

MAIN LINE

TRANSFORMING THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

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INTRODUCTION

Recent events related to the US prison movement have borne out the tendency of lumpen elements to be bribed by and seek recognition from the pigs and enemy class. During Nov 2021, Keith "Malik" Washington was exposed by the San Francisco Bay View (SFBV) newspaper to be a career informant and having sought to be used by pigs in Texas as a jailhouse snitch against another prisoner in exchange for being granted parole.

Since 2013 Keith had developed a widely accepted presence as a prisoner activist and advocate, and had been recruited into the New Afrikan BPP back in 2009 by Tom Watts. He later joined me and other Comrades in our Dec 2020 split with Tom and Shaka Zulu aka Zuku Sharod and reconstituting as the Revolutionary Intercommunal BPP. Not long afterward he resigned from the RIBPP. He also served briefly and abruptly resigned as editor of SFBV following his release from prison in Sept 2021.

Keith's exposure had a wide range of effects on people within the prison and broader aspiring revolutionary movements. Some were demoralized, others were uncertain how to react or what position to take regarding him. Others were appalled, while some proposed to forgive and continue to support him. Most remained silent.

Tom Watts ghostwrote an article in the name of the NABPP attempting to hide his own hand as the person who'd recruited Keith and to spin the entire situation in efforts to distort the true reasons for the split and redeem his and Zulu's images in efforts to continue organizing under the banner of the NABPP.

I also wrote an article on Keith's exposure, and a point-by-point response to Tom's ghostwritten statement refuting his many fabrications. Each of those documents are featured in this issue. As I explained in the first issue of Main Line, as Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, we are always open to hold our line and positions up in struggle against others; and provide a forum for readers to see and compare contending sides of debated issues and make up their own minds. We remain committed to our founding principles set out in 2005, "We must hide nothing from our Party Comrades and he from the masses of our people, tell no lies, expose lies whenever they are told and conceal nothing."

It is also important that readers, supporters, and those who look to us for principled leadership be given guidance and grasp our positions on controversial situations such as these and be informed of the facts surrounding the exposure of informants and infiltrators in our organizations and movements.

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

Was the Bay View infiltrated by a 'rock star' informant? by Bay View Editor Nube Brown

As the editor of this beautiful newspaper and in all my short years as an activist in the Prisoner Human Rights Movement, having received hundreds of letters from prisoners, his letter you're about to read from Bradley Barton was one I never anticipated nor imagined. In his pursuit of legal aid to help prove the illegalities of his case, Bradley Barton, caged in Texas, met fellow prisoner Keith Washington – the Bay View's former editor with whom we have severed our ties. Bradley has since come forward with his account of what transpired between them.

Through uncharted territory, we now present what we received, unsolicited and unaltered, and leave all of you to make your own determinations and come to your own conclusions.

As Nube – woman and mother – I was stunned into disbelief and deeply disturbed by this information. I have difficulty finding the words for how I feel even now.

But words I did have to find, as Bradley was taking his own personal and emotional risks and deserved a response.

We believed Bradley from the start and had every intention of publishing his letter as requested, but we also needed the letter he referred to that had been written by Keith Washington (aka Malik Washington, Comrade Malik) to make it solid. Over two months and a series of letters and JPays back and forth, we built trust and understanding.

One of Bradley's major concerns was would I sweep this under the rug, use him to get revenge, not caring about his situation, or dismiss him for the sake of "defending my man" based on information Bradley had gleaned from an earlier edition of the Bay View. That was a reasonable concern for Bradley, but it cut to the core of my being. Below are a few of my unedited responses to Bradley's concern asked in various ways:

"At the time I was counting on the best in Keith. I was trusting that he would be the man he said he was. My son was taking his time to accept Keith, so when I had to tell him that not only did Keith relapse, but also in anger grabbed me by the throat and pushed me against the wall and put me in danger in other ways, it was the most painful thing I've ever had to share with my son, who I am very close with.

"Keith proved to be all the things my son had feared. If for only that reason, I would never, ever go back to Keith. You don't know me, and I don't know you, so here it is a matter of intuitive trust. I am not the kind of woman to 'defend her man' over my principals, my values and certainly not over the emotional and spiritual integrity of my son, EVER!"

"Understand that Keith is the person I fell in love with, introduced my family to and put everything on the line for. Imagine just a moment how much I don't want this to be true – for me and everyone who will be affected by this.

"I deserve to be allowed to be a human being in this process. While Keith may have done what you have claimed – it's only your word at this point – he is still a human being. If he has done what you claim – proven by the document, then I will feel the pain of watching him suffer the consequences from which he will not be able to save himself."

"What you say Keith did to you is the most egregious of betrayals – lying for one's own gain and to the detriment of a son losing his father can never be justified, excused or understood. Bradley, I am a mother with an only son. The thought that I have let someone into my life who is capable of doing what you claim is an emotional calamity."

BRADLEY BARTON'S FIRST LETTER TO THE BAY VIEW

Dear Mrs. Ratcliff,

[The only words removed are those opening the letter with an inquiry about the health of Bay View publishers Willie and Mary Ratcliff.] I hate to add further burden or stress to you concerning my situation, but I just don't know where else to turn without blowing this up and hopefully addressing this situation that both has directly caused my unjust incarceration and [is] undermining the cause y'all have supported for so long and indeed have that individual help run.

So, here's the thing: I've been incarcerated since I was 19. I just turned 32. I'm locked up under an infamously unjust law in Texas called the law of parties; in California y'all know it as the felony murder rule, which y'all's Legislature recently amended.

It's alive and well in Texas, though. When I was 19, a "friend" of mine robbed and shot someone who ultimately died. I was wrongly convicted as being a getaway driver to that robbery. And under that law I was held criminally responsible and given a life sentence.

I got convicted in 2010 and sent to the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) in December of that year. My conviction was and is rife with all types of illegalities, chief among them were/are the two main witnesses' lies.

Due to this, I dove straight into learning the law so I could have the proper tools to fight. And very shortly after my conviction, before I went to TDCJ, the witnesses themselves reached out to me saying they were willing to come forward.

Armed with that, I sought out a writ writer, which are the inmates well versed in the law, and that's when I met this guy named Keith Washington who told me he's a writ writing Muslim out of Baltimore locked up for robbing banks with notes.

So, after posing like he would help, I told him about what all the state did at my trial: he lies, he absurd accusations they made after trial, that I planned to harm the DA on my case and about the witnesses coming forward.

Little did I know what he actually was doing and who he actually was. He was taking all that and twisting it – as if a confession – and he wrote that same DA's office seeking to "earn parole" by feeding them that crap of lies.

The DA's office was desperate to have something like that to undermine a future attack on the conviction. So, they took this extraordinary step of sending one of their investigators to the prison to meet Keith, where he further fed them his lies. Among them he told them I threatened my witnesses into recanting their testimony.

I, of course, did not know this at the time. I did not learn this until four years later, when I thought I was successfully challenging my conviction. I was floored and flabbergasted when they sent me the letter Keith wrote the DA and the investigator's report, and they said it should be credible because Keith told them details "only someone intimately involved would know" and because he told them about the witnesses before I challenged the conviction and "sure enough, they have now recanted."

But on top of this, Keith's letter states – in his writing – that he has a history of informing for the FBI and Texas OIG. And if he customized lies like that against me, I can only imagine what has been done to others.

So, when I ran across y'all's paper and seen him and his role in it, I was deeply saddened and depressed. Especially because y'all's cause is one we really need in our community, and situations like this only cause the other side to point and laugh.

Nonetheless, his evil, false, treacherous actions have caused my son to be fatherless, my mom to lose her son and countless other harms. It is outrageous he is on the platform he's on with these types of skeletons in his closet.

So, please tell me what to do. I do not want to expose this dude and embarrass him and by extension y'all's paper and by extension undermining y'all's cause, mission and message. But it's like Judas becoming an Apostle; it's crazy.

I look forward to hearing from you. Thank you for your time. And if you prefer, I can have someone contact you; just let me know.

Sincerely, Bradley Barton

KEITH WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO THE HARRIS COUNTY D.A.'S OFFICE

[In addition to the typed and lightly edited copy of the letter presented here, the handwritten original letter is also presented on the Bay View website.]

23 January 2011

To: ADA [Assistant District Attorney] Marcy McCorvey, Harris County D.A. Office

At one time, in the realm of intelligence gathering, I was viewed as a "rock star." I was respected by many. Now I am a nobody.

I give the authorities info and they pay no attention.

I'm not fighting for recognition; I am more interested in gaining back my credibility.

Drugs and alcohol have ravaged my life.

One of your colleagues helped me get a 20-year non-ag sentence. However, there is still a light that burns inside me which says, "Do the right thing even if no one is watching."

Bradley Barton is really a conniving, wicked young man. I'm impressed by his intellect but sickened by his hatred and disregard for human life.

My talks with him have led me to believe that he orchestrated the murder of Miguel Figueroa. Barton's father was released from TDC[J] in 2009, I believe. Barton's father has a "significant other" who is a former TDC[J] guard, and they schooled "KB" Bradley how to manipulate the system.

The white female former guard has also promised to hook the younger Barton up with corrupt TDC[J] officers that work at other facilities – cell phone, weed, tobacco to Barton.

However, the only reason I wrote is to warn you that Bradley has told me once he reaches his unit of assignment, he intends on having some of his "home boys" or possibly his father reach out and "touch" you.

I am willing to talk to you or other law enforcement officers, but I request one of the following three people be present.

Special agent Matt Taylor – FBI Houston. I trust this man with my life.

Texas OIG agent Joshua D. Lyons. We have butted heads in the past, but I trust and respect him.

Harris County Detective Dave Farrel, sheriff – good honest man!

Do I have a lawyer? Of course, I do. Do I want him present – NO!!

The fewer people that know about me helping you the better. You go home every night; as for me, I have to contend with these sick people in TDC[J] and things are getting worse – and the budget cuts hurt security and safety! I do not want Barton to be placed in the position where he can hurt innocent people.

