

MAIN LINE

TRANSFORMING THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

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Introduction

With the release of Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu from prison and his completion of all probation conditions in early 2019, he has led the New Afrikan Black Panther Party and its mass organization, the United Panther Movement in quickly sinking roots in the oppressed communities, developing Serve the People programs, political education initiatives and leading rallies against official attacks on the communities.

These developments mark the transition of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party from a prison-based pre-party formation to a community-based revolutionary vanguard party. Accordingly, we have dropped the "Prison Chapter" designation, although with the completed transition to an outside party there will be a separate prison chapter with its own leading committee body.

What we have achieved is historical and actually unprecedented. Most revolutionary parties began in society and were then targeted later with repression including imprisonment by the reactionary establishment they opposed. Many such organizations were broken under these repressive conditions. The NABPP, however, began inside US prisons, developing under the most reactionary conditions and almost immediate attack by the pigs, but then moved to the outside. All we had at the beginning was what we saw as a correct ideological and political line, and with that, as Mao once expressed, everything else came our way.

When we began in 2005 few people, including many movement veterans, believed as an openly avowed BP formation that we'd survive even a few months. Not only have we survived, but we are winning the love and support of the oppressed communities as leading by example and with their participation the struggle to genuinely serve their interests and win fundamental change.

This issue of ML contains some early reports and an interview with Comrade Shaka on these developments, which continue to grow.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!
All Power to the People!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

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“Pantherism is for everyone!” : Interview with NABPP Chairman Shaka Zulu by Heather Warburton of New Jersey Revolution Radio

Heather Warburton: This is Wine Women and Revolution with your host Heather Warburton coming at you here on New Jersey Revolution Radio. You can find us online at <http://njrevolutionradio.com/>. Get us wherever you get your podcasts from and follow us on all the social media.

Today I am really excited about this interview. I have someone with me that the group he's with is probably doing some of the best organizing I'm seeing in the state of New Jersey right now. And I do not say that lightly. They really are doing really impressive work up in the Newark area. Welcome to the show, Chairman Shaka Zulu of the New African Black Panther Party.

Chairman Zulu: All power to the people! Glad to be here and I'm glad to talk to your audience.

Heather Warburton: I'm so happy that New Jersey Revolution Radio was able to support you guys and help get your message out. And that's one of the things I'm probably most proud of that we're doing here on NJRR. Because like I said, you guys are doing amazing organizing. I'm just not seeing the kind of organizing you're doing – that grassroots neighborhood empowerment organizing – by many other groups in the state.

So I wanted to take a little trip back to your origin story. How did you come to be a revolutionary? How did you get this thought, revolutionary thought, in you? And you're going to start empowering communities? Where did that come from?

Chairman Zulu: Well, I think that how I became a revolutionary was my encounter with the criminal justice system. I think that the police encounters, the prison cell, that kind of kicked me into the revolutionary movement. When I initially went to prison, I was a common criminal. You know, I sold drugs. I robbed. I'd steal. I did all the things that people that are cut off from the economy do to survive.

But when I went to prison, that's when I encountered a hardcore revolutionary idea – that with study with time and practice one can change their behavior, one could change their ethics and morals, their values, and join with the rest of humanity trying to make a better place for everybody. So I began to read books. I began to talk

to political prisoners. I began to do a lot of writing. And in that process, I discovered the importance of ideas – what it meant, how can we apply it?

And in essence, how can I relate to those ideas in a meaningful way? So I encountered books that I still read to this day, Soledad Brother by Comrade George Jackson, Huey P. Newton's Revolutionary Suicide or To Die for the People, Bobby Seale's Seize The Time. Obviously, I read Assata Shakur, I read Angela Davis' "If They Come in the Morning." So I read a lot of revolutionary books that dealt with the Black condition here in the United States.

But as I began to delve deeper into ideas, revolutionary ideas, I began to become familiar with Mao Tse-tung, Lenin and Marx, Che Guevara and their lifestyle, their ideas; the ideas match their action. So I said in order to be a true, genuine revolutionary, I had to marry theory with practice. And so I became a revolutionary within the enemy prison system.

Heather Warburton: And so obviously, you're reading a lot of early, you know, the Black Panther movement stuff? And is that really ... had you had any familiarity with the original Black Panther Party before you were in prison? Or did you really come to finding their ideology while you were in prison?

Chairman Zulu: Oh no. I think that the average Black person, whether they are part of the Black lumpen class or the Black working class or the Black petty bourgeois class, knows of the history of the Black Panther Party in a superficial way. Because our brothers, our sisters, our mothers, grandmothers, grandfathers had some kind of encounter with the Black Panther Party, whether they saw it growing up, or they experienced it by participating in the many programs that the Black Panther Party had.

So I always knew that the Black Panther Party existed. I didn't know its ideology. I didn't know its membership. I didn't know its international reach. And I certainly didn't know its theoretical practices. But I knew of the Black Panther Party name.

It's similar to old folk tales that we have within the Black community. Especially during slavery, there will be periods where the African slaves would get together, and they would talk about Old Jack, or they would talk about Old Kennedy. These are Black slaves that rose up in rebellion. They escaped the plantation, and they raided the slavemaster's house for the corn for the chicken. But they were never caught.

