New Black Panther Party for Self Defense

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INTRODUCTION

The New Black Panther Party for Self Defense (NBPP) is the largest organized anti-Semitic and racist black militant group in America. The group is led by Malik Zulu Shabazz, a Washington, DC-based attorney who has been active with the NBPP since the mid-1990s.

By taking on racially-charged issues under the guise of championing civil rights, the NBPP has received national media attention for its efforts, garnered some support from prominent members of the African-American community and attracted followers. The group's demonstrations, conferences, and other events often blend inflammatory bigotry with calls for violence, tarnishing its efforts to promote black pride and consciousness.

In January 2009, the U.S. Department of Justice filed suit against the group in response to an alleged incident of voter intimidation involving two of its members at a Philadelphia polling station on Election Day 2008.

Following the incident and the public scrutiny it prompted, the group has undertaken efforts to unify its leadership and expand its member base. In advance of its December 2009 National Summit in Dallas, Shabazz called for pursuing the NBPP's ultimate goals of Black Nationalism and Black Power "by any means necessary," adding that, "We must unite and build up the New Black Panther Party... or die trying!"

The NBPP's divisive positions have been condemned by members of the original Black Panthers. Co-founder Bobby Seale believes that the NBPP has "hijacked our name and are hijacking our history." David Hilliard, a former Panther and executive director of the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, has said that the racism that the group "espouse(s) flies directly in the face of the Black Panthers' multicultural ideology and purpose." The NBPP continues to use the Panther name and logo in spite of a permanent injunction prohibiting them from using either, which the original Panthers obtained in May 1997.

RECENT ACTIVITY

A national action organized by the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) in April 2011, which the group claimed would take place in more than 40 U.S. cities, proved largely unsuccessful. Events took place in fewer than 10 cities, with most attracting a low turnout and minimal or no media attention. The group has since announced plans to hold a follow-up event on June 25, 2011.
In advance of the April 23 event, dubbed a "National & International Day of Action & Unity," the NBPP had released promotional materials highlighting "Zionism" as one of the "pressing issues" the event aimed to address, and listing Jews and Jewish institutions among its stated targets.

The NBPP cited what it views as Jewish economic exploitation of Blacks, in particular, as a driving force behind the action. "It's good to expose the manipulation... the abuses of the Zionists and the Jews on how they have manipulated our community and [sic] sucking our resources," National Chairman Malik Zulu Shabazz stated in March. "What you gonna do about it? They still have their hands in our economy. They still are making money off of us. What ever happened to the spirit of 'shut 'em down'? Why don't we shut some people down? Some tennis shoe companies down, shut some diamond stores down, why don't we start to impact the economy of our oppressor?"

Stated plans to demonstrate outside of U.S. Jewish institutions never materialized, despite Shabazz's initial claim that the NBPP was organizing at least one such event. In March, he cited an alleged assault of a Black teenager by two Jewish men in Baltimore in November 2010 as being among the reasons supporters there should mobilize. Discussing the incident during an interview with the NBPP's online radio station, Shabazz provided the address of a Jewish institution in Baltimore and invited local supporters to join in his group's planned action: "[If] you're mad about it and you're ready to load up and go over there and go deal with it on April 23, check right on in."

Further underscoring the NBPP's militant stance, multiple leaders had warned of the potential for confrontation during the actions. Contradicting his own claims that most of the actions around the country would be family-friendly, Shabazz recommended that children in Philadelphia wear bicycle helmets. King Samir Shabazz, the group's National Field Marshal and local leader in that city, reinforced the notion that his city's event might get confrontational, stating, among other things, "we are trained and ready here in Killadelphia." The Philadelphia event, like others around the country, featured very few participants and no violence.

Despite his status as the group's national leader and spokesman, Malik Shabazz claimed that he must not be blamed for whatever ensued on the ground in each participating city, likely a reference to the U.S. Justice Department's 2009 lawsuit against the group over alleged voter intimidation by two of its members in Philadelphia on Election Day 2008, in which Shabazz was named as a defendant.

The lawsuit alleged that King Samir Shabazz, the group's local leader in Philadelphia, and Jerry Jackson, the chapter's chief of staff, intimidated voters outside of a North Philadelphia polling station. Samir Shabazz, dressed in NBPP uniform, brandished a weapon described by the Department of Justice as a "police-style baton weapon." Jackson, reportedly a member of the 14th Ward Democratic Committee and certified poll worker, stated at the time that he was "making sure that media agitation does not disturb voters."

The lawsuit further alleged that Malik Shabazz and the NBPP had "managed, directed, and endorsed" Samir Shabazz and Jerry Jackson's actions. It cited initial claims by Malik Shabazz that the men were at the
polling station to protect voters against intimidation by white supremacists and that their presence was part of a national NBPP initiative to patrol election sites nationwide.

The NBPP announced the initiative in advance of the election on its national Web site and in an official statement issued by Malik Shabazz. Najee Muhammad, then-national field marshal, and Uhuru Shakur, Atlanta chapter chairman, delivered the statement on Shabazz’s behalf during a November 1 press conference in Crockett County, Tennessee.

The statement indicated that the NBPP intended to patrol election sites nationwide in a purported effort to counter alleged threats of violence. It read, "We will not allow some racists and other angry whites, who are getting upset over an impending Barack Obama Presidential victory to intimidate Blacks at the polls... We will be at the polls in the cities and counties in many states to ensure that the enemy does not sabotage the black vote."

As a result of the lawsuit, Samir Shabazz is legally prohibited from displaying a weapon within 100 feet of any open polling location in Philadelphia through 2012. The Department of Justice dropped all charges against the NBPP, Malik Shabazz, and Jerry Jackson in May 2009.

