

# MAIN LINE

## TRANSFORMING THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

ISSUE #6

JUNE 2021

### Introduction

This is the first issue of MAIN LINE to go to press since the December 29, 2020 split in the NABPP, or more accurately, the purge of Shaka Zulu aka Zulu Sharod and Tom Watts, and the reconstitution of the Party as the RIBPP. Basically, contradictions with these two individuals within the NABPP had reached such a point that no one on the outside who had previously worked with them in the NABPP and mass organization was willing to continue to do so.

Shaka proved to be totally self-serving and dishonest in his agenda to make himself a social media movement celebrity, pimping the panther image and hustling the people to do so, while everyone else around him did all the work of organization-building and developing community programs.

Tom Watts, a Euro-American with a white messianic complex, wanted to make the NABPP in effect his party, which he ran from behind the scenes using Shaka as his Black front man. In effect, Shaka as the Black mouthpiece and Tom as the white mind, certainly not an original deviance in Leftist circles.

This issue of MAIN LINE contains the founding documents of the RIBPP explaining the purge and laying out the founding line and strategy of the RIBPP.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!  
All Power to the People!  
Kevin "Rashid" Johnson



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The following is a statement from Comrade Pitt, former Minister of Education for the New Afrikan BPP (NABPP), who now serves as Minister of Labor for the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (RIBPP), on the «split» from NABPP. Comrade Pitt is a political prisoner currently being held at Red Onion State Prison which is a supermax facility located in Wise County, VA. More of his art can be viewed on his #G page @pittpanther\_art.

## THE INEVITABLE SPLIT.

«A party that purges itself grows to become stronger.»

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Multiple counts of male chauvinistic behavior, several complaints by female comrades of abuse and harassment by Shaka Zulu aka Zulu Sharod, complaints of Big Tom aka Tom Watts/Xing Eela sexually harassing and repeatedly groping a New Afrikan female comrade then he and Shaka subsequently expelling her for speaking out against his predatory and perverted behavior. Gratuitous expulsion of cadres who disagreed with Shaka and Big Tom.

Big Tom and Shaka Zulu acting as the Central committee without any consent or communication with other central committee members. Sending private messages to members misleading them to believe that the central committee had reached a decision and falsely claiming that myself, Rashid and Jason were involved in the decision making process and intentionally lying that we concurred. Acting without the involvement of the entire Central committee equates to commandism.

Shaka Zulu disregarded the handed down suspension by the Justice committee and continued doing as he pleased, these matters could've long been resolved however Shaka Zulu declined to embrace criticism and/or accountability but rather deflected to other matters unrelated to his toxic and detrimental conduct, this goes against the party's line in providing a correct method of leadership called the Mass Line and also the anthesis of Democratic Centralism which is at the core of what the party stands for.

Furthermore, Shaka Zulu consistently uplifts himself over the party, his social media page is proof, he misappropriated funds donated to the party multiple times and used the funds for his own personal use and even attempted to raise funds in the name of the party without consultation using his personal financial accounts to raise funds and when confronted by comrades, the post was immediately deleted, such behavior is sheer opportunism.

UPM (reconstituted as PSO) comrades have dedicated much of their time and efforts into the organization yet Shaka Zulu as the chairman, declines to acknowledge any UPM members outside of his homebase of Newark, NJ. Numerous members have left the organization due to these aforementioned unchecked patterns of behavior. I had naively held out hope that things would ameliorate but it became conspicuous that things were indeed getting worse.

«Democratic centralism as its name implies combines both democracy and centralism. The object of genuine democracy is to bring out all ideas. To give everyone, not merely small groups or 'special individuals', the right and opportunity to speak and express their views, to openly and honestly criticize people and practices high and low that are believed to be in error and harming the interest of the whole. This is so that problems may be identified and solved» (Democratic centralism: The purpose, the method).

This process is one which Shaka Zulu and Big Tom know yet they utterly and intentionally violated what DC entails in identifying and solving problems. In applying and practicing DC Shaka was afforded countless opportunities to not only face criticism but to also present evidence, if any, in support of his defense yet instead of going through this process, he would deflect to other unrelated matters, use the platform to slander cadres, not once embracing any criticism let alone accountability.

## —PRACTICE WHAT YOU PREAMCH—

«No one is always right or above criticism, even if sometimes we are wrongly criticised. To deal with truth we must be able and willing to be contradicted and disputed. If our views or actions are wrong we must honestly examine and correct them. This is the only way forward. Those unwilling to accept supervision and criticism of the people are not their genuine leaders, but are capable only of oppressing them, of placing individual pride before collective principle. Attitudes of this sort act as corrosive and undermine unity.»

In response to Kwame Shakur's (aka Dayon Miller) opportunistic video stream, I'll make it brief as it doesn't warrant much of a response, this is an individual who preaches militant and revolutionary theories yet when confronted by white nationalists in Minneapolis during the summer rebellions, he shoved a comrade he was traveling with his girlfriend at the time in front of him and cowardly used her as a shield.

It is the obligatory duty of all comrades to protect and defend each other and not use them as shields therefore until Kwame demonstrates some fucking spirit and practices what he preaches, his words fall flat and have no merit or substance whatsoever. A revolutionary is defined by his or her actions not mere words and Kwame's actions speak contrary to the revolutionary and militant theories he spews.»

All Power to the People !

Peter «Comrade Pitt» Mukuria, Minister of Labor RIBPP

## Let's Get This Party Started: On the Split in the New Afrikan Black Party and Founding of the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (January 4, 2021)

By Kevin Rashid Johnson, Minister of Defense RIBPP

On December 29, 2020, I joined with several recently expelled members of the New Afrikan BPP (NABPP) and other comrades to create a new revolutionary intercommunal party as a split from and restructuring of the NABPP.

This new formation, which unlike the NABPP has a democratically elected leadership, is the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (RIBPP).

## THE DIVIDING LINE

This separation was compelled by maneuverings of Tom «Big Warrior» Watts (aka Xing Eela) the present General Secretary of the NABPP, and Shaka Zulu (aka Zulu Sharod), the NABPP chairperson, to expel and silence anyone who questioned or challenged their behavior or self-appointed and self-validating holds on power over the NABPP.

On December 21, 2020, an agenda was issued to all NABPP members to hold a party-wide meeting where all members could hear and consider a proposal to democratically elect a new party leadership and criticisms of Tom and Shaka as obstacles to the development and growth of the NABPP, its mass organizations, its work, and the application of its rules and principles.

These were important considerations in light of the entire Central Committee (CC), five people total including myself, having resigned because of Tom and Shaka's problematic leadership and behaviors. I formally resigned as Minister of Defense and from the CC and Politburo on November 12, 2020, in protest of Tom and Shaka's failures to abide by the principles of the NABPP, and Tom's flagrant dishonesty and role as de facto controller of the Party.

To prevent the Party-wide meeting from taking place Tom first issued a threat to publicly expel me if I supported going forward with the efforts to criticize him before the entire Party, which all NABPP members had a right to do under the organization's rules and principles requiring the practice of criticism and self-criticism, democratic centralism (DC), and inner-party democracy, but which Tom and Shaka prevent the application of.

## PURGING ALL CRITICS

On December 12, 2020, the day after the call for the Party-wide meeting was issued, Tom and Shaka went further to declare themselves to be the only legitimate NABPP members outside of prison, and essentially liquidated THE ENTIRE OUTSIDE PARTY, including loyal and committed comrades whom they'd publicly embraced as bona fide NABPP members just the day before.

