

Huey Newton

FBI File #HQ 105-165429

Section 12

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO | OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO | DATE 4/29/71 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15/71 - 4/20/71 |
| TITLE OF CASE HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka | | REPORT MADE BY [Redacted] | TYPED BY |
| CHARACTER OF CASE RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST) | | ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE | |

REFERENCE: Report of SA [Redacted] dated 1/14/71 at San Francisco.

Classified by SP5
Declassify on: OADR
10-27-97
CLASSIFIED BY 9803-RDD/B...
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
#365,833

- P -

ENCLOSURES:

TO BUREAU

Two (2) copies of FD-376.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Following are identities of Special Agents observing NEWTON's departures and/or arrivals at San Francisco International Airport on the indicated dates:

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | | | | | | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: |
|-------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|------------|-------------|--|
| CONVIC. | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | | |
| | | | | | | | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

APPROVED: [Signature]

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 8 - Bureau (105-165429) (RM)
- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3, 5a, b, c) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-1203)

105-165429-44 REC 9

MAY 10 1971

See cover page - 806

| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | Notations |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| Agency | Request Recd. | |
| | | [Redacted Box] |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

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57 MAY 14 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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1/29/71

2/10/71

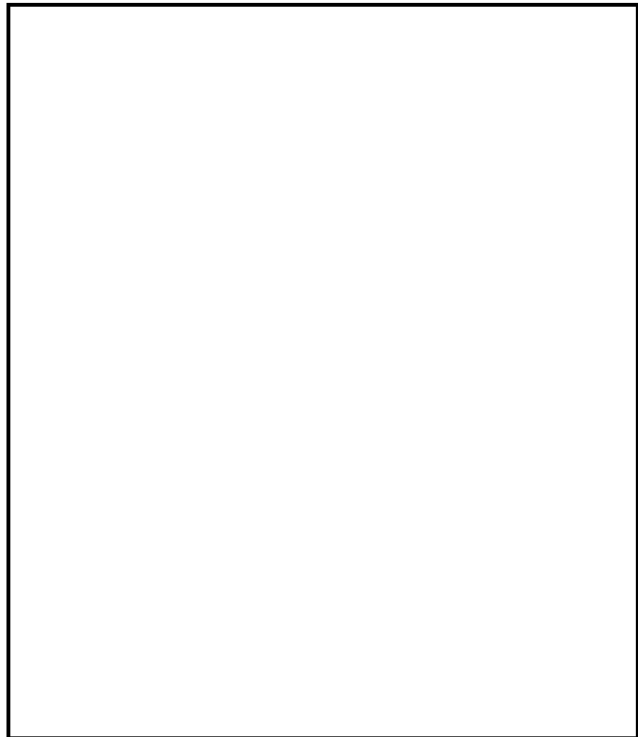
2/12/71

2/15/71

2/19/71

2/26/71

4/2/71



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Special Agents who observed NEWTON during 1/30/71,
at New Haven, Connecticut, are [redacted]
[redacted]

The Special Agents observing NEWTON's arrival in
Chicago on 2/19/71, are [redacted]
The Agents observing the Chicago Coliseum on 2/21/71, and
NEWTON's activities on the same date are [redacted]
[redacted]

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The Special Agents who observed the activity at
the residence of [redacted] on the night of 2/26/71, are
[redacted]

Special Agents who observed NEWTON's travel from
Boston on 3/24/71, are [redacted]
[redacted]

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Special Agents who observed NEWTON's travel from Chicago to Madison, Wisconsin, and return, on 4/3/71, are

[REDACTED]

NEWTON's speech at Boston College on 11/18/70, was recorded on tape by SA [REDACTED]

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The speech NEWTON gave at Oakland Technical High School, Oakland, on 12/14/70, which was broadcast on Radio Station KPFA-FM, Berkeley, on 12/23/70, was tape recorded by SA [REDACTED] at the time of broadcast.

The monitoring and taping of the interview of NEWTON on "Hot Line" on Radio Station WVON, Chicago, Illinois, on 2/19/71, was by SE [REDACTED] Original tape retained in the Chicago Office.

SA [REDACTED] monitored and taped NEWTON's appearances on JIM DUNBAR's Television Program "A.M." on 2/26/71, and on KDIA Radio Program "Black Montage" on 2/28/71, at San Francisco.