Malik Shabazz suspended Samir Shabazz and the Philadelphia chapter less than a week after the Department of Justice lawsuit was announced. Nevertheless, Samir Shabazz’s actions, which were consistent with the NBPP’s long record of confrontational and disruptive behavior, were apparently validated by the group in January 2010 when he was reinstated to his position.

The dismissal of the charges against Malik Shabazz and the NBPP prompted objections from several elected officials. In an article in the spring 2010 issue of its newspaper, the NBPP referred to those campaigning against case’s dismissal as "the lynch mob... lying, deceitful, manipulative, racist devils." The article concluded with a vow to respond to threats against its reputation at any cost: "Whether the fight is on Capitol Hill, in the halls of Congress or on the devils doorstep, the New Black Panther Party will vigorously defend its reputation, mission, legacy and leadership; and we will do this BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY."

Despite the group’s militant stance, the lawsuit appears to have created some internal discord. A year after the lawsuit was filed, Shabazz indicated that the organization was seeking to address tension among its leadership. He stated during an interview on the NBPP’s online radio channel that efforts "to renovate, to redeem, to resurrect and to reform" the NBPP were underway, and called on members of the group to put aside their differences in order to repair damage caused by internal strife. "We must end the confusion in the NBPP, we must end the contention and the disrespect of each other and the envy and the jealousy and the slander and the slack talk and the gossip. We must end the madness and we must come together as one," he said.
Shabazz also discussed attempts to strengthen the NBPP’s leadership in an interview published by the group in early 2010. "We will bring up new leaders and sit down dysfunctional leaders in 2010," he said. He expressed hope that with stronger leadership, the organization will achieve "better run NBPP chapters and... new NBPP chapters that perform better than in the past."

Beyond efforts to improve the NBPP’s internal structure, Shabazz indicated the group plans to launch numerous initiatives to bolster its membership and recruit new members, including a multimedia campaign comprised of a quarterly newspaper, social networking and radio and television programming. Finances generated by the paper, he said during the radio interview, will empower the group to step up its ongoing efforts to "deal with" the "enemy."

Following a community event in Harlem in December 2008, Shabazz announced the launch of the "new" Black Power Movement (BPM), which he portrayed as a revival of the 1960's movement by the same name. BPM, he said, would emphasize grassroots activism as a means toward implementing positive change for African-Americans.

Shabazz invited African-Americans "of every stripe" to "come join a movement that makes common sense-that will rely less on rhetoric and more on policy and action." He appealed to unaffiliated individuals and members of existing black organizations alike, declaring, "If you believe in power for Black People—that we should control our own destiny—the Black Power Movement is for you."

Despite Shabazz's initial assertion that BPM would launch 300 local organizing committees and 20 ministries worldwide, its activity has thus far been limited to one conference, held in Georgia in May 2009. In an interview with the NBPP's newspaper in early 2010, Shabazz admitted that efforts to expand BPM have failed to meet his expectations. "I have been disappointed in the follow up," he said.

In addition to launching BPM, the NBPP continues to employ its traditional methods of attracting support, most notably attempting to capitalize on media attention surrounding high profile racially-charged issues by organizing protests and other events under the guise of championing the causes of black empowerment and civil rights.

Since 2006, the group has rallied around racially charged legal cases including a violent sexual and physical attack on 20-year-old black West Virginia resident; the unjust treatment of six Black high school students accused of attacking a white student in Jena, Louisiana; and the fatal shooting of a black man in Queens, New York, by local police.

Due to their ability to insert themselves into controversial issues around the country, NBPP members have attracted support from some elected officials and activists in the African-American community. Shabazz in particular has developed relationships with former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney and Reverend Al Sharpton.
In New York, NBPP leaders and representatives have worked with elected officials such as New York City Councilman Charles Barron, who has appeared at several local NBPP events over the years. During the NBPP's 2003 Million Youth March in Brooklyn, Barron presented the group with a Proclamation from the City Council.

The NBPP has also secured meetings with elected officials in order to discuss the cases in which they get involved. In October 2008, for example, members of the group met with District Attorney Gary Young in Lamar County, Texas, in response to the death of a local African-American man. The NBPP maintained that the murder was a racially-motivated homicide similar to the 1998 murder of James Byrd Jr., who was beaten and fatally dragged behind a pickup truck down a rural Texas road by three white supremacists. Prosecutors ultimately dropped all charges against the two white men arrested in connection with the Lamar County case in June 2009, citing a lack of evidence.

As a result of the group's activity, Shabazz and other NBPP leaders have been invited to discuss national and world issues on national television. For example, Shabazz appeared on FOX's Hannity & Colmes program in February 2006 to discuss the controversy surrounding a series of cartoons depicting the prophet Mohammed that had recently appeared in a Danish newspaper. He has also appeared on FOX and MSNBC programs to discuss issues seemingly unrelated to the Panther agenda, including Mel Gibson's controversial film, "The Passion of the Christ," and Michael Jackson.

Appearances by NBPP leaders on national news programs have, at times, stemmed from the group's own efforts to intervene in racially-charged issues like police brutality and hate crimes. In 2006 and 2007, Shabazz appeared on FOX several times to discuss the Duke University rape case, in which members of the school's lacrosse team were charged with raping, assaulting and kidnapping a local dancer. The NBPP had rallied around the case for months, vowing to "conduct an independent investigation" and "deal directly" with members of the lacrosse team. State prosecutors dropped all charges against the students in April 2007.

In some cases, the news programs that invite NBPP leaders to appear as guests fail to properly inform viewers of the group's extensive record of bigotry and anti-Semitism.

IDEOLOGY

Influenced by a variety of groups including the original Black Panthers, Black Panther Militia, and the Nation of Islam (NOI), the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) is rooted in a mix of Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and racist and anti-Semitic bigotry.

