also rejects nation based on Huey's intercommunalism. At times, the NABPP and BRLP still use the term nation and colony to refer to New Afrika. This seems contradictory in both cases. Tom Big Warrior is also very critical of the BRLP's claim to update Huey's theory by adding African cultural and spiritual elements to it. This is something the Panthers very adamantly fought against, learning from Fanon who wrote in *Wretched of the Earth*, one of the Panthers' favorite books: "The desire to attach oneself to tradition or bring abandoned traditions to life again does not only mean going against the current of history but also opposing one's own people".(9) This revision of intercommunalism is one sign of the BRLPs conservatism relative to the original BPP who worked to create the new man/womyn, new revolutionary culture and ultimately a new society in the spirit of Mao and Che.

The NABPP is really the more consistent proponent of "revolutionary intercommunalism." In their analysis a worldwide revolution must occur to overthrow U\$. imperialism. This differs from the MIM view in that we see the periphery peeling off from imperialism little-by-little, weakening the imperialist countries, until the oppressed are strong enough to impose some kind of international dictatorship of the proletariat of the oppressed nations over the oppressor nations. The NABPP says we "must cast off nationalism and embrace a globalized revolutionary proletarian world view."(10) They propose "building a global United Panther Movement." These are not really new ideas, reflecting a new reality as they present it. These are the ideas of Trotsky, and at times of most of the Bolsheviks leading up to the Russian revolution.

Even stranger is the BRLP suggestion that, "once we overthrow the Amerikkkan ruling class, there will be a critical need to still liberate Africa."(11) The idea that the imperialists would somehow be overthrown before the neo-colonial puppets of the Third World is completely backwards. Like the APSP, the NABPP and the BRLP seem to echo this idea of a New Afrikan vanguard of the African or World revolution. MIM(Prisons) disagrees with all these parties in that we see New Afrika as being closer to Amerika in its relation to the Third World, despite its position

as a semi-colony within the United States.(12)

The NABPP claims that "Huey was right! Not a single national liberation struggle produced a free and independent state."(13) And they use this "fact" to justify support for "Revolutionary Intercommunalism." Yet this new theory has not proven effective in any real world revolutions, whereas the national liberation struggle in China succeeded in building the most advanced socialist system known to history. Even the Panthers saw steep declines in their own success after the shift towards intercommunalism. So where is the practice to back up this theory?

We also warn our readers that both the NABPP and BRLP make some outlandishly false statistical claims in order to back up their positions. For example, the NABPP tries to validate Huey's predictions by stating, "rapid advances in technology and automation over the past several decades have caused the ranks of the unemployed to grow exponentially."(13) It is not clear if they are speaking globally or within the United States. But neither have consistent upward trends in unemployment, and certainly not exponential trends! Meanwhile, in an essay on the crisis of generational divides and tribal warfare in New Afrika the BRLP claims that the latter "has caused more deaths in just Los Angeles than all the casualties in the Yankee imperialist Vietnam war combined!!!"(14) There were somewhere between 1 million and 3 million deaths in the U.S. war against Vietnamese self-determination. Los Angeles sees hundreds of deaths from gang shootings in a year. We must see things as they are, and not distort facts to fit our propaganda purposes if we hope to be effective in changing the world.

Black Riders

We will conclude with our assessment of the BRLP based on what we have read and seen from them. While we dissect our disagreements with some of their higher level analysis above, many of their articles and statements are quite agreeable, echoing our own analysis. And we are inspired by their activity focusing on serving and organizing the New Afrikan lumpen on the streets. In a time when New Afrikan youth are mobilizing against police brutality in large numbers again, the BRLP is a more radical force at the forefront of that struggle. Again, much of this work echoes that of the original BPP, but some of the bigger picture analysis is missing.

In our interactions with BRLP members we've seen them promote anarchism and the 99% line, saying that most white Amerikkans are exploited by capitalism. BRLP, in line with cultural nationalism, stresses the importance of "race," disagreeing with Newton who, even in 1972, was correctly criticizing in the face of rampant neo-colonialism: "If we define the prime character of the oppression of blacks as racial, then the situation of economic exploitation of human beings by human being can be continued if performed by blacks against blacks or blacks against whites."(15) Newton says we must unite the oppressed "in eliminating exploitation and oppression" not fight "racism" as the BRLP and their comrades in People Against Racist Terror focus on.

