

**TO  
DIE  
FOR  
THE  
PEOPLE**

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
NEWTON

**Selected Writings and Speeches Edited by Nobel Prize Winning Author Toni Morrison**

**TO  
DIE  
FOR  
THE  
PEOPLE**

**THE WRITINGS OF  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
EDITED BY TONI MORRISON**



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To die for the . . . racists . . . is lighter than a feather. But  
to die for the people . . . is heavier than any mountain and  
deeper than any sea.

—HUEY P. NEWTON

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## THE PEOPLE

### *Black America*

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empire capitalism, and the racism of White men, underwent a revolution mightier than that of Russia. Under the leadership of the soldier and intellectual Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China smashed all of China's oppressor classes, freed China from alien empires, and gave the Chinese people the dignity and authority of masters in their own house. Out of a half-century of struggle before and after the seizure of power, Mao Tse-tung rediscovered the fact that revolution is a process and not a conclusion, that contradictions continue to generate struggle even after revolutionaries have seized power. This is so because new forms of oppression keep on arising (like the bureaucratic dictatorship which the Chinese people overthrew in their recent Cultural Revolution), for the existence of any empire is by itself a contradiction, because so long as there are colonized peoples anywhere in the world they will make war to achieve their freedom.)

By the middle of the twentieth century, it has become clear that the honor of being fighters in the revolutionary process belongs not just to the big nations. Everywhere in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, colonies have achieved independence, and independent nations are struggling to cast off empires. And in independent nations the poor are rising to cast off newer forms of imperialist, neo-colonialist, and native bourgeois domination. The greatest of these Third World revolutions is the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the greatest empire in human history, the United States of America. First, the city people of Vietnam achieved independence from French rule. Then the peasants of Vietnam threw off the shackles of landlord oppression. Now, all Vietnamese fight to throw out of their country an alien American occupier bloated with dollars, festooned with weapons, who regards their country as a testing ground of his ability to maintain his clutches on the rest of the world.

While the revolutionary process spread outward from

America, Britain, and France, it also flowed back into those countries. In Britain, class struggle continued through the nineteenth century and independence movements battered its empire in the twentieth century. But most important for its own people, Britain was reduced to its natural state as an off-shore island by alien capitalist empires who greedily sought what Britain already had—first Germany who wanted to take it by force and then America who inherited it by default. In France, class struggle raged in the nineteenth century, but competing with the poor for power was a still revolutionary capitalism which did not finally win until the twentieth century. In contrast to Britain and France, America in the nineteenth century appeared as a place of hope for the revolutionary process. America encouraged and supported colonial independence movements. Its capitalism was the most dynamic, aggressive, and creative in the world, attracting millions of immigrants. And class struggle achieved a sublime form in the Civil War which appeared as a struggle for the emancipation of Black people: the poorest, most oppressed, most exploited people in the world.

By the end of the nineteenth century, reactionary forces who were determined to end once and for all the revolutionary process—that struggle of the poor for power, equality, and justice—gained sway. America began toying with the idea of empire when it seized Spain's remnant colonies in the Caribbean and the Far East. Its hard-driving capitalists turned into a new ruling class interested primarily in power and wealth for themselves and their "middle-class" allies. And they decided that the poor had to be kept in their place forever, so signifying by reintroducing slavery for Black people in the form of "segregation." The empire became a global reality in 1945 when America, rich and unscathed, picked up the wreckage of World War II. Join the empire, America's rulers said, and you will have a share in the wealth. By World War I hatred of communists,

by Black people, but now a growing party with a vision reaching out to the entire world and a practice aiming deep into the communities of Black people. The context of the revolutionary movement within which the Black Panther Party grows is similar to that of other movements, notably the Chinese. As in China during the 1920's and 1930's, there are now the nationalist revolutionaries who want power, identity, and respect for their own race. There are also the "endorsed spokesmen," who while often vehement in language believe they can make personal gains by extorting concessions from the national and class oppressors. There are the "implacables" who desire to break the slave-master's oppressive power by any means necessary.

In China during the latter 1930's, the nationalists soon exhausted their energies, the endorsed spokesmen went over to the Japanese enemy, and the implacables were killed off leaving only the memory of their fortitude. Huey P. Newton speaks of "the three points of a triangle of death" which the oppressor, the "endorsed spokesmen," and the "implacables" form. The lesson of the Chinese Revolution shows that it was the Communist Party which evolved a revolutionary vision for all mankind, which developed a practice which went deep into the villages, and which kept on fighting external and internal oppressors while always committed to survival. This was the party led by Mao Tse-tung that carried on the revolution for the liberation of China. The Black Panther Party being led by Huey P. Newton is now developing along similar lines with vision, practice, and struggle. Representative of this development is the change in Newton's title: he is no longer the Minister of Defense, but the Servant of the People.

The vision of the Black Panther Party is expressed in the first part of this book, and the core of the vision is Revolutionary Intercommunalism. Revolutionary Intercommunalism is an idea which emerges out of a fundamental contradiction: that America is not a nation but an empire

which directly or indirectly spans the globe, that its real units are communities which are ever more visible as one goes down into the poor Third World strata of America, and that that empire and community stand in dialectical contradiction and confrontation with each other. While peoples legitimately fight for nationhood throughout the world, in a fundamental sense, nations cannot really exist for long because all nations fall somewhere on a scale from liberated to non-liberated territories. As Newton says of Cuba, The People's Republic of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, "they represent the people's liberated territory."

The American empire is everywhere, even in China, a fact dramatically demonstrated by Nixon's visit. But the struggle against that empire takes form in the growth of communities able to produce, educate, and defend themselves. And the struggle expresses the revolutionary process when these communities forge linkages among themselves within nations and reach across national boundaries to different national communities. The Third World in America can never become a part of the American nation because there is no nation. To become a part means joining the empire which for most Third World people means to do so in a menial capacity. Third World people live in communities not by choice but because they are forced to remain in demarcated ghettos. Millions of White Americans live not in communities but as atomized individuals and in households. Nothing is more natural to man than to live in a community, but nothing is so abhorrent to the doctrines of "freedom" of the empire than that man should live in a community which escapes the manipulation of the rulers. The "villages" of the world have much to teach its "cities." "We cannot make our stand as nationalists," for the closer one is to the center of the empire, the more illusory the idea of nationhood is for any people. "We cannot even

produces that most wonderful of human bonds—comradeship. No one has understood the struggle of the Vietnamese people unless he or she realizes that its basis is the extraordinary comradeship that has arisen in a quarter century of struggle. Americans seem not to understand comradeship because they no longer know what friendship means. A friend is anyone you happen to meet. Those who died like Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas may appear to many sympathetic Americans as tragic victims of prison oppression. These same Americans also think of the Vietnamese as “victims,” but anyone who has been to North Vietnam soon loses that notion. Nor were those who died in this country for Black liberation “victims”; they were comrades. As the struggle deepens and spreads in America, so will the bonds of comradeship.

The Black Panther Party may now have come through its own Long March, and a period of building, survival, and protracted struggle begun. If there be similarities to China’s Long March, they are not due to conscious imitation, but manifestations of a larger and longer revolutionary process which does not spring out of the alert minds of some individuals, but from the people.

*Franz Schurmann*  
*San Francisco*  
*February 29, 1972*

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# I

## The Party

*The Black Panther  
 Party is an ox  
 for the people.*

**4. We want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings.**

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

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear

arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

**8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all Black People when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-White juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.**

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are



Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned and demonstrated, among other things, to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American Government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act\* brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

\* A bill introduced into the California State Legislature in early 1967 by State Assemblyman Mulford. This bill resulted in changing crucial gun laws in the state, and was primarily introduced to thwart the just activity of the Black Panther Party. It was subsequent to the Black Panther Party's legal, armed defense patrols of local police that this bill was quickly pushed through the legislature. During the time of legislative debate around the bill (May of 1967), members of the Black Panther Party went to the State Capitol Building in Sacramento in an armed protest demonstration, declaring, in what became Executive Mandate Number One of the Black Panther Party, that Black people as an oppressed people had the right under the U.S. Constitution to bear arms in their defense. Passed in July of 1967, the Mulford Bill outlawed (in California, under Penal Codes 12031 and 171.C) carrying loaded firearms on one's person or in vehicles, and an ordinary citizen's having a loaded firearm in or near the State Capitol Building or any other state or government building, restricted area, etc.

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## *Executive Mandate No. 2:*

### *June 29, 1967*

So Let This Be Heard . . . .

Brother Stokely Carmichael:

Because you have distinguished yourself in the struggle for the total liberation of Black people from oppression in racist White America;

Because you have acted courageously and shown great fortitude under the most adverse circumstances;

Because you have proven yourself a true revolutionary guided by a great feeling of love for our people;

Because you have set such a fine example, in the tradition of Brother Malcolm, of dedicating your entire life to the struggle of Black Liberation, inspiring our youth and providing a model for others to emulate;

Because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary, aggressive war machine, showing that you know who your true friends and enemies are;

Because your new endeavor to organize and liberate the Crown Colony of Washington, D.C., will inevitably force you to confront, deal with, and conquer the racist Washington Police Department, which functions as the protector of the racist dog power structure that occupies the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons

to our Minister of Information, and Brother Emory Douglas, our Revolutionary Artist.

Taking further notice of the fact that on February 25, 1968, several uniformed gestapos of the Berkeley Pig Department, accompanied by several other White men in plain clothes, bearing an assortment of shotguns, rifles, and service revolvers, made a forceful, unlawful entry and search of the home of Bobby Seale, Chairman of our Party, and his wife, Sister Artie Seale. These Pigs had no warrant either to search or to arrest. When asked by Chairman Bobby to produce a warrant they arrogantly stated that they did not need one. They had no authority to enter—what they did have was the power of the gun.

On the basis of these two incidents we are convinced that the situation is critical. Our organization has received serious threats from certain racist elements of White America, including the Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco Pig Departments. Threats to take our lives, to exterminate us. We cannot determine when any of these elements or a combination of them may move to implement these threats. We must be alert to the danger at all times. We will not fall victim to another St. Valentine's Day Massacre. Therefore, those who approach our doors in the manner of outlaws; who seek to enter our homes illegally, unlawfully and in a rowdy fashion; those who kick our doors down with no authority and seek to ransack our homes in violation of our HUMAN RIGHTS will henceforth be treated as outlaws, as gangsters, as evil-doers. We have no way of determining that a man in a uniform involved in a forced outlaw entry into our home is in fact a guardian of the Law. He is acting like a law-breaker and we must make an appropriate response.

We draw the line at the threshold of our doors. It is therefore mandated as a general order to all members of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense that all members must acquire the technical equipment to defend their homes and

their dependents and shall do so. Any member of the Party having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold shall be expelled from the Party for Life.

. . . So Let This Be Done.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship among the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. If the party machinery is to be effective it is important that the members of the party group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. To minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists the members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries.

The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and other activities. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle and the party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. In order to do so the masses must know that the party exists. A vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence; that would limit its effectiveness and educational goals. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist aboveground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and, hopefully, when the party is forced to go underground, the party's message will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. Thus the party must make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy. By that time the people will know the party exists and will seek further information about its activities when it is driven underground.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious notion that the vanguard party should be a secret organization which the power structure knows nothing about, and that the masses know nothing about except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. Such contradictions and inconsis-

tencies are not recognized by these so-called revolutionaries. They are, in fact, afraid of the very danger that they are asking the people to confront. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, to do what they themselves are afraid to do. That kind of revolutionary is a coward and a hypocrite. A true revolutionary realizes that if he is sincere death is imminent. The things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization it is pointless to proceed as a revolutionary.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution they would see that the vanguard group always starts out aboveground and is driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution is an example: when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he began by speaking publicly on the University of Havana campus. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was tremendous and his teachings were received with much respect. When he went into hiding, the Cuban people searched him out, going to the hills to find him and his band of twelve.

Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly, and if the Chinese Revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party operated quite openly in order to muster support from the masses. There are many more examples of successful revolutionary struggle from which one can learn the correct approach: the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution discussed in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

Millions and millions of oppressed people may not know members of the vanguard party personally but they will learn of its activities and its proper strategy for liberation through an indirect acquaintance provided by the mass media. But it is not enough to rely on the media of the

*Speech Delivered at Boston College:  
November 18, 1970*

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Power to the people, brothers and sisters. I would like to thank you for my presence here tonight because you are responsible for it. I would be in a maximum-security penitentiary if it were not for the power of the people.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman, for Ericka Huggins, for Angela Davis, for the New York 21 and the Soledad Brothers. For all political prisoners and prisoners of war. On the 28th and 29th of November we will have a People's Revolutionary Constitutional convention in Washington, D.C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come. After all, the people are the makers of world history and responsible for everything. How can we have a convention if we have no people? Some believe a people's convention is possible without the people being there. As I recall, that was the case in 1777.

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and explain how we arrived at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary to institute a Ten-Point Program. A Ten-Point Program is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. *It is a survival program.* We, the people, are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism are rampant in this country and throughout the world. And the ruling circle in North America is responsible. We intend to change all of that, and in order to change it, there must be a total transformation. But until we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In

order to exist, we must survive; therefore, we need a survival kit: the Ten-Point Program. It is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with functional and creative minds. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have community health programs. We have a busing program. We call it "The Bus for Relatives and Parents of Prisoners." We realize that the fascist regime that operates the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. But if we get the relatives, parents, and friends to the prisons they can expose the treachery of the fascists. This too is a survival program.

We must not regard our survival programs as an answer to the whole problem of oppression. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here revolution cannot be achieved, for the people and only the people make revolutions.

The theme of our Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At our convention we will present our total survival program. It is a program that works very much like the first-aid kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. You need a few things to last until you can get to the shore, until you can get to that oasis where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have the things necessary to get you to that shore, then you will probably not exist. At this time the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we are afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. As a matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, and murder of any kind. We will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he

They are tied to a set of thoughts that approaches dogma—what we call flunkysim.

Marx attempted to set up a framework which could be applied to a number of conditions. And in applying this framework we cannot be afraid of the outcome because things change and we must be willing to acknowledge that change because we are objective. If we are using the method of dialectical materialism we don't expect to find anything the same even one minute later because "one minute later" is history. If things are in a constant state of change, we cannot expect them to be the same. Words used to describe old phenomena may be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe new events we run the risk of confusing people and misleading them into thinking that things are static.

In 1917 an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algeria, wrote a pamphlet called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party." In that work Eldridge Cleaver stated that neither the proletarians nor the industrial workers carry the potentialities for revolution in this country at this time. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpenproletarians, have that revolutionary potential, and in fact, acting as the vanguard, they would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by the Progressive Labor Party, that revolution is impossible. How can the lumpenproletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority? And in fact how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out a successful social revolution? I agree that it is necessary for the people who carry out a social revolution to represent the

popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people. We analyzed what happened in the Soviet Union in 1917. I also agree that the lumpenproletarians are the minority in this country. No disagreement. Have I contradicted myself? It only goes to show that what's apparent might not actually be a fact. What appears to be a contradiction may be only a paradox. Let's examine this apparent contradiction.

The Soviet Union, in 1917, was basically an agricultural society with a very large peasantry. A set of social conditions existing there at that time was responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base were called proletarians. Lenin, using Marx's theory, saw the trends. He was not a historical materialist, but a dialectical materialist, and therefore very interested in the ever-changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority in 1917, they had the potential to carry out a revolution because their class was increasing and the peasantry was declining. That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also had access to the properties necessary for carrying out a socialist revolution.

In this country the Black Panther Party, taking careful note of the dialectical method, taking careful note of the social trends and the ever-changing nature of things, sees that while the lumpenproletarians are the minority and the proletarians are the majority, technology is developing at such a rapid rate that automation will progress to cybernation, and cybernation probably to technocracy. As I came into town I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power it seems to me that capitalists will continue to develop their technological machinery because they are not interested in the people. Therefore, I expect from them the logic that they have always followed: to make as much money as possible, and pay the people as little as

possible—until the people demand more, and finally demand their heads. If revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because technology is making leaps (it made a leap all the way to the moon), and if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and therefore swell the ranks of the lumpens, who are the present unemployables. Every worker is in jeopardy because of the ruling circle, which is why we say that the lumpenproletarians have the potential for revolution, will probably carry out the revolution, and in the near future will be the popular majority. Of course, I would not like to see more of my people unemployed or become unemployables, but being objective, because we're dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts.