By feeding off of the nostalgia for, and presenting itself in the image of, the original Black Panther Party, a radical Black Nationalist group active in the 1960s and 1970s, the NBPP has been able to maintain some influence in the black community. However, while the NBPP attracts some followers under the guise of championing black empowerment and civil rights, its record of racism and anti-Semitism has tarnished its efforts to promote black pride and consciousness.
Much of the NBPP’s ideology derives from the notion that African-Americans continue to suffer as a result of a racist white power structure that has oppressed them politically and economically since slavery. The primary perpetrators of this institutional racism, according to the NBPP, are whites, whom it views as ultimately responsible for Black exploitation; Jews, whom it sees as wielding disproportionate control of political and economic affairs; and law enforcement, which it sees as facilitating racial injustice on the ground.

The 2008 election of President Barack Obama compelled the group to address the continued relevance of its outlook on race in the U.S. Malik Zulu Shabazz, NBPP National Chairman, maintains that despite his admiration for Obama and his high hopes for Obama’s presidency, the challenges facing Black Americans remain.

For example, in a January 2009 interview with the New York-based newspaper Black Star News, Shabazz reinforced the group’s position that "systematic racism" exists, noting that Obama’s election merely proves that Blacks can rise above it. Shabazz added that the election "does not change the need to fight against racism, police brutality, bad education, lack of health care and housing, oppression abroad, or the litany of concerns our people face. No one is lulled to sleep to think that because Obama has been elected those problems will disappear."

Efforts by Shabazz to convey a nuanced view of race and politics are tainted by the fact that as leader of the NBPP for nearly a decade, he has espoused some of the group’s most incendiary views against whites. During demonstrations and speaking engagements Shabazz has, among other things, likened whites to the devil and contended that "the very nature of white people" creates problems in the world.

This view of white people is evident throughout the group’s own materials, as well as in the outside resources the group promotes. The downloads section of the NBPP Web site includes a document titled "The Nationalist Manifesto," which asserts that the ultimate goal of whites is to exterminate people of African descent. It reads, "The Black man’s menace, has been, and still is, the white man’s diabolical and determined plan to commit GENOCIDE! Even as they exterminated the American Indians, and the Australian Aborigines; so too, every plan, every scheme, points to their murderous intent to liquidate the African people."

Black separatism and reparations for slavery are necessary solutions to address the suffering African-Americans have endured, according to the group. The group’s 10-Point Platform outlines its ultimate goal of establishing an independent nation for people of African descent. It reads:

"As our political objective, we want NATIONAL LIBERATION in a separate state or territory of our own, here or elsewhere, ‘a liberated zone’ (‘New Africa’ or Africa), and a plebiscite to be held throughout the BLACK NATION in which only we will be allowed to participate for the purposes of determining our will and DIVINE destiny as a people."

The NBPP maintains that so long as Blacks Americans are subject to such grave injustices against them by law enforcement and within the justice system, they should not be expected to abide by laws or other
practices designed by the U.S. government. The group’s official manual charges that the "wicked racist" U.S. government has "robbed" black people, and asserts they should be exempt from all military service and taxation "as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land."

The NBPP also sees itself as a defender of Black history, the integrity of which it believes is polluted by whites. The summary statement released by the group after its 2009 National Summit event, held in Dallas, read, "The NBPP has answered the call numerous times to righteously defend the rights of Black People in general and ensure that the saturated white racist histories and theologies of the educational system do not go unchecked."

The NBPP’s bigotry is further evident in its positions on Jews and Zionists. It accuses them of exerting undue influence over national and world affairs to the detriment of minorities in the U.S. and around the world. In promoting this position, the group often evokes classic anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jewish power.

In May 2007, when Shabazz was denied entry into Canada in advance of a speaking engagement in Toronto because of a five-year-old misdemeanor charge, he responded with accusations of Jewish control: "B’nai B’rith has won this one, and I’m starting to see the power of the Jewish lobby in Canada, full force. I thought Canada was free." Hashim Nzinga, NBPP Chief of Staff, repeated similar charges. "They told Canada not to let us in and Canada followed their rules, because this country is run from Israel," he said.

The NBPP was particularly brazen in promoting its anti-Jewish and anti-Israel conspiracy theories in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The following month, Shabazz blamed Zionism for the terrorist plot and made a series of other accusations about Israeli terrorism and Jewish control during a news conference he co-sponsored at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., which was broadcast on C-SPAN. Amir Muhammad, an officer with the NBPP, advanced the myth that Jews were forewarned of the disaster: "There are reports that as many as 3,000 to 5,000 so-called Jews did not go to work [at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon] that day, and we need to take a serious look at that."

Two anti-Semitic Muslim clerics present at the event made equally conspiratorial remarks about Israel and Jews. Imam Muhammad al-Asi, a Muslim activist based in Washington, DC, accused Israel of carrying out the attacks. Imam Abdul Alim Musa, founder of the anti-Semitic Muslim group Sabiqun and head of the Masjid al Islam mosque in Washington, DC, likened Israel to a cancer and accused Zionists throughout the U.S. of collaborating to oppress Blacks and Muslims.

Jewish power and manipulation have ramifications locally as well as globally, according to the NBPP. For example, the group blamed Jews for Cynthia McKinney’s defeat following the 2006 Congressional primary election in Georgia. Several NBPP members got into a confrontation with the media while volunteering as McKinney’s security the day of her concession speech. During the scuffle, they made racist and anti-Semitic remarks, including blaming Jews and Israel for McKinney’s failure to be reelected.

Beyond promoting conspiratorial theories of Jewish political control, members of the group have blamed the Jews for killing Jesus; claimed that the Talmud teaches that "black people are cursed;" and promoted
the anti-Semitic notion that Jews were "significantly and substantially" involved in the transatlantic slave trade. During an August 2002 slavery reparations demonstration in Washington, DC, NBPP representatives sold t-shirts that read "How did we get to America? Heartless Christian Buyer, Ruthless Jewish seller."