This opportunist move to liquidate critics and challengers to their power followed on the heels of them also declaring the ENTIRE UPM illegitimate (liquidating the NABPP's entire mass organization), and Shaka's unilaterally expelling another Party member on November 8, 2020, who was a leading member of the UPM, all to avoid criticisms that the UPM had against Shaka for commandist behavior, mistreatment of women members, threatening others, and so on. Before I had resigned from the CC, it was collectively agreed that Shaka should allow the UPM to voice those criticisms of him, which he'd been dodging for over a year.

## MANUFACTURING SHAKA LOYALISTS

Tom and Shaka then moved to replace the rank and file NABPP and UPM membership that they expelled with people whom they perceived they could directly control, by declaring that the only 'legitimate' Party members and UPM consisted of entirely new people personally recruited and trained by Shaka in the Newark, NJ area where he lives.

To accomplish this they've instituted political education classes for new recruits presided over by Shaka, where he presumes to teach political material, like dialectical and historical materialism, that he demonstrably doesn't understand himself. The obvious objective and result being not to win these people over to the politics and work of a revolutionary Party and mass organization, but instead to Shaka's personality.

Like Huey P. Newton did in splitting the original BPP in 1971, Tom and Shaka have expelled and threatened everyone whom they felt criticized them and threatened their self-appointed and self-validating holds on power over the organizations (which positions they believe they 'own'), and embrace only people whom they can directly supervise and control.

## RETURNING TO THE COURSE

I, along with the unjustly expelled members of the NABPP, and others who've worked closely with the NABPP, find Tom and Shaka's designs and deviations from the basic principles of inner-party democracy, DC, revolutionary proletarian ideology (Maoism), and basic justice unacceptable and a perversion of the founding purposes and principles of the NABPP.

We uphold those purposes and principles and find the need to continue with the ACTUAL line, strategy, and ideology of the NABPP which we believe in and believe to be the most advanced. We simply cannot do so within organizations controlled by Tom Watts and Shaka Zulu, because of their dishonest and unprincipled deviations and the fact of their threats against and expelling us so we could not struggle internally against them.

The NABPP has not adhered to the mass line, has not developed bases within the oppressed communities, and has essentially become a platform for Shaka to build a celebrity cult around himself, and a black front organization that is actually controlled by a Euro-American, Tom Watts, but is portrayed as New Afrikan led.

We have therefore split with the NABPP and reconstituted as the RIBPP to carry forward the line, strategy, and ideology to which the NABPP is supposed to adhere. We don't seek "All Power!" as Shaka Zulu is fond of exclaiming, but instead "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

This pronouncement is made on behalf of the Central Committee of the RIBPP:

Chairperson, Stephney "Sojourner" Soreal

General Secretary, Shupavu wa Kirima

Minister of Justice, Maurice Garlic Jr.

Minister of Labor, Peter "Comrade Pitt" Mukuria

Minister of Defense, Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

Dare to Struggle!  
Dare to Win!

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### **In The New Afrikan BPP ("Tom Watts' Party"), When the People Criticize the Leadership, The Leadership Liquidates The People (January 2021)**

As I've expressed, those who cannot accept the criticism of the people aren't capable of being their leaders, but only of oppressing them.

Recent events in the NABPP bear this out and repeat errors of the past. They also make clear to all that Tom Watts and Shaka Zulu (aka Zulu Sharod), the respective General Secretary and Chairman of the Party and only remaining members of the Central Committee (CC) and Politburo, will stop at nothing to avoid criticism, to prevent inner-party democracy, and to hold on to controlling positions within the Party which they believe they 'own.'

### SUPPRESSING CRITICISM AND INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

For the NABPP, Oct 2020 marks an internal Party struggle between Tom and me that has increasingly sharpened. It began when Tom tried to factionalize with me by snitch-jacketing Willy Chino, then a leading Party Comrade, in a private conversation with me. Tom's hostility toward Will began with criticisms of the UPM of an article by Tom that stated that the NABPP doesn't care about oppressions faced by LGBTQ people. Tom blamed Will for the UPM's disagreement with his statement.

Tom's attempts to snitch-jacket Will to me followed a destructive trend of snitch-jacketing Comrades without evidence, that had been erroneously introduced into the Party and UPM by a past member whom the CC deemed a serious paranoid and wrecker. I immediately criticized and opposed Tom's actions. To avoid my criticisms Tom reacted by hurling a number of fabricated accusations against me, which I responded to and disproved in front of the CC and Oct 11, 2020.

Tom's reactions to my criticisms exposed several problematic, (especially dishonest, opportunist, and controlling), tendencies of his that I had overlooked before. Seeing that these tendencies, and other deviations that I had struggled with over the past year on the CC, have and continue to impair the Party, and its work and development, I sought to democratically confront them before the entire Party.

Among the problematic issues I desired to have the Party struggle with were Tom—a Euro-Amerikan and proven incapable organizer—being the actual controller of the Party (who essentially tells Shaka what to think and say, independent of accountability to the Party that's SUPPOSED to be led by New Afrikans), Tom and Shaka continuing in self-appointed leadership positions that they believe they 'own' and use to simply validate each other, etc. I also called for a party-wide vote to democratically elect a CC in the face of EVERY member of the CC (5 people) except Tom and Shaka having resigned, including me, in protest of the failures of this leading body, especially because of Tom and Shaka's roles and their refusal to accept criticism and accountability—I'd resigned as MOD, and from the CC and Politburo, on Nov 12, 2020.

To prevent the Party from hearing my criticisms, to stop me from publicizing my Nov 12 resignations, and to block a possible democratic change of leadership, Tom reacted with threats against me. His first threat was to publicly slander me with his false accusations that I'd already answered and disproved (and the CC unanimously found to be untrue) if I publicized my resignations, and his second threat was to expel me from the Party if I persisted with the Party-wide meeting.

### TO AVOID CRITICISM THEY LIQUIDATE THE PARTY AND UPM

In addition to Tom's threats, on the day after I had an agenda circulated to all Party members calling for the Party-wide meeting, Tom and Shaka proclaimed that EVERY RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBER WAS EXPELLED.

Yes, they LIQUIDATED THE ENTIRE RANK AND FILE PARTY simply to avoid my criticisms being aired and to prevent inner-Party democracy. They even disclaimed cadre who JUST THE DAY BEFORE they'd acknowledged were confirmed as Party members by the CC upon recruitment and whom Shaka had for months publicly acknowledged to be valid Party members—Tom and Shaka now claim themselves to be the ONLY legitimate Party members on the outside of prison. They also declared the entire UPM invalid, which I discuss below.

Tom and Shaka have since been conducting political education on all new people in the Newark, NJ area where Shaka lives, to create a new UPM and outside Party cadre whom Shaka can directly influence and control.

Liquidating the entire rank and file Party was only their latest and most outrageous move to purge and replace people who might criticize them or collectively check their power. Just before this there was Comrade Moh, whom Shaka unilaterally expelled on Nov 8, 2020.

That expulsion was sprung without warning during a hearing that was being conducted against Shaka, by the UPM Secretariat on a number of long-standing criticisms that the UPM had against him, but which he'd repeatedly dodged being heard for over a year.

Instead of responding to the proceedings when he was given the floor to do so at the beginning of the hearing, Shaka launched into a series of surprise accusations against Moh, who was also a UPM Secretariat member. Without giving Moh any opportunity for a response, Shaka thereupon declared him expelled from the Party.