Marx outlined a rough process of the development of society. He said that society goes from a slave class to a feudalistic class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure and finally to communism. Or in other words, from capitalist state to socialist state to non-state: communism. I think we can all agree that the slave class in the world has virtually been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force, and if we agree to that we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else—or not disappear but just be transformed—and take on other characteristics, then it is also true that the proletarians or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course the people themselves would not disappear; they would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I am interested in is the fact that soon the ruling circle will not need the workers, and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production the working class will become unemployables or lumpens. That is logical; that is dialectical. I think it would be wrong to say that only the slave class could disappear.

Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist. Once he said, "One thing I'm not, I'm not a Marxist." In those words, he was trying to tell the Progressive Labor Party and others not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and therefore act in an intelligent way to bring about the revolution that we all want.

After taking those things into consideration we see that as time changes and the world is transformed we need some new definitions, for if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. I would be amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 were still existing today.

You know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. They looked at toil, working for your necessities, as something of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory, after he put Marx's analysis into practice, was geared to get rid of the proletarians. In other words, when the proletarian class or the working class seized the means of production, they would plan their society in such a way as to be free from toil. As a matter of fact, Lenin saw a time in which man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds to me as though he saw a proletarian working class transformed and in possession of a free block of time, to indulge in productive creativity, to think about developing their universe, so that they could have the happiness, the freedom and the pleasure that all men seek and value.

Today's capitalist has developed machinery to such a point that he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will certainly do more of this, and the technocrat will be too specialized to be identified as a proletarian. In fact that group of technocrats will be so vital we will have to do something to explain the presence of other people; we will have to come up with another definition and reason for existing.

formed by the imperialists and the ruling circle. They were no longer nations. We found that in order to be Internationalists we had to be also Nationalists, or at least acknowledge nationhood. Internationalism, if I understand the word, means the interrelationship among a group of nations. But since no nation exists, and since the United States is in fact an empire, it is impossible for us to be Internationalists. These transformations and phenomena require us to call ourselves "intercommunalists" because *nations have been transformed into communities of the world*. The Black Panther Party now disclaims internationalism and supports intercommunalism.\*

Marx and Lenin felt, with the information they had, that when the non-state finally came to be a reality, it would be caused or ushered in by the people and by communism. A strange thing happened. The ruling reactionary circle, through the consequence of being imperialists, transformed the world into what we call "Reactionary Intercommunalism." They laid siege upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people were not served by the institutions in their own land. The Black Panther Party would like to reverse that trend and lead the people of the world into the age of "Revolutionary Intercommunalism." This would be the time when the people seize the means of production and distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world.

We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens, even culturally, to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a Black

\* A term coined by Newton to describe the political philosophy of the Panthers and the alteration of economic, cultural, and political relationships in the world.

community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa, a Black community in Angola and one in Mozambique. We see very little difference.

So, what has actually happened, is that the non-state has already been accomplished, but it is reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions which serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation because a community evolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state, and the state has certain control over the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It is not so at this time, so there's still something to be done. I mentioned earlier the "negation of the negation," I mentioned earlier the necessity for the redistribution of wealth. We think that it is very important to know that as things are in the world today socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. It cannot at this time exist anywhere in the world. Socialism would require a socialist state, and if a state does not exist how could socialism exist? So how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we describe certain progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? How do we define certain communities such as North Vietnam and the provisional government in the South? How do we explain these communities if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood? We say this: we say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied, just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only the groundwork and preparation for the liberation of the world—seizing the wealth from the ruling circle, equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with

It only takes ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. The ruling circle no longer even acknowledges wars; they call them "police actions." They call the riots of the Vietnamese people "domestic disturbance." What I am saying is that the ruling circle must realize and accept the consequences of what they have done. They know that there is only one world, but they are determined to follow the logic of their exploitation.

A short time ago in Detroit, the community was under siege, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid siege on that community and that house, and they used the same weapons they use in Vietnam (as a matter of fact, two tanks rolled up). The same thing happens in Vietnam because the "police" are there also. The "police" are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools, and have the same purpose: the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. It is true that the world is one community, but we are not satisfied with the concentration of its power. We want the power for the people.

I said earlier (but I strayed away) that the theory of the "negation of the negation" is valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa, and Latin America the resistance always seeks the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to jump all the way from feudalism to a collective society, and some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical Marxism, or historical materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism to the development of a capitalistic base and finally to socialism? They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the Black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism, that the Black community in Oakland or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism, because the imperialists have already preempted the field. They have already centralized the wealth. Therefore, in order to deal

with them all we can do is liberate our community and then move on them as a collective force.

We've had long arguments with people about our convictions. Before we became conscious we used to call ourselves a dispersed collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, asking "How can you possibly be a colony? In order to be a colony you have to have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities." Because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or admit error, tonight I would like to accept the criticism and say that those critics were absolutely right. We are a collection of communities just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people are a collection of communities—a dispersed collection of communities because we have no superstructure of our own. The superstructure we have is the superstructure of Wall Street, which all of our labor produced. This is a distorted form of collectivity. Everything's been collected but it's used exclusively in the interest of the ruling circle. This is why the Black Panther Party denounces Black capitalism and says that all we can do is liberate our community, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republics of China and Korea but the communities of the world. We must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, the state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away. When transformation takes place, when structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. After the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but linger with Revolutionary Intercommunalism until such time as we can wash away bourgeois thought, until such time as we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking, until such time as people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is



capitalism in the nation reached a high level of development, it went beyond the national boundaries to exploit the wealth and labor of other territories. We further notice that this exploitation of the wealth of other nations included the control of their political structure and their cultural institutions. This control was maintained through the use of high levels of technology developed by bureaucratic capitalism. Technology made it possible for the strong arm of the capitalist to reach into every corner of the world and use its police force, commonly called the military, to carry out its desires. Technology also made it possible for the capitalist to control the air waves and communications media of other territories, and thereby manipulate their cultural institutions.

We recognize then that the greed of bureaucratic capitalism in America, the effectiveness of the police force of the ruling circle, and the swiftness with which their "message" can be sent to these territories has transformed the previous situation. We recognize this when we admit that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire. However, an empire, by definition, controls other countries, and in so doing transforms them. If a nation cannot protect its boundaries and prevent the entry of an aggressor, if a nation cannot control its political structure and its cultural institutions, then it is no longer a nation, it is something else. Thus our presence here is a recognition that the United States has transformed other nations into something else.

Because of this new understanding we must ally ourselves with the oppressed communities of the world. We cannot make our stand as nationalists, we cannot even make our stand as internationalists. We must place our future hopes upon the philosophy of intercommunalism, a philosophy which holds that the rise of imperialism in America transformed all other nations into oppressed communities. In revolutionary love we must make common cause with these oppressed communities.

We are aware that many of us are the descendants of those who were dispossessed of their lands to permit capitalism to flourish. We are aware that many of us are the descendants of those who were captured and enslaved so that their labor could build the wealth of this nation. But we are also aware that the capitalists used the philosophy of racism to support their wicked oppression. Through the philosophy of racism, people in this country have been taught that some citizens are better than others because of differences in physical and social characteristics, and therefore have a right to exploit the others.

This Convention of Revolutionary Peoples is gathered here to organize our forces to move against the evils of capitalism, imperialism and racism, all of which have been used to oppress people. We will move against the evil and corrupt gentry by any means necessary and sufficient to take away the power which they have wielded too selfishly for too long.

We who are gathered here by our presence do resolve to liberate our communities from the boot and whip of the oppressor so that people of good will may live their lives free from want, free from fear, and free from need. We recognize that the Chinese people, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung; the Korean people, under the leadership of Kim I Sung; and the Algerian people under the leadership of Ben Bella rose up against the oppressor and liberated the people's territory from his hands. Consequently, oppressed individuals such as Brother Eldridge Cleaver have access to a liberated community where they can live in peace and harmony. These courageous revolutionaries have set an example for us to liberate our communities also and give freedom to those who have sought so long to bask in its glow.

There can be no real freedom until the imperialist—world-enemy-number-one—has been stripped of his power and put in his rightful place as one of the people rather than

*On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the  
Black Panther Party and the Defection of the  
Black Panther Party from the Black Community:  
April 17, 1971*

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, but we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolutionary." This was in response to another contradiction: the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action: openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization aboveground so that the people can relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive for them. When you go underground without

doing this you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that—striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending—because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors, who come to the community in many forms, from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors the people would support us and defend us. They would know that in spite of the oppressors' interpretations our only desire was to serve their true interests, and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full-scale development of our original vision, and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party and the murder of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program—our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of *Ramparts* Magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting at a time (1966) when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were police-alert patrols all over the country, but we were the first *armed* police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary because the fascists carry guns, in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power *is* the gun, but the emphasis is on

"grows." The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon so that we can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of *Ramparts* Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as *the* Revolution and *the* Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people because revolution is a process that moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. *We always emphasized a concrete analysis of conditions*, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards or community police. This is why we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way *they* would get salvation was through *their* control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was unnecessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed because I would not stand for it, but Eldridge's influence brought it about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party, but I knew that he could make a contribution and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. Instead we must gain the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when the people related to us in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver, and he has defected from the Party because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectical ideology and our analysis of concrete conditions indicate that declaring a spontane-

ous revolution is a fantasy. The people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a *community structure* which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival programs, we can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests, we can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom. Then they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all, there is a small but dedicated *cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization*. Secondly, there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. Information can be circulated about daily phenomena to inform the people of their true meaning. Programs of service can be carried out to deliver to the people the basic needs that are not met elsewhere because the lumpenproletariat are the victims of oppression and exploitation. A cadre and a structure, however, are not what make the political vehicle a revolutionary one. It is the revolutionary concepts which define and interpret phenomena, and establish the goals toward which the political vehicle will work. A revolutionary vehicle is in fact a revolutionary concept set into motion by a dedicated cadre through a particular organized structure.

Such a vehicle can survive repression because it can move in the necessary manner at the appropriate time. It can go underground if the conditions require, and it can rise up again. But it will always be motivated by love and dedication to the interests of the oppressed communities. Therefore the people will insure its survival, for only in that survival are their needs serviced. The structured and organized vehicle will guarantee the weathering of the test of internal and external contradictions.

The responsibility of such a political vehicle is clear. It is to function as a machine which serves the true interests of

the oppressed people. This means that it must be ever aware of the needs of the communities of the oppressed and develop and execute the necessary programs to meet those needs. The Black Panther Party has done this through its basic Ten-Point Program. However, we recognize that *revolution is a process and we cannot offer the people conclusions*—we must be ready to respond creatively to new conditions and new understandings. Therefore, we have developed our Free Breakfast Program, our Free Health Clinics, our Clothing and Shoe Programs, and our Buses to Prisons Program as well as others, responding to the obvious needs of Black people. The overwhelmingly favorable response to these programs in every community is evidence that they are serving the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people also means that the political vehicle must stand between the people and the oppressive forces which prey upon them in such a manner that the administrators will have to give the appropriate response. Such articulation requires us to have a political organ which will express the interests of the people and interpret phenomena for them. Again, the existence of such a political vehicle is justified only so long as it serves the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people, however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, for the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversion tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their true goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the

Since 1966 the Black Panther Party has gone through many changes; it has been transformed. I would like to talk to you about that and about contradictions. I would also like to talk about the Black Panther Party's relationship with the community as a whole and with the church in particular.

Some time ago when the Party started, Bobby and I were interested in strengthening the Black community—rather its comprehensive set of institutions because if there is one thing we lack it is community. We do have one institution that has been around for some time and that is the church. After a short harmonious relationship with the church, in fact a very good relationship, we were divorced from the church, and shortly after that found ourselves out of favor with the whole Black community.

We found ourselves in somewhat of a void alienated from the whole community. We had no way of being effective as far as developing the community was concerned. The only way we could aid in that process of revolution—and revolution is a process rather than conclusion or a set of principles, or any particular action—was by raising the consciousness of the community. Any conclusion or particular action that we think *is* revolution is really reaction, for revolution is a developmental process. It has a forward thrust which goes higher and higher as man becomes freer and freer. As man becomes freer he knows more about the

\* Delivered at the Center for Urban Black Studies, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California.

universe, he tends to control more and he therefore gains more control over himself. That is what freedom is all about.

I want now to talk about the mistakes that were made. I hate to call them mistakes because maybe they were necessary to bring about change in the Party, the needed transformation. I am sure that we will have other kinds of contradictions in the future, some that we don't know about now. I am sure they will build up and hurl us into a new thing.

But the church also has been going through phases of development. It too has found itself somewhat isolated from the community. Today, the church is striving to get back into favor with the community. Like the church the Black Panther Party is also trying to reinstate itself with the community.

A short time ago there was an article in the Black Panther paper called "The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community." I would like to concentrate now upon the defection of the Party. That is, the larger unit. I hate to place blame upon individuals in our Party particularly since they are always governed by a collective called the Central Committee. Even when I disagree with the Central Committee (and I did much disagreeing and arguing when I was in prison, but I was out-voted), after the vote I supported the position of the Party until the next meeting.

I think, at first, that we have to have some organized apparatus in order to bring about the necessary change. The only time we leave our political machine or our institution altogether is when we feel that we cannot bring about the necessary change through the machine, and the very posture of the organization or the institution will strip us of our individual dignity. I felt that this was true of the Party, and although it could be argued, *I personally thought that*

ritual, it is irrelevant, and therefore we will have nothing to do with it. We said this in the context of the whole community being involved with the church on one level or another. That is one way of defecting from the community, and that is exactly what we did. Once we stepped outside of the church with that criticism, we stepped outside of the whole thing that the community was involved in and we said, "You follow our example; your reality is not true and you don't need it."

Now, without judging whether the church is operating in a total reality, I will venture to say that if we judge whether the church is relevant to the *total* community we would all agree that it is not. That is why it develops new programs—to become more relevant so the pews will be filled on Sunday.

The church is in its developmental process, and we believe it needs to exist. We believe this as a result of our new direction (which is an old direction as far as I am concerned, but we'll call it new because there has been a reversal in the dominance in the Central Committee of our Party for reasons that you probably know about). So we do go to church, are involved in the church, and not in any hypocritical way. Religion, perhaps, is a thing that man needs at this time because scientists cannot answer all of the questions. As far as I am concerned, when all of the questions are not answered, when the extraordinary is not explained, when the unknown is not known, then there is room for God because the unexplained and the unknown is God. We know nothing about God, really, and that is why as soon as the scientist develops or points out a new way of controlling a part of the universe, that aspect of the universe is no longer God. In other words, once when the thunder crashed it was God clapping His hands together. As soon as we found out that thunder was not God, we said that God has other attributes but not *that* one. In that way we took for ourselves what was His before. But we still

haven't answered all of the questions, so He still exists. And those scientists who say they can answer all of them are dishonest.

We go into the church realizing that we cannot answer the questions at this time, that the answers will be delivered eventually, and we feel that when they are delivered they will be explained in a way that we can understand and control.

I went to church for years. My father is a minister and I spent 15 years in the church; this was my life as a child. When I was going to church I used to hear that God is within us and is, therefore, some part of us: that part of us that is mystical. And as man develops and understands more, he will approach God, and finally reach heaven and merge with the universe. I've never heard one preacher say that there is a need for the church in heaven; the church would negate itself. As man approaches his development and becomes larger and larger, the church therefore becomes smaller and smaller because it is not needed any longer. Then if we had ministers who would deal with the social realities that cause misery so that we can change them, man will become larger and larger. At that time the God within will come out, and we can merge with Him. Then we will be one with the universe.

So I think it was rather arrogant of my Party to criticize the community for trying to discover answers to spiritual questions. The only thing we will criticize in the future is when the church does not act upon the evils that cause man to get on his knees and humble himself in awe at that large force which he cannot control. But as man becomes stronger and stronger, and his understanding greater and greater, he will have "a closer walk with Thee." *Note the song says walk—not crawl.*

So along with the church we will all start again to control our lives and communities. Even with the Black church we have to create a community spirit. We say that the church is

shoes" program. We'll point out that everyone in the society should have shoes and we should not have a situation like the one in Beaufort County, South Carolina, where 70 percent of the children suffer brain damage because of malnutrition. They have malnutrition because of the combination of not enough food and parasites in the stomach. The worms eat up half the food that the children take in. Why? Because the ground is infested with the eggs of the worms and the children don't have shoes to wear. So as soon as we send a doctor there to cure them, they get the parasites again. We think that a shoe program is a very relevant thing, first to help them stay alive, then to create conditions in which they can grow up and work out a plan to change things. If they have brain damage, they will never be revolutionists because they will have already been killed. That is genocide in itself.

We will inform this government, this social order, that it must administer to its people because it is supposed to be a representative government which serves the needs of the people. Then serve them. If it does not do this then it should be criticized. What we will not do in the future is jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything. That is not true; the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is its correcting itself as much as it can. After that, if it doesn't do everything that the people think necessary, then we'll think about reorganizing things.

