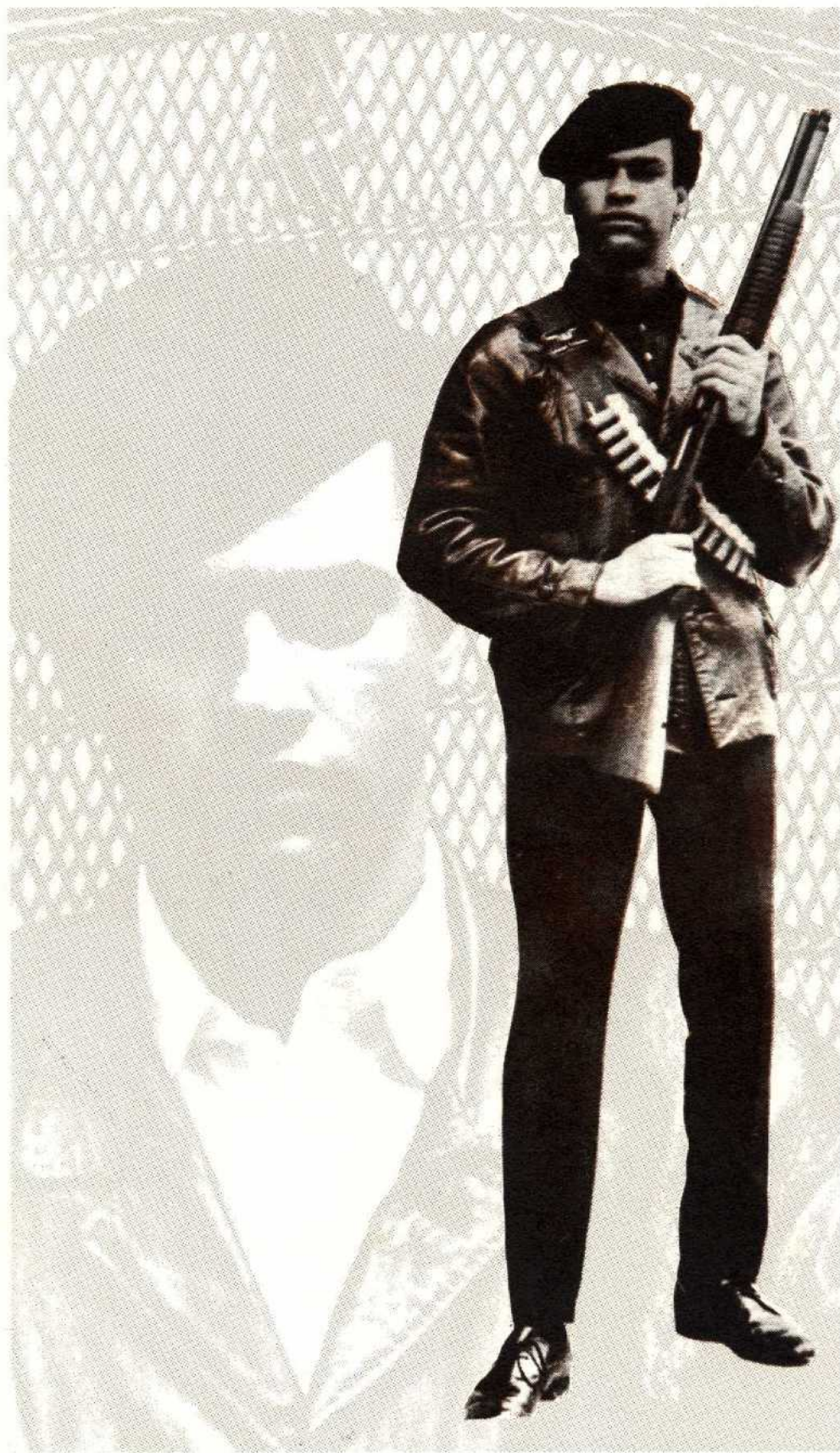


# HUEY P. NEWTON

INTRODUCTION BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

THE "GENIUS" OF



THE  
GENIUS OF  
HUEY P.  
NEWTON



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## This Is The Introduction To The New Volume Of Essays Of The Minister Of Defense

*Huey P. Newton's thoughts, like his action is clear and precise. cutting always to the very heart of the matter. Huey's genius is that he took up where brother Malcolm left off when he was assassinated. Huey was successful in creating an organization unique in the history of Afro-Americans. A revolutionary political party with self perpetuating machinery. This is an historic achievement. And it is the thought of Huey P. Newton that holds the Black Panther Party together and constitutes its foundation.*

*Huey was always conscious of the fact that he was creating a vanguard organization, and that he was moving at a speed so far beyond where the rest of Afro-America was at, that his primary concern was to find ways of rapidly communicating what he saw and knew to the rest of the people. This was always Huey's major concern to insure that the people received correct information. He had an unshakable faith in the ability of the people to make the correct decisions once they received accurate information. It was this concern for getting information to the people, that drove Huey practically at the point of a gun, to round us all up and stay on our backs until we would get out another issue of the Black Panther Newspaper. When he first decided that we had to start a newspaper of our own we all tried to wiggle out of sitting down and doing what seemed to us to be such boring work, but Huey would always make us feel ashamed for not working hard enough. He would say, "a newspaper is the voice of a party, the voice of the Panther must be heard throughout the land," Right on brother Huey!*

*Huey always knew exactly what he was doing. He knew that the life of a revolutionary vanguard organization was in its practice, in its action; but he never*

*belittled the functional nature of words when properly brought to bear on the revolutionary process. One day while we were both in the Alameda county jail, a trustee brought me a little note from Huey, (the pigs always kept us isolated from each other, and this was the only means we had of communicating). At the end of the note Huey placed a quote from Regis Debray, "poor the gun without the pen, poor the pen without the gun."*