The utter hypocrisy and irony of Shaka's move was put on display where the CC had struggled for weeks with the UPM to assure that Shaka was afforded a full and fair hearing on the UPM's criticisms, but just as that process began, Shaka sprang accusations and an expulsion on Moh without any hearing at all.

A few days later, Tom and Shaka declared the UPM Secretariat and National UPM illegitimate, and announced that Shaka would not hear its criticisms. The only UPM they would accept was one reconstructed by Shaka in Newark, NJ where he lived, that he could control and direct.

These two individuals see themselves as THE PARTY, and any criticisms of them as "attacks on the Party" itself. Tom has repeatedly portrayed my criticisms of him in this manner.

A clear pattern can be seen of corrupt, opportunistic, and arbitrary maneuvers by these two to avoid criticisms, and expel, delegitimize, threaten, and penalize those who dare to criticize them, attempt to engage in inner-Party democracy, challenge their dictatorship over the Party, or whom they feel they cannot sway in their favor in the face of such criticisms.

### REPEATING HISTORY'S ERRORS

What is especially problematic with their behavior, is it flies in the face of everything they pay lip service to, and repeats the mistakes of the original BPP that the NABPP has long vowed to correct. In fact back in 2006, I wrote about those very errors in, "On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations." This article has since been a guiding criticism of BPP history within the NABPP. (1)

What Tom and Shaka have done repeats EXACTLY what OBPP co-founder Huey P. Newton did. As Mumia Abu Jamal wrote of this dangerous chapter of OBPP history, Huey, "began to order purges of anyone that he suspected might challenge his authority." (2) My 2006 critique of Huey's practice speaks directly to Tom and Shaka's practice. As I wrote:

"Huey's purges of BPP cadre occurred because he was unaccustomed to, and unwilling to accept, criticisms from the party's rank and file. Whereas criticisms of this nature

is an essential feature of DC [democratic centralism]. What Huey practiced was a form of Commandism or Authoritarian Centralism, which is the very opposite of DC....

"DC demands that criticisms of Party members be made openly, and assures all Party members at all levels the right to criticize any other member's actions. The very object of DC is to preserve unity and prevent divisiveness and factionalism.

"That the BPP did practice DC is further demonstrated in Huey's belief that he OWNED his leadership position in the Party; that he was not subject to recall or being held accountable for his actions; and that he could unilaterally expel those who criticized or exposed his conduct or failure to meet the obligations of his leadership. Under DC, Party leaders are ELECTED to their leading positions and are likewise SUBJECT TO RECALL BY VOTE."

### PAYING LIP SERVICE TO MAOISM AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Tom has written endlessly touting the virtues of Maoism and claiming the NABPP is guided by the MLM line. These pronouncements are nothing more than revolutionary rhetoric. His practice and example seldom match what he writes. Indeed, Mao's writings on DC and inner-party democracy make the case against Tom and Shaka's Party practices, and need no further elaboration. Here's Mao:

"It seems that some of our comrades still do not understand the democratic centralism which Marx and Lenin talked of. Some of these comrades are already veteran revolutionaries...., yet they still do not understand this question. They are afraid of the masses, afraid of the masses talking about them, afraid of the masses criticizing them. What sense does it make for Marxist-Leninists to be afraid of the masses? When they have made mistakes they don't talk about themselves, and are afraid of the masses talking about them. The more frightened they are, the more haunted they become. I think one should not be afraid. What is there to be afraid of? Our attitude is to hold fast to the truth and be ready at any time to correct our mistakes. The question of right or wrong, correct or incorrect in our work has to do with the contradictions among the people we can't use curses or fists, still less guns or knives. We can only use the method of discussion, reasoning, criticism and self-criticism. In short, we can only use democratic methods, the method letting the masses speak out.

"Both inside and outside the Party there must be a full democratic life, which means conscientiously putting democratic centralism into effect. We must conscientiously bring questions out into the open, and let the masses speak out. Even at the risk of being cursed we should still let them speak out. The result of their curses at the worst will be that we are thrown out and cannot go on doing this kind of work—demoted or transferred.

"What is so impossible about that? Why should a person only go up and never go down? Why should one only work in one place and never be transferred to another? I think that demotion and transfer, whether it is justified or not, does good to people. They thereby strengthen their revolutionary will, are able to investigate and study a variety of new conditions and increase their useful knowledge. I myself have had experience in his respect and gained a great deal of benefit. If you do not believe me, why not try it yourselves....

"Now there are some comrades who are afraid of the masses initiating discussion and putting forward ideas which differ from those of the leaders and leading organizations. As soon as problems are discussed they suppress the activism of the masses and do not allow others to speak out. This attitude is extremely evil. Democratic centralism is written into our Party and State Constitution, but they don't apply it. Comrades, we are revolutionaries. If we have really committed mistakes of the kind which are harmful to the people's cause, then we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and carry out self-examination. This sort of self-examination should sometimes be repeated several times over. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, then it should be done a third time until nobody has any more criticisms.

"Criticism and self-criticism is a kind of method. It is a method of resolving contradictions among the people and it is the only method. There is no other. But if we do not have a full democratic life and do not truly implement democratic centralism, then this method of criticism and self-criticism cannot be applied." (3)

#### A PARTY WITHOUT DISCIPLINE

From its founding the NABPP adopted rules and general directives that required the practice of criticism and self-criticism, and upheld inner-party democracy, including the right of the entire Party to hear criticisms against members no matter their rank, the grant and revocation of leading positions by vote and based on ability, performance, and/or lack thereof, etc. This was set out in the Party's 2005 Rules of Discipline and General Directives. (4)

These principles were further specified and discussed in my 2012 article, "The NABPP's Organizational Principles, Policy and Practice: The 3-P's." See, especially the sections on Democracy and Inner-Party DC. (5)

Yet, Tom responded to my efforts to criticize his and Shaka's conduct and failed performances in front of the entire Party and engage in inner-Party democracy with threats and liquidation of the Party's entire rank and file membership. It has been conduct such as this carried out by ego-driven individuals practicing commandism and individualism, who have failed to remold lumpen and petty bourgeois conditioning, that has given a bad name to revolutionary Parties, and that genuine revolutionaries who place the interests of the masses foremost must distinguish themselves from.

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

#### NOTES:

- 1) Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations" (2006)
- 2) Mumia Abu Jamal, WE WANT FREEDOM: A LIFE IN THE BPP (Common Notions: Brooklyn, NY, 2016)
- 3) Mao Tse-tung, "Talks at an Enlarged Central Work Conference, 1962," CHAIRMAN MAO TALKS TO THE PEOPLE: TALKS AND LETTERS: 1956-1971, ed. Stuart Schram (Pantheon: NY, 1974), pp. 160, 161, 163.
- 4) NABPP Rules of Discipline (2005) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2489>
- 5) <http://rashidmod/?p=356>

#### **What Is Revolutionary Intercommunalism And Why We Embrace It (January 2021)**

The Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (RIBPP), which reformed in Dec 2020 as a split from the NABPP, is explicitly a Revolutionary Intercommunalist (RI) Party. As such it is important that we explain to the people what RI is and why we embrace it as our guiding political line.

Foremost, RI is based on a scientific analysis and understanding of the world as it exists in this 'new' era of neoliberal capitalist-imperialism, where the ruling class is at war with the poor and is rolling back all the concessions that were made decades ago to workers and the oppressed in response to various mass resistance movements, including inside of Amerika—especially the movements for New Afrikan/Black liberation and civil rights, for AmerIndian land and cultural reclamation and sovereignty, women's liberation, against the war in IndoChina; also the student, 'New Left,' and other movements, all of which were moving toward each other to form a unified struggle against the common imperialist class enemy.