What do I want? I'd like to be re-activated as a source for OIG.

Agent Lyons took good care of me when I worked for him in the past – on top of that, I have a lot of skills to bring to the table.

Ms. McCorvey, I don't play games. If you send some people to interview me, I will co-operate. Just don't be loose with my identity. It can be dangerous behind these walls for an informant. Please utilize tact and discretion.

I realize your job is to lock people up; however, I am a good man who could use another chance. I'm ready to be a productive member of society.

I asked Barton how he got Cansler to sign that affidavit. Barton said: "Look, that nigga (Cansler) is a Blood like me. I told that nigga that if he didn't clean his shit up that I was going to send word to the Homeys (other Bloods) to smash him on sight at whatever unit his bitch ass lands at!" End of quote.

Apparently, Barton, shooter McClain and Cansler were all simultaneously at Byrd Unit recently. Barton used this time to pressure his co-defendants into recanting their statements and testimony against him.

Barton is actively preparing his appeal, and a big part of his strategy is to intimidate and discredit the state's witnesses. However, the most audacious plan he has is to have Assistant District Attorney Marcy McCorvey murdered.

Barton is very intelligent and extremely manipulative and potentially dangerous in my opinion.

Once this guy Barton reaches a TDC[J] unit, he will usurp, exploit and manipulate the mail and other means of communication with the outside world to orchestrate his plan. And believe me this young killer has a plan – I take his threat against Ms. McCorvey very serious and so should you!

I can't make you folks listen to me. I can only pass the information – please listen! If your men decide to visit me, I will elaborate on Barton's plan(s).

I will continue to glean as much intel as I can from Barton so as to thwart any attempts at harming Ms. McCorvey.

Barton is not aware of my co-operation with law enforcement. I offer my help and co-operation to Harris County D.A. office and Harris County sheriff as well as Texas OIG. My main goal is to earn parole.

However, I also would like to rebuild my relationship with the law enforcement community in Houston and redeem myself from my past.

[Signature] Keith Washington

Please pick up the phone and call Darrington Unit, OIG office, but they may have already contacted you. – A Friend

Important – 1 February 2011

I have collected extremely detailed info from Barton concerning his plan to have ADA McCorvey harmed. I anonymously forwarded this intel to the OIG office at Darrington Unit where I am now housed. Please note: OIG Agent Joshua D. Lyons is someone I trust and respect; please have him arrange the meet.

Historic note on a previous COINTELPRO attack on the Bay View, by former Bay View editor Mary Ratcliff

The FBI knows – and fears – the Bay View newspaper. Remember the FBI's Black August scam targeting the Bay View? On the eve of Aug. 1, 2016, a local TV reporter called to "warn" he Bay View that the FBI had been told that the Bay View was calling for the murder of cops and prison guards during Black August.

He said the FBI had issued an all-points bulletin – just like the one J. Edgar Hoover issued in 1969 proclaiming the Black Panther Party "the greatest threat to internal security of the country."

I had to laugh when I saw the letter. The FBI's evidence? A drawing we'd published by Heshima Jinsai of his cell-mate Abdul Shakur's cartoon-like tattoo of a gorilla eating a pig. The upshot? Not a single cop or guard was murdered that month, so the scam evaporated, but the FBI's COINTELPRO-style bulletin declared open season on the Bay View for prison wardens and police departments around the country. And the statewide broadcast of that story claiming the Bay View was calling for a bloodbath poisoned the minds of viewers across California.

Little did I know that the FBI might be mounting a second attack when I received a jubilant letter from Keith Washington a couple of years ago. He announced that to his surprise he'd been granted parole. He said he had to serve a short time in federal prison and could then head to San Francisco to become the new editor of the Bay View.

Keith-Malik-Washington, Was he Bay View infiltrated by a 'rock star' informant?, Local News & Views Keith "Malik" Washington began sending stories to the Bay View for publication in 2013. This is the first photo we saw of him; it was received in 2015.

While I'd been begging, especially after reaching my 80s, for readers to help find a new editor I could pass the torch to, I'd pictured someone with newspaper experience. Keith had none. But he seemed to be a competent writer, and he had an extensive following among prison movement activists. Having no alternative, I accepted his offer, and he arrived a year ago, on Sept. 3, 2020, to a warm welcome as the new Bay View editor.

Like Nube, I was shocked to read Bradley Barton's letter and even more shocked by Keith's letter to the assistant D.A. Had I allowed a professional informant to take over the SF Bay View National Black Newspaper? Fortunately, by then, Keith had been long gone from the editor's seat, having quit last spring, saying he didn't like the job and wanted to make more money.

Even more fortunately, Nube agreed to fill the editor's seat

as soon as Keith left, and I'm confident that with your generous help and support, she'll join Ida B. Wells in the Black journalist pantheon. Please keep your loving arms around her as she recovers from this personal and professional calamity.

Looking back, I have to wonder whether her Keith, a self-confessed FBI informant, had been directed to infiltrate the Bay View. Was that plan hatched when he "earned" parole by selling out Bradley Barton?

Will the FBI, having failed in 2016 to destroy the Bay View and perhaps having tried once more in this round, try again? I'm asking readers to alert us if you see or sense something brewing. I'm proud that the mighty power of the FBI has met its match in the tiny staff of the Bay View, strengthened by you, our army of readers.

Thank you!

NOTE: The following was the response written by Tom Watts in the name of the NABPP; it is followed by a response by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson.

The Snake Rears Its Head: 10 Years We Had a "Rockstar Informant" in NABPP: Exposing Keith "Malik" Washington, ghost written by Tom Watts for the Central Committee of NABPP

I remember going to the IWOC conference in 2019 with a bunch of comrades concerned with prison oppression and abuse. There were about 2,000 people there over a 3 day period.

I met Comrade Karen Smith (who has since passed in a car accident) there, and she was selling Keith Washington t-shirts to raise money for him. Many there saw him as the up and coming Messiah of Anarchism! I was left feeling empowered but confused, because NABPP was being warmly welcomed and accepted as a comrade organization in this Anarchist orbit, even though we base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and adhere to democratic centralism and application of historical dialectical materialism. But there was something else odd with this adulation and reverence for Keith Washington that I couldn't put my hands on until recently with the article exposing him to be a willing informant for the F.B.I.

Keith Washington sent us a letter in 2009 with a big proclamation announcing he was our Deputy Minister of Defense. I wrote back rejecting that proclamation. In communication with Kevin "Rashid" Johnson (then our Minister of Defense) and based on his advice, it was decided to make Keith Washington the Deputy Chairman for Texas under the National Chairman.

Undercover pigs, moles, and rats are part of the arsenal of weapons of the capitalist state to maintain and defend the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. From the onset, at the formation of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party in 2005, we knew the capitalist state would go all out to prevent the restoration of the Black Panther Party, which it had dubbed "the greatest threat to national security." In fact, most of the veterans of the original BPP we communicated with advised us we were committing "revolutionary suicide" by attempting it. We took that to heart, and went ahead anyway, keeping in mind Comrade Huey's instruction:

"I do not think that life will change for the better without an assault on the Establishment, which goes on exploiting the wretched of the earth. This belief lies at the heart of the concept of revolutionary suicide. Thus it is better to oppose the forces that would drive me to self-murder than to endure them. Although I risk the likelihood of death, there is at least the possibility, if not the probability, of changing intolerable conditions. This possibility is important, because much in human existence is based upon hope without any real understanding of the odds. Indeed, we are all—Black and white alike—ill in the same way, mortally ill. But before we die, how shall we live? I say with hope and dignity; and if premature death is the result, that death has a meaning reactionary suicide can never have. It is the price of self-respect.

"Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick."

— Huey P. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide* (1973)

As Huey pointed out: "The first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man." We were already condemned to long prison sentences, and one of us was on "Death Row" awaiting execution. Weighed against the need of the people for a revolutionary vanguard to lead the fight to end the long epoch of class exploitation and oppression, we saw no reason to hold back and committed ourselves to live and die for the people. Inevitably, this commitment would be tested—again and again.

For Comrade Hasan Shakur, who was on "Death Row" in Texas for a crime he was innocent of and attempting to appeal his kangaroo conviction, the test came immediately. His supporters and loved ones urged him not to represent himself as a Black Panther and the Party's Minister of Human Rights. He did not hold back however, and set an example he hoped would inspire all who in the future would join our Party, as well as fellow prisoners—particularly those awaiting execution. He died as a proud Black man, a proletarian revolutionary, and a Black Panther. His last thoughts and words were about, and to the people and the future we must struggle and sacrifice to create. Comrade Hasan was a model revolutionary, and that is why we have named our first community center after him as well as our school of political education. Each year we honor him as part of the commemoration of Black August, along with George and Jonathan Jackson and the Attica Brothers.

The NABPP Prison Chapter grew rapidly due to the popularity of our newsletter, "Right On!", which was published quarterly and was free to prisoners. However, there was no way to vet the applicants for membership, other than by their correspondence. There were also prisoners identifying and representing themselves as Party members and leaders we had no contact with, and in some cases these were rats and plants by the enemy. We also had a problem in that once a collective was formed, it was likely to be broken up and scattered by comrades being transferred to other units—even to other state systems. "Right On!" was edited and published by Comrade Tom Watts, a former White Panther, who served as our outside elder advisor. A position he also held with other prison-based groups whose newsletters he edited and published. At least he did until he suffered a second major heart attack that left him not only disabled but virtually homebound, and he was forced to cease his publishing and cut back on his activities.

Not only was Tom's health broken, but he had run through his savings and was forced to live on his meager disability benefits to survive, leaving the Party almost without funding necessary for postage just to communicate between cadre. These were tough times indeed, but there was a light at the end of the tunnel, in that the Supreme Court of New Jersey had ruled that Chairman Shaka had been excessively sentenced for his offense, and the lower court must give him a new hearing and a sentence reduction. It was decided that in the interest of the Party, he should maintain a low profile pending his release on parole, and Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, the Minister of Defense, should serve as the public face of the Party until then. It took longer than we

anticipated for the lower court to comply and allow the Chairman to get released, which finally occurred in January of 2019.