And so 10 years, 15 years, 20 years down the line, this tale is still being told to African slaves, about the behavior of Old Jack or Old Kennedy, who was able to outmaneuver the slavemaster, in fact, the slave state, but he was never discovered. And in some instances, it's a fairy tale. Because with African culture, you want to inspire. You want to motivate. You want to put people in a position where they believe they can win.

So the Black Panther Party has that sort of mysticism, that sort of mystique within the Black community. Some of us don't understand its ideology and think that all it is is a hate-whitey party. You know, others, perhaps thought it was, or still think that it's about killing police, or guns, you know.

But it was only when I begin to read that I begin to understand that the most important aspect to the Black Panther Party was the social programs. Was this ability to empower people who were hopeless, who had no sense of what it means to be agents of change, and not depend on the enemy state, not depend on charity, not depend on handouts, but become proactive, transforming your conditions where you at right now.

You may not have all the resources, but you have something to start with, and that idea of the Black Panther Party, that you can empower yourself, empower the community, empower the nation, empower the world through a revolutionary thrust for freedom inspired me. And that's where I became enamored with social programs as a prerequisite to the liberation of all oppressed people.

Heather Warburton: Well, I think that leads really well into my next question: We obviously know the problems with capitalism; we know the problems of imperialism; we know the problems of racism in this country right now. So what does a good functional society look like to you? We know what we're struggling against, but what are we struggling for? What do you want to see reflected in society?

Chairman Zulu: Yeah, I think that one of the most beautiful things about being a communist is that we have over 150 years of solid practice to look back on to determine what kind of society we want. Obviously, the first socialist society in 1917 did not get the chance to fully develop as a socialist society, because it was constantly under attack. It was surrounded by imperialist enemies.

And from 1917, really to 1953, we saw a microcosm of a world that we want today. We saw woman liberated from the household, and Russia's situation, liberated from the peasant life, the peasantry, the backwardness of that kind

of life, so they could become leaders of the society. We saw free healthcare. For the first time in history, we saw housing become a human right. The means of production, the resources under the earth, and on the earth, was put into the hands of the state, and the state used it to lift up the living conditions of its people.

So I think when we look at capitalism, and try to compare it to the kind of world that we envision today, the most important aspect that everybody can agree with is that all of the resources under the earth belong to all up the people on top of the earth. That these resources will give us a world that is free from militarism, racism, a world that is free of negative isms.

Because if you look at resources, resources are primarily responsible for the way that the world is constructed. Today, there's uneven economic development, because there is a part of the world that hordes and monopolizes the resources and the Earth. So that gave birth to racism. That gave birth to wars. That gave birth to a sort of seeking refuge in a religious understanding.

So if the resources were in the hands of the people, we won't have a Congo that has been at war essentially all of its life since Leopold invaded during a scramble for Africa. But I'm talking about since 1996, when Laurent Kabila assumed power in the Congo and was assassinated. Since the next year, there has been a low intensity war taking place in the Congo over the resources – the gold, the diamonds, the tantalum – that go into cell phones, airports, jets etc.

So if we can grab hold of the resources that are in the hands of the 1,670 billionaires, if we can grab hold of those resources, we can change the world that we live in, and we can start giving people housing as a human right. We could give them education as a human right. We can abolish prisons. We can abolish warfare as a means of resolving contradictions between nation states and individuals.

So I think that the kind of world we want is a socialist world; it is the only viable alternative to capitalism. There have been others who try a third way, you know, monarchies, and others who sort of mix capitalism and socialism. None of that stuff works.

We know that socialism gives us the ability to put humanity on the right course and on the right foot. Capitalism, from the get go, put humanity on the wrong course. So I think [we can] envision a world that is free of pollution, free of sexism, patriarchy, a world that is free of militarism, a

world that gives humanity the opportunity to live in peace and harmony and to enjoy the fruits of the earth in an equal way. So that's the kind of world we want: We want a socialist world.

Heather Warburton: And I was really hoping that's what you'd touch on. Because everything you said just makes sense. People don't always understand what communism or socialism means. And they build things up in their head. But really everything that you said I think everyone can relate to.

I think everyone can see the contradictions of their current life, and how some other way of forming society just makes sense. That we're actually living collectively as opposed to constantly in conflict with each other. And conflict comes out of capitalism or any class society really.

Chairman Zulu: Exactly, man, if you look at the earth, it's been around a long time, almost a billion years. States, the modern construction of a state where you have people existing on top of one another, the working class, the ruling class – that is a new invention. And it came into existence as a result of dividing up the resources of the world.

Prior to that, for thousands of years, people lived in a kind of world where intercommunally everything was shared amongst the people. So if we wanted grapes, it wasn't a grape store down the street that monopolizes the grapes. You know, if we wanted apples, we didn't have to go to Chiquita and ask them, can we buy a pound of apples. You simply went and plucked some apples off the tree.

You got enough to make sure that the whole village got some apples when they wanted some. So this is the kind of world that we can only create. This is the kind of world that we can only create, through a revolutionary struggle of the working class, against those who seek to continue to hoard, control, dominate, monopolize the resources of this earth that belong to everybody.

Heather Warburton: And I think to that end is where you're doing really amazing organizing work. And I'm hoping you can tell us a little bit about some of the work that you started doing. You're building an actual base of revolutionary power in the city of Newark. So can you tell everybody a little bit about what you started doing there?

Chairman Zulu: Oh, that's beautiful. I think. This base, this base area, this idea that there's liberated territory, that revolutionaries here in the United States can go to and strategize, come up with tactics, come up with ways of clarifying theories, and values and ethics and more rules

came out of my study.