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SA [REDACTED] monitored and taped statements by BOBBY SEALE and NEWTON broadcast on Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, on 3/28/71.

Information concerning NEWTON reportedly carrying a "Short, stiletto type blade" knife and having a high powered rifle with scope in the bedroom of his apartment was furnished to [REDACTED] Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, on the dates the information was received.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Identity of Source

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[REDACTED]

SF T-3 is

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157-1203 - 1813
157-1203 - 2317

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-5 is

[REDACTED]

157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 2160

SF T-6 is

[REDACTED]

157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 1961

(S)
(U)

SF T-7 is

[REDACTED]

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157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 2160

SF T-8 is

[REDACTED]

157-1203 - 2240

SF T-9 is

[REDACTED] (S)

157-1203 - 2354
157-1203 - 2088

(S)

SF T-10 is

[REDACTED]

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157-1203-2354
157-1203-2137

SF T-11 is

[REDACTED]

157-1203 - 2354

SF T-12 is

[REDACTED]

157-1203 - 2409

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| <u>Identity of Source</u> | <u>File Where Located</u> | |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| SF T-13 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2409 157-1203 - 2410 | |
| SF T-14 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2244 | b2 b6 b7C b7D |
| SF T-15 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2244 | |
| SF T-16 is [REDACTED] (By request) | 157-1203 - 2244 | |
| SF T-17 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2244 | |
| SF T-18 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2368 157-6307 - 77 | |
| SF T-19 is [REDACTED] | | |
| SF T-20 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2695 | b2 b6 b7C b7D |
| SF T-21 is [REDACTED] | 157-6307 - 77 | |
| SF T-22 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2550 157-6307 - 77 | |
| SF T-23 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2677 | |

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| SF T-24 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 1824 |
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| SF T-26 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2260 |
| SF T-27 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2136 |
| SF T-28 is [REDACTED] | |
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| SF T-30 is [REDACTED] | |
| SF T-31 is [REDACTED] | |
| SF T-32 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2541 |
| SF T-33 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2227 |

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| <u>Identity of Source</u> | <u>File Where Located</u> |
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| SF T-36 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2691 157-1581 - 3090 |
| SF T-37 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 2678 157-1203 - 2680 |
| SF T-38 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 1852 |
| SF T-39 is [REDACTED] | 157-1203 - 1473 |

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LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. 1. Will follow and report information concerning Subject's activities.

2. Will follow and report results of Subject's re-trial.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. Subject's name is included in the Security Index Agitator Index Reserve Index.
2. The data appearing on the Security Index Card Agitator index Card are current.
3. The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card A B are current have been changed.
4. Changes on the Security Index Card Agitator Index Card are necessary and Form FD-122 FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
5. A suitable photograph is is not available.
Date photograph was taken 8/5/70
6. Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. This report is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ ~~XXXXXX~~
(state reason)
to protect the identity of the sources, disclosure of which would affect the national defense adversely.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8. Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
Attempt was made on 3/5/71, to arrange appointment with NEWTON for interview, but NEWTON declined to talk with the Special Agent contacting him.

9. This case no longer meets the Security Index Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
10. This case has been reevaluated in the light of the Security Index Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
Subject is Supreme Commander, Minister of Defense, and co-founder of the BPP.

11. Subject's SI card is tabbed Priority I Priority II Priority III.
 Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons)
of his position as leader of the BPP.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

April 29, 1971

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY JPS/ai
ON 6-26-89
CAH-95203

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available
 may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
(Class 3, 5a, b, c) (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]

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Office: SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Date: 4/29/71

Field Office File #: 157-1203

Bureau File #: 105-165429

Title: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3a
ON 6-26-87
CWA 956203