Zionism, by extension, is also inherently detrimental to Africa and people of African origin, according to the NBPP. In its official 10-point platform, the group cites Zionism as being representative of "robbing of the black by the capitalist... the capitalistic domination of Africa." Other examples cited in the document include imperialism, racism, sexism, apartheid and "criminal-settler colonialism."

Many of the NBPP’s positions on Israel are featured in a song and corresponding video called "Zionist Money." In its lyrics and imagery, "Zionist Money" accuses Israel of committing apartheid, likens Zionism to racism and terrorism, compares the African slave trade to the Holocaust, and criticizes the U.S. for supporting Israeli policy. It also accuses ADL and AIPAC of attempting to censor criticism of Israel and making false accusations of anti-Semitism. The song and video were released in early 2009 by Jamarhl Crawford, the NBPP’s then-National Minister of Information and Boston chairman, who resigned from the organization in March 2010.

The group often broadcasts its hostile views towards Israel during rallies and demonstrations organized expressly to antagonize Jews. In July 2004, Shabazz and seven other NBPP members attempted to disrupt an interfaith vigil in Washington, DC, organized by the local Jewish community council, religious leaders and elected officials. Shabazz shouted at demonstrators, who had gathered to protest ethnic cleansing in Sudan, "God condemns you... Nobody on the face of the earth wants to agree with you or unite with you... The Zionist has no right to open his mouth anywhere on the planet." Shabazz also referred to organizers as "Zionist liars" and accused them of "robbing the gold mines in Africa" and having "the blood of Palestinians on" their hands.

During an April 2002 demonstration the NBPP organized in front of the B’nai B’rith building in Washington, DC, Shabazz led chants of "death to Israel" and "Jihad," and shouted, "Kill every goddamn Zionist in Israel! Goddamn little babies, goddamn old ladies! Blow up Zionist supermarkets!" Participants held posters that read, "The American Israeli White Man is the Devil" and "The State of Israel Has No Right to Exist."

The NBPP’s strategy for addressing the various perceived threats against Blacks consists primarily of employing militant rhetoric and confrontational tactics intended to evoke fear. For example, in September 2004 several NBPP members showed up armed with a baseball bat and long flashlight to a Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, rally sponsored by neo-Nazis and white supremacists. "We came to let the KKK and those neo-Nazi crackers know we will not tolerate them," said King Samir Shabazz of the NBPP’s Philadelphia chapter.

The group has confronted white supremacists consistently since its founding, attracting national media attention in June 1998, when Khalid Abdul Muhammad led a group of fifty NBPP followers to Jasper, Texas—including a dozen carrying shotguns and rifles—to "protect" the streets in the wake of the racial
murder of James Byrd Jr. Byrd, a 49-year-old African-American, was beaten and fatally dragged behind a pickup truck down a rural road by three white supremacists. In response to a rally organized by Klansmen in the small town two weeks later, Muhammad and his followers showed up to counter demonstrate and initiated several minor scuffles, resulting in two arrests.

Law enforcement, viewed by the NBPP as equally culpable for Black suffering in the U.S., is a frequent target of the group’s confrontational tactics. In January 2008 Mikhail Muhammad, the group’s leader in Jacksonville, Florida, responded to police shootings of two local African-American men with promise of payback: "We believe an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth because we believe the undercover vice is going around and killing our people." Muhammad also accused police of planting a handgun on one of the victims and likened the local sheriff’s office to a terrorist organization.

The group has directly threatened law enforcement during more than one demonstration organized against police brutality. During a December 2006 rally in Queens, New York, Shabazz pointed at police, pledged revenge for any more shootings, and shouted, "We will kill you!" Shabazz issued a similar warning to law enforcement officials during a May 2004 rally in Dallas outside of police headquarters. "We may have to go get the shotguns... I don't think they are taking us seriously," he remarked. Derick Brown, another NBPP member, said through a bullhorn, "We're ready to die in self-defense."

NBPP and NOI

The NBPP’s bigotry is bolstered by its close ties to Louis Farrakhan and his organization, the Nation of Islam (NOI), which has maintained a consistent record of racism and anti-Semitism since its founding in the 1930s.

Though the relationship between the two groups wavered under the NBPP’s former leader, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, who died in 2001, it solidified in February 2005, when Farrakhan appointed Malik Zulu Shabazz, NBPP National Chairman, national co-convener of the 10th anniversary commemoration of the NOI’s Million Man March. In the eight months that followed, Shabazz organized and spoke at local outreach events across the country in an effort to drum up support for the event.

Since then, Shabazz has continued to be a frequent guest at NOI events, including its annual Saviours’ Day conventions. In March 2006, Shabazz joined Farrakhan on a delegation to Cuba. NOI representatives have also taken part in NBPP events.

In addition, the NOI heavily promotes The Synagogue of Satan, an anti-Semitic book written by NOI member Ashahed Muhammad that features a foreword by Shabazz. The book trades in Jewish conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial, alleging, among other things, that the world is being manipulated and corrupted by Satanic powers led by Jewish elites.
In the book’s foreword, Shabazz contends that Israel promotes a satanic political and colonial agenda, and suggests that there is a conspiracy to silence Black leaders who challenge "White Jewish involvement" in slavery and in "athletics, entertainment, [and] political relationships." He attacks Jewish organizations, suggesting that they exist solely to suppress "legitimate opposition to Israel" and news of "illegal Zionist behavior." He also claims that the term anti-Semite is improperly used because "those who claim to be Jews" originated in Europe, not the Middle East.