It came out of the fact that the Black Panther Party created base areas in the country where all people who were struggling for justice could come and meet and talk. Sometimes, in these areas, discussions got heated, you know; they were intense, but they were meant to clarify the conditions that oppressed people were struggling with.

So what we want to do is rebuild that infrastructure of revolutionary thought, a revolutionary structure – revolutionary into communalism. We want to rebuild that because it gives us the opportunity to extend that revolution outwardly from a base area. I think that a lot of revolutionaries and progressives have moved away from the construction of a base area, because of the way that helter skelter politics is organized nowadays.

There is a need to respond to so many conditions of brutality and exploitation. And as a result, the painstaking work of doing what Antonio Gramsci called “building the organic leader in the community” working with the grassroots who have suffered.

So we're trying to re-institute that infrastructure. And we have been moving in that direction for the last few months. Our first campaign was to stop a prison that they was trying to build. Here in the City of Newark, they wanted to build a prison smack in the heart of the oppressed community. They wanted to tear down houses in that particular community in order to build the prison.

So we put together what we call a No Prison Friday Rally. And for nearly two months, we were on South Orange Avenue here in the city of Newark protesting and rallying every Friday. And we got the governor, the enemy governor, to state that there will be no prison built on South Orange here in the city of Newark. That was the work of the New African Black Panther Party and the United Panther Movement.

Others have come along, the Johnny-come-latelys, and claimed responsibility; that's okay. But the community in which we stage these rebellions knows who put the groundwork down. Know who was there every week, to stand in solidarity with them. So that was one of our initial programs. And we still continue that program under a different set of work conditions.

We no longer focus strictly on the prison, per se. But now we incorporate mass incarceration, criminal justice, you know, there's 2.5 million people in the enemy prison today. There's 6.5 million people on some form of criminal

justice supervision. There's 500,000 people waiting right now in county jails across the country. So we exist, we live in a mass incarcerated state. And any revolutionary organization that truly wants to liberate the ground has to take on this ugly behemoth of mass incarceration.

So Fridays, we call it "No mass incarceration; we want liberation!" That's our new project.

Our other project is Empower the Block. That is something that we put together two weeks ago – and a Saturday survival program. We go out into the community, not to bring charity, not as an act of pity.

But we do it as a way of empowering the people in the community. Letting them know that you don't have to wait on the garbage truck to come. You don't have to wait on the mayor to come. You don't have to wait on the state to come.

You could simply get on your block, pick up a broom, and empower each other by cleaning the neighborhood. And then talk about why did you need to clean the neighborhood, because the resources that other communities have are not available in these poverty stricken communities that are left out of the national economy.

So it's the means of revolutionizing the minds of the people. Let them know that we could start with something small and build that project into a mighty revolutionary force. And so that's what Empower the Block does. It gives the people the opportunity to come out of their house to meet one another again, and to begin to talk to each other about why our blocks (are the way they are).

Why would communities of nations have to suffer the way they are suffering? It's because of capitalism, white supremacy. It's because of an idea that, in order for capitalism to maximize the rate of dollar, it must exploit the labor power of the masses of the people. We have to teach that.

They have to understand that economics is primarily responsible for their condition. It is not individual white men. It is an economic system that has privileged white society over Black society. So we get rid of capitalism; then we could sit down all of us – Black, white, Latino, Asian and the indigenous people – and talk about the kind of world we could build. But it starts with grassroots organizing.

Heather Warburton: What you were saying reminded me a lot of Thomas Sankara when he says, people who

just give us food, you're not helping our community really. [The ones] giving us fertilizer, giving us plows, so we can empower ourselves is who's really helping us.

And you know this confusion of like, charity is great – you're filling a temporary need – but you're not really teaching people how to empower themselves and do it themselves. And that's really where revolution comes from, is enabling people to know that they really hold the power. And you know, that's your slogan, right? All power to the people.

Chairman Zulu: And that's beautiful, that's beautiful, because that's the difference between a capitalist society; they individualize heroic acts. As a socialist society, we make heroic collective work.

So if there is a village or an urban setting that is suffering from a lack of resources and the state is unwilling or unable to provide those resources, then we have to come up with a methodology to pool what little we have to make sure that our brothers or sisters can eat or have access to health care or stop police brutality or get a decent education.

So Thomas Sankura was right. You know, giving us a bowl of rice, it's not the same weight as teaching us how to plant rice in order to feed the whole community. And that's what we're trying to do. We're not trying to hand out a bag of food and simply say, that's the work of revolution.

We're trying to build confidence in the idea that you could start a community garden, and plant your own vegetables, plant your own food, and utilize that as a way of empowering your community. So charity is an act of capitalism. Empowering people, allowing people to become agents of change, is an act of socialism.

Heather Warburton: I think you just said that beautifully. Really, I think that was perfectly stated. And I hope that's going to resonate with some people.

One other thing that I did want to touch on with you is historically, when we think about revolutionaries, it kind of is more from a masculine viewpoint. You know, we think about some of the great revolutionaries throughout history, it's always men. And I know you're specifically working on empowering women as well in your community to make them revolutionary leaders. It's not just a men's only club for the New African Black Panther Party.