This leads us to a difference with the BRLP in the realm of strategy. It is true that the original BPP got into the limelight with armed confrontations with the pigs. More importantly, it was serving the people in doing so. So it is hard to say that the BPP was wrong to do this. While Huey concluded that it got ahead of the people and alienated itself from the people, the BRLP seems to disagree by taking on an even more aggressive front. This has seemingly succeeded in attracting the ultra-left, some of whom are dedicated warriors, but has already alienated potential allies. While BRLP's analysis of the BPP's failure to separate the underground from the aboveground is valuable, it seems to imply a need for an underground insurgency at this time. In contrast, MIM line agrees with Mao that the stage of struggle in the imperialist countries is one of long legal battles until the imperialists become so overextended by armed struggles in the periphery that the state begins to weaken. It is harder to condemn Huey Newton for seeing that as the situation in the early years of the Panthers, but it is clearly not the situation today. In that context, engaging in street confrontations with racists seems to offer more risk than reward in terms of changing the

system.

While the BRLP doesn't really tackle how these strategic issues may have affected the success and/or demise of the BPP, it also does not make any case for how a lack of cultural and spiritual nationalism were a shortcoming that set back the Panthers. BRLP also spends an inordinate amount of their limited number of articles building a cult of personality around General T.A.C.O. So despite its claims of learning from the past, we see its analysis of the BPP legacy lacking in both its critiques and emulations of BPP practices.

While physical training is good, and hand-to-hand combat is a potentially useful skill for anyone who might get in difficult situations, there should be no illusions about such things being strategic questions for the success of revolutionary organizations in the United States today. When your people can all clean their rifle blind-folded but they don't even know how to encrypt their email, you've already lost the battle before it's started.

Finally, the BRLP has tackled the youth vs. adult contradiction head on. Its analysis of how that plays out in oppressed nations today parallels our own. And among the O.G. Panthers themselves they have been very critical as well, and with good cause. It is clear that we will need a new generation Black Panthers that is formed of and led by the New Afrikan youth of today. But Huey was known to quote Mao that with the correct political line will come support and weapons, and as conditions remain much less revolutionary than the late 1960s, consolidation of cadre around correct and clear political lines is important preparatory work for building a new vanguard party in the future.

Notes:

1. See our brief AAPRP study pack with a few MIM articles
2. Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr., 2013, *Black Against Empire: The history and politics of the Black Panther Party*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 131.
3. Bloom, p. 346.
4. HC93, 15 May 2005, *The New Black Panthers: 1 outta 3 ain't bad*, archive of MIM etext.org site.
5. MIM, circa 2005, *An interview with a student of David Hilliard's: David Hilliard revises Black Panther history*, archive of MIM etext.org site.
6. MIM, circa 2000, "The bittersweet fruit of 'practicality': Ho Chi Minh's divisive legacy in the international communist movement", archive of MIM etext.org site.
7. Bloom, p. 350.
8. For a more theoretical analysis of Huey Newton's essays from 1971 on intercommunalism and other topics, see "Combatting Wrong Ideas from Huey Newton Late in Life" by a USW comrade, February 2006, and our intercommunalism study pack.
9. As cited by Linda Harrison in "On Cultural Nationalism", reprinted in Foner, Philip S., 1995, *The Black Panthers Speak*, New York: Da Capo Press, p. 152.
10. Tom Big Warrior Watts, 29 April 2016, "Revolutionary Intercommunalism: Not Some Cool Idea", rashidmod.com.
11. General T.A.C.O., 2 February 2013, "African Intercommunalism I".
12. see MC5, February 1998, "On the internal class structure of the internal semi-colonies", 1998 MIM Congress Session II.
13. NABPP, 29 September 2015, "In Search of the Right Theory for Today's Struggles: Revisiting Huey P. Newton's Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism", rashidmod.com.
14. General T.A.C.O., 2 February 2013, "African Inter-communalism part II: It is easy to criticize from the sideline but harder to struggle from the frontline".
15. Foner, p. 255.

Defend the Black Panther Legacy!

For decades, MIM has been defending the legacy of Huey Newton's Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP) of the late 1960s as the furthest advancement of revolutionary struggle within u.\$. borders. As time passes, more and more youth are looking back at that legacy and asking, "What was it all about?" and "How do we learn from it?" At the time of the Party's existence, the bourgeois media tried to depict the BPP as a militant group of gun-wielding, white-hating, young Black males. Today, we are more likely to hear about Free Breakfast for School Children-- the tale of a friendlier, charity-oriented organization. These lies come from the inability of white amerika to overstand revolutionary nationalism as well as a concerted effort to stamp it out.