This was seen as especially threatening with the advances in revolutionary theory made in China under the leadership of Mao, who offered his support to these struggles and called on them to unite behind the Black liberation struggle.

Speaking in 1968 of this world revolution in this 'new era', Mao wrote:

«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.» (1)

Two years later, Huey P. Newton, the cofounder and theoretical leader of the original BPP, put out his «Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism.» He stated in relevant part:

«In 1917, when the [Russian] revolution occurred, there could be a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. Now, if you talk in terms of planning an economy on a world-wide level, on an intercommunal level, you are saying something important: that the people have been ripped off very much like one country being ripped off. Simple reparations is not enough because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, but of the wealth accrued from the investments of those materials—an investment of which has created the technological machine. The people of the world will have to have control—not a limited share of control for « X» amount of time, but total control forever.

«In order to plan a real intercommunal economy we will have to acknowledge how the world is hooked up. We will also have to acknowledge that nations have not existed for a long time.» (2)

The way the world is now «hooked up,» is the capitalist imperialist ruling class is transnational and the U.S. is no longer a country—but a global empire. A small number of super-rich capitalists control the world's wealth and own the systems of communication, media, and overall means of production. They cannot but exist in contradiction with the interests of the world's people.

This contradiction compels them to struggle constantly to consolidate their world domination which generates constant anarchy and chaos (including social and environmental devastation), and the threat of globally destructive war. If we are to survive, their control must be overthrown and a world working class dictatorship established.

Across the world, rural populations (peasants) have moved en masse to urbanized areas because of being driven off their land by high tech imperialist-driven agrobusiness. Also, the enhancement of capitalist-driven automation and technology has pushed multitudes of traditional workers out of jobs. These conditions have led to a continuously growing mass of marginalized urban unemployed workers and lumpen. These masses of marginalized and desperate peoples will form the base of the next wave of World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

There is still a material basis for rural-based People's Wars, such as are taking place in India, the Philippines, and other places, and to organize existing workers at the point of production. So we recognize the role and need of national-based Revolutionary Communist Parties, but we must adjust the Maoist line to the changing contradictions and conditions.

This is what Revolutionary Intercommunalism is all about, why we embrace it, and why we have organized as a Black-led Party, with Brown and White arms, to unite and lead the struggle in this new era for world proletarian socialist revolution.

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

#### NOTES

1. Mao Tse-tung, «A New Storm Against Imperialism,» [«Statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression» PEKING REVIEW, Apr 19, 1968.
2. David Hilliard and Donald Weiss, eds., THE HUEY P. NEWTON READER (NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002)

#### **The White Panthers and Revolutionary Intercommunalism (March 19, 2021)**

All Power To The People:

The People's Vanguard, the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (RIBPP) understands the dire need of a revolution that is global and based upon achieving equality and social justice for everyone on the planet. The RIBPP understand that such a revolution can only be carried out by a united revolutionary movement made up of Black, Brown and White Komrades who embrace revolutionary intercommunalism as our guiding principle line, not because the People's Minister of Defense Kevin Rashid tells us that we must, or because Komrad Shupavu Wa Kirima tells us it's important to do so, but because we understand that our idea is the ideological - political line that constitutes the most advanced revolutionary analysis in theory in this period.

By advancing our revolutionary analysis and theories we advance a revolutionary practice. And this is why the RIBPP embraces the Revolutionary Intercommunal White Panther Organization (RIWPO) as an arm of the Party. Understanding there cannot be a Black Revolution in the United States anymore than there can be a Socialist Revolution in America, because we are up against a global monopoly capitalist empire bent on total world domination and exploitation.

The RIWPO as I aforesaid serves as an arm to the RIBPP the members of RIWPO are subjected to the leadership, revolutionary discipline, and democratic centralism of the Party. As All-The-Way White revolutionaries we understand the importance of accepting that the oppressed Black masses must play the Vanguard role in building a united revolutionary movement here in the United States and the RIWPO is an integral part of his united revolutionary movement and its revolutionary praxis.

The RIWPO is more than a support organization to the RIBPP as White Panthers we have a particular role to play in representing the Party among the white workers and youth, (and other strata), combating the false ideology of white supremacy, promoting working-class solidarity and winning the white masses to revolutionary proletarian worldview and oppose White Nationalism. For the White Panther who is imprisoned it is our duty to win the white prisoners, who are easy targets of the Aryan and/or neo Nazi type of prison organizations, supporting the 10-Point Program of the RIBPP into rallying to the Party's leadership.

As white panthers we must get boots on the ground within the poor white communities transforming them into revolutionary base areas of culture, social, and political revolution. These revolutionary base areas must be built as models of social cooperation and self-reliance. As the government continues to cut back and eliminate necessary social services for the poor and the working people, the children, the elderly and the disabled, they are poor whites who are struggling financially and for them and their communities we must establish serve the people programs. The Free Breakfast for Children Program of the original Black Panthers should be our model.

We should not petition the oppressor government to do for us what we can do for ourselves through self-reliance. Whatever the government gives can take away, and what it creates will be used against us. Learning to create and administer our own programs, and exercising people's power on neighborhood level, will prepare us to do so on a national and international scale in the future.

Alongside revolutionary cultural and serve the people programs, you must carry on continuous revolutionary political

education, agitation and organization; this is the chief function of the RIBPP. We must firmly grasp that: The masses are the makers of history and the Party makes them conscious.

Our struggle demands the recruitment of intellectuals, but we must never underestimate the ability of masses to grasp the science of revolution and become revolutionary intellectuals. In the final analysis, the success of our struggle rests on the elimination of the distinction between the revolutionary masses and the intellectuals as well as between manual and intellectual work. In particular we must educate the youth and the children in the science of revolution and science generally to prepare them to be the leaders of tomorrow, and the architects and builders of a new and more just social order.

The RIWPO has its own 10 Point Program and it goes as follows:

Full support for the 10 Point program of the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP.

Total support for the United Front Against Imperialism and the struggles of oppressed people everywhere.

To teach the suppressed history of White people's opposition to racial oppression and Genocide in Amerika.

To uphold the Proletarian Internationalism and the unity of multinational, multi-ethnic US Working Class against national and capitalistic exploitation and oppression.

To re-educate White Brothers and Sisters who have been deluded by racist, white supremacist propaganda and ideology into opposing their own class interests

To embrace the spirit of Panther love and serve the people in the capacity of revolutionary warriors

To uphold the tradition of John Brown and others who have recognized that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that no one can be free while his brothers and sisters are in bondage.

To uphold revolutionary discipline, and neither steal from nor inform on, or in any other way to oppress or exploit the People.

To be upright, honest, and fair in all dealings, to set a good example for the youth and be respectful of elders, and in every way strive to be the people's pride.

To stand for peace and against imperialist war, to stand for justice and against injustice, and for revolution and against counter-revolution.

The RIWPO is about revolution, and we should probably proclaim this. A panther is a panther 24/7 and we must always conduct ourselves so as to be a credit to the Party and our Class. Our actions should reflect the RIWPO's and the Party's revolutionary line and program and inspire others to join our ranks.