When it did, he hit the ground running and immediately was able to pull together a small force in the Newark area and play an active role in community organizing. But it also became apparent that the Central Committee had a problem in that Comrade Rashid was loath to see Shaka replacing him as the Party's figurehead and principal leader. Where the prison authorities had long attempted to keep Rashid incommunicado—particularly with Comrade Tom and Chairman Shaka—they were now allowing him almost unfettered communication via phone and mail, which he took advantage of to undermine Chairman Shaka at every turn. Without going

into too much detail—as this piece is not about the eventual split in the Party per se, however, is it interrelated with it—is necessary to frame the context of the subject, which is the story of one of the infiltrators who has been exposed, who with Rashid's assistance became an undercover informant (a mole) within the Party's leadership.

Keith "Malik" Washington, was a prisoner in Texas who hooked up with the NABPP Prison Chapter around 2009. At Rashid's instigation, he was given the position of Deputy Chairman for the Party in Texas, (although he would represent himself as if he had a national office), and later he was nominated by Rashid to serve as our Minister of Labor, which is a Central Committee position. As such, he represented the Party within the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC) initiated by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) labor union. A problem soon developed and persisted in that he was opportunistically putting out lines contrary to the Party's in order to unite with (infiltrate) other forces.

At first we thought the problem was he didn't really understand the Party's ideological-political line, and Comrade Tom was assigned by the Central Committee to mentor him. As it became obvious he was an opportunist working his own agenda, we set out to correct him through criticism by a Central Committee member. We also asked him to account for his disregard of party discipline. He wrote back with 20 pages of subjective blather about his desire to get Donald Trump out of the White House and vote for Biden. He sent 10 copies of this letter to various revolutionary and progressive organizations declaring his independence from the strictures of democratic centralism. He whispered to people that we kicked him out and that we don't have a vision.

This informant was deliberately sowing seeds of doubt and mistrust in the movement. We questioned him on this tactic, and he sent back a litany tale of how important he was to the broader liberal movement and that he was joining the Anarchist movement. In fact, comrades, we received a letter he wrote to comrades in New York declaring that he and Rashid were going over to Anarchism and leaving NABPP! Obviously, Rashid rebuffed that claim. We are, however, inclined to believe that informant Keith Washington and Rashid were working together all along to undermine NABPP and split the IWOC comrade organization into 3 or 4 different factional groups across the country.

When Keith Washington was released from prison, he immediately sided with the right-wing of the movement, uniting with the liberal Democrats. He did not want to do any "Serve the People" programs nor participate in Political Education given by the Party! The snitch told several prison based groups who are now coming forward with statements of their own that we were corrupt and sexist! When he became the editor of the San Francisco Bay View newspaper in California, he published several documents besmirching the character of NABPP! We asked him to publish our response, and he never responded! Instead he allowed the San Francisco Bay View newspaper to be used as a medium of false propaganda by upholding the events leading to the split in our Party that Rashid and his faction had put out.

The question must be asked: why would the F.B.I. be fine with the New Afrikan Black Panther Party being slandered and denounced while Rashid's new Party upheld as the legitimate heirs of the Panther Movement now? This occurred after we were alleging several leading members in our Party as suspected agent provocateurs, and even possibly, military intelligence. So for the San Francisco Bay View to expose Malik Washington as an FBI informant is right in line with the allegations that we were making at the time against leading members in our Party which led to the split. Very seldom do we acquire proof that an individual is working with one of the enemy's intelligence agencies, but this substantiates our claims that we had been infiltrated.

The article that Kevin Rashid Johnson published in the San Francisco Bay View January 31st, 2020 titled "Let's get this party started: On the split in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party and founding of the Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party," alleged that we were "purging all critics". The fact of the matter is that the only individuals who were targeted for investigation were those that we suspected as infiltrating our Party.

Keith Washington should always live in infamy! This snitch was a modern day William O'Neil, (the FBI informer who set up Fred Hampton). He was able to get close to the top leadership of the Pan her Revolution, but was only able—along with other undercover pigs, moles and rats—to effect a split in our Party and Movement that has been overall beneficial. No one was killed and none of us were sent back to prison, but we did our ranks of several undesirable elements. This has made us stronger, and we are forging ahead, with a Second Rainbow Coalition that has united 6 other organizations so far, and includes many elders who were part of the original Rainbow Coalition with Fred Hampton. Our "Serve the People" survival programs are expanding, and we now own our building, the Hasan Shakur Community Center: 309 South Orange Ave, Newark, NJ 07106!

THE FUTURE IS BRIGHT!

DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN... ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The White Snake Rears His Head Again: How Tom "The Great White Hoax" Watts Recruited a "Rock Star Informant" Into the NABPP (A Q&A Response To "The Snake Rears Its Head: For Ten Years We Had A "Rock Star Informant" In The Nabpp: The Exposure Of Keith "Malik" Washington"), by Kevin Rashid Johnson (2022)

QUESTION: WHO WROTE "THE SNAKE REARS ITS HEAD"?

RASHID: It is being represented as written by the Central Committee of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (NABPP). It was actually ghostwritten by a white guy Thomas Watts or Tom.

With that article Tom has resurfaced, pretending once again to speak as if he is a Black person/political group. Here he is trying to spin the narrative about Keith "Malik" Washington's recruitment into the NABPP, which was solely Tom's doing, and our purging Tom and Shaka (who now goes by Zulu Sharod) when we reconstituted as the Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party (RIBPP) in Dec 2020.

In my article "The Great White Hope or Great White Hoax" (1), I exposed Tom as a conniving white man and spin artist with a messianic complex and long history of insinuating himself into and taking over the organizations and movements of people of color, then flattering himself with self-praise as some charitable soul who abandoned his racial and class birthrights to become a savior of the 'lesser people.' It was primarily a struggle against Tom's manipulative control of the NABPP that led to the split.

I also refuted another article he ghost wrote in Feb 2020 which was portrayed as written by the Political Bureau of the NABPP, where he attempted to spin the split as a power struggle between me and Shaka to hide his own manipulative role in the NABPP as the principal basis of the split.(2)

After I had those two articles posted on social media and shared to his previous Facebook page, which he operated under a staged AmerIndian identity of Xing Eela, he deactivated that page without a word and disappeared from social media.

Months later (on June 1) he attempted to recover from those exposures by having his Black front man Shaka go on social media with a rambling speech spewing all manner of easily disproven fabrications reading from a bullet list created by Tom. It was a minstrel performance with Shaka serving as Tom in blackface. In turn, I conducted several open interviews with various people who knew and worked with both Shaka and me for years, including prior CC members of the NABPP and past San Francisco Bay View (BV) editor Mary Ratcliff. Without any coaxing from me, they demonstrated his speech to be nothing but lies.(3)

But before I could answer that minstrelsy myself point-by-point I was transferred to the Ohio prison system, denied all my property, and faced severe pig repression.

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU KNOW THIS WHITE GUY TOM WROTE "THE SNAKE REARS ITS HEAD"?

RASHID: There are only three people calling themselves the NABPP-they being Tom, Shaka and now Kwame "Snitch Jacket" Shakur aka Dayon Miller (not to be confused with the genuine Kwame Shakur aka Lil' Beans who is presently imprisoned in Indiana, and whose name Snitch Jacket ripped off while he was also imprisoned in Indiana clout chasing). Tom is the only writer among the three.

He has spent decades pretending to be other people, attempting to wear others' skins, foisting himself on others' cultures and liberation movements. I've known him since '04, and throughout that time he ghost wrote countless articles in others' names and in the names of leading bodies of the NABPP. He ghost wrote most everything that had Shaka's name on it.

Not only did I forbid him to ghostwrite for me, but he also credited me as writing and grasping revolutionary theory well enough not to 'need' him to. Shaka fabricated in his June 1 statement that Tom wrote all my political articles and both of my books. He said this because Tom has always written for him, and they want to claim credit for and use the Panther line, strategy and organizational structure I was instrumental in developing. They know Tom's role isn't okay. It's why he's always hidden behind other national and racial identities and writes pretending to be Black and Brown people.

In statements from various publishers and editors (including from my books' publisher Kersplebedeb) responding to Shaka's June 1 statement, they slammed his lie about Tom ghostwriting my articles and books, since a number of them transcribed my handwritten articles when I sent them out of prison over the years, including those in my books.(4)

I also have many letters from Tom who also helped with some of my transcriptions where he remarks that my writings never needed much if any editing, asking me to write larger because transcribing them was hard on his bad vision, and identifying many of my articles by title that he was transcribing including several that are in my books. He also remarked many times that it was my art and articles that drew most of the readers of our newsletters.

Like most lackeys of white supremacy, however, Shaka believes for anything to be successful it has to be produced by a white hand; which is why he is only too happy to keep Tom's hand up his own ass.

Then there's Tom's schizophrenic tendency when ghostwriting to jump from talking as if he is actually the person he's ghostwriting for, to speaking as himself, then writing about the person he's writing for in the third person. All of his is present in "The Snake Rears its Head."

It begins as if it's Shaka talking in the first person about a '19 prison conference that I participated in as part of a call-in prisoner panel and Shaka attended in Florida where he met Karen Smith, with whom I'd worked for years. Then further down it talks about mail received from prisoners related to the NABPP in '09. Tom was the only outside person who corresponded with prisoners related to the NABPP. Everyone else including Shaka was in prison and COULDN'T write other prisoners; so it's clearly not Shaka talking.

Then further on it talks about Shaka in the third person where it falsely claims that I was consulted in promoting Keith to a leading position under "our national chair" (Shaka was the 'national chair,' so again this obviously isn't Shaka talking). It's Tom with his multiple "assumed" personality disorder, passing from pretending to be other people to speaking as himself then back again. He literally tries to assume others' personalities and thought processes, just as he tries to take on and take over others' cultures and movements.