*Huey delivered his message to the people through his actions, down on the street with a gun in his hands; and when he sat down to write, he was always dealing with concrete problems based on the experiences he was having in organizing the Black Panther Party. Each time he wrote an article for our Newspaper, it was always to deal with the problems with which he was directly struggling. He never did like to waste words or time, and he always meant exactly what he said and he never backed away from a principle. When he thought that some important point was being misunderstood or that it was likely to get confused, he would take the time to analyze the problem and formulate it in language that he knew the people could understand. If he could not find the right word to express precisely what he was trying to get at, he would not budge beyond that point until he had found the correct expression. Once Huey was dictating an article and I was typing out what he was saying. He was describing an encounter he had had earlier that day with a cop in Oakland. Huey was angry and he was trying to find a term of contempt to describe the viciousness with which this cop had acted and the contempt that he felt for the cop. Huey grabbed his own head with both hands and walked rapidly in a little circle around the room. We were all trying to suggest a term for him to use, and we came up with some juicy ones, but they did not satisfy Huey. Finally Huey burst out laughing and said, "Pig! That's what he acted like, a racist pig."*

*Huey made a thorough study of Afro-American history and an equally as thorough study of the history*

*and theory of revolution and struggles for national liberation. He preferred one to interpret the history of our people to the light of revolutionary experience and principles. The result is a hard core of analysis on how to move to liberate our people.*

*This volume of essays by the Minister of Defense is the heart and blood of the Black Panther Party. When reading them, one can picture Huey as he was when he wrote them: hard pressed by pigs who he knew were plotting to kill him. With pigs breathing down his neck, Huey was racing against time that had almost run out to get the information down on paper so that no matter what happened to him the roar of the Panther would still exist as a legacy to our people and our struggle. Huey understood the vital importance of our people developing their own revolutionary analysis for themselves, and for their own struggle and salvation.*

*Looking back at it all, I am amazed by the miracles which Huey performed for his people. I know that Huey would not consider it a miracle, it is all just common sense to him, but it is the common sense of an uncommon man; the common sense of a genius. As long as our people are oppressed and struggling for their liberation, we will have a vital need for the essays of the Minister of Defense. It should always be remembered that Huey made no distinctions between theory and practice, because he practiced what he preached. What Huey has written was not meant for entertainment but as a guide to action. What Huey has written only has relevancy if it is put into practice. At this time in history, in particular, when the fascist pigs of the power structure have set out to stamp out the Black Panther Party, we must never forget that what they essentially are trying to do is to stamp out Huey P. Newton, because there is no distinction between Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. The pigs know this and we had better know it. And finally let no one think that the Black Panther Party has relinquished its demand that Huey be set free. By studying the essays of our Minister*

*of Defense, by spreading the word and by practicing this theory we can create the condition for setting our leader free. So let us get on with the job, time is precious.*

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

*Eldridge Cleaver  
Minister of Information  
Black Panther Party  
January 2, 1970*



**FREE HUEY.**

# Huey P. Newton To The Republic Of New Africa

This is Huey P. Newton, at Los Padres, California 1969, September 13. 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. And 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; and very detailed questions on certain stands, and our thinking on these positions. At that time I wasn't prepared to send a message out. I've had to think about many questions, and due to the situation here it's very difficult for me to communicate, so that explains this lapse in time between question and answer. I won't be able to expound on all the questions but I would like to give some general explanations to 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 the country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps with 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're colonized simply because they're under a capitalist society, with a small clique of rulers who are the owners of the means of production in control of decision making, they're the decision making body. Therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general. And they simply work for the enrichment of this ruling class. As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we're at the very bottom of this ladder, we're exploited by not only by the small group of ruling class, we're oppressed, and repressed by even the working class whites in the country. And this is simple because the ruling class, the White rul-



ing 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's with that historical thing of dividing and ruling, that the ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position; because they're divided in certain interest groups, even through these interests that the lower class groups carry doesn't necessarily serve as beneficial to them. As far as our stand on separation, we've demanded, as you very well know, a plebiscite of the U.N. to supervise, so that Blacks can decide whether they want to (secede) the union, or what position they'll take on it. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we're 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 the union. So we don't have any, there's no contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Africa's position that I know, it's simply a matter of timing. We feel that certain conditions will have to exist before we're 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 the union, and say have five states, 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 imperialism, because of Western domination. And there's no indication that it would be any different if we were to have a separate country, here in North America. As a matter of fact, by all logics we would suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it now. They are geographically better located, thousands of miles away, but yet they are not able to be free simply because of highly technological developments the highest technological developments that the West has that makes the world so much smaller, one small neighborhood. So taking all these things into consideration, we conclude that the only way that we're going to be free is to (wipe) out once and for all the oppressive structure of America. We realize we can't do this without a popular struggle, with