To be very honest I think there is great doubt whether the present system can do this. But until the people feel the same way I feel then I would be rather arrogant to say dump the whole thing, just as we were arrogant to say dump the church. Let's give it a chance, let's work with it in order to squeeze as many contributions and compromises out of all the institutions as possible, and then criticize them after the fact. We'll know when that time comes, when the people tell us so.

We have a program attempting to get the people to do all they will do. It is too much to ask the people to do all they can do even though they can do everything. But that is not the point. The point is how do we get them to do all they will do until they eventually get to the place where they will have to be doing all they can.

We organized the Party when we saw that growing out of the Movement was what was called a cultural cult group. We defined a cultural cult group as an organization that disguised itself as a political organization, but was really more interested in the cultural rituals of Africa in the 1100's before contact with the Europeans. Instead of administering to the community and organizing it, they would rather wear bubas, get African names and demand that the community do the same, and do nothing about the survival of the community. Sometimes they say, "Well, if we get our culture back then all things will be solved." This is like saying to be regenerated and born again is to solve everything. We know that this is not true.

Then the Party became just as closed as the cultural cultist group. You know many churches that are very reactionary which you describe as a religious cult. They go through many rituals but they're divorced from reality. Even though we have many things in common with them, we say they isolate themselves from reality because they're so miserable and reality is so hard to take. We know that operating within reality does not mean that we accept it; we're operating within it so that the reality can be changed. For what we did as revolutionists was abstract, and the people are always real. But we know that reality is changing all the time, and what we want to do is harness those forces that are causing the change to direct them to a desirable goal. In other words developments will continue, but we have no guarantee that they will be developments that allow man to live. We have no guarantee that the bomb won't be dropped, but we know that there are certain ways



I was warned when I got up here that it would be appropriate to have a question and answer period, so I guess we should start now because I'm subject to go on and on.

QUESTION: I would like to know in your re-evaluation of your former stance in relationship to the community, in what ways do you expect to merge or bring together the community of the Catholic Church into the Black Panther Party?

NEWTON: First, we can't change the realities, direct them, or harness their forces until we know them. We have to gather information. We can gather information about the church by experiencing the church. As a matter of fact this is how we gain facts: through empirical evidence, observation, and experience. In order to do this we have to go to the church. You see, the only laboratory in society we have is the community itself, and we view ourselves not only as scientists but also as activists.

Now we say we try to merge theory with practice, so we're going to churches now. I went to church last week for the first time in ten years, I guess. We took our children with us. We have a youth institute, the Samuel Napier Youth Institute. We have about thirty children now and we took them to church and involved ourselves. We plan to involve ourselves in many community activities, going through the behavior the church goes through in order to contribute to the community. We also hope to influence the church, as I'm sure the church will influence us. Remember that we said that even when whole societies and cultures meet they are both modified by each other. And I am saying that the very fact that we're there is the new ingredient in the church, and we know that we will be affected and hope that they will be affected. But I warn you that we hope to have more effect than they.

Just briefly I mentioned our Youth Institute. We have children from three to fourteen years old; most of them

have already been kicked out of schools and we have a shortage of facilities because the hard core Black community is just an aggregate now. People who happen to be Black.

We are teaching them first what I mentioned earlier, bourgeois skills. It is necessary for us to learn these skills in order to understand the phenomena around us, the society. On the other hand, we don't like the way the skills have been used, so we're going to use them a different way. Thirdly, our children are not going to withdraw. I don't like parochial schools; I don't like separate schools, but I think that sometimes you have to use that strategy. For example, the Black Panther Party is a Black organization. We know that we live in a world of many cultures and ethnic groups and we all interconnect in one way or another. We say that we are the contradiction to the reactionary Western values, but we cannot separate because we're here. Technology is too far advanced for us to isolate ourselves in any geographical location—the jet can get there too fast and so can the early-bird TV set—so what we have to do is share the control of these devices.

So far as our children are concerned, the only reason they are at this separate school is because the public schools were not giving them the correct education. They can hardly learn to read and write. I don't want them to end up as I did: I only learned how to read after I was seventeen and that must not happen to them. I've only been reading for about 10 years or so and that is not very good—I still don't read very well. Our plan is not to have our children graduate from our school and live in a fantasy. Our effort is to keep them in there just as long as it will take for them to organize the school and make it relevant. In other words we are going to send them back into the wilderness, but we're going to send them with their purse and their scribes with them this time.

QUESTION: When David Hilliard spoke to the National

# II

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## The People

*The people will rise like  
a mighty storm.*

person, but at the same time they are afraid of exposing themselves to it. They are afraid because they are vulnerable to having their fears verified; perhaps they will find that they can't compete with White students. The Black person tells himself that he could have done much more if he had really wanted to. The fact is, of course, that the assumed educational opportunities were never available to the lower socio-economic Black person due to the unique position assigned him in life.

It is a two-headed monster that haunts this man. First, his attitude is that he lacks the innate ability to cope with the socio-economic problems confronting him, and second, he tells himself that he has the ability, but he simply has not felt strongly enough to try to acquire the skills needed to manipulate his environment. In a desperate effort to assume self-respect he rationalizes that he is lethargic; in this way, he denies a possible lack of innate ability. If he openly attempts to discover his abilities he and others may see him for what he is—or is not—and this is the real fear. He then withdraws into the world of the invisible, but not without a struggle. He may attempt to make himself visible by procuting his hair, acquiring a "boss mop," or driving a long car even though he cannot afford it. He may father several "illegitimate" children by several different women in order to display his masculinity. But in the end, he realizes that his efforts have no real effect.

Society responds to him as a thing, a beast, a nonentity, something to be ignored or stepped on. He is asked to respect laws that do not respect him. He is asked to digest a code of ethics that acts upon him, but not for him. He is confused and in a constant state of rage, of shame, of doubt. This psychological state permeates all his interpersonal relationships. It determines his view of the social system. His psychological development has been prematurely arrested. This doubt begins at a very early age and continues throughout his life. The parents pass it on to the child and the social system reinforces the fear, the shame,

and the doubt. In the third or fourth grade he may find that he shares the classroom with White students, but when the class is engaged in reading exercises, all the Black students find themselves in a group at a table reserved for slow readers. This may be quite an innocent effort on the part of the school system. The teacher may not realize that the Black students feared (in fact, feel certain) that Black means dumb, and White means smart. The children do not realize that the head start White children get at home is what accounts for the situation. It is generally accepted that the child is the father of the man; this holds true for the lower socio-economic Black people.

With whom, with what can he, a man, identify? As a child he had no permanent male figure with whom to identify; as a man, he sees nothing in society with which he can identify as an extension of himself. His life is built on mistrust, shame, doubt, guilt, inferiority, role confusion, isolation and despair. He feels that he is something less than a man, and it is evident in his conversation: "The White man is 'THE MAN,' he got everything, and he knows everything, and a nigger ain't nothing." In a society where a man is valued according to occupation and material possessions, he is without possessions. He is unskilled and more often than not, either marginally employed or unemployed. Often his wife (who is able to secure a job as a maid, cleaning for White people) is the breadwinner. He is, therefore, viewed as quite worthless by his wife and children. He is ineffectual both in and out of the home. He cannot provide for, or protect his family. He is invisible, a nonentity. Society will not acknowledge him as a man. He is a consumer and not a producer. He is dependent upon the White man ("THE MAN") to feed his family, to give him a job, educate his children, serve as the model that he tries to emulate. He is dependent and he hates "THE MAN" and he hates himself. Who is he? Is he a very old adolescent or is he the slave he used to be?

"What did he do to be so Black and blue?"

peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them, or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the established channels as tricks and deceitful snares of the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports, and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of groveling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom-fighters because of the way that such freedom-fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the "rules" of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or by night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slavemasters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western Hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries now enjoying full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not even recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden

racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist police who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist police have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the police during these rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grass roots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerrilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressors fear the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people against foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom, guns, and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can

stream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor Whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all costs remain non-violent.

On the other side we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were wed to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount among his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence them.

The oppressor, the "endorsed spokesmen," and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the op-

pressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect him from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand over the implacables. In Afro-American history there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, often causing them to leap into a rash act—murder, imprisonment, or exile—to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure, the people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics. Politics is merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy their basic needs first: food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure have attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to sit

## *To the Black Movement: May 15, 1968*

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replace them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of Black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our Black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and in many respects unadvantageous. We believe that culture alone will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out, but because it was a people's revolution the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive or exploiting the people to keep them in slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits back into the community. That's what socialism is all about. The people's representatives are in office strictly by the consent of the people. The wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight—capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

**QUESTION:** Directly related to the question of nationalism is the question of unity within the Black community. There has been some question about this since the Black Panther Party has run candidates against other Black candidates in recent California elections. What is your position on this matter?

**NEWTON:** Well, a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and

**QUESTION:** The question of nationalism is a vital one in the Black movement today. Some have made a distinction between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Would you comment on the differences and give us your views?

**NEWTON:** There are two kinds of nationalism: revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is a people's revolution with the people in power as its goal. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist you of necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and the consequences of your reactionary stance is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork-chop nationalism as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction to, instead of an action against, political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that assuming the African culture is enough to bring political freedom. Many cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He promotes the African culture while he oppresses the people. He's against anything non-Black, which on the surface seems very good. But in fact he is misleading the people. He merely kicked out the racists to

*To the Republic of New Africa:  
September 13, 1969\**

Greetings to the Republic of New Africa and President Robert Williams. I'm very happy to be able to welcome you back home. I might add that this is perfect timing. We need you very much, the people need you very much. And now that the consciousness of the people is at such a high level, perhaps they will be able to appreciate your leadership, and also be ready to move in a very revolutionary fashion.

Some time ago I received a message from the Republic of New Africa with a series of questions concerning the philosophy of the Black Panther Party. At that time I wasn't prepared to send a message out. I have had to think about many of the questions, and due to the situation here it is very difficult for me to communicate, so this explains the lapse in time between question and answer. I will not be able to expound on all the questions but I would like to give some general explanations of the Black Panther Party's position as related to the Republic of New Africa.

The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in this country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps there is the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We, too, realize that the American people in general are colonized. And they are colonized simply because they are under a

\* The Republic of New Africa, a separatist organization which advocates the establishment of a Black nation to be located in several Southern states in the U.S. Robert Williams is its President.

capitalist society which has a small clique of rulers who own the means of production and control all decision making. They are the body, therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general to enrich their own class. As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we are at the very bottom of this ladder. We are exploited not only by the small group of the ruling class, we are oppressed and repressed by even the working-class Whites in the country. This is simply because the ruling class, the White ruling class, uses the old Roman policy of divide and conquer. In other words, the White working class is used as pawns or tools of the ruling class, but they too are enslaved. So it is with that historical policy of dividing and ruling that the ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position. This is because they are divided in certain interest groups, even though these "interests" of the lower-class groups are not necessarily of any real benefit to them.

As far as our stand on separation, we have demanded, as you well know, a plebiscite that the U.N. is to supervise, so that Blacks can decide whether they want to secede from the union or take another position. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we are subject to the will of the majority of the people, but we feel that the people should have this choice, and we feel that the Republic of New Africa is perfectly justified in demanding and declaring the right to secede from the union. So we don't have any contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Africa's position; it is simply a matter of timing. We feel that certain conditions will have to exist before we are even given the right to make that choice. We also take into consideration the fact that if Blacks at this very minute were able to secede from the union, and say have five or six states, it would be almost impossible to function in freedom side by side with a capitalist imperialistic country. We all know that Mother Africa is not free simply because of

since people as one stand for the release of all political prisoners, this might be a rallying point for all of the Black revolutionary organizations and parties. Because I truly believe that some good comes out of every attack that the oppressor makes, and this will be a turning point in both of our organizations and parties. So I would like to say, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, AND MORE POWER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA, ROBERT WILLIAMS."

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## *Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed I:* *June 5, 1971*

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This is a dialogue in our continuing discussion of the new thrust of the Black Panther Party, as we begin to carry out the original vision of the Party. When we coined the expression "All Power to the People," we had in mind emphasizing the word "Power," for we recognize that the *will to power is the basic drive of man*. But it is incorrect to seek power over people. We have been subjected to the dehumanizing power of exploitation and racism for hundreds of years; and the Black community has its own will to power also. What we seek, however, is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny. For us the true definition of power is not in terms of how many people you can control. To us power is the ability to first of all define phenomena, and secondly the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

We see then that power has a dual character and that we cannot simply identify and define phenomena without acting, for to do so is to become an armchair philosopher. And when Bobby and I left Merritt College to organize brothers on the block we did so because the college students were too content to sit around and analyze without acting. On the other hand, power includes action, for it is making phenomena perform in the desired manner. But action without thinking and theory is also incorrect, for if the social forces at work in the community have not been correctly analyzed and defined how can you control them in such a way that they act in a desired manner? So the Black



lutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival but for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for schoolchildren, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anemia, and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never

charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

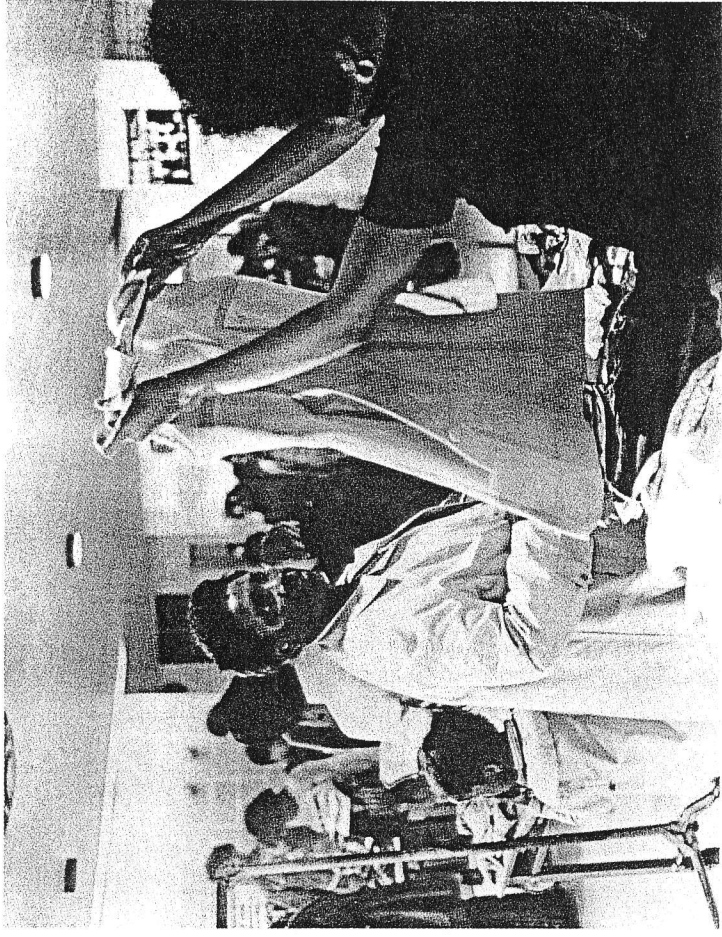
In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy White philanthropists, humanitarians, and heirs to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaging in a blanket condemnation of the small victimized Black capitalists found in our communities. This tactic was wrong since we receive the money for our survival programs from big White capitalists, and we freely admit that.

When we say that we see within Black capitalism the seeds of its own negation and the negation of all capitalism, we recognize that the small Black capitalist in our communities has the potential to contribute to the building of the machine which will serve the true interests of the people and end all exploitation. By increasing the positive qualities of the Black capitalist we may be able to bring about a non-antagonistic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire. This will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire; and by heightening that contradiction there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire. We will do this through our survival programs which have the interest of the community at heart.