People familiar with Tom's writings can tell when it's him; several RIBPP comrades recognized as soon as they began reading the article that it was Tom. Just read some of his articles on his new Facebook page then compare them to this one. You can tell it's him. Just like the recent article falsely attributed to Shaka that was posted on Shaka's pages on Dec 14 titled, "Capitalism Promotes Alienation." Tom wrote that. Shaka doesn't grasp Marxist theory at that level and simply CAN'T write like that.

EVERYTHING involving Tom is swimming in deception and racist paternalism. He wants nothing more than to be glorified as some great savior, teacher or father figure of people

of color.

QUESTION: WERE YOU INVOLVED IN KEITH'S RECRUITMENT INTO THE NABPP?

RASHID: In his article Tom claims I was. Like all of his lies it is easily disproven.

I'll begin with a quote from a letter he wrote me in '06, which shows how he independently initiated an enrollment campaign that opened the door for every manner of pig agent and reactionary to join the NABPP, (which I opposed), and the power he wielded over the NABPP (he was certainly not a mere "elder advisor," a term he uses to downplay his control over what is supposed to be a Black organization). In '06 he independently put out a call for 1000 random prisoners to join the NABPP using the execution of Hasan Shakur our Minister of Human Rights as the rallying cause. Here's Tom:

"I've put out a call for a Hasan Shakur Enrollment of 1000 Black Panthers to take his place.

"I printed up fliers and a 24 page booklet with the organizational stuff from RIGHT ON! #1 and stuff on and by Hasan to send to those who send in applications. I'll get ID cards made up numbering 0001 to 1000 with Hasan's picture on them....

"We should be able to recruit 1000 members in a year or so."

Now remember, in "The Snake Rears its Head," he admits we all knew when the NABPP was founded that the pigs would maneuver to infiltrate us. Knowing this, why would he throw the doors open to allow pig agents to walk right in? This is but one of a multitude of examples of his incompetent leadership and overriding desire for followers and flunkies without regard for who he brought in.

At the very time he initiated this enrollment campaign I wrote an article opposing open enrollments into revolutionary parties, criticizing it as one of the original Black Panther Party's (BPP) critical errors that we must not repeat in the NABPP. Here's what I wrote in my '06 article, "On the Roles and characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations":

"Membership in the BPP was generally open to all members of the Black communities. All one had to do was walk into a Party office and sign up. This allowed raw elements to join who were not trained and prepared to lead a revolutionary movement, and offered no protection against infiltration by disruptive elements and enemy agents who would undermine the Party's ability to operate at a high level of ideological, political and practical unity."(5)

But now Tom wants to deflect his responsibility for a pig agent joining the NABPP. The fact is, he "rock star informant" didn't infiltrate the NABPP. He didn't have to. Thomas Watts invited him in.

Tom's lie that I was consulted in Keith's NABPP recruitment is really exposed by the easily proven fact that I wasn't in communication with Tom in '09 when he says Keith joined the NABPP and was appointed as deputy chair under Shaka (a decision Shaka as national chair would have weighed in on not me).

EVERYONE who worked with me knows '09 is the year that I was held incommunicado by the pigs. It's the year the "Fusion Center" of the Virginia State Police wrote a huge report that profiled me as a "domestic terrorist threat" because of my articles exposing prison abuses which it said proved effective at turning the public against law enforcement, and my aspiring to revive the work of the BPP. (6) It was that scrutiny and labeling that prompted my isolation that year.

Also if one looks at my books and website where my articles are posted (most are dated by year), it can be seen that almost nothing by me was published in '09. Which again shows Tom never ghost wrote for me even when I couldn't get articles out.

As discussed in a recent article, "On the Exposure of Keith 'Malik' Washington as a 'Rock Star Informant'," (7) I never knew about nor had contact with Keith until 2013 when I was interstate transferred to the Texas prison system where he was also confined.

Tom is now trying to hide his responsibility for recruiting and promoting Keith because it confirms his control and incompetence that I struggled against in the NABPP that became

a key reason for our split, which I exposed in my articles on the split. Every thing I've written about them and their tendencies that led to the split they are confirming.

Which brings me to further proof of Shaka's inclination to lie to shield Tom. In his June 1 statement Shaka assured his audience that Tom was not in the NABPP, not on its CC, never had a controlling role over the NABPP, and that Shaka wasn't his Black front man.

Well, here we have "The Snake Rears its Head," where Tom is ghostwriting as the NABPP's CC and speaking as if he is Shaka, and here Tom is quoted initiating on his own authority a campaign that opened the door for anyone including pig agents to join the NABPP.

These people couldn't tell the truth if their lives depended on it.

QUESTION: DID KEITH PUBLISH RIBPP ARTICLES ON THE SPLIT IN THE BAY VIEW?

RASHID: Keith had nothing to do with the decision to print my article on the split in the Feb '21 BV as Tom falsely claims. Here is an example of how Tom and co. invent lies to serve their agendas and slander, since they never spoke to BV staff to find out who had the article printed. A claim he then uses to create a bigger lie that the FBI was using Keith as BV editor to endorse the RIBPP and censor the NABPP.

It was actually Mary Ratcliff, the former chief editor of BV, who made the call.

Furthermore in his June 1 social media statement Shaka admits the NABPP actually HAD NO REPLY TO OUR ACCOUNT OF THE SPLIT, and only manufactured that statement 6 months after the split because people kept asking him why there had been no response made by them. So how could the BV refuse to print a response they admit they never had? But now they're claiming there was an FBI plot led by Keith to box them out of airing their response in the BV. These are the deceitful games and posers as victims of pig intrigue that Tom and Shaka specialize in that drove everyone in the NABPP to purge them.

Furthermore, Keith actually didn't want the BV to take a public stance on the split, not knowing how it would play out. Again it was Mary who made the call to print our articles. Ask her yourself.

What she can also attest to in having worked with prisoners for decades, is she long witnessed and frowned on Tom's manipulating and controlling the organizations and movements of people of color, and wanted for years to bring her misgivings about Tom to me but didn't out of respect for my work. Also she doesn't like his writings and never used them in the BV (although she's seen them for years), because she recognizes and opposes his maneuvers.

She has also long seen through Shaka, whom she has experienced as being rude and manipulative; and completely absent from involvement in any of the prison-related movements during the many years he was in prison, from the struggles against solitary confinement, to abolishing prison slavery, granting prisoners voting rights, amending the 13th Amendment, to the various prison hunger and work strikes, or anything else. But now as is typical of Shaka he wants to be the face of work he did nothing to build. And there was no "plan" that Shaka would lay low while his appeals were pending as Tom fabricates. Shaka simply had no interest or involvement in anything that involved standing up with or for anyone but himself.

I actually also encouraged the BV to print any response they had to our writings on the split. EVERYONE who knows me knows I invite public debate and polemics, since as a Maoist I recognize that correct ideas develop in struggle and contradiction with incorrect ones. And as anyone can see, these posers are the most fantastic AND POOREST of liars. In fact it was Tom who erased his earlier spin article about the split and ran off Facebook when I responded to it, which I've had reposted now so all readers can see both sides.(8)

QUESTION: WAS THE "SPLIT" ABOUT YOU TRYING TO UNDERMINE SHAKA'S LEADERSHIP OF THE NABPP?

RASHID: Not at all. That's actually laughable to anyone in the know. It's yet another of Tom's outright fabrications claiming that I was jealous of Shaka's leadership and his

becoming the face of the NABPP. Again I can easily prove this.

Not only was Shaka not doing very well as a national leader of the NABPP, but he was repeatedly denounced and disciplined by the Central Committee, until most of its members left the Party OUT OF DISGUST WITH HIM.

How was he the face of the NABPP might I ask when in Jan 2020 he was KICKED OFF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (which is the national leadership body) AND DEMOTED TO A LOCAL LEADERSHIP POSITION IN NEWARK? This was his second time being suspended from the CC, but this time he was never reinstated back to the CC.

He was kicked off the CC and removed as national Chair of the NABPP by unanimous decision because, after being reinstated on a probationary status, he tried to create a personality cult around himself in Newark where he lived and threatened to split the NABPP when the CC discovered what he was doing and tried to counter it; he repeatedly refused to attend mandatory CC meetings; refused to report to the CC or communicate with CC members or obey CC directions; he would not perform the basic duties of Party Chair but wanted to take credit for all the work others did to advance the Party; he repeatedly refused to account for Party funds he routed to himself and defied CC attempts to create an oversight committee to keep track of NABPP funds; he only wanted to be a social media celebrity; and he was jealous of my influence (and expressed as much) and kept trying to undermine me; in that instance he had his social media followers get my Facebook page deactivated by telling them to report the page to Facebook [!?!], which he knew was my Party-authorized page, as a bogus page. Not only did I write an article about it to explain to followers of my page what happened, (9) but Tom wrote an article on Jan 22, 2020 criticizing Shaka and his disappointing performance as Chair and endorsing his permanent CC suspension, titled "Dizzy With Success, Intoxicated With Self-Glorification," which read in relevant part:

"It is not my intent to vilify Comrade Shaka but to seek a method of correction. This latest bit of business with his attempting to sabotage Comrade Rashid's Facebook is intolerable, but most serious is the burning jealousy he evidently feels and is giving vent to. We have already placed him on suspension from the Central Committee for his individualist acts and violations of [democratic centralism]. He was allowed back on probationary status, after making a self-criticism. Since then he has continued to undermine and sabotage the work of the CC at every turn employing passive aggressive tactics, plotting and factionalism.

"I believe we have no choice but to renew his suspension and reduce him in rank to a Branch Chairman for Newark, NJ. In this way we can continue with the good work he is doing while the CC seeks to find another Comrade to be its spokesperson pending the founding Congress of the Party.

"Shaka is a good man who is loath to accept criticism, who only craves praise and flattery not only from others but himself as well. He is more comfortable with new Comrades than with old, because his old Comrades know him better. It is easier to change company than yourself, and paint yourself larger than life....

"...Comrade Shaka does not credit the line for our advances but claims the glory as his alone for the successes we have had.