out many alliances and coalitions, and this is the reason that we're moving in the direction that we are to get as many alliances as possible of people that are equally dissatisfied with the system. And also we're carrying on, or attempting to carry on a political education campaign, so that the people will be aware of the conditions and therefore perhaps they will be able to take steps to controlling these conditions. We think this is the most important thing at this time, is to be able to organize in some fashion so that we'll have a formidable force to challenge the structure of the American empire. So we invite the Republic of New Africa to struggle with us, because we know from people whom I've talked to I've talked to May Malory, and other people are familiar with the philosophy of the Republic of New Africa, they seem to be very aware that the whole structure of America will have to be changed, in order for the people of America to be free. And this is again with the full knowledge and the full view of the end goal of the Republic of New Africa again is to secede. In other words we're not really handling this question at this time because we feel that for us that it is somewhat premature, that I realize the physiological value of fighting for a territory. But at this time the Black Panther Party feels that we don't want to be in an enclave type situation where we would be more isolated than we already are now. We're isolated in the ghetto area, concentrated in the north, in the metropolitan areas, in the industrial areas, and we think that this is a very good location as far as strategy is concerned, as far as waging a strong battle against the established order. And again I think that it would be perfectly justified if the Blacks decided that they wanted to secede the union, but I think the question should be left up to the popular masses, the popular majority. So this is it in a nutshell. As I said before, I don't have the facilities here to carry on long discussions I look forward to talking with Milton Henry in the near future, if it's possible, I know that he has his hands full now, or representatives of the Republic of New Africa. So we can talk these things over. There are many things I heard, things I read, I'm in total agreement with. I would like for the Republic of New Africa to know that we support Robert Williams, and his plight at this time, that we

support him one hundred per cent, and we're willing to give all services asked of us, and we would like to find out exactly what we can do that would be most helpful in the court proceedings coming up, what moral support we could give. Perhaps we could send some representatives, and we will publish in our paper, The Black Panther, articles educating people to Robert William's position or the criminal activities that he's been victim of for some eight or nine years. I would also like to request of the Republic of New Africa to give us some support in Bobby Seale our Chairman of the Black Panther Party. Bobby Seale is now in prison as you know in San Francisco, he has a case coming up in Chicago, and one in Conn., and we invite the Republic of New Africa to come in support. We would like this very much, and whatever moral support they could possibly give we would welcome it. We should be working closer together than we are and perhaps this would be an issue that we could work together on. The issue is the political prisoners of America, and people as one to stand up against, to stand for the release of all political prisoners and this might be a rallying point where all the Black revolutionary organizations and parties could rally around. Because I truly believe that some good comes out of every attack that the oppressor makes. It educates, it enlightens many people to his viciousness. So perhaps this will be a turning point in both our organizations and parties. So I would like to say, **"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, AND MORE POWER TO THE PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA, ROBERT WILLIAMS."**

# **Message From The Minister Of Defense, Huey P. Newton On The Peace Movement**

The Peace Movement is extremely important, more important than I thought it was, say, two years ago. Matter of fact, it's one of the most important movements that's going on at this time. Because a person is in the Peace Movement and he works with the Peace Movement, the Peace Movement is not necessarily a pacifist movement. I think that the reason I place so much emphasis now upon the Peace Movement I see that if peace were to come about this would force a re-evaluation and a revolution in the basic economic composition of the country.

I'll explain that further, for instance, we all know now this is a garrison state, the warfare state. And this is not by accident. After capitalism reaches a point where it can no longer expand, it looks for other avenues, other deposits, other places to expand the capitalists interest. And at this time super-capitalists (we know people like General Motors, Chrysler, General Dynamics, and all the SUPER COMPANIES--I understand there's about 76 that control the whole economy of this country) and these companies, including the automobile companies that I just named are the prime people, or they are the military contractors. They run the defense plants as far as getting the contracts from the Pentagon. Chrysler made that batch of tanks that wouldn't fire, (you probably saw in the paper) through a contract with the government and with the Pentagon. In other words, super-capitalists are now putting their over-expanded capitalistic surplus into military equipment. And this mili-

tary equipment is then placed in foreign countries, which is the final depository for expendable goods, such as Vietnam, such as what happened in the Dominican Republic some years ago. In other words, with the wedding of the industry with the Pentagon, they have a new avenue to invest. And they invest in military equipment. And this equipment is expendable, because this is the purpose of it: To explode it and then build new ones, you see. So it's a perpetual type process.

We know now that the U.S. has a secret pact with Thailand. These things are not by accident, are not by chance; but it's all part of a super-plan in order to keep the economy going. What would happen then, if peace were to come about? If peace were to come about then you wouldn't have that final depository for expendable goods and the surplus would then be turned back into the country. The military plants and the related defense plants, industrial plants would be brought to a grinding halt.

And 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, they know that as long as the war goes on, then they can exploit the people through taxation and also exploit the people through human lives, because we sent soldiers, you see brothers, because they're expendable too; people are expendable. So, this is to keep it going, to keep getting the contracts.

So what happens is that one of the favored arguments of the capitalists is that America is not an imperialistic country because the traditional ways and means of imperialists is to go into a developing country and rape the country of its raw materials and refine them in the colony, in the developing country

or send them to the mother country to be refined 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, and the raw materials out of Vietnam." And this is very true. This sort of puzzled me for a while; and I couldn't really answer it, and so I just talked around it. But now I understand that something new has happened; that with the wedding of science with industry, with the industrial plants, that America has solved the basic problem of raw materials through synthetics and through knowing how to use raw materials that are already here and using them in a variety of ways, therefore keeping the plants going. So, therefore this is the favored argument of the capitalist: "So, we must be there to stop communism or wars of subversion, you see, subversive wars." But what's overlooked is the fact that the super-capitalists know we don't need to rape the country. I think Cuba was the turning point where it was sort of the traditional colonized country. And I'll inject this and that is that.

Another argument is that we need the positions, their strategic military positions, which we know that the U.S. does not need any strategic military positions because they already have enough equipment to defend this country from any point in the world if we were attacked. So they could only be there to use this developing country as depository for expendable goods. And in traditional imperialism, people from the mother country usually go to the colony, set up government and there the government heads and also the leaders of the military.

