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REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE

For
GEORGE JACKSON,
Field Marshal, Black Panther Party



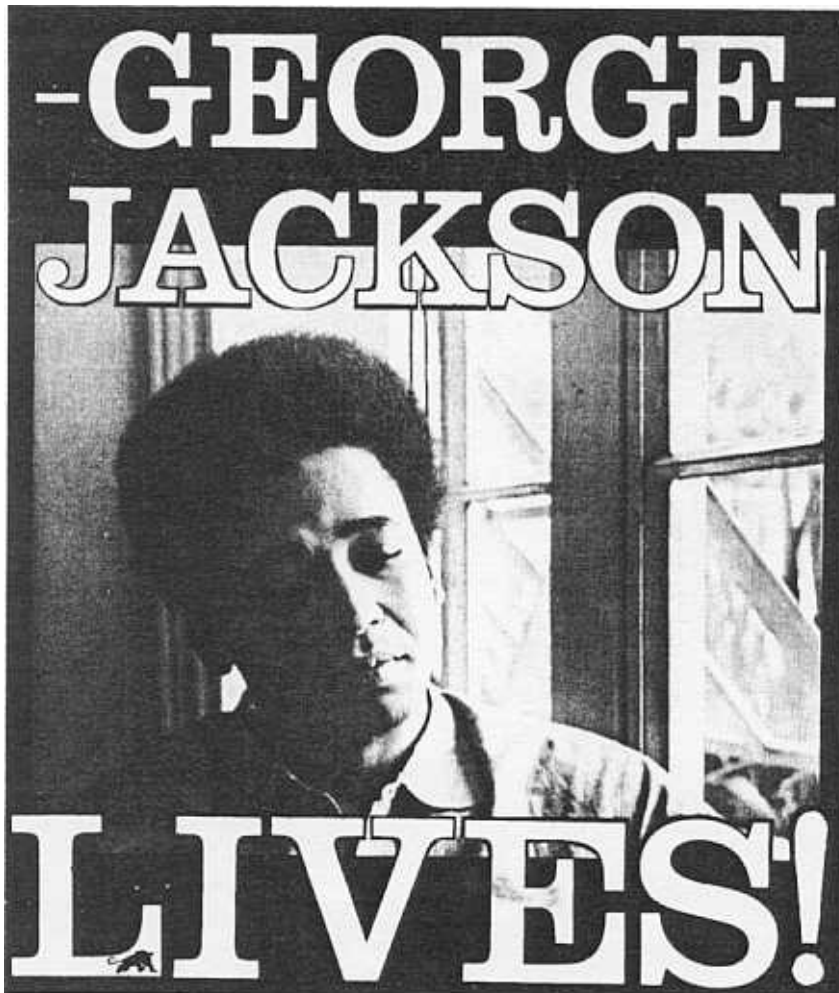
SEE SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

A tape recording of the following statement, made by our fallen comrade, George Jackson, was played to the thousands who attended the revolutionary memorial services for our Field Marshal. We print it here for your close study.

the element that's guiding that social unit, and attempt in some way - and we'll get possibilities, there are a thousand ways of approaching: playing on loyalties; or, let's say, the money thing, the money syndrome, we've had that trained into us from infancy; or they'll attempt to show us the futility of our actions; and then perhaps, if

America and the establishment not being able to deal with Black nationalism. Well they have been. They've built foundations, you know, the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and so forth. They bought them off. How do we stop those things from happening. As far as I'm concerned our dialectic, our intentions, our goals are so mutually exclusive to those of our opposition, that I can't see anywhere we can find anything to agree on. And, we have to stop it right from the beginning. In other words, no acceptance of tokens, none whatsoever, in the building of the People's world. We do it on our own. We do it with our own facilities. And to say that we can't do it, to say that we don't have the personnel, that we don't have the financial means is just like saying that producers can't produce, that breadmakers can't make bread. We don't need them. That's the whole point. So we stop them by barring them completely from our program.



We can't limit ourselves to any one particular form of struggle; but I'm saying that the people who are given the responsibility of deciding which facilities that we'll take and use for our own, for the building of the infrastructure, for our own, I think that these people should use extreme caution and always bear in mind that the underlying motive is tokenism, and at all times be - cynical. Take, yes; but, take it in the spirit of reparations, and reparations only.