"The responsibility of the CC is to keep the Party properly oriented and guard its integrity by application of its ideological-political line. The job of the Chairperson is to be the voice of the CC and its collective leadership. Comrade Shaka proposes an inverse relationship, which is essentially commandist. This cannot be allowed....

"Higher position means greater responsibility to set a proper example, not license for self-indulgence. Shaka has a responsibility to set a much better example than he has, and we must demand it of him.

"If Shaka persists with his plotting to split the Party, then it is better we endure it now than later.... It is the ideological-political line of the Party not the fate of individuals seeking recognition and position that is important and upon which our success or failure depends."(10)

That Jan 2020 article by Tom contradicts everything he's written now in, "The Snake Raises its Head." Especially the claims that I was jealous of Shaka, and was supposedly trying to undermine him. These were actually the CC's unanimous findings against Shaka as pertained to me, that got him expelled from the national leadership. It was the entire CC that didn't want him as the face of the NABPP.

This is why Tom is a vile white snake and demonstrates everything I exposed about him in "The Great White Hope or Great White Hoax." He will lie, embellish, slander, backstab, spin and rewrite history to serve his agenda; and he's a puppet master and pure Machiavellian.

Here's what made him switch horses on Shaka, which sparked the struggle between Tom and me and led to the split.

After the CC expelled him Shaka threw a tantrum and threatened to take the circle of people he had around him in Newark and split the NABPP. Tom panicked. Tom had told me many times that Shaka was politically immature, and not a good leader nor a principled person, but he was the ONLY person we had outside prison represent the NABPP and who had brought together a small group of people as Party followers on the street. Tom persisted, we needed Shaka to keep the outside Party alive, and until we found someone better we had to settle for him.

Tom never had an outside following or support base. He wasn't willing to lose the small group Shaka had in NJ where he lived, so he placated Shaka and backed off. Shaka's suspension wasn't made public as Tom originally supported doing, and he allowed Shaka to continue to defy the CC and Party discipline and do as he pleased, and repeatedly came to his defense whenever others tried to hold him accountable. It was pure opportunism.

In latter 2019 I'd told Tom that I would leave the NABPP and start over if Shaka continued to misrepresent and pervert the work I'd devoted so much time and energy to developing (Shaka stayed involved in one scandal after another, from sexual harassment of female Comrades [which was why he was suspended from the CC the first time], to stealing Party money, to lying to those around him telling them he ran the Party and CC members didn't want to communicate with them, etc.). Tom agreed with my stance and said if I left he'd go with me. He switched positions when Shaka had his meltdown and threatened to jump ship and take the outside mass organization membership with him. The entire CC ended up quitting the NABPP.

To increase his leverage, Shaka began recruiting new people whom he felt would be loyal to him, like Snitch Jacket who proved to be an organization-hopper that employed the COINTELPRO tactic of snitch jacketing multitudes of people in the movement everywhere he went, among other vile practices.(11)

Shaka somehow made Snitch Jacket deputy Chair for Indiana under himself. Since Shaka was no longer national Chair he had no authority to recruit anyone into a leading position as a Deputy Chair, but it was 'allowed.'

By bringing in new people loyal to himself, Shaka made himself even more indispensable in Tom's eyes. My struggle became with Tom, his paternalistic control over the NABPP, and his pure opportunism, liberalism and fear to confront Shaka's devious moves. I actually called for a rectification campaign against Tom's tendencies.

Tom in turn became livid and tried to deflect my criticisms by suddenly inventing attacks on me which I easily refuted and discuss in "Shattering the Looking Glass." These were the contradictions that grew to the point that I resigned from the NABPP's CC and Politburo and finally joined the entire outside Party in breaking with Tom and Shaka.

This is but a small taste of the foul goings-on that plagued the NABPP that I struggled against. This is why in his June 1 statement Shaka repeatedly emphasized they don't want to expose the inner workings of the NABPP to the public. Problem is, I don't spout revolutionary rhetoric like them. My commitment is genuinely to the people, and everytime they tell lies I will counter them with the truth. No person of integrity will stay in circles with them.

Tom was truthful about Shaka in "Dizzy with Success,"

especially that he survives politically by surrounding himself with new people who don't know him. They both also try to bolster their standing by trying to curry favor, affiliate with, and name drop others and groups with movement credentials. They're both political opportunists.

I should add, as the '09 Fusion Center report expressed concern with, I've long had a broad public support base, which Tom and Shaka had nothing to do with, on account of my independent work around publicizing prison abuses. So obviously I never needed nor looked to either of them for a platform nor to become the face of anything.

Actually it was the support network developed through my work that Shaka tapped to find supporters when he got out of prison-the warm reception he received as a NABPP member at the '19 prison conference in Florida that so baffled him was on account of my years of work with these people. So there was no "plan" that I was to be any public face of the Party as Tom falsely claims, it was work I was involved with independent of the NABPP that brought public attention to the Party. In fact Tom frequently admitted that no one followed him on social media except people in other countries, and that he's almost universally disliked by everyone on the Left who knows about him, which in his mind he attributes to his being more politically developed than everyone else.

QUESTION: THE ARTICLE SAYS THE NABPP/RIBPP SPLIT WAS OVER INVESTIGATIONS THAT PEOPLE WHO LEFT WITH YOU WERE "AGENTS PROVOCATEUR." IS THIS TRUE?

RASHID: Once again this is a fabrication, newly invented by Tom to spin a narrative around the revelations about Keith being an informant to rehabilitate their foul image and distort the facts concerning why everyone in the NABPP purged Tom and Shaka. Just as Tom invented claims that Keith was the one who printed RIBPP articles on the split in the BV (which he had nothing to do with), and used that lie to concoct a story that the FBI was using Keith as BV editor in a plot to endorse RIBPP and undermine NABPP.

If you go back to Tom's earlier article, "Through the Looking Glass," which he erased off social media and disappeared when I responded exposing his attempts to publicly pit me and Shaka against each other to divert attention away from himself as a manipulator and the main object of the split, he claimed the split was really just a power struggle between Shaka and me. (12) Now suddenly, with the exposure of Keith as an informant, it was about some investigation into the NABPP being infiltrated.

Tom can't keep his lies straight.

QUESTION: DID YOU CONSPIRE WITH KEITH TO UNDERMINE NABPP AND SPLIT IWOC INTO 3-4 FACTION GROUPS?

RASHID: Again these are false claims invented by Tom out of thin air. As I point out in a recent article on Keith's exposure, I never developed any regular communication lines with him. (13) We communicated only rarely both while he was in and out of prison.

Remember Keith was Tom's recruit and as Tom admits, he was appointed as Keith's mentor. He had more contact with Keith than I ever did, and if anyone had a motive to undermine other groups on the Left it was Tom, who is disliked by many and dislikes them in turn. I on the other hand have always worked to build unity and develop alliances with others, which he pigs recognize and earned me a "domestic terrorist threat" profile, and also earned Shaka a warm reception at the '19 prison conference from IWOC folks among many others.

Tom is trying here to incite suspicion and division using a bland assertion with zero supporting facts, simply because he knows IWOC Comrades have had unity with my work. THIS IS A TEXTBOOK COINTELPRO TACTIC. Tom and Shaka have no scruples whatsoever.

It is true that as an NABPP member Keith joined with the entire outside membership in purging Tom and Shaka and reconstituting as the RIBPP in Dec 2020. He had no part nor input in the struggles that led to the 'split.' He merely sat silently in on the meeting where the vote was taken by a number of prior NABPP members and others to purge them and reconstitute. He didn't attend any more of our meetings

and didn't remain with the RIBPP for long afterwards. Once he got out of prison in Sept 2020, Keith became less and less interested in political work as BV folks can attest.

As I demonstrate, whatever I say about Tom and Co I can immediately prove with credible witnesses, (many times people they name drop as their own supporters), easily accessible documentary proof, and their own written statements. I challenge Tom 'The Great White Hoax' Watts, Shaka, and Snitch Jacket to do likewise; to put their vague self-serving accusations to the test of producing facts to support them.

They can't.

QUESTION: IF TOM AND CO DIDN'T WANT TO RESPOND TO YOU BEFORE, THEY SEEM EMBOLDENED NOW. WHY?

RASHID: This is true and the timing raises a lot of red flags.

What is clear is they began staging a comeback at just the time when he RIBPP came under concentrated pig attack: I was transferred to the Ohio prison system's notorious Lucasville prison where I was met with extreme pig repression, frustrated communication lines, and denial of all my personal property for months; our Minister of Labor Comrade Pitt was thrown in the hole at Virginia's notorious Red Onion State Prison for no valid reason and subjected to constant pig harassment; our national spokesperson for the White Panthers Comrade Shine White was jumped and beaten by a mob of pigs, thrown in the hole, had all his political and historical materials confiscated, and was threatened with being interstate transferred. Also, during his time our General Secretary came down with Covid, an immediate relative of our Chair was abducted, Shaka confronted RIBPP members in NJ and violently threatened to shut down our work and programs in Newark, and much else.

By contrast, Tom, Shaka and Snitch Jacket have never met with pig resistance to their activities. In fact, whenever Shaka received attention from the pigs (which the CC found in 2020 that he actually craves—such as in early 2021 when he posted a video on social media of him allowing pig investigators to walk right into his home to the widespread criticism of movement veterans), he always said the pigs ended in asking questions about others.

Tom has always been an open information highway for the pigs, literally living online feeding his dinosaur of a computer all the information any pig surveillance and algorithm system could want about all political work and people he and his cohorts are involved with. Information, not arresting or prosecuting folks is the lifeblood of pig counterintelligence agencies. They don't need informants in the NABPP, they have the incompetent Great White Hoax.

It is telling that Tom, Shaka and Snitch Jacket have NEVER been targeted by the pigs related to NABPP activities, while I have been met with a constant unprecedented level of repression aimed at frustrating my political work and attempts to take my life!