And this is not so at this point, see. In Vietnam, people from the mother country have not gone to the colonized country and jockeyed for position, but it's all been turned back into A-

merica. The defense contractors jockey for position now in the mother country, you see, for the defense contracts. And then they set up a puppet government or a military regime so that they can supply these developing countries with military equipment. And they really don't want to be in Vietnam or any of the developing countries, because they feel (and they have done this) they've bought off the militaries in these various developing countries so that they will only be an arm of the Pentagon, for instance, the military regime in Greece. So therefore, they have full control of the military officers, through buying them off, paying them high salaries and so forth so they feel that they won't have to send American troops, and therefore, they won't disturb or cause chaos in America and the mother country.

But what happens when one battalion of your military is defeated? Then you send in reinforcements to a defeated puppet army in that developing country. The whole government becomes subject to the army. And the army becomes suspicious of the civil government in these developing countries, because they are told by the Pentagon through indoctrination and money that the civil government is communist or a threat to the nation. So then you have military coups, and this is what happens over and over with the support of the U.S.

So what we have, we have really an imperialistic variation of imperialism. And I said before, the jockeying for position of power is inside of the mother country now. So, in fact, the American people have become colonized.

At one time I thought that only Blacks were colonized. But I think we have to change our rhetoric to an extent because the whole American people have been colonized, if you view exploitation as a colonized effect, now they're exploited. They support the super-capitalist

through taxation. And (through taxation) with tax to support the super-capitalist, or these 76 companies.

So, therefore, the whole American people are colonized people and even more so than the people in these developing countries where the militaries operate. And these are the points that we have to get across to the people to show them that we are a colonized people and lift their consciousness to a point to have a successful revolution.

Well, anyway, I won't go on with that. But I hope you get the point, and I hope I'm clear enough. But, this is why the Peace Movement is so important. If the Peace Movement is successful, then the revolution will be successful. If the Peace Movement fails, then the revolution in the mother country fails. In other words the people will be pushed so up-tight once they found war were to stop, but then the whole economy would go down the drain because you would have to have a planned economy to combat the chaos that would be caused by the absence of incentive for the factories to go. Now war is the incentive for the military contractors.

So this is why it is very important that we have communications with, not only communications with, we should engage in writing in our paper that we support the Peace Movement, actually get out and support it in various ways through literature and demonstrations in all the ways that the people struggle against the antagonistic ruling capitalist class in order to bring about change, because we realize that waging the struggles of antagonistic forces are the elements and the essence of all change. So at this point we're just involved in a struggle by antagonistic forces, and that is the people who work for a living and the people who own and exploit for their well-being.

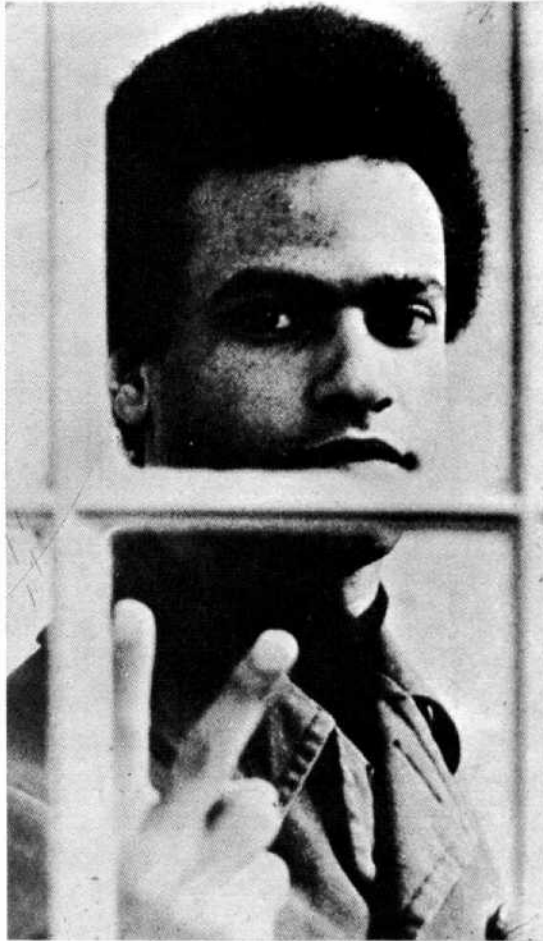
So we have to realize our position and we



have to know ourselves and know our enemies. A thousand wars and a thousand victories. And until we know who the enemy is and what the situation is we will only be marking time. Even the Peace Movement doesn't compromise our defense principles. We still will defend ourselves against attack and against aggression. But overall, we're advocating the end to all wars. But, yet, we support the self-defense of the Vietnamese people and all the people who are struggling.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton  
Minister of Defense,  
Black Panther Party



# Prison, Where Is Thy Victory?

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 in its totality, 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 there 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 confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be measured and which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. 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 freedom and dignity there

will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those exploiters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea, the respect and dignity of the people, as they move toward their freedom is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being — since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell, and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then, is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, then they have won the battle and the person is then “rehabilitated.” But this cannot be the case, because those who operate the prisons, have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however,

they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner, is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist, and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system, since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "Illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the get-go accepted the idea of the society. He pretends to accept the

idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the 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.

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE:  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE,  
AND PANTHER POWER TO THE VAN-  
GUARD.**

Huey P. Newton  
Minister of Defense  
Black Panther Party

# Huey Newton Talks To The Movement

**THE MOVEMENT:** 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?

**HUEY P. NEWTON:** There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal 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 instead of responding to 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 the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He's against anything other than Black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced 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 it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

## REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out but it was a people's revolution because the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive where they could exploit the people and keep them in a state of slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would be profits into the community. That's what socialism is all about in a nutshell. The people's representatives are in office strictly on the leave 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.