Hashim Nzinga, NBPP Chief of Staff, publicly confirmed the reconciliation between the two groups during an August 2005 event in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. "We have to show the world that the Nation of Islam and the New Black Panther Party can work together and forget about our differences," he said.

Members of the NBPP’s national leadership have since indicated that they view the NOI as an important ally in empowering the black community. During a radio interview in January 2010, for example, Shabazz praised the NOI’s organizing efforts and expressed a desire to support the NOI "in raising up the black nation."

**LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES**

A network of national and local representatives around the country enables the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) to spread its bigoted views nationwide. By organizing rallies and demonstrations in response to instances of police brutality, hate crimes and other social issues, NBPP representatives are able to mobilize and in some cases expand the group’s membership.

Below is a sampling of notable NBPP representatives, national or local, who uphold the group’s most combative and bigoted positions.

**Malik Zulu Shabazz**

Malik Zulu Shabazz, the anti-Semitic and racist National Chairman of the NBPP, took over the group’s leadership following the death of Khalid Abdul Muhammad in February 2001. In the years leading up to Muhammad’s death, Shabazz had been his closest advisor and helped organize the group’s activities.

By presenting the NBPP as a militant response to issues faced by the African-American community and inserting himself in high profile, racially charged issues around the country, Shabazz has garnered the support of individuals who share his world view. He has forged alliances with some leaders in the Muslim community and has, at times, garnered support from elected officials and activists in the African-American community.
However, his attempts to gain acceptance and respectability are tainted by his *long record of racism and anti-Semitism*, which he continues to embrace. That record includes promoting conspiracy theories about Jewish foreknowledge of the September 11 terrorist attacks and canards that Jews control the media. He has also claimed that Jews were "significantly and substantially" involved in the transatlantic slave trade, and that "the very nature of white people" creates problems in the world.

After years of espousing inflammatory rhetoric, Shabazz seems to be attempting to establish a less radical public profile. Increasingly, he draws attention to his legal advocacy work by organizing and sponsoring events under the banner of Black Lawyers for Justice (BLJ), the legal advocacy group he founded in 1996.

Though he has expressed a desire to focus on his career as a "serious litigator" with BLJ, Shabazz remains committed to his role as national chairman of the NBPP. In an interview with the NBPP's newspaper in early 2010, he declared that in the coming year, "I will be pushing the Party harder than ever before to perform better."

Shabazz had previously reinforced his commitment to the group during a *hate crimes rally he organized* in November 2007, stating, "I will always be a part of the New Black Panther Party. I am not going to deny my family for anybody."

*Read more on Malik Zulu Shabazz*

*Hashim Nzinga*

Hashim Nzinga, Chief of Staff, is a longtime member of the NBPP and Malik Shabazz's deputy. Like Shabazz, Nzinga has a history of espousing virulent anti-Semitism.

In January 2010, Nzinga advanced a series of anti-Semitic views and theories during an interview with the NBPP's online radio channel. He accused Jews of having disproportionate power over the media and entertainment industries, which he asserted was achieved by exploiting alliances with Blacks during the Civil Rights era. Jews, he argued, "used us as cannon fire while they directed our leaders, they directed Dr. King, they directed the NAACP, they directed those who they control."

As a consequence of their actions in the 1960s, Nzinga said, Jews were able to "infiltrate" American institutions and create an "international Zionist machine" that now controls most major U.S. media outlets and record labels. This control over the media enables Zionists to "own what we look at and what our kids look at every day, which means they control our mind by remote controls in our living room," according to Nzinga.
Nzinga further protested what he sees as Jewish monopoly on suffering, stating, "If we mention our Holocaust even the Jews get mad, but you say something about their Holocaust, they call you anti-Semitic. And they always say they'll never forget, but if we say anything about our history they don't want to hear it." Nzinga asserted that Jewish accusations of anti-Semitism are particularly insulting since Jews do not have a legitimate claim to the term Semite—a position frequently advanced by the NBPP.

At one point during the interview, Nzinga accused Jews of "infiltrating" historically black colleges, where he said they bring Jews and whites to campus to teach "white supremacy" to black students. Black colleges, he said, must empower themselves financially in order to free themselves from the grip of whites and Jews: "Until we forget about them crackers' money and start taking Black colleges and start taking back over our colleges and give them crackers they checks back and draw money from our own pool, we can never educate our kids. So we let the Jews and the different foundations come in with their monies and control the college professors, control the colleges."

Nzinga's bigotry is not limited to Jews or supporters of Israel. Referring to two white men charged with the murder of an African-American man in Texas in 2009, Nzinga called on Attorney General Eric Holder in August 2009 to "prosecute these white beasts" and "get down here to Paris, Texas, and give these white boys some Texas justice." During a December 2005 appearance on FOX's Hannity & Colmes, he expressed agreement with a statement by Kamau Kambon, a professor at North Carolina State University, calling for the extermination of white people.

Nzinga's conspiratorial view of the world is apparent in other theories he has advanced in speeches and interviews, including accusing Jews of having foreknowledge of September 11 attacks during a September 2005 appearance on Hannity & Colmes. He has also charged that the pro-Israel lobby controls the Canadian government and accused white-run U.S. government agencies of infiltrating and plotting to "destroy" the NBPP.

Nzinga regularly advocates militant action as a legitimate response to the ills plaguing his community. During his January 2009 radio interview, he asserted that African-Americans must defend themselves against perceived exploitation and oppression, even if it entails resorting to violence. "I got the right to defend my house I got the right bear arms and I got the right to protect myself," he said. "Anybody against God, against humanity, against everything we stand for, and we gotta fight like hell with every right we have."

Nzinga's tenure with the group can be traced back to 1994, when he met Khalid Muhammad. At that time he became Muhammad's personal assistant, and was later appointed Chief of Staff.