We have a very, very, very touchy, fundamental problem; and, I think it begins with the ideal - I don't think we fully understand the period or stage that we're in right now, the stage of the struggle that we're in right now. The ideal situation, where each man can be a man, can be an individual - and I don't mean in the existentialist sense - where each man can be truly free, to make decisions on his own. Make decisions on his own, and from his own mind. We haven't reached that

The co-optation thing is a mechanism of the American brand of fascism. We have to understand that first. In essence, how it works is that each group, each social unit, larger than two, the powers-that-be will approach

that doesn't work, they'll explain to us how actually our goals are the same as theirs and that they're not such bad guys after all. But it's worked. It's worked in the past. You've heard the stories, the tales about white

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point yet; and it might be 2,000 years before we reach that point. Right now, at the present, to think that that thing is possible is verging on anarchy. And I seriously feel that the problem lies in the fact that we don't understand what Democratic Centralism means, and its function and its power, and its power to all of our movement. I really, seriously don't believe that anything can be accomplished without Democratic Centralism at this stage, because we've inherited things from thousands and thousands of years ago into our character, into our beings. In particular, we've inherited things over the last 300 years of capitalism and over the last few decades of fascism, corporativism. We've inherited things that disallow us from, let's say, egalitarian conduct. I think we have to recognize that, and understand that our movement has to be carried by, guided by disciplined and sincere, but organized, Democratic Centralism.

Power, in its essence, has a growth process, just like everything else. If

we snatch that thing up out of its process and look at it as it WAS, we're looking at a thing that's dead. It's a thing in process, just like everything else. It goes through a state of infancy, maturity and then, of course, decline. The prestige of power at its maturity is a thing that will prevent people from acting against that power. This pig is a psychological thing, a state of being wherein the bourgeoisie reign of terror need not rely on violence to sustain itself. It's relying on something that happened in the past, or some accomplishment, or some, let's say, coup, that went down in the past, where it secured itself. And it's drifting at this point, the prestige of power means that it's drifting at this point and living off its laurels. At this stage, people just are not inclined to attack that power. So, consequently, our first attack is on the prestige of power. That was Jonathan's job, to destroy the prestige of power, the iconoclastic act of crushing symbols. Once these symbols are crushed, and people see that they are vulnerable, then we can move on to the actual destruction of the bases of power. Because power, after, after the destruction of the prestige of power, power will be forced to revert back to its original force, raw brute force - violence.

First of all, I'd like to clear up a couple of points in that area that have come up, criticisms of my particular analysis of fascism. First, I would like to state unequivocally that complete totalitarianism, the perfect totalitarian state is impossible. We've had 6,000 years of hierarchy; we've had 6,000 years of attempts, of men making attempts to place themselves above society. It's never worked; it's never worked. So, in essence, pure fascism, pure totalitarianism is impossible, first of all. Then I'd like to emphasize that fascism right from the beginning - and when I say beginning, I'm going all the way back to the point where monopoly capital first started its formation - the culmination of monopoly capital was the fascist corporative. And it took different forms in different countries; and those different forms were principally accountable to the differing national situations, the differing crises that the particular nations were facing; and, of course, the difference in time and place in

history. And they each took a different form. In Spain, Francoism and the Spanish new state, that was one form; Italian fascism, that was one form; the Rumanian armed guard, that was one form; then, of course, the national socialism of Germany, that was another form altogether; Peronism, that was another form - that has to be examined very carefully, because there were several asides that altered it from the other forms that swept Europe. The principal difference between Peronism and the thing that Vargas pulled off in Brazil is that though both those countries were under the influence, the sphere of influence of the United States, and, in effect, they were really neo-colonies and had been ever since the Monroe Doctrine - actually their (Argentina's Peronism) particular brand of fascism was in a way (this is a very abstract and complicated question) - this particular form tended to mirror the same thing that went down here in this country. Peron disguised his particular fascism almost as a benefit to the workers. I mean, and disguised it more so than the thing in Germany. The thing in Germany was outright slavery. It was like, as far as I'm concerned, my reading of history, it looked like almost a reversion to the slave state. Whereas Peron was shrewd enough to try to keep a balance - a real balance, not real, but, let's say, a superficial balance - between the working class and the ruling class - which is just about what happened here in this country - and paralleled a brand, the particular brand of corporative fascism here in this country.