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national (native) bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of

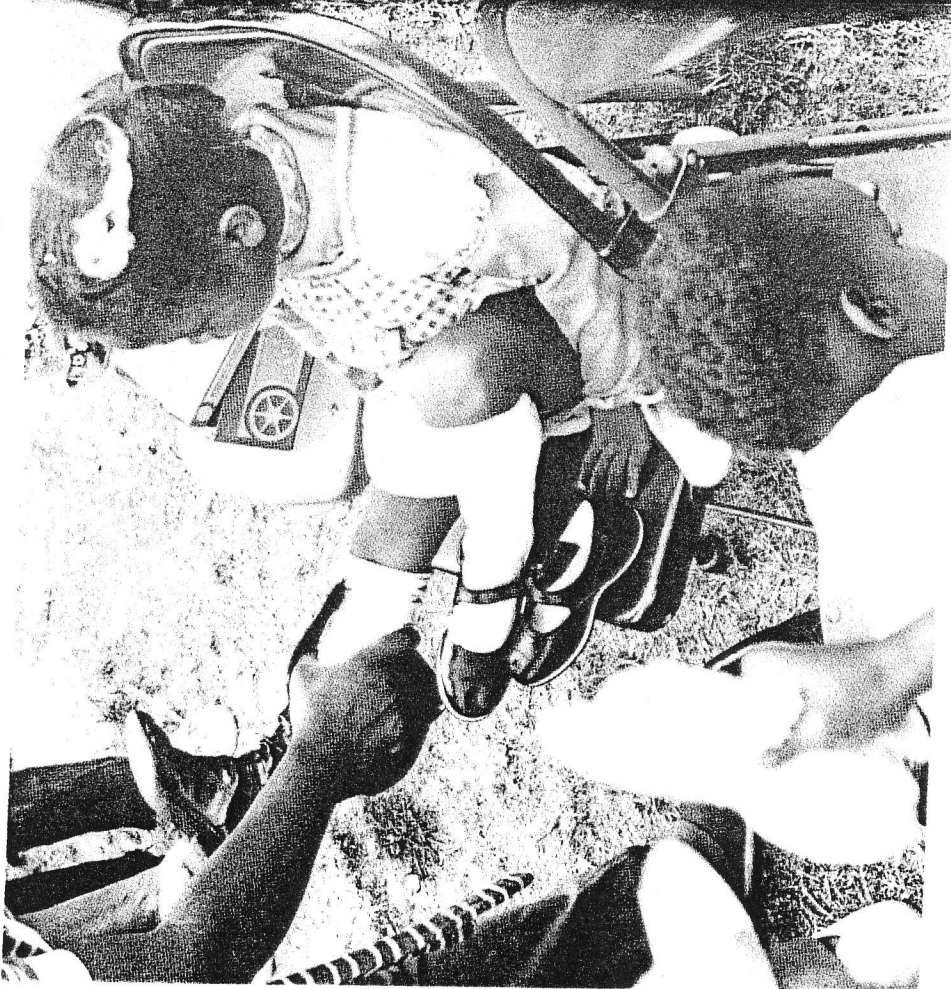


Free Food and Shoe Program,  
West Oakland, California



Free Clothing for Children Rally,  
P.S. 201 Harlem

Free Shoe Program, Richmond, California

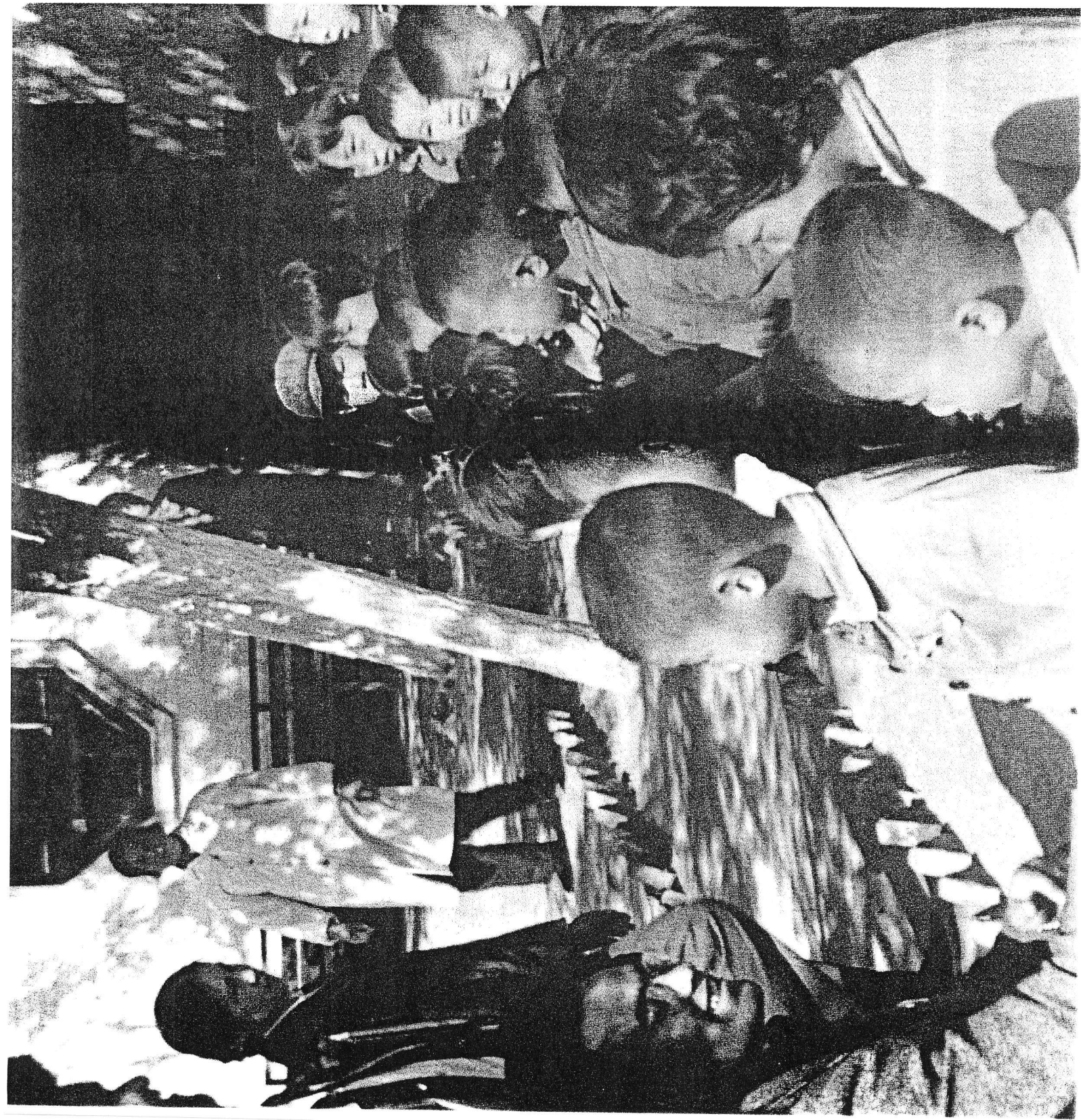


People's Free Health Clinic—Sickle Cell Anemia Program, Roxbury, Massachusetts



Huey Newton  
and other  
Panthers at  
National Day  
Celebrations,  
October,  
1971, Peking

At nursery  
of locomotive parts  
factory near Peking



guard for the people. In a way our new position has the simplicity and completeness of a mathematical formula. When the Black capitalist contributes to the survival programs and makes a contribution to the community, the community will give him their support and thus strengthen his business. If he does not make any contribution to the survival of the community the people will not support him and his enterprise will wither away because of his own negligence. By supporting the community, however, he will be helping to build the political machine which will eventually negate his exploitation of the community, but also negate his being exploited and victimized by corporate capitalism.

So we will heighten the contradiction between the Black community and corporate capitalism, while at the same time reducing the contradiction between the Black capitalist and the Black community. In this way Black capitalism will be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community, which will contribute to the survival of everyone.

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## *Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed II* (*Practical Application*): *August 9, 1971*

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We recently participated in boycotting Mayfair Supermarket.\* Mayfair (located at 61st and Telegraph Avenue in Oakland, California), is located in the Black community, but had the audacity to purchase alcoholic beverages from companies that excluded Black truckdrivers. The California State Package Store and Tavern Owners Association (an organization of Black-owned small retail liquor stores and taverns) initiated the boycott of Mayfair and the Black Panther Party joined them. We closed Mayfair in four days.

The major businesses of Blacks are liquor stores, taverns, mortuaries, realty, barber shops, beauty parlors and barbeque pits: victims all with concomitant positive and negative qualities. The Black Panther Party is a community-wide intercommunal force. We want to organize Black busi-

\* The boycott was successfully resolved in January, 1972. The press release by Ron Dellums, who helped negotiate the settlement, said in part, "We are announcing today that an agreement has been reached of great importance to all of the people in the Bay Area and, in particular, the Black population of this area. This agreement, between the Black Panther Party and the Ad Hoc Committee for Promotion of Black Business, officially ends the boycott of Boyette's Liquor Stores by the Black Panther Party . . . The United Fund of the Bay Area, Inc., sponsored and created by the Ad Hoc Committee for the Promotion of Black Business and the Cal-Pak Liquor Dealers, has already begun the task of collecting funds from Black businesses and individuals for programs of special need in the Black community. Operating as a non-profit social vehicle for the Black community, this new organization will make disbursements to various significant organizations in the Black community on a regular and continuing basis. Among the programs that will benefit are the survival programs of the Black Panther Party.

**HE WON'T BLEED ME**  
*A Revolutionary Analysis of Sweet Sweetback's  
 Baadasssss Song*

*With an Introduction by Bobby Seale,*

*June 19, 1971*

*The feeling that I have now that I am back on the scene with Brother Huey P. Newton is one where I remember the times when Brother Huey was always there to interpret the cultural things and symbolic forms and expressions of the people in different forms of art. This was over three and a half years ago, the last time Brother Huey and I were together.*

*Now that I am back on the scene I have had the chance to be with many righteous Party members and community people. Together we have shared the experience of going to the theater to see Sweet Sweetback, the latest movie on the set. Our Minister of Defense, righteous, beautiful Brother Huey P. Newton was there interpreting all the symbolic meanings of the movie, and showing the essence of the real-life experience of the Black community as it is put together in Sweet Sweetback.*

*Brother Huey P. Newton is free, and we are both out in the larger social prison; but we are with our people in the Black community and Brother Huey P. Newton is giving a beautiful revolutionary people's analysis of Sweet Sweetback.*

*When we have read the analysis given by Brother Huey we should unite as brothers and sisters in the struggle and go back and see Sweet Sweetback not to be entertained but because we can be educated and our consciousness and*

*understanding can be increased. I am going to see it again with Brother Huey's analysis as my guide. I hope you will too.*

*Bobby Seale*

The very popular movie produced and directed by Melvin Van Peebles called *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* contains many very important messages for the entire Black community. On many levels Van Peebles is attempting to communicate some crucial ideas, motivating us to a deeper understanding and then action based upon that understanding. He has certainly made effective use of one of the most popular forms of communication, the movie, and he is dealing in revolutionary terms. The only reason this movie is available to us with its many messages is because Black people have given it their highest support. The corporate capitalist would never let such an important message be given to the community if they were not so greedy. They are so anxious to bleed us for more profits that they either ignore or fail to recognize the many ideas in the film. And because we have supported the movie with our attendance we are able to receive its message.

It is the first truly revolutionary Black film made and it is presented to us by a Black man. Many Black people who have seen the film have missed many of its significant points. I have seen the film several times and I have also talked to about fifty to sixty others who have seen it and each time I understand more.

When Van Peebles first presented the film he refused to submit it to the Motion Picture Association to be rated because he knew they were not competent to judge its content. He knew the film was not something which would upset the Black community because of its explicitness. He wanted youth and children to see it because he knew they would understand it. Yet the movie was given an "X" rating over his protests, thus making it impossible for the

become a strong man, not just in the physical sense, but so he might become a liberator.

Next we see the boy is healthy and growing, working as a towel boy in the house of prostitution. Then we see the prostitute making love to him. But this was a scene of pure love and therefore it was a sacred and holy act. Even though it was in a house of prostitution, it was not a distorted or corrupt thing. We see this by the very words the woman uses, for she tells the boy that he ain't at the photographer to get his picture taken; she tells him to move. In the background we hear religious music signifying what is happening and what will happen later. First there is "Wade in the Water," and we recognize that the boy is being baptized; then there is "This Little Light of Mine, I'm Gonna Let It Shine," signifying what will happen in the future. The music indicates that this is not a sexual scene, this is a very sacred rite. For the boy, who was nourished to health, is now being baptized into manhood; and the act of love, the giving of manhood, is also bestowing upon the boy the characteristics which will deliver him from very difficult situations. People who look upon this as a sex scene miss the point completely, and people who look upon the movie as a sex movie miss the entire message of the film.

What happens is not a distorted act of prostitution even though it takes place in a house of prostitution. The place is profane because of the oppressive conditions, but so are our communities also oppressed. The Black community is often profane because of the dirtiness there, but this is not caused by the people because they are the victims of a very oppressive system. Yet within the heart of the community, just as in the film, the sacred rite of feeding and nourishing the youth goes on; they are brought to their manhood as liberators.

Van Peebles shows this in the film because when the love scene is completed, the boy is no longer a boy; he has become a man. He doesn't have a climax until he reaches an adult age. Even though we may have sexual intercourse

as children, we don't have a climax; it is an introduction which makes it a part of something which is not alien to us. But in the film the climax came at the appropriate time, after he has become a man. That is, he has learned the deep significance of what she was trying to teach him. It wasn't an act or any mechanical sort of thing, but it was the building of his spirit.

So he grows a mustache while he is having sexual intercourse with her, from about ten years old he ends up to be about twenty-five. But as soon as he reaches a climax, that is, as soon as he becomes a man, then he is ready to go out and fight. This is symbolized by his putting on his hat because when you put on your hat it symbolizes that you are fixing to go somewhere.

The whole film is centered around movement: his putting on the hat to go and his running and running. I think this shows the alienation he feels in his position. He is constantly in movement or "in the process." When you are in the process you are always going or preparing to go. These symbols are used very well.

The oppressor would not view the love scene in the same way because his whole introduction to sex is from a perverted perspective and divorced from his whole being. That is why he rated the film "X" because what he saw was a sex movie. We know that it is much more than that. He is introduced to sex as something outside of himself, while it is hard for us to remember our first sexual experience. It is not something outside of us, but it grows in us as any other part of our personality, and it is integrated into our physical selves just as our arms, our hands or our breathing is. This is why it was very necessary to show this young boy having this relationship in a place that is viewed from the outside as dirty and profane.

But we do love and we do have holy experiences at the same time that we are being stripped of everything else. Then we sell that holiness in order to survive, but it is not holiness any more, it is transformed by the sale. Neverthe-



is not put on by freaks but by victims. The victim does what he has to do to survive because of his crippled and victimized position. The freak pays him for his laughter and the victim accepts the pay, but with vengeance in mind.

It is ironic and very symbolic that even while I am writing this I can look out of my window and see the Oakland Auditorium where the Oakland Police Officers Association is holding its annual circus. I don't see any Blacks going in. We are realizing more and more that it has always been a circus. They have tried to make a circus of our circumstances and our communities, but our awareness is growing and we are moving toward dealing with the situation in a very decisive manner, just like Sweet Sweetback did.

In the film and in the community the oppressor keeps demanding more and more from the victims—that is why they want one of Beate's men. But this is also why the victim with the lowest level of awareness will be brought into consciousness and revolutionized because he is doing what he is doing in order to survive. But eventually his very survival is at stake. The oppressor won't even let your acts of survival continue; he tries to totally crush you until survival becomes a very revolutionary act. At the point of life and death, all of the hatred for the oppressor is unleashed for survival purposes.

The police in the film really don't want Sweetback. All they want to do is use him for a cover because they are going after Moo-Moo, the young revolutionary. Sweetback goes along with them because of his low level of consciousness. This is no hard task because when an individual victim acts without awareness of the situation, he is just like the organism that wants to survive. **THE UNITY COMES OUT OF CONSCIOUSNESS.**

For a short while Moo-Moo and Sweetback are handcuffed together, but when the police start to beat the life out of Moo-Moo, they separate them and tell Sweetback to stand aside. Sweetback attempts to look away from the beating.

This shows the arrogance of the aggressor, his Jehovah complex, thinking that he has all the control. He thinks that he has his victims so completely in line that this freak show performer, who is paying them so that he can survive, will have no feelings for another victim.

Sweetback attempts to look away while the police are beating Moo-Moo. Just the turning away shows how much of the time the masses attempt to dismiss the atrocities of the oppressor, even when attempts are made to communicate to them. They will pretend that they are too busy with other things because they are trying to survive; but they fail to realize that their real survival depends upon their social consciousness and therefore unity. The oppressor will demand more and more of them until they will perish without that unity.

At its lowest level, survival is just the organism getting by as an individual person or as an individual family. What they must realize is that the oppressor will not allow that, he will keep demanding more: high unemployment, poor housing, poor health and poor education, and more taxes, until that organism's very death. So they attempt to look away, but because of compassion and their identity with the whole situation they cannot completely turn their backs. This is what causes the neurosis of some Blacks.