**MOVEMENT:** 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?

**HUEY:** Well a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had some privileges, a little more. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field Black. He came to respect the master to such an extent until he identified with the master because he got a few of the leftovers that the field Blacks did not get. And through this identity with him, he saw the slavemaster's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than the slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm makes the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire the house Negro will work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the master's house. While the field Negro, the field Blacks

was praying that the house burned down. The house Black identified with the master so much that when the master would get sick the house Negro would say, "Master we's sick!"

### BLACK BOURGEOISIE

The Black Panther Party are the field blacks we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the Black have-nots; the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promotion of the interests of the Black have nots, which represents about 98% of Blacks here in America. We're not controlled by the White mother country radicals nor are we controled by the Black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the Black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the Black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy. And they will be attacked and treated as such.

**MOVEMENT:** The Black Panther Party has had considerable contact with white radicals since its earliest days. What do you see as the role of these white radicals?

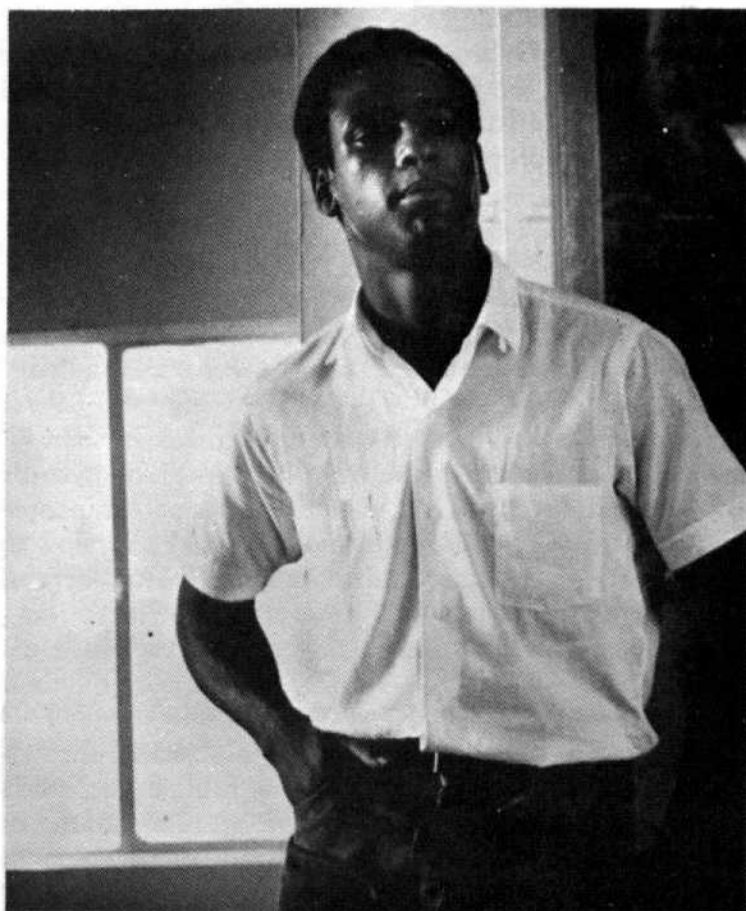
**HUEY:** The white mother country radical is the offspring of the children of the best that has plundered the world exploiting all people, concentrating on the people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who were slave masters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers.

The White mother country radical, in resisting the system, becomes somewhat of an abstract thing because he's not oppressed as much as Black people are. As a matter of fact his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.



Black people in America and colored people throughout the world suffer not only from exploitation, but they suffer from racism. Black people here in America, in the black colony, are oppressed because we're Black and we're exploited. The Whites are rebels, many of them from the middle class and as far as any overt oppression this is not the case. So therefore I call their rejection of the system somewhat of an abstract thing. They're looking for new heroes. They're looking to wash away the hypocrisy that their fathers have presented to the world. In doing this they see the people who are really fighting for freedom. They see the people who are really standing for justice and quality and peace throughout the world. They are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Asia, the people of Africa, and the Black people in the Black colony here in America.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# Functional Definition Of Politics

By Huey P. Newton

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When the peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics are continued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political.

Because we lack political power, Black people are not free. Black reconstruction failed because Black people did not have political and military power. The masses of Black people at the time were very clear on the definition of political power. It is evident in the songs of Black people at that time. In the songs it was stated that on the Day of Jubilee we'd have forty acres and two mules. This was promised Black people by the Freedman's Bureau. This was freedom as far as the Black masses were concerned.

The Talented Tenth at the time viewed freedom as operative in the political arena. Black people did operate in the political arena during reconstruction. They were more educated than most of the whites in the south. They had been educated in France, Canada and England, and were very qualified to serve in the political arena. But yet, Black Reconstruction failed.

When one operates in the political arena, it is assumed that he has power or represents power; he is symbolic of a powerful force. There are approximately three areas of power in the political area: economic power, land power (feudal power) and military power. If Black people at the time had received 40 acres and 2 mules, we would have developed a powerful force. Then we would have chosen a representative to represent us in this political arena. Because Black people did not receive the 40 acres and 2 mules, it was absurd to have a representative in the political arena.

When White people send a representative into the poli-

tical arena, they have a power force or power base that they represent. When white people, through their representatives, do not get what they want, there is always a political consequence. This is evident in the fact that when the farmers are not given an adequate price for their crops the economy will receive a political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field; they will not cooperate with other sectors of the economy. To be political, you must have a political consequence when you do not receive your desires — otherwise you are non-political.

When Black people send a representative, he is somewhat absurd because he represents no political power. He does not represent land power because we do not own any land. He does not represent economic or industrial power because Black people do not own the means of production. The only way he can become political is to represent what is commonly called a military power — which the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE** calls Self-Defense Power. Black people can develop Self-Defense Power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation. Then we will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the black masses. If the desires are not met, the power structure will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to go on with its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economically destructive.