As panthers we must have a largeness of mind and be open minded. We should strive to be good at listening to others and learning from the masses. We should struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and practice the mass line. We should balance our pride in the RIWPO with humility, practice criticism and self-criticism and embrace Panther Love. We should show love to our Komrades and to the People. Above all we should put the interests of the revolution first.

White panthers are servants of the people, and no job is beneath us or too menial. Leading Komrades must do their share of grunt work without complaint and set an example of willingness to serve in any capacity. We should not hold grudges or let disagreements lessen our Unity and Camaraderie. The cause to which we have dedicated our lives is greater and then anyone's ego or self-interest and everything should be subordinated to achieving success. Millions around the world have already made the ultimate sacrifice, many enduring cruel torture at the hands of the agents of imperialism.

Komrades. This is a protracted struggle, and we will make mistakes. The important thing is to recognize and make the most of them. Sometimes we will make repeated mistakes until we get it right. We should not let this discourage us. To fight and fail and regroup to fight again until victory is the way of it.

Revolution is the main trend in the world. There will be ebbs and flows in the struggle, but we must persevere and have faith in ourselves and in the masses.

The Comrades of the RIBPP and the RIWPO are not looking to build a protest movement. We are laying the foundation for revolution.

I'm here, I'm alive, I'm struggling.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win  
RIWPO National Spokesperson

Joseph "Shine White" Stewart

Postscript:

For Prisoners who are interested in joining the ranks of the RIWPO you should write to the RIWPO Prison Correspondence Committee at PO Box 61000 King of Prussia, PA 19406 to receive Zines written by myself and the RIBPP Minister of Defense Kevin Rashid. Introduction packets will be put together that will enlighten the reader on the political line and principles of both the RIBPP and the RIWPO. Our immediate strategy is to transform these razor-wire plantations of oppression into "schools of liberation". To do this the proper literature must be provided to our comrades who are imprisoned. These razor wire plantations have both solved our greatest revolutionaries such as Malcolm X and George Jackson. Their textbooks now pass from hand to hand along with those of the revolutionaries of every land: Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, Vladimir Lenin, Karl Marx, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Amikar Cabral, Huey P. Newton.

The RIWPO Prison Correspondence Committee is aware of how difficult it is to procure the aforementioned literature so we're here to find ways to circumvent the racist mailroom censorship to ensure those of you held within the walls of these Razor-Wire Plantations receive the proper Revolutionary literature to feed your Revolutionary Consciousness. We are here for you. For those of you who are able to email, contact us at: RIWPOCC@protonmail.com.

All Power To The People  
Komrade Shine White

### **Revolutionizing The Masses In Three Stages: The Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP and its Intermediate and Mass Organizations (2021)**

#### WHAT ARE WE DOING?

We face the most daunting of tasks; that of building a viable, effective, AND ULTIMATELY SUCCESSFUL, revolutionary movement within and aimed at piercing the heart of the most powerful and murderous empire the world has yet known: Amerikkka.

Many attempts have been made, and just as many have failed or suffered repeated setbacks, often for lack of learning from past mistakes or becoming disheartened or distracted by secondary contradictions.

We must double down on our efforts, but commit ourselves to applying the dialectical materialist method of analysis and practice every step of the way, so that we are scientific in our mode of work. This begins with understanding who and what we are struggling against and why; who we aim to organize and how; and what forms of organization are required to meet the needs of our work.

#### THE PSO AND UNRESOLVED CONTRADICTIONS

This work is not new to the founding members of the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP (RIBPP) who split from the New Afrikan BPP (NABPP) on Dec 29, 2020. Until that time the United Panther Movement (UPM) was the principal mass organization of the NABPP, however most of the UPM united with the RIBPP in the split and later reconstituted itself as the Panther Solidarity Organization (PSO). The PSO is now the RIBPP's principal mass organization.

At the time of the split, the UPM was struggling to grasp what a mass organization operating under the NABPP's leadership should look like, and how that leadership should operate. A major cause of this struggle, which was never resolved, was the NABPP's failure to explain its relationship to the UPM, and give them any informed guidance in developing its organizational structure and processes of accountability between the organizations. Yet the NABPP's Central Committee was critical of the structure the UPM Comrades were forced to develop on their own and ultimately denounced them as the NABPP's mass organization.

The RIBPP has inherited these unresolved contradictions which were created by the NABPP's lack of leadership—leadership failures that RIBPP Comrades were struggling against leading to their split, and which we aim to rectify here and in the accompanying position paper, "Organizing the People: On the PSO and Intermediate Organizations."

#### IT'S A CLASS STRUGGLE!

Social wealth is produced by workers who, through their collective labor, extract and work up natural resources into consumable products and provide the services that make the organization of societies possible.

The existing system of capitalist imperialism is rigged up to allow a tiny group of people who don't perform any meaningful labor to control the institutions of political power and the global system of production and distribution, so that they are able to hoard a vast amount of social wealth for themselves and prevent any meaningful challenge to their power from everyone else.

Consequently, access to needed resources falls unevenly on everyone else, causing immense poverty and suffering to over half the world's people, and insecurity and uncertainty for everyone, especially workers.

The masses therefore live every moment in conflict and contradiction with this system and those who benefit from and control it. The beneficiaries and their armed protectors and enforcers must for this reason constantly maneuver to keep the masses misinformed, distracted, divided, and contained in order to maintain their power and control, which produces all manner of chaos, social conflict, and instability.

Most people by design of the ruling class, don't understand that they live under a system that is deliberately set up to operate this way or that they have the ability, once awakened, united, and organized to fundamentally change it. This is where the revolutionary party comes in.

#### THE NEED AND ROLE OF THE RIBPP

Just as the ruling class organizes and enforces its power and interests through the medium of political parties, the working class and masses of oppressed people, who are far larger in number and divided as a class, require their own party (a revolutionary party) to raise their consciousness, and unite and organize them to seize, exercise and defend their own political power and interests AS A CLASS, and replace capitalist imperialism with a socialist economy that uses social wealth to benefit and meet the needs of all the people on a global scale. A system we call Revolutionary Intercommunalism.

In the post-1960s era of neoliberalism (which we call reactionary intercommunalism), enhanced automation has replaced and pushed vast numbers of workers into perpetual unemployment and peasants off their land. These chronically unemployed and displaced masses have experienced an ongoing Great Migration and concentration into marginalized urban settings (ghettos, favelas, shantytowns, refugee camps, prisons, and so on), where they are forced to eke out a living by desperate—often "criminal" and predatory—means.

These people desperately need cultural, social, and political education and power, and access to and control of basic survival resources.

With few exceptions, traditional revolutionary parties have looked askance at these desperate layers of the people as destructive, politically unstable, and unreliable, and because

they do not exist at the point of production, they have been dismissed as having little revolutionary purpose. These parties have therefore focused their work almost exclusively on active workers and peasants as the main social forces of revolutionary struggle.

The original BPP changed this trend. Huey P. Newton, the BPP's co-founder and leading theoretician, recognized that changing global conditions under the U.S. dominated, imperialist system was fueling the unprecedented rise of permanently unemployed people. He predicted that they would soon outnumber the regularly employed people. He also recognized that if these marginalized masses were not reached and organized by revolutionaries, they would be used as forces of violent reaction against the traditional revolutionary movement by the establishment.

What Huey also saw was the masses of predominantly urban Black people in America also largely fell into this growing category of desperate, chronically unemployed, lumpen people. He, in turn, met the challenge of creating a party and strategy that could serve the needs of, give leadership to, unite, educate, and organize these marginalized people into a mass force. This was the BPP.