Important in the understanding of fascism, I believe, is not to confuse the different dimensions of the movement. And, we firstly concede that it is a movement, a thing, like I said, at the opening of monopoly capital. First it's obvious that once monopoly capital started forming, old bourgeoisie democracy began to die, in process.

As monopoly capital took over political rule, the political rule of, let's term it, bourgeoisie democracy started diminishing. And at the end of that process, like I said, the culmination of that process, was almost total centralization. So it's not a question of coup, it's not a question of a certain uprising of a small politi-

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cal economic ascendancy destroying the old bourgeoisie, democratic rule - that rule was being destroyed in process right from the inception of monopoly capital. From there I think it's important to understand that the men who assimilated themselves are fascists, the fascist man, who assimilated himself upon the society, the character who pictured himself or projected himself as being eventually that cat mechanating at the center and above society, he knew all along what he was doing. In the first stage, the first dimension, he emphasized the decadence of laissez-faire capitalism; he emphasized the decadence, I suppose, the death of bourgeoisie democracy. He emphasized that. And some of those statements that were made prior to fascist takeover, prior to the fascist sweep in Europe, some of those statements can almost be considered anti-capitalist statements.

Now, that's the first face, the first dimension right there. The second dimension would come after they've seized power, but were yet insecure. That's the spectacular stage that we see on T.V., that we see in the movies, where doors are kicked down and people are being machine-gunned, herded off to camps - like here in this country, but in jails - the Communist Party banned, and forced to write into their constitution a statement that went like

this, "Anyone who advocates the violent overthrow of the United States is subject to expulsion from the Party." That's the second, spectacular stage. But the third stage is the stage wherein fascism is a secured thing, corporatism. Can anyone look around the United States and say that this is not a corporative state? With the old guard, the point they attempt to use to persuade us that fascism is not a mature fascism in this country yet is a very simplistic idea, that FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the New Deal and the thing during the war were actually an attempt to create a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. Can you believe the United States would today encompass a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. FDR was a fascist. Roosevelt was a fascist. And the thing that went down during the '30's and '40's was not just similar, but it was exactly the same thing with national differences, national differences, it was the same thing that went down in Italy, Rumania, Spain, Germany, or Argentina, Brazil. It's the same thing. They first attempted to close the economy and use the surplus capital of accumulation to work out problems that should have been worked out long ago right here in the United States. And that's the essence of the whole closed economy idea. Expansion, at that point, wasn't working anymore; it wasn't possible because the various

Western nations, or advanced industrial states, had expanded to the point where expansion was no longer possible. So they closed their economy and started such projects as the electrification of a railroad in Italy, remember; and the draining of marshes, remember. And then (of course, you don't remember, but you've read about it), in Germany, rearmament was the thing. In the United States, we had T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), remember - you know, they built the big dam over the Tennessee River and put people to work, make-work. They were re-allocating investments, turning them inward, the closed economy idea. And then, the CCC camps, so forth like that, the same type of projects, the same type of economics, stiff regulations on the import-export thing. To be certain that the balance that existed in a particular nation's favor, the politics and the economics were the same, the exact same, with just slight variations, according to the particular national state of capitalist dilapidation.

Once secure and in power - in the United States that point was reached during the McCarthy era - once secure and in power, it was possible for them then to allow some dissent. It was possible then for them to have a C.P. (Communist Party), just so long as that C.P. didn't have any teeth; it was possible, then, for them to allow us to form what appeared to be an opposition party. But, now, to make my point very clear, a real opposition party did come into existence. The BPP, Black Panther Party. What happened. What happened - they reverted back to the second stage, back to the second dimension. They were kicking doors in and killing people. It's pretty obvious, it's pretty obvious that mature fascism exists in this country and it exists in disguise, and the disguise takes the form of all those idiotic ridiculous statements about a welfare state. If anybody with any intelligence at all can look at the United States and come up with a conclusion that this is a welfare state or any semblance of a welfare state, it's pure chicanery, an evasion of fact, dereliction of duty, and in most cases what they're doing is really cleaning up the fact that they

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THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON

Aug. 25, 1971

Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Georgia Jackson,

George Jackson was shot down in the San Quentin Prison Saturday night. There has been an appalling lack of explanation of why and how this shooting took place. We demand an immediate and impartial investigation of this act.