Chairman Zulu: You know what, Comrade? That is very important to us. We have we have a multiplicity of rules and regulations that prohibit discrimination or sexism

or patriarchy against not just revolutionary women, but women in general. We find it a stamp of disapproval that we should subject the other half of humanity to psychological chains or to physical chains – to a tradition that denied them their full stature as human beings.

So we make it a case to put qualified, qualified sister comrades in leadership positions. And we have in place currently, within our various two organizations, sisters, revolutionary sisters, who are leading, who are making decisions, who are highly qualified to move this revolutionary struggle forward.

And all of the men within our organization respect, adhere to and push forward with this idea that half of humanity cannot be in chains, while the men sit, eat apples, drink water and talk about freedom. We can't do that. So it would be reinforcing a kind of bourgeois tradition to say that only men can pick up rocks. Or only men can write a dissertation. Or only men can speak eloquently to move the masses.

I know that history shows us definitely and we have those examples that we teach to one another on a day to day basis. So some of our comrades lead these particular study groups; female, woman comrades lead study groups. You know, they lead the protest rallies that we organize.

So it's a wonderful opportunity to show the rest of the country – and by extension the world – what mighty power lies dormant in a woman when they're given an opportunity to lead revolutionary movements and to express revolutionary ideas, because all of the ideas, all of the projects that we have been doing have come from our female comrades.

I'm the face of the revolution. But behind me is a cadre of women revolutionaries who prod me every day, who tell me every day, be mindful of how you speak. Be mindful of what you do, because you have to represent everybody, not just men.

And we've just elected to the branch committee of the New African Black Panther Party a deputy minister of finance, who is a female. She is from Delaware, and she and hopefully the world will get the opportunity to see her pretty soon, but she is a wonderful revolutionary leader.

So we're making sure that anyone who's qualified within our organization and within our ally organizations are that if you don't push women forward who are qualified, we don't want to have anything to do with you. Because we're not going to set a new form of slavery within a socialist

framework. It's not going to work.

We're either for the total freedom of humanity, or we're for the continuation of the division of humanity that we have today. We are for total freedom – the New African Black Panther Party is for the complete and total liberation of all humanity. And that includes our significant, mighty force of woman revolutionaries.

Heather Warburton: And I think that's great that you're putting that into practice and not having ally organizations that are upholding misogyny and upholding male supremacy. If you're going to be an organization that affiliates with you, you've got to put this stuff into practice. You can't just talk about it; you've got to do it. So I thank you for that.

You had said something to me at – I think it was at – the Green Party convention. It was a quote about women, something about holding up half the sky. What was that called?

Chairman Zulu: Ah, Mao Tse-tung! Let me tell you Mao Tse-tung said that first. And it's a famous quote that women hold up half the sky, now bound up with that as a whole lot of ideas of values and ethics.

But Malcolm X said it in a way where he made it more plain. He said that you can tell the political development of a people by the political development of its women. So what he meant was, an equal and virtuous society will prioritize the most disenfranchised and victimized people within that society [and help them rise] to a level where they are on an equal footing with others. And for us, since we're talking about women, they have been the most brutalized in this society, because they have always been under the foot of a patriarchal, dominating kind of structure.

Heather Warburton: Yeah, I thought that was a great quote. So I wanted to make sure that you said that again. So what if people want to help? How can they get involved and help you? How could if somebody wanted to start organizing a revolutionary base somewhere like Philadelphia or other cities? What can they do? How can they get involved?

Chairman Zulu: Well, the easiest thing is you can visit the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Facebook page. And we have an email address: You can email zuluS6003@gmail.com. And we will talk to you about what are the requirements, how you go about opening up a collective or a branch within Pennsylvania or any other state.

There is a prerequisite to that: You have to go through an orientation process. So we will explain all of that to anyone. All you have to do is send me an email at ZuluS6003@gmail.com.

Heather Warburton: And you accept donations as well?

Chairman Zulu: That's right. In fact, we can't do anything without donations. The word ... they say that revolution ain't free. Freedom isn't free. So we collect the nickels and dimes of the masses of the people.

If anybody wants to donate, they could CashApp \$Zulu. Again, they could CashApp \$SZulu. And we will certainly appreciate whatever contribution you could make to us building this base area of social, cultural and political revolution here in the city of Newark.

Heather Warburton: All right, you guys, like I said, you really are doing some of the best organizing I'm seeing. So it's just a different spirit you're organizing with, and I think it's starting to show that people are starting to really pay attention. You didn't brag about it yet yourself. And I asked you to brag a little bit about some of your work you're doing. You had 500 people show up to an event?

Chairman Zulu: Yeah, that was wonderful. Mao Tse-tung got a saying that a small spark can start a prairie fire. That sometimes revolutionaries and progressives around the world, especially in the West, which is Britain, France, United States, they get discouraged. They get discouraged when lot of people don't show up. They get discouraged when their ideas don't readily take off. They get discouraged when they don't see immediate gratification.

And as a result, their work suffers. They may have a great idea. But because we have this immediate gratification mentality, we end up not staying with the idea, not sticking to the idea. When we started the prison rallies, it was only 15 of us, mostly from our organization. But each week, it increased. It gradually increased. It brought more people in.

So we can't simply take credit for all of those people coming out. We know that the New Jersey Institute for Social Justice also participated in that rally, and their voice was able to help persuade a lot more people to come.

So we was just happy that folks stood up; they raised their voice of condemnation of the prison by putting their bodies on the line. And this is the kind of work that we want to do, we will continue to do.