Huey's predictions about the unprecedented growth of permanently unemployed people and the lumpen, and the need to create revolutionary leadership to serve them, have come to pass on a global scale. An intercommunal Panther vanguard is needed today more than ever. This is the need, purpose, and role of the RIBPP.

### THE 3 LEVELS OF MASS CONSCIOUSNESS

In revolutionary work the masses generally exist at three stages of consciousness: the advanced, the intermediate, and the undeveloped. These stages of development generally determine the levels at which we meet and organize the people.

The advanced are those who grasp and wholly unite with the ideological and political line of the revolutionary party, and have demonstrated a total commitment to its work and willingness to make the necessary sacrifices of placing the people and revolutionary struggle foremost. These people qualify for membership in the advanced organization which is the Party.

The intermediate are those who have leftist political leanings, experience, and/or education, but have not fully learned or embraced the ideological and political line of the Party. These people are organized in the intermediate organizations which are led by leading Party cadre who work to develop them into advanced forces that may be recruited into the Party. The intermediate organizations are also the structures that cadres of other revolutionary parties (namely traditional RCPs) may join and formally collaborate with the RIBPP cadre in performing mass work consistent with our Dual Party Strategy. The intermediate organizations also engage in mass work of serving the people and working alongside them to help them meet their needs and solve their problems.

The undeveloped are the everyday people from the oppressed communities, who have a wide range of political, spiritual, and cultural views and leanings. They lack revolutionary experience and education, and have different levels of political commitment and discipline, but generally recognize that change needs to be made in the interests of the oppressed communities and masses. The undeveloped are essentially the general masses of people who form the social base of the struggle and of the mass organizations, which they may freely join. The basis of unity of the mass organizations sponsored by the RIBPP as its own mass organizations is the Party's 10 Point Program. Otherwise members of the mass organizations are free to embrace a wide range of beliefs and ideas.

Members of the Party and intermediate organizations must work alongside the masses within the mass organizations to help develop them and win them over politically, but on a wholly voluntary basis. We cannot compel the mass organizations or their members to embrace our views nor to commit to any practice, but we may struggle to win them over through principled debate, discussion, and political

education.

We may not use our stature as Party or intermediate organization members to pressure the mass organizations or their members to engage in any practices or work that they are as yet unwilling or unprepared to engage in.

In the developmental stages of all revolutionary movements, the advanced (or vanguard) are always in the minority, the intermediary are larger in number but certainly not the majority, while the undeveloped form the vast majority of the people. In the dialectical process of development of revolutionary forces, the advanced work to develop the intermediate into advanced forces, while the intermediate work to develop the undeveloped into intermediate forces. This is why we have the vanguard party, the intermediate organizations, and the mass organizations—so that in a dialectical process the vanguard develop advanced cadre out of the intermediate organizations, and the intermediate comrades develop the undeveloped masses into intermediate forces, like moving the masses up floor by floor so that they ultimately become the advanced themselves.

In this way we systematically develop and grow the revolutionary movement out of the masses, transforming the minority into the majority (quantitative change), until we've created the conditions for the masses to seize power (qualitative leap), and transform reactionary intercommunalism into revolutionary intercommunalism.

In this work we must ALWAYS remember the decisive role of the masses as the makers of history. It is the collective people, not individuals, that are the force of society-wide and world change, so we must win them over to the struggle to make those changes themselves. This can only be done through applying the Maoist mass line, so let's give special attention to what it is and how we must apply it.

### THE MASS LINE AND METHOD OF LEADERSHIP

The RIBPP adheres to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist mass style of leadership, which recognizes that everything relies on and is determined by the consciousness and voluntary action of the people. Without this, our efforts are in vain and will accomplish nothing. Our work, therefore, entails as a first step, raising the people's consciousness.

But we do not compel the people to accept our ideas, instead, we begin with, and move from their own existing levels of understanding and mindstates. A dialectical process that Mao summed up as, "from the masses to the masses." A back and forth process between the revolutionary vanguard and the people which he described as:

"...summing up (i.e., coordinating and systematizing after careful study) the views of the masses (i.e., views scattered and unsystematic), then taking the resulting ideas back to the masses, explaining and popularizing them until the masses embrace them as their own, stand up for them, and translate them into action by way of testing their correctness. Then it is necessary once more to sum up the views of the masses once again, take the resulting ideas back to the masses so that the masses give them their wholehearted support...and so on, over and over again, so that each time these ideas emerge with greater correctness and become more vital and more meaningful."

So, we learn from the masses what their needs are, elevate and concentrate their understanding of their needs, the cause of those unmet needs and how to go about solving them, and then work alongside them in implementing the solutions. We do not command or dictate to the people. Instead, as Mao explained:

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

What qualifies a revolutionary party and its members to lead the masses, is our mastery and application of the revolutionary proletarian line, or to give what may be called

revolutionary proletarian leadership (RPL). The key to RPL is our use of dialectical and historical materialism, which compels us to engage in continuous study of all pertinent social phenomena, constant analyses and review of our work and its results, and grasping history as a process and our role in it. We must be aware of and able to adjust quickly to major changes in the conditions of the masses and events we are involved in, and adjust our plans and policies whenever conditions develop differently than we anticipate.

But these factors alone do not enable us to give correct leadership to the people. What's decisive is that we win the masses over to seeing and carrying forward the struggle as their own, which it must be. This calls for our own perseverance and patience, because we cannot engage in advanced actions, no matter how needful they are at a given point and time, until the people become willing and able through our education and persuasion to make those changes themselves.

Applying the mass line in this respect determines victory or defeat, because on the historic stage the movement of the masses is irrepressible whereas moves by small groups of radicals are doomed to isolation and being rendered helpless.

In the work of winning the masses in their millions, leading by example is decisive. The masses must trust us, give us their unconditional support, take up our ideas as their own, and support our Party throughout the long process of struggling to overturn this oppressive system.

The people must see our credibility in our superior moral characters, our dedication to their interests, our integrity, receptivity to criticism, honesty in facing and correcting errors, and willingness to engage in self-criticism; these are the qualities that move and win the masses. In this cynical society where social views and values have been molded by the ruling class, the people will only vest their trust and confidence in us if we are genuine Communists in our public and personal lives, and as such we place the interests of the masses above private interests, the general good before any partial good, long-range concerns before short-range concerns.

The people in the oppressed communities, the lumpen especially, cannot be dictated to, they can't be compelled into any actions. They must see with their own eyes the benefits of any course of action, shown the likelihood of success of any plan, learn from observation and experience that their predicament can be changed for the better, before they will consciously and willingly take it up. And these plans and ideas must correspond to their actual needs which they recognize themselves, not needs we tell them they have.

This is why we are structuring our organizations to meet the masses in three stages—advanced, intermediate, and undeveloped—and why the mass line must be our approach to organizing and leading the people in struggling to end this oppressive system of capitalist imperialism, racism, and police state repression.

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

### **Organizing the People: On the Panther Solidarity Organization and Intermediate Organizations — Part One (2021)**

#### WHY THE MASS ORGANIZATION?

As Revolutionary Intercommunalists, the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP's (RIBPP) objectives are to change history, to overthrow today's system of reactionary intercommunalism and transform it into a global socialist system where equality, social justice and fair distribution of resources prevail.

Our strategy is to, "Transform the razor wire plantations into schools of liberation and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building a united front against capitalist-imperialism, racism and police state repression." This is a struggle based on uniting the world's oppressed masses, community

by community, to seize control of the means of production and reconstruct the world economy.