It would seem the very picture Tom tried to paint of the RIBPP actually applies to them. Namely, the pigs have given them a free hand to go about their merry way while repressing the RIBPP. They've also been courting and receiving financial endorsements from establishment politicians and candidates.

As Comrade George pointed out, power reacts to all threats, the reaction is always repression; the greater the threat the greater the repression. Tom, Shaka and Snitch Jacket have definitely NEVER been seen as presenting any threat to the status quo.

In fact Tom goes so far as to quote Huey P. Newton on revolutionaries being doomed and living every moment in the enemy's cross hairs. By this standard these three amigos definitely ain't revolutionaries.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

Endnotes:

1. Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "The Great White Hope or Great White Hoax: Who is Tom Watts aka Xing Eela?" (2021) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2984>

2. Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Shattering the Looking Glass and Exposing the Settler Hiding Behind It" (2021) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2927>

3. See "Rashid and Witnesses Answer Shaka Zulu," <https://mega.nz/folder/2d9gDSQb#ViQHylbcAZZ5KWprorRg>

4. See, Kersplebedeb Publisher's statement posted 6-16-21 concerning the authorship of Rashid's books and writings published by them, <http://kersplebedeb.com/posts/kersplebedeb-statement-on-writings-of-kevin-rashid-johnson/>; See also, my interview past BV editor Mary Ratcliff on YouTube at, <https://youtu.be/GOywVdr4jRo>

5. Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "On the Roles and Characteristics the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations" (2006) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2779>

6. 2009 VIRGINIA DOMESTIC TERRORISM THREAT ASSESSMENT REPORT, <http://prisonlegalnews.org/news/publications/virginia-fusion-center-terrorism-threat-assessment-2009/>

7. Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, On the Exposure of Keith 'Malik' Washington as a 'Rock Star Informant' (2021), read at rashidmod.com

8. I've had Tom's original spin article reposted for readers at bit.ly/3GWJTWS. The article was titled, "Through the Looking Glass and What Kevin Discovered There." He erased it and disappeared from FB when I refuted it with my article cited in note 2 above.

9. Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "Shaka Zulu Shut Down Party Facebook Page" (1-23-21) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2759>

10. Tom Watts, "Dizzy With Success, Intoxicated With Self-Glorification" (1-22-21) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=3130>

11. I wrote an exposé on "Snitch Jacket," titled, "Who is Kwame Shakur aka Dayon Miller and Who is He Working For?" (2021) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2933>

12. See note 2

13. See note 6

On the Exposure of Keith "Malik" Washington as a "Rock Star Informant" (2021), by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

During November 2021 the San Francisco Bay View (SFBV) newspaper published an article about Keith "Malik" Washington and a 2011 letter in his handwriting that described him as having been a "rock star" informant for the FBI and Texas officials who wanted to be reinstated, and appealed to the Texas Inspector General's office to use him as a snitch against another prisoner in exchange for being granted parole.

A number of reactions to this exposure followed, some seeking exoneration of Keith, others condemning him, and yet others asking for a formal hearing to determine, if indeed, the letter was written by him. Many others have been silent, not knowing how to react.

As someone who had an on-and-off political relationship with Keith, and whom he named on occasion as a personal friend and inspiration to his own work (when he represented himself as a revolutionary), I think that it is important that I weigh in on this situation, and address a number of related issues. Also, many people, including the editors and publishers of SFBV with whom I've worked for years, have asked me to offer my views on the entire affair.

Comrades need guidance on how to address this situation—a confirmed informant in our midst is not a matter to be indecisive, silent, or to vacillate about. It's an antagonistic contradiction (a contradiction between the people and the enemy, not one among the people) and must be addressed as such.

MY HISTORY WITH KEITH

My first contact and involvement with Keith came in 2013, shortly after I was interstate transferred to the Texas prison system. My first day there I had several physical altercations

with the pigs at the reception unit where they cut my dreadlocks off by force while I was belly-chained, handcuffed, and leg-shackled, then transferred me to solitary confinement at the Estelle Unit in response to my resistance to their assault. I wrote about the experience in an article that was published in the SFBV.

Keith sent me a message stating he was a member of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (NABPP) and had just been transferred away from Estelle Unit (he said he believed it was to keep us separated). I had no role in his NABPP recruitment contrary to a recent statement full of spin and fabrications ghostwritten by Tom "The Great White Hoax" Watts, but claiming to come from the Central Committee of the NABPP. (1) I will respond to that statement elsewhere.

Keith expressed that he'd seen various articles and art of mine in SFBV newspapers, and opened a dialogue with me on the basis of the one I wrote about my experience at the Texas Department of Criminal Justice's (sic!) reception center and Estelle Unit. (2) Over the next 8 years we exchanged letters probably 7 times. He said he wrote me many other times but I never saw any of those letters.

At that time he called himself Optimus Prime, a name I rebuked as a caricature from bourgeois culture unfitting a revolutionary and especially a Panther.

As I continued work I'd been doing since 2004 of writing exposés on prison abuses and was involved in various prisoner support projects, I observed that Keith began writing prison exposés and involving himself in work patterned after my own. His prolific writings began appearing in the SFBV as well beginning in latter 2013.

Because almost no one on the inside was writing to expose prison abuse to the public, I fully endorsed this aspect of Keith's work. Also, because I know and personally experience the repression that comes with such exposures, I believed he was sincere, and endorsed him to the point that I drew a portrait of him wearing a 'Panther' shirt and recommended his promotion to a leadership position in the NABPP.

As time went on I observed that his politics were "all over the place." Tom Watts had independently recruited him during 2009 while I was held incommunicado by the pigs, the very year the "Fusion Center" of Virginia State Police issued a report calling me a "domestic terrorist threat" because of my prison abuse articles which they said proved effective at turning the public against law enforcement. (3)

Tom, in his recent ghostwritten statement, claims I had a hand in recruiting Keith in 2009, which was a lie and impossible, since everyone who worked with and around me knew 2009 was the year I was kept incommunicado, and Tom was the only outside person who corresponded with prisoners involved with and interested in the NABPP.

So during and following 2015, I called on Tom repeatedly to see to Keith's political education as a Party member. Tom never followed through on this (nor gave anyone else political education for that matter), although he acknowledged the need and promised over and over to do so. In fact, Tom opened the door for anyone to join the NABPP under the so-called Hasan Shakur enrollment, calling on 1,000 prisoners to join the NABPP after the pigs in Texas executed Hasan, our Minister of Human Rights, in 2006. Tom independently initiated the enrollment campaign in defiance of my critique that such open recruitment practices were an error made by the original Black Panther Party, that "allowed raw elements to join who were not trained and prepared to lead a revolutionary movement, and offered no protection against infiltration by disruptive elements and enemy agents who would undermine the Party's ability to operate a high level of ideological, political, and practical unity." I wrote this warning critique in my 2006 article, "On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and its Mass Organizations." (4)

I was interstate transferred to Indiana in 2018, where prisoners have use of GTL tablets, which allow them to use the phone inside their cells throughout the day. This allowed me to communicate directly with outside people as I had not been able to do in other prison systems.

SFBV editor Mary Ratcliff and I talked often and she came to share and ask my advice on various matters related to

the paper. I tried to help her locate someone to succeed her as editor, which on account of her advanced age and being a 'white' editor of a Black newspaper she had been struggling to do for years. She confided in me that she was impressed with the prisoner support work of Amani Sawari, so I appealed to Amani, with whom I was in contact, and was able to interest her in taking on the position of SFBV editor, which ultimately didn't pan out.

Some time later Mary shared with me that Keith was expected to make parole from Texas and had a brief federal sentence to complete, following which it was planned he'd move to San Francisco and come on as SFBV editor.

As I was able to read more and more of Keith's writings and positions he was taking in defiance of the NABPP's political line and efforts by me and others to correct him on those positions. I noted a particular opportunism in his political work and a tendency to frequently name drop, flatter, and align himself with anyone with name recognition (from government officials, to clergy, to political activists, and so on), who tended to lend him support or offer him a platform to promote himself. I raised these concerns within the NABPP.

KEITH IS RELEASED FROM PRISON

On September 3, 2020 Keith was released from prison and moved to SF. We spoke by phone a few times.

Before long he showed himself less and less interested in prison support work, and prison issues at all, and more interested in making money. He increasingly came off as someone who used the prison movement as a platform to bring attention and resources to himself while inside, which he no longer needed now that he was out. Hence his growing distance from everything related to it.

I expressed my concern to him. His response was to avow his commitment to support me. I reminded him several times that his responsibility was to the people and to everyone he left behind who looked up to him as an example and those involved in political work, and that how he conducted himself reflected on us all. Whenever I called he'd increasingly beg off claiming to be busy but would ask if I needed money. I'd decline.

I expressed my misgivings to Mary and doubts about his seriousness as a SFBV editor.

Then came negative reports from Mary and Nube Brown (Keith's prior partner and present editor of SFBV), about his abusive behavior and relapse into drug addiction. At this point he began totally avoiding my calls and ignoring third party messages that we needed to talk. He apparently recognized that I was attempting to contact him with questions and criticisms. Both Mary and Nube also expressed the belief that he was avoiding me and felt it was because I was the one person in his orbit who saw him as he truly was and would confront him directly with my critiques. Mary also told me that I had been spot on in my misgivings about Keith, and that every one of them had proven correct.

I first heard news of the exposé on Keith being an informant after it had already gone to print in the SFBV. I'd just been returned to the VA prison system from Ohio. I then spoke to Mary. She and Nube wanted to tell me about the entire situation sooner and ask my input on how to handle it, she said, but didn't out of consideration for struggles I was involved with in Ohio. I was disappointed but not surprised.

I then had a comrade go onto Keith's social media pages to see what if any responses he'd made to the exposé. There were none. I had a comment posted on his Facebook page asking if he indeed wrote that 2011 letter (and stating that I was awaiting a copy of it). He did not reply. A few days later his Facebook page was deactivated.