*Southern Legal Action Movement
Atlanta, Georgia*

Aug. 26, 1971

Oakland, Calif.

Mrs. Georgia Jackson,

Let George's fiery writings and iron deeds serve a path to lead all of our imprisoned cadres to final victory. Let us mourn him. Let us love him. Let us miss him. Let us do as he did in the name of freedom. In our last hours, let us die as men and not as slaves. Long Live George Jackson.

*Love
Dr. Bert Small*

Aug. 25, 1971

Madison, Wis.

Care of Brother Huey Newton

George Jackson Family,

George Jackson's death is merely physical.

His spirit will crush prison makers and prison keepers alike. Be proud that two beautiful Jackson Brothers boldly attempted to deliver others from gross injustice.

*Lloyd A. Barbee
State Representative
Wisconsin Legislature
and Daphne E. Barbee*



To: The Jackson Family

Words could never express the pain and heartbreak that is felt by the three of us over the slaying of THE DRAGON . . . Our heart goes out to your family, although Comrade Brother George is no longer physically with us, his flames shall engulf the world forever. He shall live in the hearts and minds of many people for as long as this world exists.

An empty bed,
Tears are shed.
No more sun,
After I'm gone.
My family cries,
Their love has died.
My friends are there,
Death's in the air.
My chains unbound,
I'm put in the ground.
Everyone's sad,
But I am glad.
It's lucky for me,
Because now I'm free

Long live the spirit of George Jackson

John Clutchette
Fleeta Drumgo
Derrick Maxwell

**THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE
READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE
REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE
FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON**

August 25, 1971

To the family of Comrade Field Marshal, George Jackson -

It is with much sorrow, yet defiant resolve, that we, the Black convicts of the Illinois State Penitentiary, do observe the brutal slaying of our Comrade, your son, Field Marshal George Jackson, Black Panther Party. His determined, implacable quest for dignity and freedom of Black People illuminates the path that we, who are in the deepest of the dark bowels of American fascism, must travel. Let us move on to the next order of business.

War to the Knife
Black Convicts
Illinois State Penitentiary

August 24, 1971

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

I was personally revolted by news of the death of your son.

I am angered and saddened by this one further indication of the horror and brutality of the prison system—a system which now has denied us the wisdom and leadership of George Jackson. I know what my responsibility is in this, and I will move to fulfill it.

If I can be of assistance to you in any way, please call; area code 202 225-2661.

Yours in love and sorrow,
Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress
7th California Congressional District

George Lester Jackson, whose life as a revolutionary was exemplary, is a giant in every way. For eleven years he was compelled by the nature of his surroundings to fight a constant battle. Battle was his life. Unafraid, he fell in a fighting stance. Though he fell, those charged with the task of destroying him could not and cannot destroy his essence. They could not and cannot annihilate the principles he stood for and defended to the death.

George still lives, as does his Brother, Jonathan - and millions of people, the downtrodden and the oppressed, will love them, breathe in their spirits and continue, with their inspiration, to fight for the victory towards whose attainment they had to make the supreme sacrifice.

Let us not weep. George did not want tears. So he had said: "We gather up our dead, clean them, kiss them and smile; the tears we save for the victory. If we see the spring after this protracted war, then we can cry for Jonathan and all the rest. We'll know what they missed."

We must fight for that Victory and usher in the spring, for only then will we have earned the right to shed our tears for George, Jonathan and all our fallen soldiers.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Angela Davis

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON

Love . . . for the principles of Black Manhood and Liberation . . . Love for the revolutionary necessity to tear freedom from the locked jaws of the diabolical beast of oppression and injustice . . . Love . . . for the People . . . is the Love that is often paid for with Life itself. Every Soldier for the People knows this is what Revolution is all about.

George Jackson, Revolutionary Supreme, Field Marshal for the Black Panther Party, and Commander-in-Chief of the Black Militant Front, spent



all of his adult life expressing this Love and gave his life, Saturday - August 21, 1971, protecting this Love.

Speaking out in the name of this Love to his Brothers in concentrated bondage made his assassination desirable to his enemies . . . Manifesting the strength of this Love in his Black Manhood made his assassination be demanded by his enemies . . . Giving birth to an unyielding Revolutionary Spirit from the womb of this Love made his assassination be ordered by his enemies . . . Not having the protection of this Love in all of the People he loved made his assassination by his enemies possible.