As Comrade Mao said, "The masses and the masses alone, are the motive force of history." Without involving, organizing, and empowering the masses every step of the way, it is impossible to make revolutionary change. But without a revolutionary theory and plan there can be no revolutionary movement, and for that theory and plan to succeed the masses must be organized and united to take it up and implement it.

So how do we bring masses of people, most of whom are politically undeveloped and have vastly different spiritual, cultural and ideological ideas and tendencies (many of them in sharp contradiction with each other) together behind a common revolutionary theory and plan? At the most basic level this is the role of the mass organization.

#### WHAT IS THE PANTHER SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION?

In the context of the Panther Movement, the Panther Solidarity Organization (PSO) is a specific type of organization with a specific history and purpose. It is foremost a mass organization, and secondly it is the principal mass organization of the RIBPP.

Historically, PSO is the latest evolution of what began as the prison-based Black Brigade and later became the New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO) and the United Panther Movement (UPM) respectively. NASO and UPM were started by the New Afrikan BPP (NABPP now RIBPP) as its principal mass organization, with the purpose of organizing the masses to carry out the strategy of Pantherism under the Party's leadership.

When the RIBPP split with the NABPP in Dec 2020, most of the existing national UPM left with RIBPP and restructured as PSO to remain as RIBPP's main mass organization. The split and restructuring did not change the strategy of the Panther Movement nor the PSO's mass organizational role within that strategy.

At the time of the split the organizational structure of the UPM had never been clarified by the NABPP, nor was it explained how the Party's leadership and accountability within the UPM should operate.

Because of the NABPP's failure to guide the UPM, the UPM did not develop as a community-based mass organization according to the strategy of Pantherism, but came to be led and organized according to a "professional activist" petty bourgeois model, and was never rooted in, open to, nor composed of the masses in the oppressed urbanized communities. With the development of the RIBPP and PSO, these questions and trends have not been resolved. This is the task now before us.

#### STRUCTURING PSO AS A GENUINE MASS/ GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION

As a mass organization, PSO must be a voluntary organization that belongs to and its membership composed of the people of the oppressed communities who are largely inexperienced and undeveloped politically. It must reflect and express their interests, and be accountable and open to them to freely join at the levels at which they exist, and respect their right to embrace different views and lifestyles.

Just like a labor union which is open to and invites all workers to join it—in revolutionary movements vanguard cadre create, join, and work within the unions to unite with, educate, and lead the largely undeveloped workers in carrying out revolutionary struggle and ultimately develop them into revolutionaries themselves.

A mass organization (such as PSO) is the opposite of a vanguard party (such as RIBPP aspires to develop into), but there exists a dialectical and mutually supportive relationship between the two forms of organization. One builds and sustains the other.

Where the vanguard practices Democratic Centralism (DC) and its members must be ideologically and politically united

and advanced, a mass organization must be broadly democratic in order to bring the undeveloped masses together programmatically with their diverse views. This is why factions are banned within vanguard parties but allowed, even encouraged, within mass organizations.

From early on, the NABPP recognized the need to separate the vanguard and mass levels of organizations, and we explained the lack of such separation as a major error of the original BPP (BPP).[1] By combining these two forms of organization into one, the BPP brought together conflicting tendencies with different levels of commitment and understanding, making DC impossible and causing constant internal contradictions in political line and practice.

As I pointed out in "On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations" (2006):

"Until the masses of the people are raised up to the level of the vanguard elements, they are organized into mass organizations. The mass organizations represent and include people of various different political, cultural, ideological and class backgrounds, views, influences and levels of awareness. In the case of New Afrikans, for example, our mass organizations like [NASO] include New Afrikans of different political, cultural and spiritual persuasions. But they are united by a common objective of carrying out programs that serve the needs and interests of the Nation of Afrikans in Amerika. Many of the members of mass organizations are not even revolutionary minded, but they do recognize a burning need to change and improve the social-economic conditions of Black people.

"So, mass organizations will include some open proponents of capitalism, liberals, reformists, activists of various persuasions and everyday apolitical people. But also spread throughout these organizations are cadre of vanguard elements whose role within these organizations is to struggle alongside and learn from the people, to materially serve their needs and interests, to educate, lead and advance their levels of political and ideological consciousness, and to ultimately develop the masses from within these mass structures, to become themselves vanguard elements. As people's consciousness and their understanding are raised, and they prove their dedication through their work and study within the mass organizations, they are recruited into the vanguard party where they become fully committed leaders, educators and servants of the people." [2]

The Revolutionary Intercommunist strategy of Pantherism is to organize locally and think globally. The community forms the basis of our organizing. Which we link together into a global network of liberated base areas. In other words we aim to bring all oppressed communities together in intercommunal unity to consolidate people's power. This is the basis of developing PSO collectives within the oppressed communities and prisons and composed of the broad masses of the people who live there.

PSO must not be allowed to become a closed group of "professional activists" imposing their own agendas and views of "political correctness" upon the organization and those allowed to join. This is the tendency of the petty bourgeoisie and campus-based groups that pervade the U.S. Left, as they operate out of reach of, out of touch with, and above the common people. In fact the pervasiveness of this organizational model and tendency in the U.S. is a major reason there has been no genuinely revolutionary mass movement in Amerika for quite some time.

The petty bourgeois will always maneuver to usurp and orient political work to reflect and serve their own class perspectives and interests, even as some may genuinely believe their roles and aspirations to be truly revolutionary. As Mao explained:

"It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. It is inevitable that they will stubbornly assert themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise."

It is only through the medium of the mass organization that revolutionaries are able to interact with the masses in a programmatic way, bring them into revolutionary political life and impart revolutionary values and ideas to them.

This is why Comrade Lenin stated that Communists must

create and join hundreds, no thousands, of mass organizations composed of the multitudes, who must be united, mobilized, and empowered as the force of fundamental change. It was only through such mass organizations as the Peasant's Associations and Women's Associations that the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership developed, organized and mobilized the peasants and women in their millions, as the targeted mass base of the Chinese revolution, into an invincible force that carried that struggle through success after success until they won power.

In any case, the mass organization is composed of and belongs to the masses, and may not be monopolized nor dictated to by the advanced or their parties. They are however, the structures through which the advanced work alongside, learn from, educate, and lead the people, and ultimately develop cadre within to be recruited into the revolutionary party.

#### RIBPP LEADERSHIP, MEMBERSHIP AND SPONSORSHIP OF MASS ORGS

Our leadership within the mass organizations is not coercive, but must be taken up voluntarily by the masses. We must win them to accept us through our example and competence. As I've previously explained:

"In the work of winning the masses in their millions, leading by example is decisive. The masses must trust us, give us their unconditional support, take up our ideas as their own, and support our Party throughout the long process of struggling to overturn this oppressive system.

"The people must see our credibility in our superior moral characters, our dedication to their interests, our integrity, receptivity to criticism, honesty in facing and correcting errors, and willingness to engage in self criticism; these are qualities that move and win the masses. In this cynical society where social views and values have been molded by the ruling class, the people will only vest their trust and confidence in us if we are genuine Communists in our public and personal lives, and as such we place the interests of the masses above private interests, the general good before any partial good, long-range concerns before short-range concerns.