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; TREASON

Synopsis: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, BPP Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense and "Servant of the People", continues to reside in Apt. 25A, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California. Date for retrial not yet set. From 1/30/71 through 4/3/71, he spoke at various universities on East Coast of the U.S. During same period, he cancelled several appearances. In connection with appearances, NEWTON made several trips from San Francisco to East Coast. Points of travel set forth. During television appearance in San Francisco on 2/26/71, NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, former BPP Minister of Information, had disagreement over whether or not [REDACTED] should be expelled from BPP. NEWTON supported [REDACTED] and he expelled CLEAVER and Intercommunal Section. Events surrounding NEWTON-CLEAVER split set out. Expulsions of other BPP members by NEWTON set forth. NEWTON continues to make final decisions relative to BPP policy and procedures. NEWTON's activities re Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI), BPP international relations, BPP Ideological Institute, and his influence in settling student disruption at Merritt College, Oakland, set forth. During February and March, 1971, NEWTON visited with BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE in New Haven, Conn. NEWTON has expressed BPP support for ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON reportedly has high-powered rifle with scope in bedroom of his apartment, and may carry a "short, stiletto type blade" knife. Writings by NEWTON set out. Transcripts of speeches given by NEWTON in November and December, 1970, set forth.

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- P -
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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JLC/sad

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. RESIDENCE:

Subject resides in Apartment 25 A, Twelve Hundred Lakeshore Apartments, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California, under the name of DON PENN. The rent for this apartment is paid by [redacted] Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI), New York City, New York.

SF T-1
April 15, 1971

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[redacted]

Panther Party (BPP) in New York City, New York, and [redacted] of SCPI.

SCPI is a BPP corporation in New York which is utilized to handle BPP financial transactions.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

On January 27, 1971, [redacted] 1200 Lake Shore Apartments, Oakland, California, advised that one of his prominent tenants has threatened to move and has claimed that at least ten others will do the same unless HUEY P. NEWTON is evicted. Tenant made no allegations that NEWTON has caused disturbances or problems of any kind.

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[redacted] fears tenant uprising and is presently conferring with his attorneys to issue eviction proceedings against NEWTON. He stated the owners would claim they were deceived by [redacted] who leased NEWTON's apartment under the name of SCPI and gave false information concerning contemplated use of the apartment.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The February 12, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner", a daily San Francisco, California, newspaper, contained an article captioned "Huey Newton's Plush Pad, \$650 A Month, 25th Floor Digs" written by ED MONTGOMERY, Staff Reporter. The article reported that NEWTON is living in high-style in a \$650 a month apartment overlooking Lake Merritt in Oakland, California. He has been residing there under the assumed name of DON PENN since November, 1970. His top floor apartment is lavishly furnished with handsome furniture, some of it imported.

The article reported the one year lease of the apartment carries with it such services as a full time doorman, sauna, gymnasium and putting green. According to the article, the lease for the apartment was negotiated by SCPI of New York with DAVID GABRIEL LUBELL as signator.

The article also reports there is a standing order with an Oakland florist for fresh flowers daily while PENN - NEWTON is "in residence".

The February 18, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, contained a front page article captioned "The View From Newton's 'Prison' " written by TIM FINDLEY, a Chronicle Staff Reporter. The article reports that "the penthouse at 120 (correct address is 1200) Lake Shore Avenue, overlooking Lake Merritt, is what has been described as the 'posh Panther pad' * HUEY NEWTON's hideaway", yet to the young Panther leader who sometimes lives there, it is a prison".

The article continues: "The Party's national policy is handled by a seven member 'Central Committee', of which NEWTON is a member, but with insufficient voting power to overrule the body".

"Had he that power, NEWTON says, he would never have landed in the 25th story, two bedroom penthouse. That was a decision of the 'Central Committee' and it was based on providing not opulent comfort for NEWTON but secure protection.

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JLC/sad

The \$700 a month now expended to insure his safety is considered by the Panther leadership to be almost a bargain".

The article further described the procedure one must go through in order to see NEWTON and describes the security measures of the apartment building.

The article further reports " 'I stay here because it is a security building', NEWTON said, looking out the panorama of Oakland, flooding the apartment's floor to ceiling windows. 'I'd like to be back in the streets; like it was before, BOBBY (SEALE) and I, and letting BOBBY be the spokesman. But at lease here if the police did storm in, they'd have a lot of explaining to do to the other tenants.

" 'It's like prison, really', NEWTON said, seated at the long conference sized dining table in the apartment. 'I feel like I'm a prisoner. I can't walk down the streets like I used to; when I go, there's a force that goes with me' ".

The article is accompanied by two photographs of NEWTON. One of the photographs shows NEWTON sitting on the couch inside the apartment and the other photograph shows NEWTON standing on the veranda pointing to the Alameda County Courthouse and Jail with his swagger stick. In the article NEWTON is quoted as saying he can see the courthouse and jail from every room of his apartment and "I can look down on it whenever I want".