Today, we also have people who are helping to watered-down Party. At the same time, we have the Nation of Islam (NOI) calling Party (NBPP) that is about 'violent Black racists' revolutionary politics of the

The common fiber petty bourgeois, pro-capitalist Black people. One tends to and the other likes to call for its amount to a strategy of seeking a The NBPP goes as far as demanding class alliances lie.



claiming the legacy of the BPP perpetrate both of these misinterpretations of the have an off-shoot of the itself the New Black Panther successfully eliciting cries without upholding the Panthers.

between these trends is a strategy for the upliftment of cuddle up with white amerika demise, but do not be fooled, both special deal with the u.\$. imperialists. reparations from Africa, indicating where its

The dead-end politics of these trends are exposed in our interview with a student of David Hilliard and our review of the New Black Panther Party literature.

The New Black Panthers:

1 outta 3 ain't bad

by HC93
15 May 2005

Looking at their membership, the "New Black Panthers" do appear to be Black, but the other two parts of this Party's name are misleading. What the "New Black Panther Party" (NBPP) has to offer is nothing new, but rather a non-denominational (at least originally) version of the Nation of Islam (NOI) from whence it came, with a more militant posture. And they sure aren't Panthers as we will spell out in this article.

But before we jump into our criticism of the NBPP we should point out that as a revolutionary Party led by proletarian ideology, MIM does recognize the need for alliances across many classes, particularly among the oppressed nations. Therefore we view the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois nationalists within the Black nation or any other oppressed nation as potential allies. But these classes themselves cannot liberate Black people from national oppression and imperialism. [mim3@mim.org interjects: In fact, MIM Thought has pointed to the role for the national bourgeoisie, not because of any semi-feudal remnants in the Black nation, but because of the role

those in authority as long [sic] they respect us. God alone is our master." Here they miss the role of the state in a class society. As Shabazz says, "We believe in our God, first. We don't believe necessarily that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. That power comes from the Lord of the Worlds, Almighty God, Allah." (2) Here he rejects all Maoists from the Panthers to the Chinese, by upholding that God and not revolution will lead Black people to freedom.

Of course, who needs revolution when you're only struggling for a piece of the capitalist action? Just as the NOI, the NBPP unabashedly promotes Black capitalism, independent from the amerikan economy, as a solution. That independence however, comes after a period of reparations and support from the imperialists "until we can do for ourselves." (1) Sounds like someone's looking for a deal. There is no acknowledgement by the NBPP of the exploitative relations under capitalism that will only be replicated by the new bourgeois masters under their plan for an independent Black economy. Or more likely the imperialists will still pull the strings and make most of the profits while the Black masters keep the people in line as is the case throughout most of Africa.

When asked what the perfect world would be, or what they are struggling for Shabazz said an independent Black Nation, with its own territory and Farrakhan as president. MIM supports the call for an independent Black Nation with its own territory, as we support the right to self-determination of all nations. But we also recognize the necessity to overthrow capitalism for freedom and an end to exploitation to ever come to fruition. The original Black Panther Party saw the solution to Black oppression in revolutionary communism, and nothing has happened to change that reality today.

Notes:

(1) www.newblackpanther.com

(2) One-on-One: An Interview with Malik Zulu Shabazz. *FinalCall.com* News, 10 March 2005. http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/printer_1858.shtml

(3) *Washington Times*.

<http://www.washtimes.com/metro/20031124-094023-6661r.htm>

(4) <http://www.finfacts.com/biz10/globalworldincomepercapita.htm>

(5) www.jubileeusa.org

(6) *The Black Panther*. 4 January 1967, p. 7.

http://www.prisoncensorship.info/archive/etext/bpp/bpp040169_7.htm

(7) Norton, Rictor. *A History of Homophobia*.

<http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/homophol.htm>

(8) *NATION OF ISLAM PUSHES METAPHYSICS, CRYPTO-PACIFISM*. MIM Notes 124, 15 October 1996. <http://www.prisoncensorship.info/archive/etext/mn/mn.php?issue=124>

An interview with a student of David Hilliard's: David Hilliard revises Black Panther history

AFRAM 048GD Politics of Protest: The Black Panther Party
Laney College
Oakland, CA

[The Maoist Internationalist Movement upholds the Black Panther Party (BPP) as the Maoist vanguard of the late 1960s within the borders of the united \$tates and the leader of the most advanced struggle in Marxist history inside u.\$ borders. While there are many people looking back on the Panther legacy, very few are speaking of this reality that launched the BPP into unprecedented success in organizing the masses under a revolutionary banner--a particularly

grand achievement in a country whose majority is a white oppressor nation. The problem of misrepresentation is further complicated when the very leaders of the Party that remain are acting to portray the Party as a reformist organization. Anyone who reads the Black Panther's own words (in fact the words of David Hilliard and Bobby Seale themselves) will recognize the fallacy of such representations.