"The people in the oppressed communities, the lumpen especially, cannot be dictated to, they can't be compelled into any actions. They must see with their own eyes the benefits of any course of action, shown the likelihood of success of any plan, learn from observation and experience that their predicament can be changed for the better, before they will consciously and willingly take it up. And these plans and ideas must correspond to their actual needs which they recognize themselves, not needs we tell them they have." [3]

This is why every member of the RIBPP must root themselves in the masses and the mass organizational work. Mao is instructive. He explained that Communists:

"should call upon the whole Party to be vigilant and to see that no comrade at any post is divorced from the masses. It should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place."

He went on to emphasize:

"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of

work that requires their participation will turn out to be mere formality and will fail.... There are two principles here: one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, and the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them."

This method of winning and uniting with the masses is essentially how Party members work within the mass organizations alongside the people.

Within the PSO, RIBPP members must respect and uphold the organization's rules, which may be created by local collectives addressed to local conditions. Those rules should embody certain basic principles however, such as the democratic rights of all members to speak, vote, elect, and be elected, and the right to criticize, recall and replace elected leaders; that members of the government, and their agents and informants may not join the PSO, and so on. However, if rules develop within a PSO collective that conflict with the Party's rules or what we believe is appropriate for the mass level organization, the RIBPP will withdraw its members, sponsorship and support from the collective.

Otherwise we uphold the right of PSO members to believe as they choose and their democratic right to express their views, even if we disagree with them. We will oppose and struggle against suppression of free speech. The people have the democratic right to hear and decide what they believe to be true. But of course RIBPP members also uphold the right and practice of criticizing what we believe to be untrue and harmful to the people's interests.

The basis of unity between the RIBPP and PSO and leadership of the Party within PSO is the mass organization's upholding the 10 Point Program of the RIBPP. It is around the very basic principles of the 10 Point Program that the Serve the People (STP) community service programs are to be developed, with the goal of developing them into community-based infrastructure and institutions of dual power.

The mass organization serves to raise and develop resources for and to staff the STP programs to serve community needs. Party cadre will concentrate on political agitation, education and organizing within the mass organizations while working alongside their members in community service work.

Within PSO, Party members enjoy no special privileges and have the same rights and responsibilities as every other PSO member. They have only a single vote like everyone else, and are subject to the same discipline as others. Party members may not constitute more than 1/3 of the members of any mass organization or its leadership.

Like the RIBPP and our intercommunal strategy, PSO is compartmentalized into Black, Brown, and White panthers to reflect the demographics of the communities in which they are working. So there will be PSO-Black Panthers, PSO-Brown Panthers and PSO-White Panthers respectively, which RIBPP cadre will work within according to its own compartments of Black Panthers and its brown and white arms, the Revolutionary Intercommunal Brown Panther Organizing Committee (RIBPOC) and Revolutionary Intercommunal White Panther Organization (RIWPO).

Prior to the split, I had written on this link between the Party and its mass organization (then the NABPP and UPM), and the compartmentalization of this mass organization under our strategy of Pantherism. See for example my 2014 article, "Purpose and Practice of the United Panther Movement," at rashidmod.com. I also spoke there of the UPM serving as a "Big Umbrella" under which many other mass organizations and groups could unite, by embracing community service under the Party's 10 Point Program. This is now the role of the Panther Solidarity Movement (PSM).

But there is a distinction between auxiliary organizations (like RIBPOC and RIWPO) and allied organizations (like PSO and those under PSM). The former are internal to RIBPP and the latter are external. The RIBPOC and RIWPO are internal divisions of the Party, subordinate to the Central Committee (CC). PSO, PSM and other mass organizations are external to the Party, having their own leadership bodies and chains of command independent of the Party. But under direction of the CC and the appropriate ministries, Party cadre work within these mass organizations.

## JOINING PSO

Because the mass organization must be open and accessible to, and composed of, the broad and largely undeveloped masses of the oppressed communities, special candidacy and political education requirements may not be created to qualify nor disqualify people from joining a mass organization like PSO. All that should be required to create a PSO collective within a community or prison is that three or more people unite around the RIBPP's 10 Point Program and adopt rules as outlined above. The principal basis of organizing PSO collectives is that aspiring members share a common desire and objective to implement programs that serve and meet the needs of the oppressed communities where they exist.

The function of any intercommunal Secretariat or Steering Committee should be only to help facilitate sharing resources, labor, or communications between local PSO collectives, developing new collectives or chapters, or bringing in new members. It should not act to impose criteria on people to create, validate, or join local PSO collectives.

## THE PSM

Our aim is to unite the entire communities at the grassroots around programs of collective change based upon the general principles laid out in the 10 Point Program.

This is how a mass movement oriented to making genuine change, empowering the masses, and winning them to take up greater struggle for more fundamental change must develop. To win and involve the masses PSM must be non-sectarian and open to the people in all their ideological, cultural, spiritual and social diversity.

The PSM is the overall movement (a genuine Rainbow Coalition) to implement Pantherism on a global scale. The concept underlying PSM is to create an umbrella that includes the oppressed masses of the world based on collectivizing our common needs and struggles for survival and collectively creating people power based upon intercommunal solidarity.

As a global grassroots movement, PSM must be democratic, and tolerant of people's diverse beliefs and practices, even when they differ or conflict with each other and our own.

Any community based groups and organizations that unite with the RIBPP's 10 Point Program may join PSO, so long as they are democratic and uphold the same basic rules as {PSO} and principles of serving the communities as described above." They may be religious groups, cultural groups, and so on.

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

## NOTES:

[1] Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations"(2006)

[2] Ibid

[3] Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "Revolutionizing the Masses in Three Stages" (2021) at rashidmod.com/?p=2973

## **On Revolutionary Slogans: Why We Say All Power to the People (January 18, 2021)**

Revolutionary slogans must correspond to the objectives of the revolutionary movement. They are not mere slang, catchphrases, or figures of speech. But are instruments of propaganda and agitation, that serve to arouse public opinion, inform the people of the objectives of the struggle, and shows them the path that their struggle must follow.

The slogan, "All Power!," has taken on a life of its own in U.S. movement circles. It was initially adopted and used by Shaka Sankofa Zulu (aka Zulu Sharod), who, as Chair of the New Afrikan BPP, came into contact with many people, especially on social media, and through his common use of

the term passed it on to others, who in turn passed it on to still more people.

While it may be catchy, "All Power!," is not a revolutionary slogan. It makes no demand and expresses no objectives of the movement in the interest of the masses. The greedy capitalists, the avaricious businessmen, and their armed pig enforcers already have all the power. So in whose interests are we speaking when we merely say, "All Power!?"

In a struggle with NABPP chair, Shaka Zulu, our comrade, Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP General Secretary, Shupavu wa Kirima stated, " 'All Power' may sound catchy to some but politically it is incomplete. Slogans and sloganeering are only meaningful and effective when it helps the people to conceptualize and articulate a revolutionary demand. So when we talk about power, we understand that power exists and is currently in the hands of the capitalist/ruling class. Power/All Power means nothing until it is in the hands of the PEOPLE. The people cannot be an afterthought in anything we do. That's why we say 'ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!'"

If the struggle is about empowering the people, we must INCLUDE them in any demand FOR power. All Power TO THE PEOPLE! is therefore the correct slogan to arouse the people and organize them around, which is why we in the RIBPP embrace "All Power to the People!", and reject "All Power!"

We must NEVER exclude THE PEOPLE, especially not from slogans meant to awaken them to the difficult life and death struggle to wrest power from a murderous ruling class that must relinquish its holds on power, if the people and the planet we rely on for our very lives are to survive.

THIS is why we demand All Power to the People!

## **The Ten Point Program and Platform – Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP**

### **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.