The white racist oppresses Black people not only for racist reasons but because it is also economically profitable to do so. Black people must develop a power that will make it non-profitable for racists to go on oppressing us. If the white racist imperialists in America continue to wage war against all people of color throughout the world and also wage a civil war against Blacks here in America, it will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will make his war campaigns non-profitable. This racist United States operates with the motive of profit. He lifts the gun and escalates the war for profit reasons. We will make him lower the guns because

they will no longer serve his profit motive.

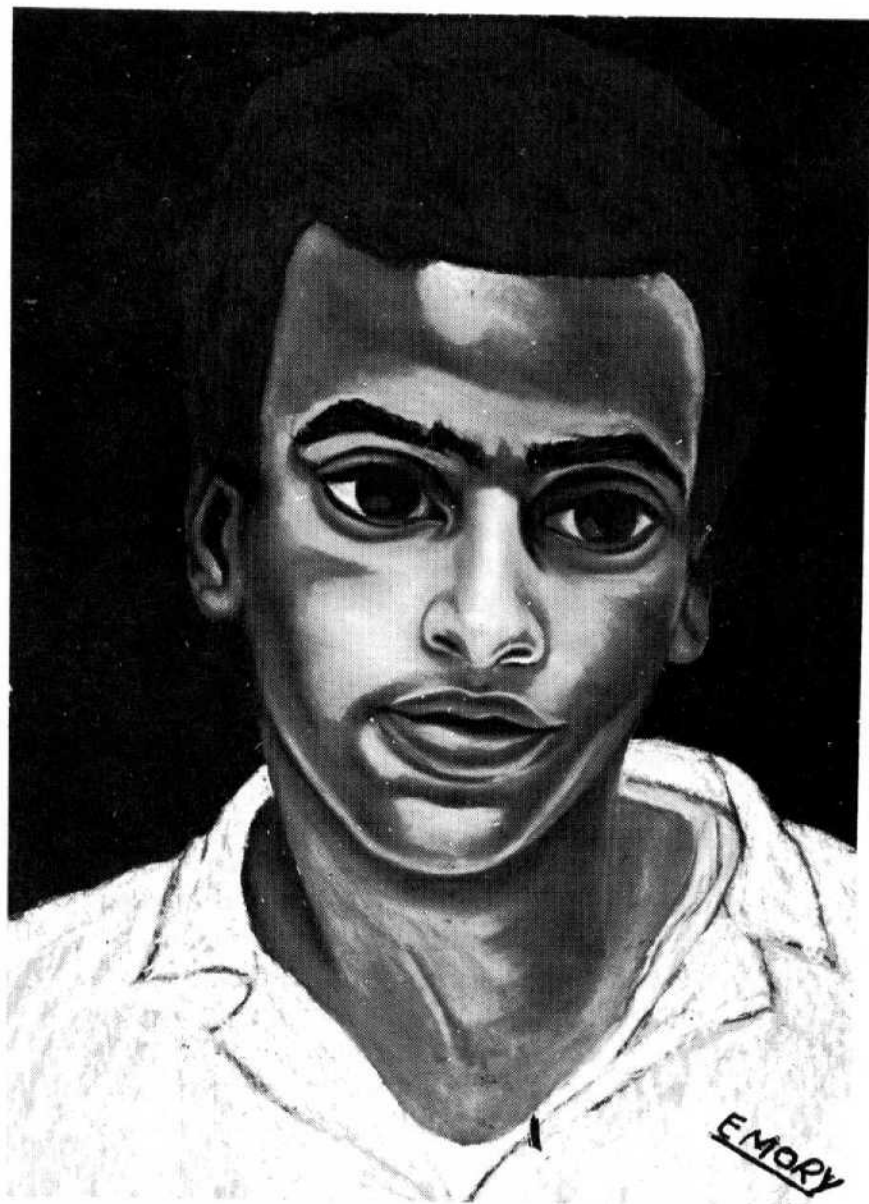
Every man is born, therefore he has a right to live, a right to share in the wealth. If he is denied the right to work then he is denied the right to live. If he can't work, he deserves a high standard of living, regardless of his education or skill. It should be up to the administrators of the economic system to design a program for providing work or livelihood for his people. To deny a man this is to deny him life. The controllers of the economic system are obligated to furnish each man with a livelihood. If they cannot do this or if they will not do this, they do not deserve the position of administrators. The means of production should be taken away from them and placed in the people's hands, so that the people can organize them in such a way as to provide themselves with a livelihood. The people will choose capable administrators motivated by their sincere interest in the people's welfare and not the interest of private property. The people will choose managers to control the means of production and the land that is rightfully theirs. Until the people control the land and the means of production, there will be no peace. Black people must control the destiny of their community.

Because Black people desire to determine their own destiny, they are constantly inflicted with brutality from the occupying army, embodied in the police department. 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.

The police should be the people of the community in uniform. There should be no division or conflict of interest between the people and the police. Once there is a division, then the police become the enemy of the people. The police should serve the interest of the people, and be one and the same. When this principle breaks down, then the police become an occupying army. When historically one race has oppressed another and policemen are recruited from the oppressor race to patrol the communities of the oppressed people, an intolerable contradiction exists.

The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and

brutality and torture of Black people, or face the wrath of the armed people.