MIM's website and Black Panther page initiated by MC44 and MC5 spearheaded the current resurgence of interest in the Black Panthers. Hundreds of readers a month became thousands as MIM passed around documents from the original party and these readers accumulated over the years. Now with Huey Newton dead but the MIM effort copied by many others, various individuals crawl out of the woodwork to claim something to do with the Black Panthers and invent various stories in passing--stories that in many cases were not told while Newton was alive.

People like former Chief of Staff David Hilliard will use identity politics to claim that he and former chair Bobby Seale are telling the truth because of who they were. This is wrong. With leader Eldridge Cleaver recanting and joining the Moonies before he died, it becomes evident that the approach that focuses on who people are instead of what they are saying and doing is completely backward. Eldridge Cleaver passes the "who" test for the stupid and lazy, but what he said in the last years of life had nothing to do with the Black Panthers as the original revolutionaries they were. It's a stark example, but not the first historically. People who worked with Marx's partner Engels ended up abandoning the cause, so knowing who is in charge is never a replacement for knowing what line is in charge. The standard is not individual identity, but instead actions per comrade for a line.

MIM claims the Black Panther legacy because we have built off of the ideological foundation that the BPP put into action. As the student below points out, that ideological foundation was also the product of the Party's contemporaries and predecessors in the revolutionary struggle around the world. Particularly influential were the organization of the Chinese people and the writings of Mao Zedong that we recognize today as the furthest advancement of socialist construction and the elimination of power and oppression in modern history.]

What was the scope of the class?

We covered the history of the Party and related it to how we can apply it to current political activism.

What materials were included?

We read out of the Huey P. Newton Reader, Huey's dissertation "War Against the Panthers." "To Die for the People" was required for the class. And he showed us video footage including "Eyes on the Prize," "Palante, Siempre Palante", "Badass", "a Panther in Africa" and a video from Berkeley High School interviewing David. We saw slides of photographs and the covers of the newspaper. There were also numerous guest speakers.

What was the legacy of the Panthers as taught by David Hilliard?

I'm under the impression that David Hilliard's opinion of the legacy of the Black Panthers is that all of the youth and everyone struggling today should actually become little capitalists and should own the recording industry and should own the apartment buildings. He connects that to having economic power. And he said that when the Panthers said "All Power to the People" he equated that to democracy, but he also said that "we want to own some." He definitely supports voting, which came up in class a lot during the presidential elections.

He says that we really need to "control more of this money coming in." He said that he wants

us to accumulate all this money through being the head of Sony records and owning apartment buildings so that we can rent at affordable rates or whatever. He says that we need to accumulate all this money and then use it to help people and that is the legacy of the Panthers. He thinks Jay-Z's doing a good job except that he's not using the money correctly. He asked the question in class, "How do we apply the legacy in current times?" He said we can't just sit in class and listen to lectures: we have to apply things to the current struggle and towards building new movements.

When he says that he wants us to own apartment buildings and provide affordable housing I don't think that is revolutionary because he doesn't connect the Black Panthers to revolutionary politics. He never once connects them with socialism and definitely not Maoism. He never says we need to own apartment buildings and rent at affordable rates and overthrow capitalism. By not explicitly dealing with capitalism and imperialism head on and without saying that the Black Panthers were out to overthrow that and give power back to all the people of the world and achieve self-determination he leaves it in the capitalist context... He's saying "own an apartment building but give homeboy a break." Not overthrow capitalism so that homeboy doesn't have to pay rent anymore and neither does anyone else in the world.