Divine Allah

Divine Allah, the NBPP's Trenton, New Jersey-based National Youth Minister and Northeast Regional Representative, has been active in the Trenton community for more than a decade, including running for political office. Asked about his motivation and political influences, Allah has cited Malik Shabazz, as well as New York City Councilman Charles Barron and former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney.

Allah has a history of vilifying law enforcement in media interviews and during rallies against police brutality. In response to the fatal police shooting of an 18-year-old in Brooklyn, New York, in 2007, Allah...
cautioned that blacks "should never, never forget that there is an enemy amongst us, a predator who is relentless and ruthless."

Allah views black separatism as the best solution to the problems facing the black community, which he blames on whites and Jews. During a speech at the NBPP's national summit in Philadelphia in August 2006, Allah responded to accusations leveled against the NBPP—specifically, that it is a hate group—by comparing the NBPP to God, and whites and Jews to the devil. "The devil is not supposed to love God," he remarked. "Anti-Defamation League, and all the other so-called Jews just like them, and other white folks, the devil is not supposed to like God. The devil never liked the work of God... to hell with them."

These themes are also found in the music produced by Allah's hip-hop group, the Maroon Society (Allah performs under the pseudonym God MC). One Maroon Society song combines accusations of Zionist "land grabbing" with a photograph of an orthodox Jew and an image seemingly depicting Jewish world control. Another, titled "Bangout," advocates for violence against whites: "if you're gonna bang, bang for the Black race, cut a white boy, put the bang into a cracker's face... if you're gonna to bang, bang on the white devil, bury him by the river bank with the right shovel."

King Samir Shabazz

King Samir Shabazz, head of the NBPP's Philadelphia chapter, garnered national attention in January 2009, when the U.S. Justice Department filed suit against the group over alleged voter intimidation by him and another NBPP member on Election Day 2008.

The suit alleged that Samir Shabazz and Jerry Jackson, the chapter’s chief of staff, intimidated voters by standing outside a North Philadelphia polling station in NBPP uniform, with Samir Shabazz brandishing what the Justice Department described as a "police-style baton weapon." As a result of the case, he is prohibited from displaying a weapon within 100 feet of any open polling location in Philadelphia through 2012.

Though he was suspended by the NBPP’s national leadership shortly after the incident, Samir Shabazz had been reinstated as head of its Philadelphia chapter just over a year later. In fact, during a January 2010 interview with the NBPP’s online radio channel, NBPP national chairman Malik Zulu Shabazz emphasized Samir Shabazz's role as one of the NBPP’s key local leaders.

Samir Shabazz’s behavior on Election Day 2008 was reflective of his long history of confrontational behavior towards whites and law enforcement. Shabazz views the U.S. as having
an "inherent racism" and his statements frequently advocate for violence against white people in order to achieve racial and social justice for blacks. "You want freedom?," Shabazz shouted through a microphone on a Philadelphia street in 2008, "You're gonna have to kill some crackers. You're gonna have to kill some of they [sic] babies."

Less than a week before the 2008 Election Day incident, Samir Shabazz made a series of incendiary statements about whites during an interview with a local newspaper, including "I'm about the total destruction of white people. I'm about the total liberation of black people. I hate white people. I hate my enemy." He vowed not to vote for then-presidential candidate Barack Obama, calling him "a puppet on a string" and "the next slave master." He also downplayed the Holocaust and justified retaliatory violence ("You got to take violence to violence").

His comments echoed equally militant remarks he made during a 2003 interview with Philadelphia Weekly. "I can't wait for the day that they're all dead. I won't be completely happy until I see our people free and Whitey dead," he said. He added, "We're going to keep putting our foot up the white man's ass until they understand completely. We want freedom, justice and mutha[expletive]' equality. Period. If you ain't gonna give it to us, mutha[expletive], we're gonna take it, in the name of freedom."

Shabazz' bigotry extends to homosexuals, whom he declared during an August 2010 NBPP event are "destroying the minds of youth," and Jews, whom he has implied control New York City and Fox News.

Shabazz also regularly advocates violence against police during media interviews, NBPP events, and protests in Philadelphia. During the group's "National & International Day of Action & Unity" event in April 2011, which was held outside the Philadelphia Police Department headquarters, Shabazz called for retaliation for the murders of Black youth by police. "Off the pigs who kill our kids!," he shouted. In advance of the event, he had indicated a willingness to engage in violent confrontation with the police, warning that "we gonna get us some pigs and make bacon" and that "we are trained and ready here in Killadelphia." Shabazz made similar comments while speaking at the NBPP’s National Convention in May 2010, asserting that "the quickest way to get rid of police brutality is to get rid of police."

Samir Shabazz's disruptive tactics got him arrested on disorderly conduct charges in September 2008, after he and others interrupted an Atlantic City rally held to address Black community issues. Shabazz shouted, "If you're not willing to stand up, black men and black women, then get the hell in the river and drown with the jelly fish." His speech reportedly included racial epithets as well.

Always ready to confront his perceived adversaries head on, Samir Shabazz showed up with nine other NBPP members to protest a white supremacist rally at Pennsylvania's Valley Forge National Park in September 2004. The Panthers came armed with a baseball bat and long flashlight, which the Park Police confiscated. "We came to let the KKK and those neo-Nazi crackers know we will not tolerate them...we believe in the race purity of black people," he told reporters.
Samir has cited former NBPP leader Khalid Muhammad, a racist and anti-Semite, as "my light, my reflection of what it means to be a black man in America... my teacher, my guide, my elder, my father, my brother. He woke me up."