BOBBY SEALE is publicly identified as the Chairman and co-founder of the BPP. He is presently standing trial in New Haven, Connecticut, on charges stemming from the torture - murder of alleged police informant ALEX RACKLEY in Connecticut during May, 1969.

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JLC/sad

B. EMPLOYMENT:

Subject has no employment and is engaged on a full time basis as head of the BPP.

SF T-2
April 21, 1971

Subject is publicly known as Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the BPP.

The February 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther", official weekly newspaper of the BPP, shows NEWTON's title as Minister of Defense of the BPP and Supreme Servant of the People.

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper shows NEWTON's title as Minister of Defense of the BPP and Servant of the People.

SF 157-1204
JLC/sad

C. STATUS OF NEWTON'S RE-TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER:

Subject appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, California, on morning of February 11, 1971, at which time hearing for setting date for retrial on manslaughter charges was continued until March 12, 1971. Judge HAROLD B. HOVE, who presided, told NEWTON the hearings will be held month-to-month until such time it is known when Attorney CHARLES GARRY will complete the BOBBY SEALE trial in New Haven, Connecticut, and that NEWTON's trial will begin immediately upon completion of the SEALE trial.

CHARLES GARRY is publicly identified as a BPP Attorney working out of San Francisco. He defended NEWTON in 1968 when NEWTON was convicted of manslaughter.

On the morning of March 12, 1971, NEWTON again appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, before Judge HOVE. Hearing on date for setting retrial continued until April 12, 1971.

On April 12, 1971, NEWTON appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, before Judge HOVE and the hearing was continued to May 10, 1971. Judge HOVE stated that if NEWTON's attorney, CHARLES GARRY, is still tied up with BOBBY SEALE's trial in New Haven, Connecticut, at that time, hearings will be continued from week-to-week until the SEALE case is completed. Judge HOVE commented that nothing else is going to interfere with NEWTON's case coming to trial as soon as the SEALE trial is over.

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D. PASSPORT INFORMATION:

[redacted] Clerk, U. S. Passport Office,
Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, advised
on February 26, 1971, Subject applied for a passport at this
agency. On the Application For Passport Subject furnished
the following information:

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Name: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Mailed Passport
To:

C/O [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Telephone:

Date of Birth: February 17, 1942

Place of Birth: Oak Grove, Louisiana

Height: 5'10 1/2"

Hair: Black

Eyes: Brown

Visible Dis-
tinguishing Marks: None

Occupation: Community Organizer

Social Security
Number: 566-56-4375

Permanent
Address: 881 - 47th Street
Oakland, California

Person to Notify
In Case of Accident
Or Death: ARMELIA NEWTON, Mother,
881 - 47th Street,
Oakland, California

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

Father: WALTER NEWTON
Father's Place
Of Birth: Birmingham, Alabama
Father's Date
Of Birth: March 28, 1900
Mother's Maiden
Name: ARMELIA JOHNSON
Mother's Place
Of Birth: Monroe, Louisiana
Mother's Date
Of Birth: September 17, 1904
Marital Status: Never married.

Application bore notation that Applicant's birth certificate was filed April 27, 1945, based on affidavit of attending physician.

On the application NEWTON indicated that he had previously been issued a U. S. passport in November or December of 1961, at San Francisco, but that the passport has expired and that he had lost or misplaced it.

The following information was set forth in the section of the application captioned "Proposed Travel Plans" :

Purpose of Trip: Business
Proposed Length
of Stay: 4 weeks
Number of Previous
Trips Abroad Within
Last 12 Months: None

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

Means of Transportation:

Probably depart and return
by air

Countries To Be
Visited:

Europe and Africa

The application is signed "HUEY P. NEWTON".

An affidavit of identifying witness filed with NEWTON's application was signed by JOHN SEALE, who said he had known NEWTON for fifteen years as a friend.

JOHN SEALE is publicly identified as the Production Manager of "The Black Panther" newspaper and the brother of BOBBY SEALE. He has recently been serving as NEWTON's bodyguard and chauffeur.