Through Sweetback, Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying and teaching the people what must really be done to survive. When Sweetback realizes that he cannot turn his back, he takes the handcuffs, the chains which have been used to hold him in slavery, and he starts to kick ass. Using his handcuffs as a weapon against the oppressor rather than as the tool of submission, he downs both of the policemen, almost cutting off their heads.

This is a very bloody scene but it was very important that they showed the blood all the way up his arm. It makes me think of the statement by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*, where he says that the peasant creeps into the settler's room at night and cracks the settler's head open.

In his first baptism Sweetback acquired the ability to love, but he could only truly love and unify with the woman when he had done away with the people who made his woman the oppressor's woman and himself the oppressor's man. Then they could really have unity which is symbolic of the liberating love of the Black man and woman.

Sweetback is on his own again, but this time without the handcuffs. In the meantime the film takes us back to the cat house and his old boss, Beatle. Beatle is being hassled by the police who want to know where to find Sweetback. Beatle doesn't really know, but if he did he would have told them because Beatle had no consciousness—he is deaf. And to prove how true this is, the police finally deafen him.

Sweetback moves through the community looking for the assistance he needs to get away. He doesn't get all that he needs, but he gets all that each can give. At the church he gets a Black Ave Maria and the power sign. The minister recognizes that his religion is a hype, for he tells Sweetback that Moo-Moo is giving the people the real religion.

At the gambling den he gets little apparent sympathy. The manager keeps telling him he is a dead man and he really does not need money. In this scene Van Peebles is again showing the community of the victimized, just like the performers in the freak show, because the manager explains to Sweetback that he cannot make any money on his operation. By the time he gets finished paying off everybody who is exploiting him, he pays a dollar and a dime for every dollar he makes. This is another example of the oppressor demanding more and more of the victims.

But the gambler does what he can—he gives Sweetback a ride. There is some unity, but not enough; and during the ride Sweetback spots Moo-Moo, the man he left behind, and they are reunited. This is as it should be, because Sweetback is leaving the community with the person who was the beginning of all this, Moo-Moo. They are two unlike characters yet they are linked together.

Moo-Moo symbolizes the revolutionary who is trying to free the people. His whole program is pointed toward people like Sweetback, community people who are very unaware yet trying to survive. Sweetback at this point symbolizes the most unconscious persons in the community, people who are sometimes viewed as more worthless than the pimp. Sweetback is not a pimp and could not do as much as a pimp would, he is much less aggressive. A pimp will work at putting girls on the block, watching them, collecting money, beating them and controlling them. He may also steal and deal in dope and so forth. Sweetback won't do any of this and yet the women love him because he's got such a sweet, sweet back. He will just stay home and the women will bring him everything he needs. He accepts their goods but he doesn't care what they do. So the sweetback is actually more worthless than the pimp, on one level, because he won't take the chances that a pimp would to survive. He has submitted more, almost to the point where he is a vegetable and is just taken care of. So the fact that Sweetback would not stand any more victimization, that he identified with Moo-Moo as being one of the victims, and the fact that Moo-Moo's revolutionary program is pointed to the lowest level of consciousness in the community, means that even though they are unlike characters, even though Moo-Moo is young and Sweetback is older, it is not unlikely that they would be bound together.

When the gamblers get Sweetback and Moo-Moo to the edge of town they tell Sweetback to buy himself a last supper because he is a dead man. Their level of consciousness is so low that they will help him to a point, but they still believe that ultimately the oppressor will triumph and Sweetback will die.

Sweetback and Moo-Moo are determined to survive, however, and they begin their journey. The encounter with the motorcycle gang shows a number of things. First of all it is a triumph of the soul-force (which the women gave Sweetback in the first scene) over all the mechanical de-

dictum: "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." (Matthew 18:8-9)

Van Peebles is continuing to signify and send out messages to the Black community. When Beale sees that the corpse in the morgue is not Sweetback, he breaks up with joy. He gains his hearing in a sense, and also his sight. "For whoever will save his life shall lose it: and whoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." (Matthew 16:25) We see the message very clearly because the camera immediately switches to a shoeshine stand where a brother is shining the man's shoes with his ass and he is really telling the man, for Beale, what he can do.

So the police go through the community searching for Sweetback, and the people stand as one. They don't know anything. The message here to the community is to "stop snitching," there is need for unity not for revealing our secrets. When I was in the penitentiary I learned the worst crime one inmate can accuse another of is snitching. Van Peebles shows how the community can avoid this and save themselves from their oppressors.

In the meantime we see Sweetback making it through the edges of the city and heading for the desert. He has none of the high-powered technology of the oppressor, but he does have his feet. In one scene we see him going by a large factory; it looks like a chemical plant or something like that. Here you see the drama being symbolized to its fullest, Sweetback with his feet making it on by the man's highest manifestation of technological skill, and you realize that this is the drama developing, the soul-force of the people against the technology of the oppressor. The only question is, which will win? The answer is given by Sweetback in his plea to his feet, he says:

Come on feet  
cruise for me  
come legs  
come on run  
come on feet  
do your thing  
who put the bad mouth on me  
anyway the way I pick em up  
and put em down  
even if it got  
my name on it  
won't catch me now.

There is Sweetback's answer to the oppressor's technology. Even if the bullet has his name on it, it won't catch him now. Why? Because Sweetback has feet and they will save him.

This is also the beginning of the dialogue between the running Sweetback and the colored angels. As soon as he hits the desert where the situation is really going to be bad, the colored angels come in and try to discourage him. But he has feet, he has heart, and he has courage, and in the dialogue he resists their discouragement as much as he resists the technology of the police, who are always searching.

Now I would like to discuss the movie from a different angle. Instead of a scene-by-scene analysis I want to talk about some of the important ideas signified in various scenes. Some of these ideas have been mentioned already, but I think that it is important to restate them because Melvin Van Peebles uses them so effectively and he is trying to advance our awareness and understanding. So we repeat for added emphasis.

The first key idea or concept which I think the movie presents to us is the need for unity among all the members and institutions within the community and victims. We see the idea of unity between the young and old beautifully expressed in the love and care which the women give to

and we should get the message the brother is signifying to us. When the community sets the police car afire and saves Sweetback, that is an expression of unity. When they deny ever having seen him in order to permit him to escape, that is an expression of unity. When the police raid the motel and rip the brother's eye out, they say, "So what?" when told this is not Sweetback. But it *is* Sweetback, in a sense, because the brother is another victim like all of us. When Beatle is rolled up to the morgue and realizes that the body they show him is not Sweetback, he sees his unity as a victim with his brother who he failed to help, who is also a victim. And Beatle cracks up laughing; they are unified. And in the next scene at the shoeshine stand Van Peebles signifies to the man that he can kiss his ass.

Another expression of unity in the film is the power symbol. When the minister tells Sweetback the significance of the job he has done for Moo-Moo, he then says a Black Ave Maria for him and ends up giving him the power sign—unity. Then when Moo-Moo gets on the motorcycle to escape, leaving Sweetback behind, this is different from their first parting. They give each other a soul shake. So that even though they go separate ways they are unified.

Finally the film demonstrates the importance of unity and love between Black men and women. This is shown again in the scene where the woman makes love to the young boy, which in fact baptizes him into his true manhood. Also, when the woman makes love to Sweetback and then gets the handcuffs off him, we see that these are not sex scenes, they are love scenes in a very holy and righteous context. The second woman wants Sweetback to beg, but he has been transformed. His baptism in the blood transformed him; he has ripped off his oppressors and he is truly a man. He can never beg again, and he does not.

For a long time the Black community has been a collection of people who survive together in one place, but unity is essential for liberation as well as survival. When we have

this unity the faith of one becomes the faith of another, as in the case of Sweetback and Moo-Moo. When we have our consciousness increased, victimizers will always try to prevent this unity. And we must understand that the victimizers will always try to prevent this unity.

Another idea the film gets across is the different point of view between the victim and the victimizer. The victimizers cannot accept the reality and truth of the view of the victims, and therefore they say that the victims are always wrong in their view of reality. Indeed, they even go so far as to signify that the victims cannot control and direct their own lives. This is seen first of all in the fact that the film is labeled with an "X" rating. The oppressors see Sweetback as a sex film, but if we truly understand ourselves and unify with Sweetback, we will see that the film advocates a bloody overthrow of the oppressor. Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying.

The view of the victims is seen in many ways. One of them is in the understanding of Moo-Moo and Sweetback. They both know that they are victims, although Moo-Moo has not really gotten his complete program together for the community. Yet they seek the same goals of freedom and liberation, and they recognize that sometimes you have to use stern stuff to accomplish your goals. They also recognize that even though the community may not support you entirely, they will support you to a point. Therefore, you must go as far as the community will go, and then move out on your own, leading the people to a higher level of consciousness. Sweetback relies on the community much more than Moo-Moo because he understands that revolution is a process, going from A to B to C and so forth, rather than trying to get the people to jump from A to Z.

The oppressor does not understand this, he does not understand the strength of the will of the people. When the two policemen catch Sweetback after he leaves Beatle's place, they are friendly because they cannot accept the idea

will recall that Sweetback was in chains and in the back of the police car when the people “washed” it with gasoline. What did the brother do? He made it out of the car and then walked right through the police and firemen who were arriving to try and deal with the situation. He walked right through them—he did not panic and run, he just calmly turned a situation of oppression to his advantage.

Later on when Sweetback and Moo-Moo had separated for the final time, the brother was faced with a very difficult situation, and he had very little to carry him through. But when the colored angels began to get down on him he told them, “I got feet.” This was again symbolizing survival. It was not simply that he had feet, however, he also had the ability to use the technology of the oppressor in his own interest. He did not become discouraged because he had no car. Van Peebles could have had him steal a car, but instead he had Sweetback use the basic skills of survival with nothing but the things he had learned for surviving the oppressor for so many years on the block. He doesn't have a car, but he rides: on the top of a truck, inside the back of another truck, on a freight train. He uses the oppressor's technology, but in his own interest.

He also survives by using the system against itself. He meets another traveler and pays him to change clothes and run when he is chased. This throws the police off his trail and helps him survive, but it also means that he ends up with clothes which are much more suitable for his long run across the desert. Later in the film when he is near the border and the dogs are after him, the two men (the owner of the dogs and the policeman) get into a fight between themselves about whether the dogs should be untied. This is all to Sweetback's advantage, turning the oppressors against each other, and he makes his escape.

In another way he survives the way that the Black community has always survived—by using the resources at his command even though they are not the resources others would use. Survival forces some very harsh decisions on us.

When his wound is causing him to suffer, he urinates upon the earth and uses his own urine to make a mudpack, which he applies to the wound. It produces a rapid healing. These are the kind of home remedies we have long had to use because we could not get proper medical attention. Later, we see him bathing his face in a pool of muddy water. It sustains him. When I saw it, I thought of that song which says “I'd rather drink muddy water, and sleep in a hollow log than stay here and be treated like a dirty dog.”

These are survival techniques all the audience can identify with because they realize they are necessary. They don't identify with the time he catches that lizard and downs it, raw. But this is no different from the times when we had to eat the chitterlings, hog maws, and other foods, not because we wanted to, but because that was all we had to eat. We may deny it, we may not identify with it, but it carried us through. And the point we should understand is that if you do not submit to the oppressor you may be forced to make some harsh decisions, eat some undesirable foods, but this is better than being well-fed in some social prison.

Sweetback has only one tool with him, his knife, and he uses it very effectively. It reminds me of that point in *The Wretched of the Earth* where Fanon says that if you don't have a gun then a knife will do. He uses his knife to escape at the rock concert by pretending to make love to the girl in the bushes. He uses the knife against the lizard. And then when he hears the dogs coming after him, he again pulls it out and uses it, and he really deals. But we should know it would be this way because earlier in the poolroom when he was facing the policeman with a gun, what did Sweetback have? A tool the community knows how to use very effectively, a pool cue. But he did not use it to down pool balls, he turned it into a spear and downed the oppressor. You don't need a gun. What you need is the consciousness of what it will take to survive and prevail in any given situation, and then act accordingly.

What I have done is to give you a scene-by-scene analysis

Black Panther Party was wrong in its blanket condemnations of community institutions, instead of analyzing their qualities. The film shows the positive and negative features of the church, for example. The minister is saying to Sweetback that he has nothing to offer the community, he can only give the people a hype which will bring them a little bit of happiness in their misery. Also he cannot offer Sweetback a hideout because the police ("the Man") knows everything. This shows his negative and reactionary side. At the same time we see his positive and progressive side because he is operating a withdrawal center where people addicted to drugs can come and dry out. There is no blanket condemnation. He shows the church making a real contribution to the survival of the community. What needs to happen is for people with a higher level of consciousness to increase the positive contribution the church makes until the positive becomes the most important feature of the church. Then it will be able to do more for the people.

The same is true in the case of the gambler. He cannot offer Sweetback any money; he is exploiting and he is also exploited. So when the brother really needs help he has no money to give him. What's more, the advice he gives is worthless because he says that Sweetback is dead and tells him to get himself a last supper. But there is also a positive quality to the gambler since he gives Sweetback and Moo-Moo a ride for part of the way. Actually, he can give them a ride all the way to the border, but he will only give them a ride to the edge of town where they run into the motorcycle gang. But the point is made very well: that you have to work with the people as far as they will go and not jump too far ahead by forcing them to do things they do not want to do at that particular level of consciousness. So he carries the positive qualities of the gambler as far as they will go and then strikes out again. This is taking your revolution from point A to point B rather than from A to Z in one step. We have to find out what the people will do and get them to do that much.

The progression of the people as their consciousness increases is shown in the case of Beatle. At first, Beatle is an individual surviving at a basic level, running a cat house and then giving up one of his men in order to continue to operate. Then Beatle offers advice which is nothing more than a pile of dung. Next we see Beatle going through the revolutionizing process. If he knew where Sweetback was he would have told on him, but because he was "deaf" before and because he cannot cooperate with the police, they actually deafen him—the conditions revolutionize him. When we next see Beatle it is in the morgue scene and he cracks up as he realizes that Sweetback has escaped. They are unified. Beatle has seen that he also is a victim and there can be no cooperation with the oppressor because they will bleed you to death; if you want to live you have to resist. And the shoeshine man uses his ass on the shoes of his oppressor.

There is also a progression within the community. They rescue Sweetback and aid him as much as they can in his escape, then they become deaf to their oppressors. That is a way of hearing the plea of Sweetback to his feet and giving him enough lead time to let his feet do their job.

The community's progression is also shown in the transformation of the colored angels. We hear the voices of the community as the police search for Sweetback, but when he reaches the desert we hear the voices of the angels in a dialogue with Sweetback. On the record Melvin Van Peebles refers to this as an opera (an opera is merely a story told in song) and the dialogue between Sweetback and the angels is really Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song. In the book Van Peebles refers to the angels as colored angels, then he refers to them as Black angels. On the record he refers to them as Reggin (spell it backwards) angels. The point is that the angels are against the interests of Sweetback, but they are transformed because their interests are in fact the same as his. This is the dialogue with the angels, the Baadasssss Song:

We got to get it together if he kicks a brother  
It gotta be like he kickin' your mother

They hype you into sopping the  
Marrow out your own bones  
Justice is blind  
Yeah and white too

Justice is blind  
The way she acts she gotta be  
The man is jive  
Not too jive to have his game  
Uptight in your kinky bean

Stand tall Sweetback he  
Ain't gonna let you  
I'm standing tall anyway

The man know everything Sweetback  
The man know everything  
Then he ought to know I'm  
Tired of him fuckin' with me

Use your feet baby  
Run motherfucka  
Run Sweetback  
He wont bleed me

We can see the transformation of the angels if we see the opera in relationship to the scenes in the film. When he arrives at the desert, the most difficult and lonesome part of his whole trip, the colored angels chastise and ridicule him. They believe, like the gambler, that he is a dead man and it will only be a matter of time until he is caught. So they signify about how the "Man" bopped his brother and sister, how he bled his mama and poppa, and how he will get Sweetback. But Sweetback is determined because he knows they won't bop him, they won't bleed him. Why? "I got

feet." All he is signifying is that I can deal, and I can survive.

When he uses his urine mixed with mud to make the pack which heals his wounds, the angels begin to change. They see, too, that he will survive, so they start to become Black. They recognize that they too are like Sweetback and they point out that they have been also treated badly, but they have been acting like Uncle Toms. Sweetback is going to get his finger on a trigger, get off his knees, and fight a revolution. So when he makes the mudpack, the Black angels tell him to run, they want him to deal, now, they don't want him to Tom. They too have been transformed because Sweetback has increased their positive qualities by showing them it is not necessary to submit all the time. At some point you have got to get off your knees.