To mourn the tragic death of this Revolutionary Soldier in any way other than combat is absolute disrespect . . . To disregard the pattern of assassination today, genocide tomorrow, in the history of his and our enemies is unforgivable hypocrisy . . . To leave the forces intact that commit these abominable atrocities against the People is inevitable suicide.

They have killed the body of a Revolutionary Leader but his Revolutionary Spirit lives and grows in the Army that he has left as a legacy of

his Love to the People.

We can no longer be stopped by the enemies' tactic of "cut off the head and the body will die", for in a Revolutionary Army the head is all of the People who actively seek to gain liberation.

Our battle must continue to be fought under the banner of Love for the principles of Liberation and the People . . . We must fight with unrelenting determination to pay tribute to George and Jonathan Jackson (and all of the Soldiers that have died in

revolt) . . . And we must show our respect for their life-blood by making certain that it was well spent and not unnecessarily wasted, . . . and in the words of our Commander-in-Chief "WE WILL WIN!"

*Clifford (Death Row) Jefferson
Deputy Commander-in-Chief
Black Militant Front*

*Stan Bryant
Chief of Staff
Black Militant Front*

*David Hilliard
Chief of Staff
Black Panther Party*

*Louis Randy Williams
Black Panther Party*

*Charles Bursey
Black Panther Party*

*Melvin Holloway
Black Panther Party*

*Jimmy Lacy
Chairman
Black Militant Front*

*Jake Lewis
General
Black Militant Front*

*John Preston
Minister Finance
Black Militant Front*

*James Johnson
General
Black Militant Front*

Baker Gamble, Colonel Black Militant Front and other members of the Black Militant Front:

Steve Browning Steve Simmons

Ray Hamilton Hugo (Yogi) Pinnell

Burford Bird Li'l John Gordon

James Cross Ulysses McDaniels

Harold Madlock J.P. Trotter

Ray Sparks Howard Loald

Charles Hardley Otis Standfort

Harold Landry John Green

*Zamb Whiteside Gary Scott
and Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army:*

Maurice Nichols

Herman Brown

Li'l John Willis

Homer Griffen

Larry Williams Jr.

Booker T. Moore

Charles E. Hamilton

Comrade Osagyefo

Paul Johnson Jr.

L. Yuseff Scranton

Mwanza, R.N.A.

Johnnie (loco) Thymiakos

Melvin Malcolm

P. Anderson

James Penland

Mickey Young

Carl Hogan

Billy Rogers

and many, many others.



MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

Aug. 23 71
London

Jackson Family

We pay our deepest respects to a life that was totally dedicated to the liberation of our people; to a brother we have loved, Brother George. Power To The People. Black Liberation Front

To the Jackson Family,

I hope you stay in high spirits and be strong. Don't leave the struggle, because we have to keep on struggling until we get our freedom. The brother was very strong. So was Jonathan. I'm crying inside, I hurt very badly because he was a right-on brother. His death makes me want to work harder. Because he was a very hard worker. All Power to the People. Be strong.
Love George
Love me, Mrs. Jackson

Patrice
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

To the Jackson Family, All Power to the People

I wish to say that I am very sad over the death of George. And would like to say that we should not cry for the dead, we should cry for the living because we are the ones suffering. Mrs. Jackson, I know that you have not recovered from the death of Jonathan and now I know you will be very sad and will not recover over the death of both your sons too easy.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Revolutionary Love.

Long Live the Revolutionary Spirits of Comrades George and Jonathan Jackson!

Rochella
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

To the Jackson Family

I am writing to all of you to tell you that I heard about George. At first when they told me I didn't think it was true. When I asked one more time, they told me he had died, and I asked why did they kill him. And one of my comrades told me that the pigs

said he was trying to get away. But we know this is not true and we know that the pigs are lying. They just wanted to kill comrade George Jackson. Jonathan and George will not be forgotten, because we love them. I am very sad that now George and Jonathan have been killed by the pigs. And here is where I am going to end my letter, by saying, Long Live the Spirit of George Jackson.
All Power to the People

Your Comrade-in-arms
Teddy

Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

August 24, 1971

All Power to the People to the Jackson Family

Comrades, I know that you are sad about Brother George Jackson. He was a revolutionary brother. He was a servant of the people. He was a right on comrade brother. I know you are missing George and Jonathan and I am