I think that we're building a beachhead, a true genuine beachhead in New Jersey, and there are gonna be folks coming from all around this country watching what we do. And I mean this in the collective sense, watching what we do. And we hope that this small, small spark, here in the state of New Jersey and the city of Newark becomes a prairie fire around the country.

Heather Warburton: And Brian and I have always joked here of calling New Jersey the great nation of New Jersey, and the thought was that we would start the communist nation of New Jersey or the People's Republic of New Jersey. But you guys are actually doing that. You guys are starting your own area that can spread and I think it will.

I really genuinely believe in the work you're doing and that it's going to spread. And you're going to build an actual revolutionary base here in New Jersey and spread out from here.

Do you have any closing words today before we wrap it up?

Chairman Zulu: No, I just want to say all power to the people and encourage our brother and sister organizations out there, the masses of the people, that change can only come through small incremental steps. That we shouldn't automatically be enamored with the glitz and glamour of struggle, but get our hands dirty, get on our knees, and turn some screws, and knock some nails to some wood. That's how you build an infrastructure of revolution.

And I'm excited. I'm happy. And we're just getting started. Hopefully, like I said, we build this thing into a dual and contending power with the enemy system. And it leads to a true genuine revolutionary overturning of capitalism and imperialism.

Heather Warburton: And I ask a lot of people if they're an optimist, and I genuinely believe you are because you see, in practice and in theory and practice, change happening. Time is short, and we need this change to happen. And I don't see a lot of other movements that could bring about this change that we all need.

[Without it] we will die ultimately; capitalism is killing us. It will wipe out humanity. And we need revolution now. And you're one of the only organizations I see that's even remotely making that happen. So, so much for the work you're doing.

Chairman Zulu: Thank you. I appreciate this interview, and any time you need us, the New Afrikan Black Panther

Party will be there. We will be on the scene. And we appreciate the work that you're doing at this radio station as well.

Heather Warburton: And same thing: Whenever you need publicity or you want to talk about anything, our air waves are your airwaves. You know that that anything you want to talk about, we're here for.

Chairman Zulu: All power to the people!

Heather Warburton: All power to power to the people! To my listeners, thank you so much for joining us today. This interview should be inspiring to you. This interview is probably the breath of fresh air a lot of you need right now. Because things are grim. And it's easy to get bogged down in how grim things are. And that's why we're here. We want to inspire you. We want to help elevate the voices of the people that are doing the actual hard work of changing society.

We appreciate you so much here as our listeners and our family at NJRR and we do unfortunately have to ask for your help occasionally. We take no corporate money; we can't be your voice if we're being paid off by the corporations. So we only can rely on donations from the activist community.

If you can go on to our website, www.njrevolutionradio.com, click on that Donate button, even if it's only \$2 a month. That really helps us budget and know what we're going to have coming in so we can get more people out to cover events, so we can get more places.

You know, Brian and I are the only two of us. We need to be able to hire more people to get out and cover these events. So anything you can do, we really appreciate it. The future is yours to create; go out there and create it.

New Afrikan Black Panther Party Chairman Shaka Zulu can be reached at ZuluS6003@gmail.com.

No Prison Fridays: Panthers Organize Shut Down of Prison Construction Project (2019)

by Kevin Rashid Johnson

Under the leadership of Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu the New Afrikan Black Panther Party and its mass organization the United Panther Movement, has been organizing "No Prison Fridays" protests in Newark, NJ since April.

These mass rallies which quickly grew from a few dozen to several hundred protesters from local communities, began in opposition to plans by NJ officials to build a youth prison in Newark on South Orange Avenue, a couple of blocks from Westside High School.

This youth prison and its planned location brought the "school-to-prison" pipeline, targeted especially at poor communities of color, home to Newark's resource-starved urban population.

With the rallying cry "Build Communities Not Prisons" the Friday protests raised broad public awareness of the role of U.S. prisons as weapons of counterinsurgency serving to repress and contain marginalized communities; while operating as a multibillion dollar industry for prison profiteers and the politicians whose pockets they line, that feed off the misery and deprivation of these communities.

The protests also made the connection between modern prisons and the old chattel slave system with the slogan "Fighting from 1619 to 2019." 1619 marked the year the first Afrikans were brought as slaves to the English North Amerikan colony.

The persistent turn outs of people's power community outrage each week compelled NJ governor Phil Murphy and his Attorney General to announce in early May that they had scrapped plans to build the youth prison at the planned site.

Undeterred, the Panthers and communities continued to turn out hundreds at the weekly "No Prison Fridays," since they remain concerned that the prison would simply be located somewhere else, to still serve its vile purpose. This has allowed the community's consciousness to continue to grow in relation to mass imprisonment, and the utter refusal of the establishment to use the billions in wealth taken from the people in the form of compulsory taxes to serve and build healthy communities.

It is with this understanding that the NABPP and UPM are organizing Serve the People programs to assist the communities in organizing their own resources and labor power toward restoring them as base areas of cultural, political and economic revolution.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!
All Power to the People!

A Black Panther Barbecue: Serving the People on Juneteenth (2019)

by Kevin Rashid Johnson

For Juneteenth (June 19th) 2019 the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (NABPP), and its mass organization the United Panther Movement (UPM), organized a People's Barbecue at Westside Park in Newark, NJ where the NABPP is headquartered.

The six-hour event, where some 300 people from the city's local communities ate their fill of chicken, burgers, barbecue and other wholesome foods, was organized not as a charity event but as a community Serve the People operation.