Their transformation continues because when the police looses the hound dogs (slave dogs) after Sweetback and he draws his knife, the Black angels begin to sing "This little light of mine, I'm going to let it shine." This is the first time we have heard this song since Sweetback's baptism into his manhood. The growth he experienced the first time this song was sung, the way he learned from those women in the house of prostitution is going to serve him again. They gave him love and strength because he was their future, their liberator, and their training is going to serve him, now that he is older. The angels are transformed and Sweetback survives. This brings us to the end of the movie and the negation of the negation. At the beginning, the community of the oppressed was in contradiction with the oppressors. The oppressed were trying to survive, but the oppressors would not permit that, they wanted more. They wanted to bleed them to death and completely dominate them. They wanted to dominate by dividing the community: Sweetback against Moo-Moo, Beatele against Sweetback. This continued oppression led the people to realize that their salvation would only come through unity, and unity would only come

## WHITE AMERICA

### *On the Peace Movement: August 15, 1969*

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The Peace Movement is extremely important, more important than I thought it was two years ago. The reason I place so much emphasis upon the Peace Movement now is because I see that if peace were to come about it would revolutionize the basic economic composition of the country.

Let me explain. We all know now that this is a garrison state, a warfare state. And not by accident. When capitalism can no longer expand, it looks for other avenues, other deposits, other places to increase its interests. At this moment, the super capitalists (General Motors, Chrysler, General Dynamics, and all of the super companies—I understand about seventy-six people control the whole economy of this country) and their companies are the main contractors for the Pentagon. In other words these companies are putting their overexpanded capitalistic surplus into military equipment. This military equipment is then placed in foreign countries such as Vietnam or the Dominican Republic which are the final depositories for expendable goods. With the wedding of industry and the Pentagon,

there is a new avenue to invest in. Military equipment is an expendable avenue, because the purpose of the equipment is to explode therefore you have to keep building new ones. A perpetual process.

We know that the U.S. has a secret pact with Thailand. These pacts are all part of a super-plan to keep the economy going. What would happen then, if peace were to come about? There would not be that final depository for expendable goods; the surplus would then be turned back into the country. The military plants, the related defense plants, and industrial plants would be brought to a grinding halt.

This is why you have some of the union representatives supporting the war effort. This is why the AFL-CIO supported the invasion of the Dominican Republic. It forced out Juan Bosch for the simple reason that they know that as long as the war goes on, they can exploit the people through taxation and human lives. We sent soldiers, you see, brothers, because they are expendable too; people are expendable.

One of the favored arguments of the capitalists is that America is not an imperialistic country because the traditional method of the imperialist is to go into a developing country, rape it of its raw materials, refine them either in the colony or the mother country, or refine them and sell them back at a high price to the colonized people. And the argument is that "America is not doing that. We don't need any equipment or raw materials out of Vietnam." And this is very true. This contradiction sort of puzzled me for a while and I couldn't really answer it so I just talked around it. But now I understand that something new has happened; that with the wedding of science and industry, the industrial plants in America have solved the basic problem of raw materials through synthetics and the knowledge of using raw materials that are already here in a variety of ways, therefore keeping the plants going. The favored argument of the capitalist is "We must be there to stop communism or wars



*The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation  
Movements:  
August 15, 1970*

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*During the past few years strong movements have developed among women and among homosexuals seeking their liberation. There has been some uncertainty about how to relate to these movements.*

Whatever your personal opinions and your insecurities about homosexuality and the various liberation movements among homosexuals and women (and I speak of the homosexuals and women as oppressed groups), we should try to unite with them in a revolutionary fashion. I say "whatever your insecurities are" because as we very well know, sometimes our first instinct is to want to hit a homosexual in the mouth, and want a woman to be quiet. We want to hit a homosexual in the mouth because we are afraid we might be homosexual; and we want to hit the woman or shut her up because we are afraid that she might castrate us, or take the nuts that we might not have to start with.

We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist attitude that the White racists use against our people because they are Black and poor. Many times the poorest White person is the most racist because he is afraid that he might lose something, or discover something that he does not have. So you're some kind of threat to him. This kind of psychology is in operation when we view oppressed people and we are angry with them because of their particular kind of behavior, or their particular kind of deviation from the established norm.

Remember, we have not established a revolutionary value system; we are only in the process of establishing it. I do not remember our ever constituting any value that said that a revolutionary must say offensive things towards homosexuals, or that a revolutionary should make sure that women do not speak out about their own particular kind of oppression. As a matter of fact, it is just the opposite: we say that we recognize the women's right to be free. We have not said much about the homosexual at all, but we must relate to the homosexual movement because it is a real thing. And I know through reading, and through my life experience and observations that homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in the society. They might be the most oppressed people in the society.

And what made them homosexual? Perhaps it's a phenomenon that I don't understand entirely. Some people say that it is the decadence of capitalism. I don't know if that is the case; I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists, and we must understand it in its purest form: that is, a person should have the freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants.

That is not endorsing things in homosexuality that we wouldn't view as revolutionary. But there is nothing to say that a homosexual cannot also be a revolutionary. And maybe I'm now injecting some of my prejudice by saying that "even a homosexual can be a revolutionary." Quite the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.

When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies, and demonstrations, there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement. Some groups might be more revolutionary than others. We should not use the actions of a few to say that they are all reactionary or counterrevolutionary, because they are not.

We should deal with the factions just as we deal with any other group or party that claims to be revolutionary. We

*To the Revolutionary People's Constitutional  
Convention:  
September 5, 1970\**

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Two centuries ago the United States was a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The conditions which prevailed in the nation and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built ensured that the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which required that the life of a substantial proportion of its citizens be nothing more than a prison of poverty, and happiness nothing more than laughing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis on the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-limbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the Eastern sea-

\* An address delivered to the Plenary Session in Philadelphia, Pa.

board to cover almost the entire continent. The new nation acquired a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogeneous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of a heterogeneous people, comprising a large number and spread across an entire continent. This change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a relentless drive to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced *Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism*. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints (confinement) placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States, leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social conditions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation, had entirely opposite consequences for another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human rights, the

humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress, and exploit its minorities. This profit drive took this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment to bureaucratic capitalism and overdevelopment. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the lumpenproletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of oppressed people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has in its maturity become an imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which lack any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM  
AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO  
THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT  
HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE  
EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END  
TO POLICE BRUTALITY.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM  
FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR  
TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.**

**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED  
NATIONS PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF  
BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.**

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American Government (that is, the Constitution, its legal foundation). This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that Constitution because the Constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we assemble a Constitutional Convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people—a Socialist framework in which all groups will be adequately represented in the decision making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and seek out

ing freedom had to go it alone. Plus a determination on the part of Black youth to fight racism in its own way, regardless of the price they might have to pay. This conclusion came from a failure to understand that to save Black, Brown, Red and Yellow Americans from the destructive ravages of genocide the whole of the U.S. has to be saved from the menace of imperialism.

Objective conditions were ripe for the emergence of the Black Panther Party. Its birth, its development, the desperation of its ideological and political struggles are unique in the annals of the magnificent battles Black Liberation fighters have waged in the U.S.A. before the Civil War against slavery and after. It did not come onto the stage of history as did the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) piloted by the Black middle class and a White liberal bourgeoisie that dictated policy. It came from the very bowels of the ghetto's deprived and harassed youth. These events testify to the fact that the Black Communities, Black ghettos, politically and otherwise warped and stunted in their growth by the foul plague racism has foisted upon them, are fighting fronts that contain unsurpassable reserves for the mounting struggle against imperialism, USA, the fight for peace, a democracy of and for the people, and freedom. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was dedicated to the struggle to end murderous police violence. Police violence was rampant in Oakland's Black ghetto. The ruling class had launched a wave of terror against Black citizens. It was fearful of the high tension in the ghetto and sought to quell the democratic struggles for national liberation that seemed imminent.

When this youthful Black leadership moved into the arena of organized political struggle it believed that police terror, if sharply challenged, could readily be brought to an end. It was to find, however, through struggle, that the police were not an independent social force. The police, as the Communist Party had declared, was a terrorist agency of government used to brutalize all who would not passively accept violation of their inalienable and constitutional rights, which included the allies of the "colored" citizenry.

Racism had been pushed to genocidal proportions in Oakland. Large numbers of Blacks had migrated there during World War II from Louisiana, Texas and other points South. The shipbuilding industry gave work to thousands. The end of the war saw thousands ruthlessly thrust jobless into the streets. Peacetime economy can make unlimited jobs. It made jobs, but in the aircraft factories that opened up Blacks were the last to be hired. They were discriminated against in the skilled jobs. Thousands of Blacks found themselves among the unemployed and almost utterly ignored by city, state and Federal governments when relief was considered.

During the war imperialist ideologists had vocally proclaimed that American imperialism was out to destroy the murderous racial practices of the ruling class of the German Reich and smash its leadership. Nazi war criminals who had borrowed heavily from the bestial racist arsenal of America's ruling class were condemned, tried and punished. Justice Robert Jackson, the American prosecutor, had made an outstanding condemnation of bigotry and racism in his opening remarks at Nuremberg's trial. U.S. imperialists and racists had signed the Charter of the United Nations. The Government again formally committed itself to end racism, reaffirming constitutional and legislative pledges its leaders never meant to keep.

Millions of Black Americans were once more deluded. Many believed that the American brand of racism was also to be a victim of the war crimes trial. They did not realize that racism was inherent in capitalism. Nor did they appreciate how deeply racism had penetrated American life. They did not understand the nature or scope of the struggle against it nor did they see it as a struggle for country and mankind as well as for themselves.

Blacks in Oakland, as elsewhere, demanded work or adequate relief. They got neither. The terror that had been slackened during the hot war was now renewed as the cold war was intensified. It was revived with greater consciousness. The bourgeoisie felt the need to smash the natural trend toward unity that had begun to develop as Black and White worked side by side on the war jobs. America's White ideologists began by

gle an exclusively Black-led political party had sought the aid of science in its leaders' efforts to find a solution to a problem provoked by the avarice, lust and murderous greed of a system of society. Capitalism has divided a powerful segment of mankind along the color line and has dehumanized millions in the process.

To adopt a social science as a guiding line in the struggle for liberation is a far-reaching forward step. Those who are able to take such a step at once become a menace insofar as the exploiter's analysis goes. At the same time, such a group deserves the respect and the serious political attention of all who regard themselves as revolutionists. For that reason the Black Panther Party deserves the closest constructive attention that can be given by all forces in the revolutionary ranks. The vocal espousal of a science and its political and ideological mastery in life are two different matters. It is not difficult to see that the police are not bosses but servants with a license to murder all who fight to put human rights on a plane above that occupied by property rights. After being arrested by the police and given the customary beating, Black Panthers were hailed before the court to get more than a birds-eye view of the capitalist machinery of home warfare before being imprisoned. Confronted by the terror of the Court, before a judge who was a legal despot with control even over the defense counsel who is considered an "officer" of the Court, the Black Panthers did not know how, even with the science of Marxism-Leninism, to effectively strike back. It had not yet learned from others or through experience of its own, the political power of mass action.

There were among the Panthers those who immediately argued that "liberation comes out of the barrel of a gun." Some who argued this were honest but had no serious appreciation of the relation of forces. They were moved by emotionalism—not science. Others were agents whom the Department of Justice had inspired to join the Panthers in order to destroy it, if possible, from within.

There is, of course, an element of Marxist-Leninist truth in

the assertion that liberation can come out of the barrel of a gun but its value is determined by the objective situation, the existing relation of forces and not by emotional fervor. A resort to arms does not mechanically apply to all situations simply because it may apply to one. To attempt implementation of the assertion that liberation comes from guns under today's conditions in the U.S.A. is to commit a provocation for which one will pay dearly. The Panthers have learned that neither Black nor White America en masse is ready for the gun as a major instrument of freedom, or for guerrilla warfare, nor for that matter was all of the Black Panther leadership. Those who argued for the provocative step were voted down. But propagation of their anti-Marxist step had left its mark on the organization and its political program. It had been an aid to bloodthirsty Black-hating police and a detriment to Black Panther development and the National Liberation struggle. Instead of clarity, it brought confusion.

There were among the Panthers those who believed that the use of vulgar and obscene language makes the words of a platform or street speaker more effective. For a revolutionary's words are weapons that inspire, ennoble and galvanize into action. They are not something with which to titillate or to arouse to an orgy of passion. Words can alienate, or educate and en-dear. They can sign people off or on. The Panther top leadership has come out against vulgarity when used for the purpose of securing a laugh or exciting an emotional spasm. But again an alien thesis had been introduced into their generally progressive program of action. These lessons from life are of far-reaching value if seriously studied. They add to the arsenal of liberation struggles.

The weaknesses of the Black Panther Party on the ideological and grammatical fronts are now weaknesses of growth and not of deterioration. However, if not systematically and persistently combated they can lead to deterioration.

It has been asserted by some within the Black Panther Party that "The world of Marxism-Leninism has become a jungle of

growth shall be forthcoming. The position of the Communist Party U.S.A. is in support of history. A wide diversity of views exists on the American Left. We are internationalist with an awareness that the Black Liberation struggle is of vital significance to the world revolutionary movement. More constructive aid must be given to the Black Panther Party.

A broad Black Liberation Front, including all forces opposed to racism and genocidal policies and practices of American imperialism, must be created. It should be composed of Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and White forces and form a coalition confronting warmongers and racists at all crisis points. The Communists must play a leading role in the development of this coalition.

NEWTON:

When Mr. Patterson discusses the social phenomena that brought the Party into being, he makes no mention of the primary aspect: the economic exploitation of Blacks. His conception that the Party was primarily a self-defense group against police brutality is a most narrow interpretation of the concept of self-defense by the oppressed masses. He also seems to have no understanding of the historical predecessors of the Party, especially Malcolm. He fails to understand the lessons learned by the Party through the failures of such civil-rights organizations as SNCC, NAACP, etc. (i.e. power politics, mass force). Mr. Patterson questions whether Blacks should have their own organization to fight for national liberation. While he often says the struggle is for national liberation he really does not believe that Blacks in the U.S. are a colony. He says Blacks made a mistake when they decided that they had to control and lead the fight for their liberation and freedom. He talks about "the price they might have to pay." Does he propose that Blacks wait for White labor to lead the liberation struggle at a time when White labor subjectively views itself

as a beneficiary of capitalism? Labor unions are presently stooges of the capitalist warmongers. In an attempt to label the Party as nationalist (that is, not interested in the struggles of people of other races) he completely fails to understand that *our freedom and dignity is necessarily tied to the freedom and dignity of the oppressed masses of the world.*

Mr. Patterson never specifies what he means when he talks about the desperateness of the Party's ideological and political struggles. Were they "desperate" or merely intense, as we sought to confront the enemy and move the struggle to a higher level? What does Patterson mean when he refers to Blacks as "reserves" in the fight against imperialism? If Blacks are the "reserves" then who is the forefront of the struggle? It is apparent to any sane person that Blacks are the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism in the U.S.

Patterson tries to make the people think that the B.P.P. thought that police terror could be "readily brought to an end" if it was "sharply challenged." This ties in with his earlier notion that the Party was organized by fools who were just reacting on a gut level to the police brutality they had seen all around them. He forgets or dismisses all of my early writings and all of Eldridge Cleaver's early writings about who the police are, and implies that the Party did not understand that the pigs are an agent of the ruling class. I wrote in "Functional Definition of Politics" (while the Party was still the B.P.P. for Self-Defense) that "police are an occupying army." I further stated that "there is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interests of the selfish imperial power." Or Eldridge from *Soul On Ice*: "The police department and the armed forces are the two arms of the power structure, the muscles of control and enforcement . . . they use force to make you do what the deciders have decided you must do . . . Both police and

pressed people or legitimate revolutionary oppressed people never are the aggressors; all of their action is in self-defense. The Vietnamese people are merely using self-defense; it's the capitalistic, imperialistic exploiters who initiate violence and aggression. So whatever the people do for their liberation, for their freedom, is a self-defense tactic. When we use self-defense, we use it in the broadest sense. We've expressed time and time again, that when we used the words "Self-Defense," it also meant defending ourselves against poor medical care, against unemployment, against poor housing and all the other things that poor and oppressed people of the world suffer. How else can it be explained that even while the Party was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense that we had the same Ten-Point platform and program that we have to this day.