When he talks about the class and how we're going to cover the Party, he says you can't look at the Party in this political vacuum where they suddenly popped up out of nowhere. He says we have to look at slave revolts and civil rights, but he never introduces internationalism into that perspective. He makes these vague references to the rest of the world. When we were looking at the covers of the newspapers, they were covers that had the like of the Mozambique Liberation Front on the cover, and the paper covered Pan-Africanists and there's a picture with Huey and Arafat and it even covered the Chicano Movement and AIM. And he'll talk about Algeria and how they granted NGO status to the Panthers, but he doesn't tell you what's going on in Algeria. And considering nobody in the class knew much about civil rights in america I doubt they knew what was going on in Algeria or China. And he mentions that the Panthers were the number one revolutionary party in the united States and the vanguard of the masses and talks about all these countries that the Panthers had diplomatic relations with like China, North Korea and Vietnam without any mention of what these countries were doing at the time. When we read the letter from Huey to the Vietnamese he didn't point out that they were supporting the Vietnamese because they were comrades, not just because they sympathized with them. When you leave out that the Panthers at the very least associated with socialist countries, if you're going to be perfectly truthful that they were Maoists, it just gives you this really incorrect analysis of who the Party was. And as a result you can't really understand what the legacy is, if you just listen to David and Bobby.

So Hilliard watered down the message and skipped over parts of the story. Didn't you say he also went further in outright denying the revolutionary aspects of the Panthers?

When discussing the 10 point program he said, "There's nothing revolutionary about it," and went on to say, "it's reformist." He also says in the Berkeley High School video we saw on the Black Panthers, "We were a reform organization." With the whole intercommunalism thing he was able to say they were not communists, they were intercommunalists. The impression that I get is that he says that they were intercommunalists all along and that point 10 was a reference to intercommunalism.

When Hilliard does use the term "revolution" he doesn't explain the context that it's in, he doesn't give a definition of "revolution." Because the context that the Party used it was People's War, Communism. And I think today what a lot of people think of as "revolutionary" in fact isn't. So if he doesn't make that connection for people it's very misleading. So I think that's one way he was able to water down the class, by just being vague... It wasn't like the Panthers were dangerous because they had a lot of guns or they were helping the community: it was more than that; they were making all these connections, not just to countries that happened to be america's enemies, but to countries that were communist because [the Panthers] were communists. When he talks

about the Panthers going to Algiers and getting NGO status he said, "this is the history you don't know," but he leaves out so much of the history that we don't know.

So Hilliard seems to take a static view of the Panther ideology as always being intercommunalism. Does he ever address ideological change or struggle within the Party?

The impression that I got is that he always views the Panthers as a static organization, for the most part. He does say that there were different periods of reform, self-defense and action movements. But I think ideologically he would say they were always intercommunalists, even though clearly they weren't because Huey came up with it while he was locked up. And he came out in 1971, which was four years after the Party started, and in those four years they had already set up the 10 point program; they had already had a newspaper and they were having ideological struggles within the Party, like between Eldridge and Huey, which David writes off completely and says we shouldn't care about that. And in David's autobiography he says they were putting things that were going on around the world on the front cover, like Stalin and Mao were main features in their newspaper. But in class David doesn't talk about that. In his book he talks about this more, like talking about how they liked Masai because he had dialectical materialism down pat and he really knew his stuff. But in class he says that they didn't have any association to communism until Masai came along as Minister of Education.

He had a class that covered intercommunalism, but didn't have a class that covered socialism.

What about other speakers who came to the class?

Well, the first speaker was Bobby Seale. And Bobby Seale is a very good story teller, but that's really about it. I did ask him about a David Hilliard quote that "The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black people in America translated through Marxism-Leninism." And he said a bunch of stuff that sounded like he was going to answer my question but didn't. He did say that he hates the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," that he opposes Soviet-style bureaucracy and that he believes that you have to change institutional frameworks through the ballot to empower people.

One of the other speakers that came was from the Wellstone Democratic Club. Her name was Judy Grethner and she was all about sentencingproject.org, promoting voting among prisoners. She said that, "We all lose when people don't have a voice" and that voting was "historically a basic human right."

In the same day we had this guy Trent Willis come, and he was an organizer for the Million Workers March, he's a longshoreman with the ILWU Local #10. And his whole thing was that with the Million Worker's March, their demands were to end corporate greed (ie. get a bigger piece of the pie), end to outsourcing, national health care system, slash the military budget and stop attacks on worker organizing. And he was a good representation of the labor aristocracy in class. I thought it was a good example of what David was talking about how we need to own everything while ignoring internationalism all together. I felt like he was asking us to be little pigs asking for a bigger piece of the pie. Trent Willis actually says that "there is a global effort to drive down living wages in this country" [u\$], and that Walmart pays "some of the lowest wages in the ENTIRE world."

So this class is being spread to other universities as well?

Well, I don't know. He mentioned that one of his sons is teaching down in LA and they want to have a class like that down there. He really wants to have their newspapers, all their periodicals in universities around the country. Which isn't a bad thing. But he did mention that he wants this class to spread and I assume it would be taught the same way.

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