The labor and resources that made the event possible were all produced cooperatively and voluntarily by the Panthers and the people.

For the occasion Panthers delivered a sound dose of political education and demonstrated cooperative economics to the people through their participation and example showing they can through Serve the People programs solve their own problems, meet their own needs, and build community-based people's power.

Veterans of the original Black Panther Party (OPP) also attended and participated in the event including the OBPP Lieutenant Minister of Information of the Connecticut Chapter, Comrade Charles Penderhughes, Comrade Atno "Smiddy" Smith of the Newark OBPP chapter, among others.

Also in attendance was Comrade Sharon Shoatz, daughter of veteran OBPP and Black Liberation Army PP/POW Comrade Russell "Maroon" Shoatz, who gave the NABPP a hearty shout-out.

The keynote address to the gathering was given by Comrade Shaka Sankofa Zulu, Chairman of the NABPP, along with NABPP Deputy Minister of Finance for the Delaware branch Comrade Teresa Flannery.

Key organizers of the event where UPM Comrades Kaleshia, Askari, Sameerah, Yolanda, Malik, Sariah, Onyx and Chairman Shaka.

Image from the event can be seen on Instagram and Facebook at the link Zulusharod. People interested in learning more about, joining or linking up with the UPM can contact Comrade Shaka and others at zulu6003@gmail.com.

Dare to Struggle Dare to win!
All Power to the People!

NABPP & MIM EXCHANGE

The following is an early exchange between the now defunct Maoist Internationalist Movement, (of which the Maoist International Ministry of Prisons is an offshoot), and NABPP. This exchange shows the beginnings of our ideological and political line debates, which continued between MIMP & the NABPP over subsequent years & will be published in subsequent issues of Main Line.

20 February 2006

Revolutionary Greetings!

It was with great interest and happiness that i read the first issue of *Right On!*, which was passed on to us by the New Afrikan Collectivist Association (NACA). I believe both of you comrades have seen MIM's stuff in the past. With this letter I'd like to invite you to receive a free subscription to *MIM Notes* (available to all prisoners) and to open up a dialogue between MIM and the NBPP-PC.

Claiming Maoism and the legacy of the Panthers, i knew that your newsletter would have good things to say, and i did agree with much of it. However, we have serious disagreements along questions that we consider to be dividing line questions for comrades in the imperialist countries. The bulk of these disagreements center around the class analysis of the united States and other imperialist countries. I will address some of these particulars below. But if you are interested in studying this question further I would recommend MIM Theory 1: A White Proletariat?, MIM Theory 10: Labor Aristocracy, Imperialism and Its Class Structure in 1997, and Settlers: the Mythology of a White Proletariat. All of these are available through MIM Distributors.

The differences we have along the lines of class analysis and the national question seem to parallel our differences with the rcp=u\$A (Revolutionary Communist Party-USA). The rcp=u\$a is a revisionist party claiming Maoism, that you may be familiar with. MIM has many pages of documents debating the falsities and deceptions of this group if you are interested in reading those.

In addition to the question of the Labor Aristocracy, NACA

also questioned your use of the name New Black Panther Party given the extreme revisionist nature of the original NBPP that is claiming the Panther legacy. I tend to agree, though if you think you can reclaim the name for the Maoist road of Huey P., then more power to you.

So, on to this question of the class analysis. You address this question most thoroughly on page 19 in the section titled "Classes and Class Struggle". There you address the Labor Aristocracy, a crucial question for the Marxists in imperialist countries to understand. On the surface you have an understanding of what the labor aristocracy is. But your definition mimics the Trotskyists who say it is just the leaders of the labor unions that are bribed off. They don't bother to study history or math. If we look at the history of this country, white settlers have always made up a privileged, largely petty bourgeois strata. As the wealth of the empire has expanded, the degree of bourgeoisification has only increased, to the point today where there is no sector of the oppressor nation that can be considered an objective ally of the oppressed, exploited masses of the world. If we do the math, we can see that every employed citizen of the united States is making more than the value of their labor. In addition, there is hardly an "industrial working class" to speak of, exploited or not. Most amerikans are unproductive laborers making bank on the backs of the oppressed nations globally.

In the next paragraph you say, "this strata has been greatly reduced by the outsourcing of their jobs." That is a lie, and those kind of lies will bring about middle class fascism just as you warn against in the previous paragraph. Amerikans have continued to have higher paying jobs, with less physical labor since WWII. Outsourcing has only helped make things cheaper for amerikans, bringing more super-profits into their pockets. Many bourgeois economists recognize this. It is only dogmatic so-called Marxists and paranoid fascists that attack brown people from the third world for stealing 'our' jobs and money (both are white nationalists).

Earlier on that page you state that the "Nation of Africans in America is divided into classes, though overwhelmingly it is a Proletarian Nation." Again, this is not true. A proletarian is a wage earner who is getting paid less than the value of their labor. I challenge you to show that any New Afrikans outside of prison are making exploitation wages. While New Afrikans on average make less than amerikans because of discrimination/oppression, they legally make the same wages as whites, which are exploiter wages. On the next page you go as far as to say that "Legal desegregation has not altered the condition of super-exploitation of Black people in America or in Africa."