What we have to do is find out what will mobilize the people. I think the Black Panther Party has done more in three years to mobilize the masses than the American Communist Party has in twenty years. I challenge the Communist Party's claim that they "prepared the way for the people." The U.S. Government, except for a brief period, has not taken the American Communist Party seriously; and the people have not been considered at all. That is precisely why the Communist Party members in the U.S.A. have not been jailed and murdered in large numbers. I think that in the whole history of the Communist Party in the U.S.A., only about five or six people have been incarcerated for a lengthy period. Is this what leads Mr. Patterson to believe the Communist Party has done everything right? This is not what Chairman Mao teaches us. Chairman Mao tells us, "When the enemy strikes out at you blindly, crushing you left and right if he possibly can, then you know you're doing everything right." So I would charge the Communist Party with having been no threat. And they have done something wrong, because they have not been crucified as the enemy is attempting to crucify us.

But of course Mr. Patterson thinks it is the other way around. I think it is because his bourgeois ideology lets him see things through a bourgeois perspective. He claims that because our line is so provocative it has given the established order an excuse to kill us. Well, what excuse have the Vietnamese people given them? I say the only reason the Communist Party's members have not been strung up by their toes is simply because the Communist Party is no threat to this country—not with the classical line they are teaching. They have not captured the imagination of the people, and as far as laying down a foundation for us, we find the road so rocky until we are sure that no one has cleared the way. If they had cleared the way we would have smooth sailing now because they have had thirty years in which to do it.

Patterson says that "the Panthers have learned that neither Black nor White American masses are ready for the gun as a major instrument of freedom, or for guerrilla warfare, nor for that matter was all of the Panther leadership." I agree with him; apparently everyone is not ready for the gun. But I would also ask does he mean we should stop talking about the gun? Should we stop defending ourselves? Is he saying the gun is not a catalyst for oppressed people? Is he saying that the gun is not a tool that we will eventually have to use? Should it not be introduced to the people? If his answer to these questions is affirmative then it follows that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. should drop its Marxist-Leninist line (for which the masses are evidently not ready) and start a new line. And I suppose their new line would be the bourgeoisie democratic electoral politics line which the American Communist Party has embraced. I see very little difference between their line and the Democratic Party's line, both of which are archaic and ready for their positions in the museum.

*here. Therefore the United States is not a nation.* It is a government of international capitalists and inasmuch as they have exploited the world to accumulate wealth this country belongs to the world. The Black Panther Party contends that the United States lost its right to claim nationhood when it used its nationalism as a chauvinistic base to become an empire.

On the other hand, the developing countries have every right to claim nationhood, because they have not exploited anyone. The nationalism of which they speak is simply their rightful claim to autonomy, self-determination and a liberated base from which to fight the international bourgeoisie.

The Black Panther Party supports the claim to nationhood of the developing countries and we embrace their struggle from our position as revolutionary internationalists. We cannot be nationalists when our country is not a nation but an empire. We contend that it is time to open the gates of this country and share the technological knowledge and wealth with the peoples of the world.

History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along the path to a socialist state, and then a non-state. This obligation springs both from the dialectical forces in operation at this time and our history as an oppressed Black colony. The fact that our ancestors were kidnapped and forced to come to the United States has destroyed our feeling of nationhood. Because our long cultural heritage was broken we have come to rely less on our history for guidance, and seek our guidance from the future. Everything we do is based upon functionalism and pragmatism, and because we look to the future for salvation we are in a position to become the most progressive and dynamic people on the earth, constantly in motion and progressing, rather than becoming stagnated by the bonds of the past.

Taking these things under consideration, it is no accident

that the vanguard party—without chauvinism or a sense of nationhood—should be the Black Panther Party. Our struggle for liberation is based upon justice and equality for all men. Thus we are interested in the people of any territory where the crack of the oppressor's whip may be heard. We have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion—the destruction of statehood itself. This will lead us into the era where the withering away of the state will occur and men will extend their hand in friendship throughout the world.

This is the world view of the Black Panther Party and in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, solidarity and friendship we offer these troops to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Government of South Vietnam, and to the people of the world.



The 5 point proposal of Mr. Nixon, put forth on October 7th exposes more clearly his stubborn, perfidious and deceitful nature to U.S. and world opinion. It is clear that Nixon is unwilling to accept a peaceful settlement on the Vietnam problem, but tries to stick to South Vietnam as a neocolony and U.S. military base, as well as to legalize the U.S. aggression in Indochina as a whole.

The U.S. government must seriously respond to the September 17th statement of the RSVN PRG, for it is the just basis, the reasonable and logical solution of the SVN problem. These are also the urgent aspirations of the whole Vietnamese people, of the progressive Americans and of those the world over who cherish peace, freedom and justice.

Dear Comrades, our struggle yet faces a lot of hardships, but we are determined to overcome all difficulties, unite with all progressive forces, to heighten our revolutionary vigilance, to persist in our struggle, resolutely to fight and win. We are sure to win complete victory.

So are our thoughts: At present, the struggles, right in the United States or on the SVN battle-fields, are both making positive contributions for national liberation and safeguarding the world peace. Therefore, your persistent and ever-developing struggle is the most active support to our resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

With profound gratitude, we take notice of your enthusiastic proposal; when necessary, we shall call for your volunteers to assist us.

We are firmly confident that your just cause will enjoy sympathy, warm and strong support of the people at home and abroad, and will win complete victory; and our ever closer coordinated struggle surely stop the bloody hands of the U.S. imperialists and surely contribute winning independence, freedom, democracy and genuine peace.

Best greetings for "unity, militancy, and victory" from the SVN people's liberation fighters.

NGUYEN THI DINH,  
Deputy Commander  
Of the SVN People's  
Liberation Armed Forces.  
Republic of South Vietnam

tionary struggle of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam was written for the comfort and aid of the oppressors in this nation rather than for the oppressed. I want to take this opportunity to make my intent clear to the oppressed of this wretched land.

I am very grateful for the support and encouragement I received from many thousands of Black people during my thirty-three months in prison. I always found the reports of their faith and confidence in me, and their wish to see me free to be of great sources of strength during that sojourn (to live for a while). My release was a joyous event for me and the people, and I thank them for freeing me.

I am also aware that the enemies of the people—the ruling circle of America—are just as anxious to see me dead or in prison and will go to any lengths to accomplish their evil purpose. This is not because of me but because of the goals and the ideology of the Black Panther Party, a vanguard party totally committed to the liberation of those Blacks who have been missed by almost every program and legislative change resulting from the Civil-Rights Movement.

Your statement charging me with “wrong priorities” reflects your own self-interest as a so-called leader of Blacks who has the ear of the ruling circle, and your obvious class interests and identification with the ruling circle. Your insidious “White baiting” is also a reflection of self-interest, lack of understanding, and incipient Black racism. Should you continue such attacks for the benefit of the oppressor, you will only reveal yourself to be a treacherous enemy of the people who mislead them by placing self-interest above the objective needs and interests of the Black lumpenproletariat—America’s wretched of the earth.

We recognize, and many Blacks with us, that the civil-rights laws which you have won in the recent past have not protected the people, but have frustrated their drive toward freedom. Even though recognizing this, some Blacks con-

tinue to put their faith in you because they feel it necessary to hang on to the belief that America will transform itself through its own legal mechanisms. This does not make sense, for the numerous cases you cite throughout the land are evidence to the contrary. A people who have needed “everything from an overcoat in” for literally centuries cannot objectively expect their oppressors to “heal themselves.” There is obviously some deeper motivation for the oppression, motivation not only based on the character of the oppressors, but upon the fundamental aspects of the American system itself. Yet we all seem to have some need for dreams of self-healing.

The Black Panther Party puts the struggle on such a level and gives analyses and answers to this madness so that it is no longer necessary for the people to accept a dream. We encourage the people to strive for real goals: survival, liberation, and freedom.

The priorities of the Black Panther Party are in full view of all Black people in this land. Our first priority is survival and we place this in the context of the needs of the people. Therefore our programs have helped people to survive through Breakfast for School Children, Health Clinics, and newly developing programs such as Free Clothing, Free Shoes, Loans to Welfare Mothers, Free Buses to Prisons for Families of Inmates. The people have rallied to these programs because they meet their basic and daily needs. The priorities of the Black Panther Party are well stated in our Ten-Point Program which is published weekly in our paper.

We recognize that our oppression is supported and maintained by the fire power utilized by the agents of the omnipotent administrators. We recognize that the small ruling class which exploits us here finds it to their economic advantage to exploit the people of distant lands. We recognize that America is no longer a nation but an empire, and the same troops who occupy and kill at Jackson State, Birmingham, Chicago and New Orleans are also occupying

and through our embassy in Algiers that Stokely Carmichael is leading a delegation of eighteen Party members in Jordan against the Jewish people to promote the Palestinians and the interest of the Black Power movement. As a matter of fact, "Black Power" movement was mentioned on this wire. As you very well know, the Black Panther Party does not subscribe to "Black Power" as such. Not the "Black Power" that has been defined by Stokely Carmichael and Nixon. They seem to agree upon the stipulated definition of "Black Power" which is no more than Black capitalism. That definition is reactionary and certainly not a philosophy that would meet the interest of the people. It would only support the interest of a small group of people. Stokely Carmichael has further stated that Pan-Africanism is the highest expression of "Black Power." We say that Pan-Africanism is the highest expression of cultural nationalism. The Black Panther Party is internationalist.

We realize that most of the African governments who adhere to the philosophy of Pan-Africanism are also aligned with United States imperialism. In other words, these governments are saying that if the United States will let us exist as a class to oppress our African people then we will cooperate; in other words, Black oppressing Black. This is Stokely Carmichael's philosophy. It is also the philosophy of some of the reactionary governments in Africa.

We would like to emphasize that we support the people of Africa in their struggle against imperialism, and that our statements do not affect this comradely love that we have for all people in the world who are struggling against United States imperialism. We know that without the support of United States imperialism no reactionary government can exist. So we are very careful when we start supporting a government that has relationships in support of the United States.

And now there is this very strange incident of Stokely Carmichael's allegedly leading a delegation of Black

Panthers—the same Stokely Carmichael who denounced the Party a short time ago. He said that socialism is not the question, economics is not the question, but it is entirely a question of racism. We take issue with this; we realize that the United States is a racist country, but we also realize the roots of the racism, and the roots of the racism is based upon the profit motive and capitalism. So we would like to start with the cause and then later on handle its effects.

We believe that while socialism will not wipe out racism completely, a foundation will be laid. When we change the structure of bourgeois society; when we transform the structure into a socialist society, then we're one step toward changing attitudes. The people then will have control of the mass media, radio, television, newspapers, and these are part of the mechanisms that shape attitudes. We know that the concept of cultural lag will probably run true to form. While the structure changes the attitudes will lag behind because values take some time to change. But we say that the only way to start changing the racist nature of the society is to revolutionize or transform the institutions. So we would like to reiterate our support for the Palestinian people.

We would like to make it very clear that the Black Panther Party is not anti-Semitic. We've been charged with being anti-Semitic. As a matter of fact, statements could be cited where some member of the Party has made some statements in anger to hurt some of our White radical friends because we believed that they did not live up to the friendship agreement. But these were internal fights. They should have been kept internal, but they were exposed and used by the reactionaries, and this was partially our fault because we indulged in that. But as far as our official position, we are not anti-Semitic. As far as the Israeli people are concerned we are not against the Jewish people. We are against that government that will persecute the Palestinian people. We have to admit that there is something wrong in

proves this by using nationalism to rape the world and dominate everyone else. In other words, it went from nationalism to the natural conclusion which is empire or imperialism. So the Jewish people must be careful not to be an agent of imperialism. We are asking the progressive forces, the revolutionary forces inside of Israel, to transform that society so that the people of the Moslem religion, the people of the Jewish religion, the people who live in the Middle East, will be able to come together as one man and truly build a new world. As a matter of fact, we are looking forward to this time, and we see that this time will exist; we see the contradiction that's developing between the Palestinian people and the UAR. We also see a growing group inside of Israel that is organizing against the racist tactics of the Israeli Government. I say that if we go over the record we can see where the Jewish students demonstrated against their Minister of Defense, against the war tactics of Israel; and we encourage this activity, we struggle with this group of the Jewish people. So we reject any charges of being anti-Semitic. We realize that some people who happen to be Jewish and who support Israel will use the Black Panther Party's position that is against imperialism and against the agents of the imperialist as an attack of anti-Semitism. We think that this is a back-biting, racist, underhanded tactic and we will treat it as such. We have respect for all people, and we have respect for the right for any people to exist. So we want the Jewish people and the Palestinian people to live in harmony together. We support the Palestinian's just struggle for liberation one hundred percent. We will go on doing this, and we would like for all of the progressive people of the world to join in our ranks in order to make a world in which all people can live.

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## *Repression Breeds Resistance:* *January 16, 1970*

SECHABA\*: Mr. Newton, welcome back from jail and thank you for granting us this interview. First we would like you to explain the relationship between the Black Panther Party and the Black Power movement.

NEWTON: The Black Panther Party grew out of the Black Power movement, but the Party transformed the ideology of Black Power into a socialist ideology, a Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Black Power movement has a tendency to have a capitalistic orientation along the lines of Marcus Garvey's program and the kind of organization that Elijah Muhammed has. The Black Panther Party feels that not even the Black bourgeoisie will be able to compete with imperialism, whose central base is here in North America. The United States is the central base of the bourgeoisie, and this is because this country is really not a nation any longer, but an empire that controls the world through economics and physical force—military might. The Black Panther Party has transformed this movement into a socialist movement and we have become not nationalists, like the Black Power movement in the past, but internationalists.

The bourgeoisie that is based here in America has an international character because it exploits the world, it

\* *Sechaba* is the official organ of the African National Congress of South Africa, a liberation party which, having been banned in South Africa, operates in exile. This interview was arranged by the Africa Research Group with the assistance of Karen Wald, and took place in Berkeley within a week of Huey Newton's release from a three-year jail term.

SECHABA: The leadership of the Black Panther Party has come under very severe attack during the past year. Can you tell us what effects these attacks have had on the Party?

NEWTON: Repression breeds resistance. We feel that by virtue of the fact that we are being attacked, and the attacks are extremely vicious, that we must be hitting a sensitive spot. We have the fascists disturbed and they are running amuck simply because we are threatening them. We are threatening their very foundation, their very existence. Otherwise they would try to pretend to the world that this is democracy and they would support our right to freedom of speech, our right to freedom of the press, and our right to political activity. But all these so-called democratic civil rights are denied the Black Panther Party, which is the vanguard of the people. So the Party must be hitting a sensitive spot; it must be threatening the bureaucratic imperialistic capitalist. We welcome all attacks. We will overcome all obstacles and advance wave upon wave. We will rid the world of the bourgeoisie and destroy all of the monsters, and the whole world will belong to the people.

SECHABA: Do you believe there are revolutionary possibilities in the United States?

NEWTON: I would like to emphasize that without the people of the world struggling against imperialism, we would have a very weak position here in the United States, which I call the urban area of the world. But because we know we have friends, comrades-in-arms who are fighting the same enemy that we are fighting, we feel that what we have done is to open up a new front. We should say we are attempting to open up a new front because we do not claim anything that we haven't done. But we are advancing the fight, we are strengthening our strategy of resistance and attack. We can do this because we realize the American fascist troops are being divided by the people of the world who are struggling against them. We encourage, we admire,

we have great admiration for socialist or communist guerrillas all over the world. We feel we will never be free until many colonized people are free. We notice that in most revolutions where a guerrilla-type tactic was used, the urban area or city was the last area to be covered and bases opened up first in the countryside. Now we see many bases opening up in the countryside. We have advanced to the point where in many areas we have gone from a guerrilla to a kind of people's army that can operate with a face to face, head-on collision with the imperialist. This is only because of the great perseverance and great strength that you have shown, and that the people of the world have shown. While we are being attacked from all sides, we are still trying to follow your examples. We realize that you are also being attacked from all sides by the enemy. Because you are driving on you have given us strength to drive on. So onward to victory. We will someday meet and celebrate our victory because I know we will have that. The guerrilla band is our example.

SECHABA: What has been the most important inspiration for the Black Panthers?

NEWTON: I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim II Sung, but also all the guerrilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Palestinian guerrillas who are fighting for a socialist world. I think they all have been great inspirations for the Black Panther Party. As I've said before, they're examples of all these guerrilla bands. The guerrillas who are operating in South Africa and numerous other countries all have had great influence on us. We study and follow their example. We are very interested in the strategy that's being used in Brazil, which is an urban area, and we plan to draw on that. And we have certainly been influenced by all of the people who are struggling in the world. As far as control is concerned, our Central Committee controls our Party. But I won't deny the influence. We don't consider that question

sciousness of the people through education. We would like more information about the struggle in Southern Africa. We are familiar with it right now, but we would like more information on your armed struggle and what the guerrillas are doing so that we can spread this information. We would like film footage. We have trucks that we drive around in the community and show films to people that walk in the streets.