# The Genius Of Huey P. Newton

## I

In order to truly understand the contemporary situation of the Black man in American life it is important to understand the history of mankind in general. One basic or primary drive in the history of man is the desire to be free of all external controls, and our basic premise is that man wants to be free. However, a man living in modern society is characterized by his subjection to both external (sociological) and internal (psychological) forces which control him and thereby thwart his desire to be free. Freedom will require men to gain control of these forces which determine his existence and behavior.

The internal forces which influence and determine behavior were recognized by Freud as subconscious forces. He realized that many people become ill because they feel driven by subconscious forces to do things while at the same time they feel another subconscious repulsion from doing these same things. Feeling they have no control whatsoever over their behavior they become mentally ill. To free man from these inner forces psychoanalysis attempts to make him aware of these unconscious energies on the assumption that such awareness is the first step toward controlling them, rather than being controlled by them. Such a man then experiences a feeling of freedom. This is in keeping with the primary drive of man's history — the desire to be free and have the power to create — or the power to productive creativity.

Marx realized the same thing: that man has a basic desire to be free of the external forces which determine his behavior and put these forces under his control. Marx analyzed the situation and concluded that the external environment influences the life man through his relationship to production. As he gains freedom from the dictates of coercive institutions then he is in a position to experience the power of productive creativity, and this is the godliness and holiness of man to man, and man to the Creator.

Man's drive to reach this plateau of freedom in a class or capitalistic society is a historical fact. Under capitalism the private owners who interested only in making profits for themselves are in control of society. The people who are subjected to them and have to rely upon them for a

living are slaves to the owners. Since the owners are only interested in profits they use the people as tools to increase their riches, with little consideration of the effect this has upon man, i.e., an obstruction of man the creator. This makes it necessary to destroy the private ownership of the means of production because it has such a great effect upon all people. Everyone has to live, and in order to live he must produce. In a capitalistic society, however, man does not produce for use he produces for profit. This is a slave situation.

## II

It is a historical fact that Blacks were brought to this country as slaves for capitalistic reasons — the profit motive. The ruling class at that time were the owners of the land and they needed laborers to till the land for them and produce profits from it. Not only did the owners have labor, they had FREE labor and this was the ultimate of capitalism — where a group of owners has men enslaved simply for his own profit motive. We have moved away from this feudalistic land-centered economy in this country to a factory-centered production economy. Yet the same relationship exists between the private owner and the worker because the factory is only a replacement of the farm. It is now the center of production and the factory owner is not interested in production for use but production for profit. Such a relationship negates the whole freedom of man. Thus it is extremely necessary for the people to seize the means of production in order to gain the freedom. People everywhere want to eliminate the slavemaster (private owner) in order to gain that sacred freedom.

People must be involved in the decision-making process so they will be in control of the decision which affect them. The things that we commonly use and commonly need should be commonly owned. We will collectively decide exactly what we need and share fully in the wealth that we produce. The whole administration of the government should be subject to the dictates of the people.

This does not exist at this time. At the present time in America the owners of the military and industrial complex, for example, have found war very lucrative. They are producing more and more war machinery. Furthermore they are involved in a “cold war” which keeps the country on a war footing so that the people will then be

willing to produce equipment which is not for their own use, but only so owners of the military-industrial complex can make a fortune. This has been happening for the more than two decades since the end of World War II and the military-industrial complex now presents such a problem to the national economy that many people now question the legitimacy of the governmental administrators. Administrators should be for the purpose of administering the people's desires, and the people should have the ability to eliminate those who do not serve their interests. In other words, if war is not in the interests of the people then the country should not engage in war, old war or any other kind of war. But at the present time people have nothing to say about the matter. They are constantly brainwashed and indoctrinated with such fears that they will work and produce only what they are told to produce. The country is now so involved in a war economy if we were to change to a peace economy there would be mass unemployment. It is thus necessary to have a planned socialistic economy to make the switch to a peace economy. The administrators are very reluctant to even engage in discussion or planned economy because they would then have to take the wishes of the people into consideration rather than the wishes of the owners of the military-industrial complex. Our administrators are not willing to take the people into consideration for this is not in their best interests so far as the profit motive is concerned.

The Blacks are in a unique position as a national minority in the United States because of our unique heritage of being totally deprived of the freedom to determine our destiny. Partially free for a century we now demand to be totally free and structure our communities so that we make the decision about what kinds of institutions will be in our community in order to perpetuate our culture. In the capitalist society the owners are not interested in any national minority because it has no profit value to them. When the profit motive is eliminated from the society this will be the first step in Black people coming to grips with self-determination. Self-determination can only work in a socialistic context. We realize that not only are we kept in a slave situation but all persons in the country are likewise. In order for there to be freedom the country will have to be free for all if its citizens.

Until we reach this freedom the country will be in a



state of chaos. It will suffer much unrest and surely a revolution will occur. Such a revolution is inevitable when we realize that man must free himself from the subconscious and external forces which control him. When man is not in control of himself there are automatic problems which take many forms. Among these forms are the mental stresses which leads to physical action — either total withdrawal or total aggression against the obstacles to freedom. This would be revolution, and this understanding helps to explain some of the present uneasiness in the country. Blacks have suffered from a lack of freedom more than anyone else. Granted no one in the country has the freedom deserved by man. The natural dignity of man is not respected in the country because of the capitalistic society.

### III

The Black Panther Party is the people's party and we are primarily interested in freeing man — freeing all people from slavery — so that man will be his own master. We can only do this by having collective ownership, and then the people will decide what they are going to produce for their own use — not for specific classes or for profit. This brings us to the present struggle and the present demand for self-determination from both an ethnic and also an international level. The Black Panther Party feels that in order for ethnic minorities to be free in the country we will have to have administrators who are responsive to the needs and desires of the people. They will be in office solely for the purpose of answering these needs, and the people will be in a position to make the final decision of what will be done domestically and internationally.