Desegregation has financially benefitted New Afrikans, eliminating the proletariat and expanding the Black Bourgeoisie. Super-exploitation means you are being paid less than the value of your labor power, or in other words less than the cost of reproducing yourself. The extravagant wealth of this country makes super-exploitation virtually impossible since anyone has access to free food, clean water and shelter. But to say people making \$6 an hour are super-exploited is an insult to the starving masses of the world. Even prisoners making \$0.10 an hour get three hots, a cot and more.

While at different points, they took different positions, the Panthers often had a clear line that white amerika was an oppressor nation and had little to no revolutionary potential because it benefitted from the exploitation of the rest of the world. Even when they talked about an amerikan proletariat, they always maintained the right and necessity for the New Afrikan nation to express its own self-determination. A lot of your articles, and your very name, echo this line. So why is it on page 9 that you say "A significant section of the white workers and people in general must commit themselves to this revolution, and to lead this requires a vanguard party of the whole U.S. proletariat..." Of course, one must ask what 'U.S. proletariat'? But that aside, what is the purpose of the NBPP-PC if the goal is a multinational vanguard party?

On the previous page you state that the "old definitions of "nationalism" no longer apply." And again you talk about being part of a multinational U.S. working class. Does the NBPP-PC break with the revolutionary nationalism that the Panthers proved to be so effective in the urban ghettos of the 1960's? If so, what is the new definition of nationalism that guides the NBPP-PC?

We have three points that we will divide with other 'communist' groups over. One of them is that amerikans are an oppressor nation and are not exploited. We think this is a question that separates communists from white nationalists. Those in the imperialist countries who claim Marxism while saying that amerikans are exploited are not fighting for the same thing we are, and are not our allies.

Like i said, MIM has many documents that go in depth into these questions if you are interested. We take Maoism very seriously, and hence the claims of organizations calling themselves Maoists. We agree with much of what you say on the surface. But then you get to the real analysis and you are totally off base. And you give the impression that you have investigated these questions, that is why it is hard to understand how you draw the conclusions that you do. We always give other organizations a chance to respond

to our criticisms before making a public statement. So we hope you'll take the time to engage us in these questions, and perhaps we can eventually reach a point of unity. I have cc'd a couple comrades who I have already begun discussing your newsletter with. One is an officer with NACA, the other is a brother with a project called Jungle Lords.

In Struggle,

NY/NJ Prison Coordinator MIM Prison Ministry

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Revolutionary Greetings to You Too!

First off we would like to thank you for your offer of free subscriptions to *MIM Notes* and to open up a dialogue between MIM and N[A]BPP-PC, and we extend free subscriptions to *Right On!* to you.

As you will see by our second edition of *Right On!*, we have changed our name to the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter to avoid any confusion with NBPP. This was our starting point politically, but as our study and practice developed, we moved on.

We have seen some of MIM's stuff in the past and also some of RCP's. We have not as yet made a thorough study of either political line, and it is not our intention to take sides in the polemics between you. We will, however, respond to the points you have raised in your letter.

As regards the "labor aristocracy," we do not "mimic the Trotskyists who say it is just the leaders of the labor unions that are bribed off." What we have said is: "The upper strata of the industrial proletariat, or 'Labor Aristocracy,' were the vanguard of the unionization movement, but due to the super profits engendered by imperialism and the exploitation of the Third World countries, the monopoly capitalists were able to bribe this strata with a higher standard of living and middle class aspirations. Their class consciousness was dulled, and the white workers particularly were rallied around U.S. national chauvinism and anti-communism." We stand by this analysis.

You say that "the Trotskyists don't bother to study history or do math," and then you say: "white settlers have always made up a privileged, largely petty bourgeois strata." What about the historical fact that most of the white settlers came here with nothing to sell but their labor power, or as indentured servants, convicts and so on. What about the transported Irish and Scottish in the 18th century, the Irish

fleeing the Great Potato Famine in the 19th century, the beggared Palatines, Jews, Italians and Eastern Europeans who lived in squalid tenements in urban ghettos and miner's shacks, the poor white sharecroppers, Oakies and Appalachians? From Jamestown to the Orphan Trains sent west, there is a history of exploitation and oppression of masses of poor whites you seemed to have missed; A history of sweatshops and bloody strikes, urban gangs and early graves.

It does not take away from the suffering of the indigenous peoples or the Afrikan slaves or Chinese coolies to acknowledge that many white folks also lived lives of desperation and exploitation in Amerika. They also fought back and waged class struggle, sometimes in solidarity with people of color, like the Green Corn Rebels, poor white, Black and Indian sharecroppers in Oklahoma, who staged an armed rebellion against the draft and for socialism at the start of World War I, and the IWW and the CIO. And before that in the Great Railroad Strike after the Civil War, when Black and white veterans, sharecroppers and railroad workers, raised the red flag and picked up the gun in Maryland, New York and Pennsylvania.

We have confronted racist and revisionist history keeping before with the NBPP, so don't think we are pushovers. We know the history of white racist oppression in Amerika, and we also know the history of class struggle. We even know a little Marxist economics. What kind of revisionist mathematics is used to come up with the conclusion that "every employed citizen of the United States is making more than the value of their labor"?

Do you expect us to accept the silly notion that the capitalists here are not holding back a portion of the value of the labor of Amerikan workers and exploiting them to make a profit? That they only profit from exploiting workers elsewhere? Puh-leeze! We will grant that at times the monopoly capitalist have used price wars and industry wide labor contracts to squeeze out the smaller competition and taken losses in profit they could offset with the super profits made from overseas investments, but you are stretching a point to the point of absurdity.