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STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON

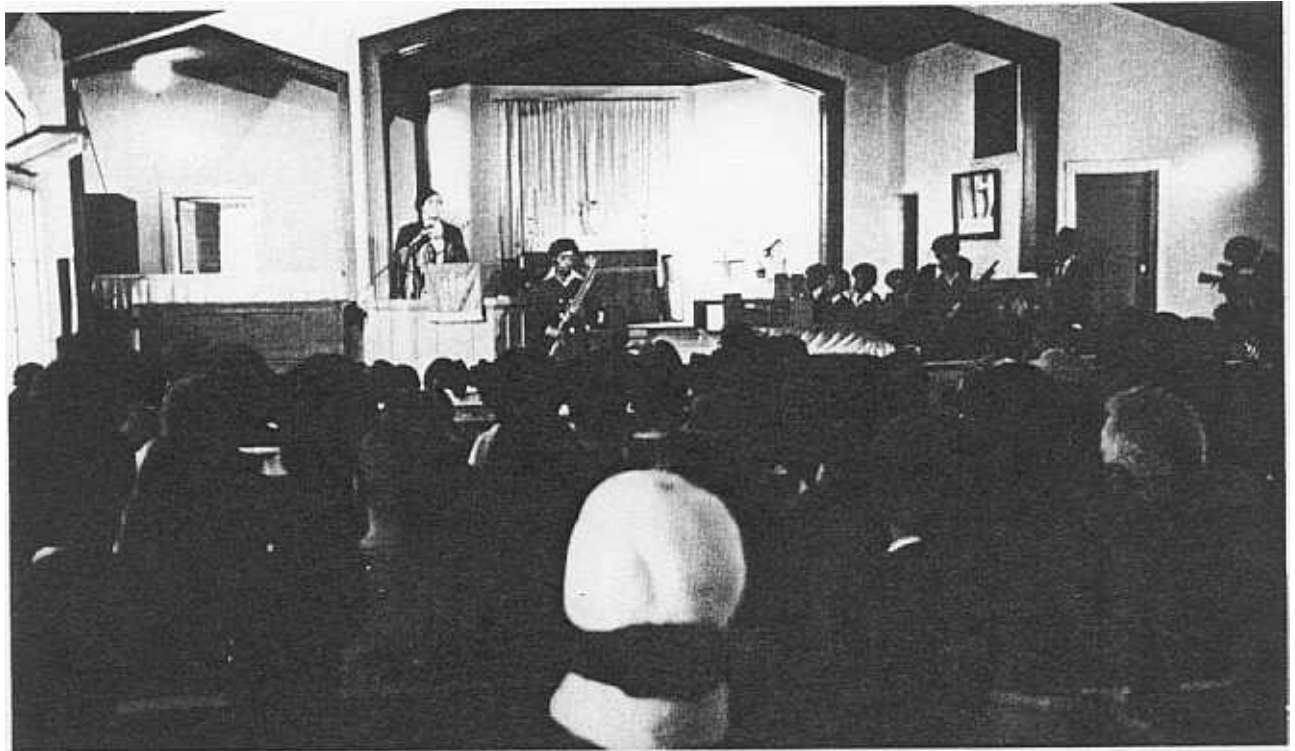
Power to the People. Power to our fallen comrade, Brother George Jackson, member of the Black Panther Party. First I would like to explain, because many people are wondering, what is the connection between Brother George Jackson and the Black Panther Party.

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

George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit. Shortly after I met George, I got word through the prison grapevine that he wanted to join the Black Panther Party; in fact he did join the Black Panther Party and he received the rank, at his request, of a member of the People's Revolutionary Army, and he was given the rank of General and

Field Marshal. He was in charge of the prison recruiting, and also he would go on with his life as a revolutionary example, which was the most important thing that one can ever do, because that cannot be killed.

I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. George Jackson was my hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the re-



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revolutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners, who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life. And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in these young Panthers' bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one

generation to the next.

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

The state itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world, that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United

States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal - it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs. So the state with legality could only, at best, hold one, confine one for a later period of negotiation about the wrong. And even if the state does wrong sometimes, maybe it could make itself legal by saying that we will go along with these wrong acts against us as long as we can negotiate them some