MY VERDICT ON KEITH WASHINGTON

There are two sides in this struggle, that of the people and that of the enemy. The accusations against Keith, if true, place him firmly in the camp of the enemy, as an enemy of the people. I have not seen nor heard anywhere where he has denied writing that 2011 letter asking to be an informant

in exchange for parole (which is clearly in his handwriting and speech), nor otherwise being a rat, although he has both the intelligence and many platforms to do so. In fact, he has avoided pointed inquiries made to him on this, including from myself.

Under the circumstances I believe the evidence against Keith to be overwhelming, having received and read numerous handwritten letters from him, and where he has avoided responding to the exposure of the 2011 letter. So I think it is binding that he is and was, in fact, a rat and should be disavowed, ostracized, and in all respects treated accordingly.

After the czar was overthrown in the 1917 Russian Revolution and the revolutionaries opened the files of the secret police and old state, they were surprised to find many trusted comrades were enemy agents and spies. It is impossible to weed out and prevent all infiltrators, but when uncovered they must be purged without remorse. This is my verdict on Keith.

WAS NUBE VENTING SPITE?

I don't believe Nube published the exposé on Keith seeking revenge because their relationship went bad, as I have heard some have accused her. Given the nature of the issue and the evidence, she had a duty to do so. In fact, as Nube experienced his abuse and deterioration into drug addiction she shared the situation with me (since Keith and I had been members of the same party and he represented me as a close friend), asking my advice on how and if to reveal his abused and indiscretions toward her, his betrayal of the movement, and so on. She repeatedly expressed concern with doing what was most correct politically as well as for his well-being.

Nube loved Keith. She sought to strike a principled balance between the interests of the people and the struggle, and responding to Keith, and therefore sought advice from others she believed had more political experience. Her's was obviously a difficult position on account of the heartbreak she endured, going public with her personal suffering and relationship, and being the burden bearer of the foul news about Keith, who many looked up to and whom she'd helped build a support base for while he was in and out of prison. Keith also proved adept at playing on people's sympathies. In the end she correctly saw her duty to the people as trumping any sentiments for Keith.

It is troubling as ever that Black and Brown women are frequently the target of vilification and ridicule when they speak out against abuse and corruption. It is a typical dynamic in class society—vilifying the victim; but more often in America—portraying women of color as nursing grudges, angry, dangerous. This tendency spans the white liberal and left milieu and must be called what it is, prejudices of the privileged. There is both a class and racial basis to it; and it must be identified and struggled against.

The responsibility for what has come to pass lies at Keith's feet alone. He created this web and he ended up in it's tangle. Such are the just desserts of those who, as Comrade George put it, "would sell their soul for a mess of pottage."

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

Endnotes

Tom's article published on social media is entitled, "The Snake Rears its Head: Ten Years We Had A 'Rock Star Informant' in the NABPP: Exposing Keith 'Malik' Washington"

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "The Texas Department of Cowboy Justice: A Lawless Law Enforcement," 2013; <http://rashid-mod.com/?p=856>

This report can be read on the Prison Legal News website.

<http://rashidmod.com/?p=2779>; his article also appears in both my books, *Defying The Tomb* and *Panther Vision*

A Call To Support Florida State Prison (FSP) Prisoners, by Kevin Rashid Johnson MOD, on behalf of the Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party (RIBPP)

We stand in support of those in prison at FSP who are in need of sustained public protest and support against intolerable conditions, which includes months of denied access of clean linen during an unprecedented Covid-19 outbreak; frequent brutal assaults at the hands of guards who use 'blind spots', (areas where there are no surveillance cameras), to carry out these beatings against prisoners who are most often handcuffed and defenseless; serving unsanitary and spoiled foods; housing those confined in 'Close Management' (long term solitary confinement) cells with commodes that they cannot flush from inside the cell and which the guards refuse to flush; and numerous other outrages.

We call on everyone capable to participate in a mass call-in and emailing blitz against FSP and FDOC officials and members of Florida's Congress listed below supporting the demands of those confined at FSP.

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

On Revolutionary Morality (1958) by President Ho Chi Minh

Ever since the beginning of its existence mankind has had to struggle against nature - wild beasts, the weather, etc. - in order to survive. To succeed in this struggle each individual must rely on the force of large numbers of people, on the collective, on society. Alone, he cannot get the better of nature and subsist.

In order to survive, man must also produce to get food and clothing. Production, too must rely on the collective, on society. Alone, the individual cannot produce. Our era being a civilized, revolutionary era, one must rely all the more on the force of the collective, of society, in all undertakings. More than ever the individual cannot stand apart but must join the collective, join society. Therefore, individualism goes counter to collectivism; collectivism and socialism will certainly prevail while individualism will surely disappear.

The mode and forces of production ceaselessly develop and change; so do, therefore, man's thinking, social systems, etc. All of us know that from the past to the present, the mode of production has evolved from the use of tree branches and stone axes to that of machines, electricity and nuclear energy. Social systems have also developed from primitive communism through slave-ownership and feudalism to capitalism, and today nearly half of mankind is progressing to socialism and communism.

No one can stop this development and progress.

With the coming into being of private ownership, society has been divided into classes - exploiting classes and exploited ones -, hence the emergence of social contradictions and class struggle. Any person necessarily belongs to one class or another and no one can stand outside the classes. At the same time, each individual represents the ideology of the own class.

In the old society, the feudal landlords, capitalists and imperialists mercilessly oppressed and exploited the other social strata, especially the workers and peasants. They plundered the common property produced by society, turned into their own private property and lived in clover. But they kept ranting about "virtue", "freedom", "democracy"...

Refusing to endure this oppression and exploitation forever, the workers, peasants and other toiling people have risen up and made the revolution in order to liberate themselves and transform the wicked old society into a fine new one, in which all labouring people would live happily, and from which the exploitation of man by man would be banned.

To succeed, the revolution must be led by the working class - the most advanced, conscious, resolute, disciplined and best organized class - with the proletarian party as its staff.

This has been incontestably borne out by the revolution in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries.

To make the revolution, to transform the old society into a new one is a very glorious, but also extremely heavy task, a complex, protracted and hard struggle. Only a strong man can travel a long distance with a heavy load on his back. A revolutionary must have a solid foundation of revolutionary morality in order to fulfil his glorious revolutionary task.

Born and brought up in the old society, we all carry within ourselves, to varying extent, traces of that society in our thinking and habits. The worst and most dangerous vestige of the old society is individualism. Individualism runs counter to revolutionary morality. The least remaining trace of it will develop at the first opportunity, smother revolutionary virtues and prevent us from wholeheartedly struggling for the revolutionary cause.

Individualism is something very deceitful and perfidious, it skillfully induces one to backslide. And everybody knows that it is easier to backslide than to progress. That is why it is very dangerous.

To shake off the bad vestiges of the old society and to cultivate revolutionary virtues, we must study hard, and educate and reform ourselves in order to progress continuously. Otherwise we shall retrogress and lag behind, and shall eventually be rejected by the forward-moving society.

It is not only by going to school or attending training courses that we can study and educate and reform ourselves. In every revolutionary activity, we can and must do it. Underground revolutionary activities, the general insurrection, the war of resistance, the present building of socialism in the North and the struggle for national reunification are very good schools where we can acquire revolutionary virtues.

People with revolutionary virtues fear neither difficulties, hardships nor failures; they neither waver nor step back. For the sake of the interests of the Party, the revolution, the class, the nation and mankind, they never hesitate to sacrifice their own interests, and if need be, even their own lives. This is a very clear and lofty expression of revolutionary morality.

In our Party, Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and many others have laid down their lives for the sake of the people and the Party, thus setting brilliant examples of total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness.

People with revolutionary virtues remain simple, modest, and ready to face more hardships, even when meeting with work that is how best to fulfil our task, not of how to get the greatest reward. We must avoid boasting about past achievements and claiming special prerogatives, or indulging in bureaucratism, conceit and depravation. This also is an expression of revolutionary morality.

In brief, revolutionary morality consists of the following:

To devote one's life to struggling for the Party and the revolution. This is the most essential point.

To work hard for the Party, observe Party discipline, and implement Party lines and policies.

To put the interests of the Party and the labouring people before and above one's own interests. To serve the people wholeheartedly. To struggle selflessly for the Party and the people and to be exemplary in every respect.

To endeavour to study Marxism-Leninism and constantly use self-criticism and criticism to heighten one's ideological standard, improve one's work and progress together with one's comrades.

Each revolutionary must deeply realize that our Party is the most advanced and close-knit organization of the working class, the leader of the latter and the labouring people at large. At present, our working class, though still not very numerous, is developing with every passing day. In future, agricultural co-operatives will be organized everywhere, machines will be widely used in the countryside, and peasants will become workers. The intellectuals will become well acquainted with manual labour and the difference between

brain and manual workers will be gradually wiped out. Our country's industry will develop day by day. Hence, the workers will be ever more numerous, their strength will grow, and the future of the working class is great and glorious.

It will reform the world and itself as well.

The revolutionary must clearly realize this and firmly stick to the stand of the working class so as to struggle wholeheartedly for socialism and communism, for the working class and all the labouring people. Revolutionary morality consists in absolute loyalty to the Party and the people.

Our Party pursues no other interests than those of the working class and the toiling people. Therefore, its immediate objective is to struggle for the gradual building of socialism in the North and the reunification of the country.

Under the Party's leadership our people have fought heroically, overthrown the colonial and feudal domination, and completely liberated the North of our country. This was a great success. But the revolution is not yet totally victorious, and the present aim of the Party is to struggle for national reunification in order to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, to eliminate exploitation of man by man all over the country and build a new society with happiness and abundance for all.

However, our industry is still backward. Thanks to the devoted help of the fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, it is developing. For our effort to succeed, our workers must emulate one another and strive to produce ever more, faster, better and more economically, observe labour discipline and actively participate in the management of their enterprises: we must oppose waste and embezzlement, and our cadres must be truly industrious, thrifty, honest and upright, and join the workers in labour.