They are in business to make profit, here there and everywhere!

We don't say workers in underdeveloped countries are "stealing our jobs," We say "Capital is drawn like a magnet to wherever it can make the highest rate of profit." That's Marxism! This capital investment does not develop these countries, it comes back to the monopoly capitalists here to be reinvested. It further under-develops these countries

and undercuts the workers here too. Flipping burgers does not pay better than making steel or cars.

America has had an unfavorable balance of trade for many years now. The system is running on exporting capital not goods. Take a ride through the “Rust Belt” and count the closed down factories and mills and look at towns like Flint, Michigan, or at the unemployed youth in the streets of any city. Take a look at the fourfold growth of prisons since the 1970s. Echoing the bourgeois propagandists isn’t going to sway us.

The greatest crime of imperialism is not the super exploitation of workers in the underdeveloped countries per se but the prevention of these countries from developing self-sustaining economies. The majority of the Third World are not proletarians but peasants, and the majority of their workers are engaged in mineral, oil and gas extraction, not manufacturing. But the profits are extracted!

The dire poor are the displaced and unemployed peasants living in shantytowns. They are not being exploited, they are being marginalized, because the imperialists have no profitable use for them, and they have no money for buying food. Besides it is more profitable to grow cash crops for export than food. The neo-colonial governments must service the debt of their IMF loans and have nothing to spare for internal development.

The Panthers were always clear that Amerika is an exploiter nation, but they never said that there was no potential for revolution here. Nor did Mao feel that way. In an interview with Edgar Snow at the height of the Cultural Revolution that was published in *Life* magazine, Mao said that in his opinion only the proletariat of two countries had the potential to lead the world proletarian revolution, that of the U.S and the Soviet Union, and between the two, he said, *I put my money on the workers of America!* Snow, a Canadian, thought this was crazy. “They don’t even have a real communist party,” he protested. “Not yet,” said Mao.

Let’s look at some of Mao’s public writings and see how they compare to the line of MIM:

“Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the 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 Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United

States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. 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 monopoly capitalist class.

“In 1963, in the “Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism,” I said that the “the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people.” I still maintain this view.

“At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.” – “A New Storm Against Imperialism” – April 16, 1968

“The days of imperialism are numbered, he said. The imperialists have committed all manners of evils and all the oppressed peoples of the whole world will never forgive them. To defeat the reactionary rule of imperialism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, it is necessary to form a broad front and unite with all forces, except the enemy, and continue to wage arduous struggles...” – “The People Of Asia, Africa And Latin America Should Unite And Drive American Imperialism Back To Where It Came From,” May 7, 1959

“People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed... U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are paper

tigers.” – “American Imperialism Is Closely Surrounded By The Peoples Of The World,” November 28, 1964

“I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie, and other enlightened personages of all colors in the world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling clique among the whites which is oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals, and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. They are the minority, and we are the majority. At most they make up less than ten percent of the 3,000 million people of the world. I am deeply convinced that, with the support of more than ninety per cent of the people of the world, the just struggle of the American Negroes will certainly be victorious. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew on along with the enslavement of the Negroes and the trade in Negroes; it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.” – “Oppose Racial Discrimination By U.S. Imperialism,” August 8, 1963

We have no doubt that through years of polemicizing with the RCP and others, that you’ve rationalized some way to say you are Maoists while opposing his very clear and revolutionary line. It seems you have argued yourselves into a corner that prevents you from doing revolutionary work among the proletariat where you live or uniting with those who do. How sad!

In our opinion, Mao’s line is Right On! Need we point out that Russia was an imperialist country, oppressing and super exploiting people throughout the Russian Empire, but this did not deter Lenin from leading them in making socialist revolution. England was the no.#1 imperialist power in the world and the home of the original “Labor Aristocracy” in Marx’s time, but he chose to move there and give his leadership to the British working class as well as to the workers of the world.

In China, the Han people exploited and oppressed the Tibetans and other national minorities, but this did not deter Mao from leading them in making revolution nor

of defending the rights of the national minorities to self-determination. By the logic of your line, these are not your allies nor are we. The problem of getting out of the corner you have polemicized yourselves into has a solution – grasp revolution!

It was Huey P. Newton who said the old definitions of nationalism no longer apply and he coined the word “intercommunalism.” As we state very clearly, it is our intention to build our Party and spread “Pantherism” wherever Black people are concentrated. We are not in competition with the Communist Parties based upon M-L-M, and we will do our best to promote their establishment and growth wherever we are doing mass work.

We believe that the core of the United Front Against Imperialism must be the unity of the national movements with the international proletarian revolutionary movement and that the ideology of the proletariat must lead the national liberation movements and not the ideology of the bourgeoisie. We are revolutionary nationalists, we are also pan-Afrikanists and socialists, as were the original Black Panther Party members.

Programmatically, we will unite with all who support our programs to serve the people and all who stand up for justice and freedom.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

NABPP-PC Central Committee

Chairman Shaka S. Zulu
Minister of Defense Kevin Rashid Johnson
Minister of Human Rights Hasan Shakur

The Ten Point Program and Platform

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

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

WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

All members and potential members must study and memorize our Ten Point Program and Platform.

You can reach NABPP and the UPM @ Facebook NABPP, Facebook United Panther Movement, Instagram UnitedPantherMovement