Progress may come from the fact that we are suffering under an administration that could be fairly called a doomsday machine because it is forcing the country and people in the direction of destruction. The Black Panther Party chooses life instead of death. Because we do choose life we are searching for ways of (avoiding) destruction in the country so the people may live. We are absolutely certain that if this administration is not forced into some new direction, the people of the world will be destroyed.

At the present time there is talk of Black capitalism to parallel White capitalism. A part of the Black bourgeoisie seems to be committed to developing or attempting to develop a capitalism with the Black community — or the

Black colony as we call it. This would merely trade one master for another and a small group of Blacks would control our destiny. This bourgeois middle class group represent a small proportion of Black people but they would make decisions for the majority of Black people. This is reminiscent of our history when we also had black slave masters. A small number of free Blacks owned slaves and they were part of the bourgeois class of that time. They did nothing to alleviate the situation which caused slavery. These Black slave owners gave the Black masses Blackcapitalism because they were interested in their own profits and well-being. They were not interested in the well-being of the people.

Black power is a much more relevant solution to the people's problems. So far as Black capitalism is concerned, most of the Black bourgeoisie cannot be said to own any means of production. They do have bourgeois middle class ideas. They have many of the ideas of the White capitalist class and they have illusions that someday they will be owners. Such is not the case. There is no more free enterprise in America. There is only monopolistic capitalism where a few people have industry under their control and they will not give up this control. They will not share their profits with anyone unless the person proves to be of some aid to them in further exploitation of the people.

Many would-be Blackcapitalists do not understand the relationship of the Black bourgeoisie to the military - industrial complex controlling this nation's economy. Most of the Black bourgeoisie class is made up of people who are in professions such as education, social service and the like. They are also controlled subjects of the military-industrial complex and have to follow the orders of the rulers.

There is still a close relationship and sense of identity between the Black masses and this bourgeois class because of the element of racism in this country. Racism goes hand in hand with capitalism. It is in the interests of the Black middle class to enhance their position by eliminating racism, but racism cannot be eliminated unless capitalism is eliminated. Racism is profitable for the promotion of capitalism historically and presently. For a short time when Europe met Africa there was mutual respect and mutual trade. It was not until the capitalists found it economically advantageous to sever the relationship and subject the Blacks to a slave position that he did so. And

he did so because he needed a work force. It was then that he came to his belief that Blacks were inferior, did not have souls, and were therefore less than human.

The Black Panther Party feels that this government and the institutions necessary to make the government function are illegitimate because they are not relating to the people. Therefore they have no right to exist. In the interest of the people new institutions should be established and the old ones fade and crumble. With the technology that exists in America there is no excuse in these modern times for people to be without food or other basic necessities of life. There is no excuse for the psychological conditioning man needs to labor in the paths of day to day living, the positive reinforcement of the values and reason for existence. In America the true basis of creativity is suppressed. The value of man, the purpose of man — returning to our basic premise — is to have freedom and the power to create, to engage in productive creativity. This is the freedom we are talking about, the freedom which we think makes life worth living.

Black people have been oppressed so long until we have forgotten how to make a decision. We suffer from what psychologists call a fixation. We have done the same thing over and over again, and in a pathological way. Even if no gratification whatsoever results from the activity we go along with the old outmoded values, values which are in strict contradiction to our very existence simply because we have been programmed, indoctrinated, and totally stripped of our dignity.

But now Blacks are demanding change. Historically capitalism was a necessity before technology was developed to the point it is now. There was only a very small amount of wealth and therefore only a small amount of people could enjoy this wealth. People had to go without. But there is no excuse for oppression and exploitation today because no one has to go without. Technology has developed in such a way that every person should have an abundance of the things he needs. It is no longer necessary for him to toil his whole life without even being able to meet his basic needs. There is no excuse for him not to be totally free. The only reason all human beings do not have food, shelter and medical care today is that the administrators are only interested in their profit. This is the nature of the military-industrial complex.

The Panther community program is attempting to spur

the community into action — creative action — to make decisions and regain the dignity of the people. We join the struggle of any people, all oppressed people all over the world and in this country no matter what color they are to gain these same rights. These are rights of man and not of any particular group. So the Panthers are in some ways like the psychotherapist in that we are trying to make the people whole again. The people have been made ill by those forces which have controlled them in their position of servitude. The first thing we had to do is educate the people and make them realize that there are forces controlling them — forces that appear to be beyond their reach. The external forces have become translated into internal forces through the indoctrination of the ruling class. Thus we have internalized certain behavior patterns which we feel are instutual or a basic part of man, but they are not.

Freud developed psychotherapy because he found man was suffering from coercion and control by subconscious forces. Therapy was basically a way of unveiling these forces as a first step of regaining control of himself. The Panther educational program in the community tries to unveil these forces and expose them. On the sociological level we agree with Marx that outside forces control man's behavior patterns, and he will be frustrated until he can seize control of them and can act in his own best interest.

So we have a dual program because of the very complex interactions and many stimuli that oppress our community. Because of the dual nature of man we have to consider the social interactions and man's existence as a unique organism. We base our program on our humanistic values and on those things needed for man to function. We include the things that man needs to experience his individual uniqueness as a person.

The Panthers are being harassed, persecuted and killed all over the country because we know the truth and are attempting to point it out to the people. Once the people grasp the reality of what we are saying, the ruling will not be able to last in the face of the unity of all oppressed people. They are no longer willing to be slaves. The ruling class, of course, is fighting every inch of the way to remain in control of the people's work. And that's a bag.

# October 1966

## Black Panther Party

### Platform and Program

# What We Want

# What We Believe

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

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

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**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. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

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

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