Land has been allotted to our peasants, whose life has been partially improved. But the mode of production is still scattered and backward; hence the yields have not yet increased much and living conditions have improved but slightly. The movement for setting up work-exchange teams and co-operatives in our countryside must be extensively and firmly pushed forward in order to bring about a firm increase in production; only then can our peasants escape poverty and see their condition improved.

Therefore, revolutionary morality consists in striving to achieve the Party's objective, faithfully serving the working class and the toiling people, and never wavering.

Most members of the Party and the Working Youth Union and most cadres have done so, but some have not. They wrongly think that now that the colonialist, and feudalists have been got rid of in the North, the revolution has been successfully completed. That is why they let individualism develop within themselves, demand enjoyment and rest, and want to pick their own work instead of fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by their organization. They want high positions but shirk responsibilities. Their combativeness and energy gradually weaken, and so do their revolutionary courage and noble virtues. They forget that the prime criterion of a revolutionary is his resolve to struggle all his life for the Party and the revolution.

We must realize that the successes recorded by us so far are only the first steps on a thousand-league road. We must advance further, the revolution must make further progress. Otherwise, we shall regress, and the successes we have gained cannot be consolidated and developed.

To advance to socialism, we must wage a long and hard struggle. We must have revolutionaries for there still exist enemies, who oppose the revolution.

There are three kinds of enemies:

Capitalism and imperialism are very dangerous ones. Backward habits and traditions are also big enemies: they insidiously hinder the progress of the revolution. However, we cannot repress them, but must seek to correct them with caution, perseverance and over a long period of time.

The third enemy is individualism, the petty-bourgeois mentality which still lurks in each of us. It is waiting for an opportunity - either failure or success - to rear its head. It is the ally of the two above-mentioned categories.

Therefore revolutionary morality consists, in whatever

circumstances, in resolutely struggling against all enemies, maintaining one's vigilance, standing ready to fight, and refusing to submit, to bow one's head. Only by so doing can we defeat the enemy, and fulfil our revolutionary tasks.

It is due to its correct policy and unified leadership that our Party can lead the working class and the entire people to socialism. This unified leadership springs from the unity of thought and action of all its members.

Without this unity we would be like "an orchestra in which the drums play one way and the horns another." It would not be possible: for us to lead the masses and make revolution.

The Party members' words and deeds have a great bearing on the revolution for they exert great influence on the masses. For instance: the present policy of our Party and Government is broadly and closely to organize work-exchange teams and co-operatives, to carry out agricultural co-operation. But a number of Party and Working Youth Union members do not join them, or, having joined them, do not actively contribute to their building and consolidation. It is individualism which has led those comrades to do as they please and to go counter to the Party's organization and discipline. Wittingly or unwittingly, their actions impair the prestige of the Party, hinder its work and impede the advance of the revolution.

All the Party's policies and revolutions aim at serving the people's interests. Therefore, for a Party member revolutionary morality consists in resolutely implementing them, whatever the difficulties, and setting an example for the masses. Each Party member must heighten his sense of responsibility to the people and the Party. He must guard against and resolutely oppose individualism.

Our Party represents the common interests of the working class and the entire labouring people, not the private interests of any group or individual. This everyone knows.

The working class struggle not only to free themselves, but also to liberate mankind from oppression and exploitation. Therefore, their interests and those of the people are at one.

The Party member, in the name of the Party, represents the interests of the working class and the labouring people. That is why his own interests lie within, not without, those of the Party and the class. Success and victory for the Party and the class means success and victory for the militant. Separated from the Party and the class, no individual, however talented, can achieve anything.

Revolutionary morality, for a Party member, consists in putting the Party's interests above everything else, in all circumstances. If the Party's interests are in contradiction with those of the individual, the latter must absolutely give way to the former.

For having not cleansed themselves of individualism some Party members still boast of "their services to the Party," for which they claim the Party's "gratitude". They want to enjoy favour, honour, rank and privilege. If their desires are not satisfied they bear resentment against the Party, complaining that they have "no future" and are "sacrificed". They gradually drift away from the Party worse still, they sabotage its policies and discipline.

Many cadres and fighters in the period of underground struggle and the war of resistance heroically laid down their lives; many labour heroes and elite workers have done their utmost to increase production. Those comrades have never asked for rank and honour, never demanded thanks from the Party.

Our Party has a mass character, and hundreds of thousands of members. Owing to the situation in our country the bulk of Party members spring from the petty bourgeoisie. There is nothing surprising in it. In the beginning, under the influence of bourgeois ideology the stand of some Party members may lack firmness, their outlook may be confused and their thinking not quite correct, but owing to the fact that they have been tempered in the revolution and the war of resistance, our Party members are by and large good militants, faithful to the Party and the revolution.

Those comrades know that those Party members who commit errors will lead the masses into error; therefore, they stand ready to correct any mistake they may make, and this in a timely way, and do not allow small errors to accumulate

into big ones. They sincerely practise criticism and self criticism, with makes it possible for them to progress together.

This conforms to revolutionary morality. During its many years of underground activity, our Party, although harshly repressed by the colonialists and meeting with numerous difficulties and dangers, developed and grew stronger with every passing day, and then led the revolution and the war of resistance to victory. This is due to its effective use of this sharp weapon: criticism and self criticism.

However, there still remain some Party members who, unable to shake off individualism, become arrogant and conceited and keep flaunting their merits. While criticizing others, they do not like being criticized; they avoid self criticism or practise it without sincerity and seriousness. They are afraid they might lose face and prestige. They pay no attention to the opinion of the masses, and make light of non-Party cadres. They do not realize that it is difficult not to commit any errors in one's work. We are not afraid of possible mistakes, but of failure to correct them resolutely. To redress them, we must listen to criticism by the masses and practise sincere self-criticism. Otherwise we shall lag behind and regress, which will lead to our being cast aside by the masses. This is the inevitable consequence of individualism.

The forces of the working class and the labouring people are immense, boundless. But they must be led by the Party if they are to win. At the same time the Party must stay close to the masses, and skilfully organize and lead them, if the revolution is to triumph.

Revolutionary morality consists in uniting with the masses in one body, trusting them and paying attention to their opinion. By their words and deeds. Party and Working Youth members and cadres win the people's confidence, respect and love, closely unite them around the Party organize educate and mobilize them so that they will enthusiastically implement the Party's policies and resolutions.

That is what we have done during the revolution and the war of resistance. But at present, individualism is haunting a number of our comrades. Claiming to be clever in everything they stray from the masses, refuse to learn from them and want only to be their teachers. They are reluctant to engage in organization propaganda and education work among the masses. They become infected with bureaucratism and commandism. As a result the masses neither trust nor respect them much less love them. Eventually, they can do nothing good.

The North of our country is advancing to socialism. This is the urgent aspiration of millions of labouring people. This is the collective undertaking of the toiling masses under our Party's leadership. Individualism is a big obstacle to the building of socialism. Therefore, the success of socialism cannot be separated from that of the struggle for the elimination of individualism.

To struggle against individualism is not "to trample on individual interests". Each person has his own character, his fortes, his private life and that of his family. There is no harm when the interests of the individual do not go counter to those of the collective. But one must realize that only under the socialist regime can each person improve his private life and develop his personality and his strong points.

No system equals socialism and communism in showing respect for man, paying due attention to his legitimate individual interests and ensuring that they be satisfied. In a society ruled by the exploiting class only the individual interests of a few people belonging to this class are met, whereas those of the toiling masses are trampled underfoot. But in the socialist and communist systems, of with the labouring people are the masters, each man is a part of the collective, plays a definite role in it and contributes his part to society. That is why the interests of the individual lies within those of the collective and are part of them. Only when the latter are secured can the former be satisfied.

The interests of the individual are closely tied to those of the collective. If there is any contradiction between them, revolutionary morality demands that the former yield to the later.

The revolution unceasingly progresses. So does the Party.

And so must the revolutionary.

The revolutionary movement involves hundreds of millions of people. Revolutionary work involves thousands of extremely complex and difficult tasks. In order to be able to assess all complex situations, clearly see the contradictions, and correctly solve the various problems, we must strive to study Marxism-Leninism.

Only by so doing can we consolidate our revolutionary morality, firmly maintain our stand, raise our theoretical and political level, and fulfil the tasks entrusted to us by the Party.

To study Marxism-Leninism is to learn the spirit in which one should deal with things, with other people and with oneself. It means to study the universal Marxist-Leninist truths in order to apply them creatively to the practical conditions of our country. We must study with a view to action. Theory must go hand in hand with practice.

But some comrades only learn by heart a few books on Marxism-Leninism. They think they understand Marxism-Leninism better than anyone else. Yet, when faced with practical problems, they either act in a mechanical way or are thrown into confusion. Their deeds do not match their words. They study books on Marxism-Leninism but do not seek to acquire the Marxist-Leninist spirit. They only want to show off their knowledge, not to apply it to revolutionary action. This is also individualism.

Individualism spawns hundreds of dangerous diseases: bureaucratism, commandism, sectarianism, subjectiveness corruption, waste.... It ties up and blindfolds its victims whose every action is guided by their desire for honour and position, not by concern for the interests of the class and the people. Individualism is a cruel enemy of socialism. The revolutionary must do away with it.

At present, the task of our Party and people is to endeavour to increase production and practise thrift in order to build up the North, gradually take it to socialism, and turn it into a strong base for the reunification of the country. This is an extremely glorious task. Let all members of the Party and the Working Youth Union, let all cadres within and without the Party be resolved to devote all their lives to serving the Party and the people. This is the noble virtue of the revolutionary, this is revolutionary morality, the Party and class spirit, which ensures victory for the Party, the class and the people.

Revolutionary morality does not fall from the sky. It is developed and consolidated through persevering daily struggle and effort. Like jade, the more it is polished the more it shines. Like gold, it grows ever purer as it goes into the melting pot.

What can be a greater source of happiness and glory than to cultivate one's revolutionary morality so as to bring a worthy contribution to the building of socialism and the liberation of mankind!

I earnestly hope that all members of the Party and the Working Youth Union and all cadres within and without the Party will strive hard and progress.