For example, we have films of the revolution that took place in Algeria. The community is very impressed with that kind of thing because they can easily see the relationship between the way the French treated the Algerians and how we are treated in this country. There is an old saying: "A picture is worth a thousand words," and the people perhaps don't read as much as they should, so we found in our political education that it is very helpful to show films. If you have any pictures or film footage you can get to us I will assure you that it will be shown inside of the Black community, the Chinese community, the Indian community, the White community. There are poor White people in this country who are now becoming involved in the common struggle, and we are involved with them. We hope this national kind of involvement of many ethnic groups will aid us in relating to the people and help them make that jump to identify with people in other countries who may be from other ethnic backgrounds, other cultural backgrounds.

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## *Attica Statement: October 16, 1971*

So let it be heard:

A short time ago, the prisoners at Attica requested the Black Panther Party to negotiate with Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald for their freedom. The Black Panther Party at this time asks Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China to negotiate with Prison Warden Nixon for the freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world.

We recognize that the criminal activities of trigger-happy Nixon show clearly that he has no respect for peaceful negotiation when the victim is divided and weak. He not only killed the prisoners at Attica but he also murdered his exploited workers, the prison guards. Although most of the prisoners at Attica are Black and all the guards are White, Nixon killed regardless of color, because they were all victims. When the oppressed people of the world ask for negotiation, such as the Vietnamese people, Prison Warden Nixon shows again he has no respect for the people nor his agents, the U.S. Military. **HE LEAVES NO ALTERNATIVE BUT VIOLENT, ARMED RESISTANCE.** He is responsible for the murder of Vietnamese people and the deaths of the U.S. soldiers. Both the Vietnamese people and the U.S. soldiers are victims of the reactionary Nixon regime. This is why we approached Chairman Mao Tse-tung, because we know of his peace-and-freedom-loving nature. There can be no peace without freedom.

We are asking all the agents of Prison Warden Nixon (whom he despises) to join forces with the victims of the

the map (and sometimes, who printed it). We can remember such terms as the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Byzantine Empire. We can remember Columbus "discovering" America (or, as he thought, India); and certainly some changes in national sovereignty have been made since then.

Today, things are different. The entire earth's land mass is known to man. The twentieth century's two World Wars have complicated things even more as to the national question. Technology is so advanced that places about which we had only heard in the past are immediately reachable in person. Today a person can travel completely around the world in less than a day's time. If we bring all these past and present facts together with other information the world begins to look a little different. What else do we need to remember: that in the area of technology, the United States is the most highly advanced country; that a territory as large as China, containing within its boundaries one quarter of the entire earth's population, cannot either lay claim to its own former province, Taiwan, or participate in an organization supposedly representative of all "nations" in the world, the United Nations; that most former empires, such as France, Germany, Italy, Britain, have lost their former holdings (the French have been run out of Vietnam and Algeria; the British, out of India; the Germans, out of Russia and Poland; the Italians, out of Ethiopia, etc.). The point is that only one country stands as the sovereign stronghold, dominating and threatening the sovereignty of all other people and lands—it is the United States Empire. No people, no land, no culture, no national economy is safe from the long arm of the last remaining empire.

The situation is this: A people can look only backwards, to history, to really speak of its nation. We call these former nations communities. All these territories exist under the threat of being brought into or, in fact, being a part of the United States Empire. Some of the territories are liberated,

such as China, the northern halves of Korea and Vietnam, or Albania. But the weapons of conquest, the war weapons produced by modern technology, are in the hands of the United States. Not even a liberated territory can lay claim to sovereign control of its land, economy or people with this hanging over its head.

We Black people in the United States have always lived under this threat in our communities inside the United States. United States government control of our communities is not difficult to understand. For most of us it is difficult to imagine our lives without such domination. We have never controlled a land that was ours. We have never controlled our economy. We know of one culture, that as slaves. We know of one language, that of the slavemaster. Our sovereignty was not violated, for we United States Blacks were never a sovereign nation. It is true that we were snatched from African shores. The present fact is that we cannot ask our grandparents to teach us some "native" tongue, or dance or point out our "homeland" on a map. Certainly, we are not citizens of the United States. Our hopes for freedom then lie in the future, a future which may hold a positive elimination of national boundaries and ties; a future of the world, where a human world society may be so structured as to benefit all the earth's people (not peoples).

To achieve this end, we struggle here inside the United States to get rid of our oppression. Others struggle inside their territorial boundaries to get rid of oppression. The more territory we liberate in the world, the closer we will come to an end to all oppression. The common factor that binds us all is not only the fact of oppression but the oppressor: the United States Government and its ruling circle. We, the people of the world, have been brought together under strange circumstances. We are united against a common enemy. Today the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism dictates that the survival programs im-

of one million people (of a total population of nine million). He wishes to deny the fact that the people are fighting for and winning their freedom. Our brothers in Mozambique know differently. When I was in China earlier this month, I had the opportunity to receive and subsequently report to the people firsthand, accurate information. I met with the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, former Chief of the Army. President Machel gave a clear picture: Not only have three major areas been liberated but FRELIMO has established over 200 primary schools, hospitals and other programs to serve the interest and needs of the people. Recently (in 1968) an entire detachment of women fighters was formed. It was around that time that while denying their losses, the racist, fascist Portuguese government called upon their old friends to help destroy the struggle. In these past two years the United States, Britain, France and Germany have played an openly active role in attempting to destroy the people's struggle for liberation. The United States, of course, "helps" most, providing Boeing-707 planes to bomb the people with napalm and all the other life-destroying material the United States can come up with. President Machel told us that in 1970 alone over 128,000 troops of the combined forces attacked, and 63,000 tons of bombs were viciously rained upon the people. However, President Machel said, "We destroyed the soldiers; we shot down the planes."

These successes have certainly not been easy. From within and from without, the people of Mozambique have suffered. After giving guidance to FRELIMO for nearly seven years, Eduardo Mondlane was assassinated by the enemy. In February of 1969, while in his home (in Tanzania), he opened a box which was part of his morning mail. Upon opening the box a bomb exploded in his face and killed him. Naturally, the Portuguese used even the treachery of this murder to try to deceive the people. Soon after this, Caetano's government issued statements that a "left-wing faction" of FRELIMO had murdered their leader.

As is familiar (or should be to us by now) the Portuguese attempted to install their own "Man" to lead FRELIMO. They tried to push a native Mozambican, Lazaro Kavadame, popular among the people as the leader of the large (200,000 population) Makonde Tribe into leadership of FRELIMO. As a lackey for Portugal, Kavadame began issuing statements like, "Listen to me well. There must not be a single Makonde Chief sending soldiers to war." He was telling the people not to fight for what was theirs. Also, the former Vice-President of FRELIMO, Uriah Simango, was pushing to take over. They were both eventually defeated.

Today, FRELIMO, under the wise leadership of President Machel, is guiding the People of Mozambique toward greater and final victory. But today, naturally, the attacks of the combined forces of the United States, Portugal, Germany, France and Britain are even more fierce: constant bombings and many ground attacks take place. However, there is a more intricate, but ultimately more vicious plan in the making, headed primarily by the United States. They plan to build, for the Portuguese, a large hydroelectric dam. The site for the dam is in the liberated Tete Province in Cabora Bassa, along the Zambesi River, bordering racist Rhodesia. Its purpose is to not only give financial aid to impoverished Portugal but to be used as a key part in a plot with South Africa to launch a political, diplomatic and military offensive upon all of Africa. A familiar name to us is General Electric. The General Electric Company has spent millions to aid in building the Cabora Bassa Dam. Altogether, the United States and others have agreed to invest 500 million dollars in the dam, which is capable of producing 18.4 billion kilowatts of electricity. Also, in regard to this Cabora Bassa Dam, late FRELIMO President Mondlane once said, "They say it will enable them to settle one million Whites in Mozambique within 10 years . . . to form a great white barrier across Southern Africa."

If we believe that we are brothers with the people of



*Prisons:*

*July 12, 1969*

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When a person studies mathematics he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts." This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner because those in charge take the same kind of approach and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have contained all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach which is successful in mathematics is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.

In the case of the human we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confinable and the ideas which cannot be measured nor confined.

The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of

society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist." Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people. All the prison has is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts. The ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

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*Eulogy for Jonathan Jackson and  
William Christmas:  
August 15, 1970\**

While it is viewed as a tragedy and many would weep for Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas, the Black Panther Party serves notice that it is not brothers Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas for whom we should weep. They have achieved freedom and we remain slaves. If we must weep let it be for those of us who remain in bondage.

The Black Panther Party will follow the example that was set by these courageous revolutionaries. The people refuse to submit to the slavery and bondage that is required in order to live a few more years on the planet earth. IF THE PENALTY FOR THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS DEATH, THEN BY DEATH WE ESCAPE TO FREEDOM.

Without freedom life means nothing. We have nothing to lose but our shackles and freedom to gain. We have gathered today not only to give respect to Comrades Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas, but also to pledge our lives to the accomplishment of the goals exemplified in their actions.

THERE ARE NO LAWS THAT THE OPPRESSOR MAKES THAT THE OPPRESSED ARE BOUND TO RESPECT.

Laws should be made to serve people. People should not be made to serve laws. When laws no longer serve the

\* At St. Augustine's Church, Twenty-Seventh and West Streets, Oakland, California.

be out in eight. They offered him this only if he would testify against everyone else, including our Chairman Bobby Seale, Landon Williams and Ericka Huggins because these are the people they really want. So, they are willing to make any sort of deal because they know that they don't have any evidence on anyone because everyone is innocent. But if they could use that old tactic of divide and conquer then they would simply try to divide our Party members against each other, pay them off, and have a legal lynching based upon some testimony coming from one of our comrades. But, of course, none of the Party members will go for this. Only the ones who are agents will go for it, such as Sams who is the only murderer and who's already accepted the deal. But we think that what has happened is that the F.B.I. used Sams as an agent and then dumped him. They have a history of doing this and they will do it again, it seems.

The rally will be at 10:00 A.M. on Tuesday, August 25, and we are asking everyone to stay until the verdict comes in. The jury goes out Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning. We're asking everyone to stay until the end and to mobilize the community against this legal lynching.

We're very concerned about what's happening now in America as far as the persecution of prisoners of war. The revolutionary movement is reaching a very decisive level. We're demanding that the powers that be in this country follow the Geneva Agreement relating to prisoners of war. They have no right to inflict any punishment on a prisoner of war. They are required to keep him until we negotiate for his release, and they have no right to brutalize him and they surely have no right to murder him. If they try to do this the people can only take appropriate actions, and we are convinced that we will only get justice when the people start acting in a revolutionary manner. I think it's unnecessary to go into exactly what the tactics should be. I think our actions should speak for themselves. If we are really

going to take some genuine revolutionary actions we don't have to talk about them. The Panthers have a maxim that says: "To say what I want to say, I can't do what I want to do, and to do what I want to do, I can't say what I want to say." So, just observe my actions and you'll know what I want to say. We will observe this maxim and in the very near future you'll see some very revolutionary action. But this will happen only if we can mobilize the community behind us. So I emphasize this not to be redundant but just to impress upon you the absolute necessity to educate the community. In spite of the revolutionary action we, the vanguard group, take, it is still necessary to educate the community by any means necessary. This includes using tactics which may appear reformist but which in fact are not. I say they're not reformist because any action taken in the community that won't impede the future revolutionary goal is appropriate action, whether it is a medical program or a child care center, or whatever. Whatever the community needs, we should be there to serve them. Serve the people!

Do you have any plans?

NEWTON: What's going to happen if McLucas is found guilty? Do you have any plans?  
 NEWTON: First thing, we want the people who are there to issue the mandate against this conviction. We don't think he is going to be convicted because there is no evidence against him. If injustice is done we will take measures to correct this and institute justice, revolutionary justice. As I said before, I don't think that it's necessary to discuss tactics, especially if these tactics might be military tactics. If we have to engage in military tactics it won't be for political reasons because we're not playing any games. We want our comrades free and we want all political prisoners set free as well as prisoners of war.

Do you have any plans?  
 PRESS: Would you answer a question I think a lot of White people have had? They say that Alex Rackley has been shot and they feel that there should have been an arrest of at

*On the Capture of Angela Davis:  
October 17, 1970*

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issue of the fact that all of the shots fired in the Marin incident came from the vicious weapons of the police and the district attorney. It is clear that the gestapo police were not interested in the preservation of human life. Their first concern was apprehension and murder, and if anyone happened to survive, this would be an accident and not their chief concern. It shows that the gestapo are not their concerned about the lives of their class brothers, the judge and the district attorney.

So it seems that absolute madness has swept the shores of America. Reason is not to be found among the ranks of the oppressor. The very fact that the reactionary authority has the audacity to accuse Angela Davis of a crime is indicative of the lack of justice and the lack of simple reasoning. Those who are clearly guilty are exonerated. Those who are victims and innocent stand accused.

The Black Panther Party calls upon Black people in particular and all oppressed people in general to rise up and do whatever is necessary to free Angela Davis. Angela Davis has exemplified the highest expression of concern for the people. We the people should show our appreciation of this by coming to her aid in this hour of need. Angela has given her energy and devotion to the people's cause without reference to her personal safety, without reference to her personal gain. She has given in a free and a very pure way, in a way that sets an example for people everywhere. We must not fail Angela Davis.

The Black Panther Party accuses the reactionary authorities of California and the United States of using Angela Davis as a scapegoat. The traditional judiciary are responsible for the event that took place in the Marin Courtroom, and the police are responsible for the murder of the judge, Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, as well as the wounding of the hostages. In order to draw attention from the responsible persons Angela Davis was hunted, captured, and accused of crimes of which the American reactionary system is in fact guilty of.

The event would have not taken place if there were justice in the courts for Black people. The court has been generally nonresponsive to the cries for redress of Black people's grievances and have continued to act in the interest of the racist, capitalist ruling circle. This is clear when we note that the prosecuting attorney in the Marin case is married to the niece of the judge who presided over the case. On the other hand, Jonathan Jackson and the prisoners of war, William Christmas, James McClain and Ruchell Magee, were motivated by their desire for justice and freedom. We feel that when all peaceful means are exhausted, it is the people's right, it is the people's duty, to take other steps that will guarantee justice and freedom.

The San Quentin guards and the Marin County police must be charged with the murders of Comrades Jackson, McClain and Christmas and the murder of the judge. We note that absolutely no one in the establishment has made

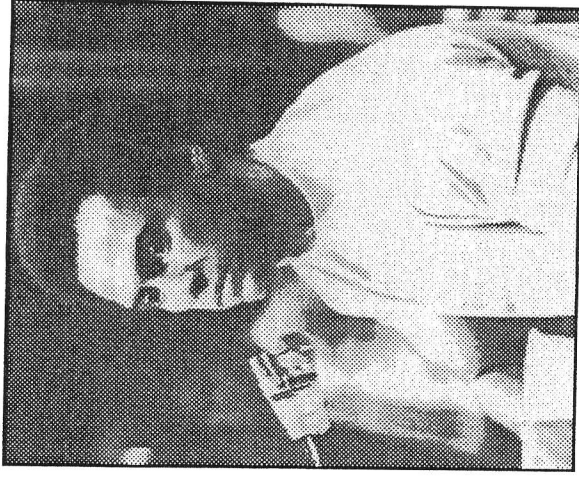
years except the victory of the people, Black people, poor people and all the oppressed people of the world over the fascist, imperialist U.S. empire.

# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

## HUEY P. NEWTON

• INITIALLY PUBLISHED IN 1973 BY HARCOURT BRACE, THIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY SERVED AS THE PRIMARY SOURCE FOR THE MANY BOOKS WRITTEN ABOUT HUEY P. NEWTON.

• PROFILES BLACK PANTHER LEADERS, INCLUDING BOBBY SEALE, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, ELAINE BROWN, AND DAVID HILLIARD.



In October 1967, one year after the founding of the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton was involved in a shooting during which an Oakland police officer was killed. Newton spent three years in prison before being released and having his charges dismissed., and is jailing brought cries of "Free Huey" from supporters around the world.

This engrossing and well-written autobiography recounts the forming of a revolutionary and shows how the degrading and psychologically destructive penal system forged Newton's already growing spirit.

Huey Newton is as intelligent and charismatic on paper as he was in person, and his autobiography serves as bold testimony to the ideas that formed the Black Panther movement in the 1960s and '70s and that are being aired and reconsidered today.

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**HUEY P. NEWTON**, founder of the Black Panther Party and its chief theoretician, has long been a hero to radicals and is currently being rediscovered by young people interested in the history of black power in the United States.

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