**ORIGINS**

The New Black Panther Party for Self Defense (NBPP) takes its name from the original Black Panther Party, formed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, in 1966. The original Panthers combined militant Black Nationalism with Marxism and advocated black empowerment and self-defense, often through confrontation. By 1969, the group had an estimated 5,000 members spread throughout 20 chapters around the country. In the early 1970s, however, the group lost momentum and most of its support due to internal disputes, violent clashes with police, and infiltration by law enforcement agencies. Despite the collapse, the group's mystique continued to influence radicals, and by the early 1990s a new generation of militant activists began to model themselves after the original Panthers.

*Michael McGee*

The roots of the New Black Panthers can be traced to Michael McGee, a former member of the original Panthers, who was elected to the Milwaukee City Council in Wisconsin in 1984. In 1987, in response to what he viewed as a crisis in the city's black community, McGee threatened to disrupt "Summerfest" events "and other white people's fun" throughout the city unless more jobs were created for black people. He eventually backed off, instead leading demonstrations to call attention to black unemployment.

In 1990, at a "state of the inner city" press conference at city hall, McGee—then a Milwaukee alderman—announced his intention to create the Black Panther Militia unless the problems of the inner city improved. He sought to enlist street gangs in the militia and provide them with weapons training. "They can fight and they already know how to shoot," he said. "I'm going to give them a cause to die for." By 1995, McGee threatened, the militia would carry out violent attacks in the city against "the government, the big private interests, the multi-millionaires."

Two months later, McGee organized a public meeting to recruit members to the Black Panther Militia at a local public school. Although dressed in black fatigues reminiscent of the original Panthers, McGee told the crowd of 300 that he was "not advocating what the Black Panthers were advocating. Our militia will be about violence. I'm talking actual fighting, bloodshed and urban guerilla warfare."

In 1992 he again threatened to launch violent attacks on the city, this time if he was not re-elected as alderman. But as the election neared, he recanted, saying that he "proved [his] point" and that he was "getting back into the system." He eventually lost his seat to a police sergeant.
By that time, McGee had already helped organize a chapter of the Black Panther Militia in Indianapolis. McGee also inspired the establishment of a similar group in Dallas, which, under the leadership of Aaron Michaels, would become the founding chapter of the NBPP.

Aaron Michaels

Aaron Michaels, born Aaron McCarthy in Dallas, had worked at various Christian radio stations in the city before he started producing Dallas County Commissioner John Wiley Price’s nightly radio show "Talkback" in 1990. He credits Price, who made a name for himself organizing a series of confrontational protests in the Dallas area, with introducing him to Black Nationalist ideology. When Michael McGee appeared on "Talkback" in 1990, Price urged his listeners to give money to the Black Panther Militia.

Inspired by McGee’s appearance, in 1990 Michaels organized a group of like-minded followers, which he named after the original Panthers; he registered the New Black Panther Party name in 1991. Like McGee’s Black Panther Militia, Michaels’ NBPP borrowed the militant style and confrontational tactics from the original Panthers while ignoring some of their core principles and community service programs. "Survival programs are good, but they don't make us free," Michaels said.

The group apparently established a nationwide base during the next few years. On May 29, 1993, the Dallas chapter hosted a "National Black Power Summit and Youth Rally," which drew about 200 people. Speaking at the rally, McGee claimed that chapters had formed in 20 cities. In an effort to make common cause in favor of racial separatism, white supremacist Tom Metzger of White Aryan Resistance was also invited to speak. He told the audience that he believed in achieving goals "by whatever means necessary."

McGee's involvement with the NBPP eventually faded, but under Michaels' leadership the New Black Panthers expanded their activity and membership, and more fully embraced racist leaders, most notably Khalid Abdul Muhammad.

Khalid Abdul Muhammad

Khalid Muhammad joined the NBPP in 1996 during its battles with the Dallas school board. For several years, the group had disrupted board meetings demanding greater black representation; with Muhammad on board, Michaels went further, insisting on the resignation of the school board president, whom he described as "Nazi Germany all over. He is a dictator." When three members of the NBPP, including Michaels, were arrested on misdemeanor charges for preventing the board from meeting, Michaels and Muhammad issued a joint news release calling for "Black men with GUNS" to protect them at the next meeting. In response, school board officials canceled the meeting.

A few days later, Michaels again called on Muhammad, enlisting his help in leading a group of armed NBPP members to Greenville, Texas, after two black churches were burned down in the area. The NBPP leaders vowed to patrol local black churches and
threatened whites, whom they believed were responsible for the fires, with death. (A black teenager was later indicted in connection with both fires.)

By the summer of 1998, Muhammad had eclipsed Michaels and became de facto leader of the party. He took on high-profile, racially charged causes and sought to recruit young men attracted to his racist message and militant tone. Michaels, while still active in Dallas, accepted the less significant role of "minister of defense."

Muhammad's interest in the NBPP coincided with his growing alienation from the Nation of Islam (NOI), which he had joined after hearing Louis Farrakhan—then the NOI's National Representative—at New Orleans' Dillard University in 1967. After NOI leader Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, and his son Warith Deen Mohammed began to steer the group toward a non-racist, more traditional form of Islam, Farrakhan elected to perpetuate the father's separatist teachings by forming his own organization (in 1978). Many members followed him, including Khalid Muhammad, who was appointed West Coast regional minister and minister of NOI Mosque No. 27 in Los Angeles.

Muhammad was transferred to Atlanta in the mid-1980s and became minister of the city's NOI mosque. In February 1988, he was sentenced to three years in prison for trying to obtain a home mortgage by using a false social security number; he was released after serving nine months. Despite these difficulties, he had become one of Farrakhan's most trusted advisors and in 1990 was appointed minister of Mosque No. 7 in New York, one of the most prestigious appointments in the NOI. A year later, Muhammad was named Farrakhan's national spokesman.

Muhammad's rise through the group's hierarchy was abruptly halted in November 1993, after he delivered a notoriously anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, homophobic and racist speech at New Jersey's Kean College. In his remarks, Muhammad referred to Jews as "bloodsuckers," called for genocide against whites, vulgarly ridiculed Pope John Paul II and demeaned homosexuals. The speech attracted significant media attention, and Muhammad was condemned by a wide range of religious and political leaders - including the U.S. Congress, which issued a condemnation in 1994 that decried the speech as "outrageous hatemongering of the most vicious and vile kind." Farrakhan responded to the controversy by removing Muhammad from the group's leadership, although the NOI leader noted that he faulted only the form, not "the truth," of Muhammad's remarks.

Even without NOI backing, Muhammad remained a popular (if divisive) and publicity-generating speaker at colleges and universities and at public events across the country. In long unscripted addresses, Muhammad typically, often wildly, attacked Jews and whites.

On May 29, 1994, after Muhammad finished a speech at the University of California, Riverside, a former NOI member attempted to assassinate him, shooting him in the leg and wounding four bodyguards and a bystander before being subdued and beaten by the crowd, which chanted, "He works for the Jews." The gunman, James Bess, who was sentenced to life in prison plus 22 years, said he shot Muhammad because of his extreme views and influence on young people. Muhammad speculated that Jewish groups and the U.S. government had worked with Bess to assassinate him.
A year later, Farrakhan announced that he was reassigning Muhammad to the Chicago mosque. The reassignment was largely symbolic, however, and Muhammad never truly regained a place in the NOI leadership. He would later say that although he still considered himself a member of NOI, he was essentially banned from all NOI mosques.

With his connection to NOI waning, Muhammad focused on raising the visibility of the NBPP and consolidating his leadership over it.

**EARLY EXPANSION**

In June 1998, Muhammad led a group of fifty NBPP followers to Jasper, Texas—including a dozen carrying shotguns and rifles—to "protect" the streets in the wake of the racial murder of James Byrd Jr. Byrd, a 49-year-old African-American, was beaten and fatally dragged behind a pickup truck down a rural road by three white supremacists. In response to a rally organized by Klansmen in the small town two weeks later, Muhammad and his followers, many wearing black berets like the original Panthers, showed up to counter-demonstrate. When members of the NBPP tried and failed to get past police separating them from the Klan, several minor scuffles between supporters on both sides broke out, resulting in two arrests.

After the Jasper protest, Muhammad concentrated on organizing his most ambitious event to date, which he called the "Million Youth March." The purpose of the march in Harlem was to promote unity among young African-Americans, but it would also provide a forum to showcase the emergent NBPP as an alternative to other groups interested in guiding black youth, namely the NOI.

With the help of the December 12 Movement, a Brooklyn-based anti-racism advocacy group, Muhammad toured the country promoting the march. He received the endorsement of several local black leaders, including Reverend Al Sharpton, who also spoke at the event.

Prior to the march, Rudolph Giuliani, then Mayor of New York City, labeled the event a "hate march" and the police department initially denied the NBPP a permit to hold the event in Harlem, citing safety concerns. Muhammad responded by threatening to march in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, noting the longstanding tension between the Jewish and Black communities there. A federal judge eventually overruled the city's decision to deny the permit and Muhammad convened the rally in Harlem on September 5, 1998.

Instead of hearing a message of unity, young and old in attendance listened to several speeches threaded with the inflammatory racism, anti-Jewish prejudice and support for black separatism, for which Muhammad and the NBPP had come to be known.

The day ended with a melee between New York City police officers and demonstrators when police attempted to shut down the rally at the 4 p.m. deadline. Twenty-eight people suffered minor injuries,
including 16 police officers, who were struck by chairs and bottles. Police Commissioner Howard Safir blamed Muhammad for inciting the confrontation by exhorting the crowd to beat the police with rails and to shoot them with their own guns in "self-defense."

Despite the melee (or perhaps because of it), Muhammad's influence as leader of the NBPP had reached its highest point. Approximately 6000 people attended the rally - easily the largest gathering ever organized by the group - and Muhammad was elected NBPP national chairman shortly afterward. The Panthers would organize three more Million Youth Marches, in Harlem in 1999 and 2000, and in Brooklyn in 2003, but none came close to attracting the number of the participants at the first march.

In addition to organizing high-profile demonstrations, Muhammad's accomplishments with the NBPP include instituting an organizational hierarchy, much of which is filled with figures from the NOI and other black Muslim groups. Malik Zulu Shabazz, an attorney from Washington, D.C., and Muhammad's long-time right hand man, was named national spokesman. Shabazz's role was to take the group's—and Muhammad's—militant message to the mainstream media. While it is unclear how many people joined the party under Muhammad's leadership, Shabazz claimed—unverifiably—in 2002 that NBPP supporters numbered "in the low thousands."

In 2000, Shabazz, now both the Panthers' national spokesman and national minister of justice, opened a chapter in Washington, D.C., that would become the group's headquarters. Soon after, he introduced his chapter to the D.C. community by organizing a boycott of a local Korean-American owned store after a dispute between the store owner and a black teenage girl led to a fight, which was caught on video tape. The NBPP organized a week of protests on the sidewalk in front of the store, and protestors, borrowing the language of anti-Semitic slander, chanted "death to the Bloodsucker." In November 2000, a pipe bomb was thrown into the store, causing severe damage. Painted across the outside wall were racial epithets and the words, "Burn them down, Shut them down, Black Power." Shabazz said his group had nothing to do with the attack.

On February 17, 2001, at the age of 53, Muhammad died suddenly in Atlanta from the effects of a brain aneurysm. Control of the NBPP, which under Muhammad became the largest and most vocal anti-Semitic Black organization in the U.S., was left to Shabazz, his closest advisor.