On March 3, 1971, [redacted] advised that the San Francisco Passport Office had been instructed by the Passport Office in Washington, D. C. to issue NEWTON a passport and then send his application to the Passport Office, Legal Section. She stated NEWTON was issued Passport number B336635 on March 3, 1971, and the passport is good until March 2, 1976.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

II. ACTIVITIES

A. PERSONAL APPEARANCES:

1. Security Arrangements:

[redacted] stated on January 14, 1971, the new policy for universities desiring to have Subject appear on their campuses is that they (representatives of universities) must send an official written communication to BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, inviting Subject to speak and stating the amount they are willing to pay. A contract will then be sent by BPP National Headquarters to the person arranging the appearance, spelling out specifications demanded by the BPP that must be met before approval is granted for Subject to appear. The contract must be signed by a responsible individual and returned to BPP National Headquarters. Checks in payment for Subject's appearances should be made payable to SCPI and must be paid within one hour after he speaks. The BPP further stipulates that round trip travel expenses for Subject and two companions from California to the location of the appearance be paid in addition to the \$2500 speaking fee. Security measures for any appearance is to be handled by the local BPP chapter in the area of the university where Subject will speak.

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SF T-3
January 14, 1971.

[redacted]

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On January 18, 1971, [redacted] discussed [redacted] problems the BPP was having with respect to special security arrangements for appearances of NEWTON, as a result of which it might be necessary to cancel NEWTON's forthcoming tour of the Eastern part of the U. S., tentatively scheduled for January 28, 1971, to on or about February 22, 1971.

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The New York 21 refers to those members of the BPP who were indicted by the New York County Grand Jury and arrested by the New York City Police Department on April 12, 1969, for conspiracy to commit murder - arson. On September 8, 1970, 13 of the 21 individuals named on the indictment went to trial in New York City.

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According to [redacted] it is the policy of the BPP, with respect to public appearances of NEWTON, that the BPP desires to search all persons entering the place in which NEWTON is to appear and also desires that all persons attending be seated at least ten minutes before NEWTON appears. NEWTON will not share the platform with anyone else on the occasion of his appearances.

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With respect to NEWTON's proposed Eastern trip, the BPP had been questioned by Princeton University in regard to these security procedures and also desired NEWTON to share the platform with some other speaker, whose identity was unknown. Accordingly, NEWTON had instructed [redacted] to raise his fee at Princeton University to \$5,000.00, and she reported that she had sent a letter to the school this date to this effect, with an ultimatum that if the school refused the special security measures of the BPP, NEWTON's appearance at the school would be cancelled. In view of that, she expects a cancellation.

SF T-4
January 18, 1971

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2. Completed Appearances:

- a. Lee High School
New Haven, Connecticut
January 30, 1971

At 8:50 PM January 30, 1971, Special Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON arrive at Lee High School in a dark blue Peugeot bearing Connecticut license [REDACTED] NEWTON was accompanied by [REDACTED] and two unidentified Negro males and they entered Lee High School.

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[REDACTED]

NEWTON spoke at Lee High School on January 30, 1971, in conjunction with a BPP sponsored meeting for concerned citizens at that high school. A full house audience of 1100 persons was in attendance.

NEWTON stated that his purpose in coming to New Haven was to free BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS.

ERICKA HUGGINS is a co-defendant with BOBBY SEALE in Superior Court, New Haven, Connecticut.

NEWTON's speech dealt with BPP ideology and the need for freeing all "political prisoners". NEWTON described "political prisoners" as being all persons who were in jails in the United States on charges resulting from their anti-Government activities. In regard to the trial of SEALE and HUGGINS, NEWTON stated, "Is it not your obligation and right to do everything necessary to stop the murder of BOBBY SEALE? If the law says that BOBBY and ERICKA should face the electric chair then the people should accept that but I say the people should not accept that like they did not do in my case. The law is bound to make mistakes and people should be allowed to correct the laws. BPP members are true and non-violent people who must preserve and defend themselves and not let occur the murder of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS".

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NEWTON continued: "We may not see the fruits of our revolution in our lifetime, but we will go on struggling while the tanks roll up to our door. We have only two alternatives - reactionary suicide and revolutionary suicide. We prefer the latter. Men should not serve laws, but laws should serve men. There is no law which says a man should give up his life without a struggle. The ten point program is not a revolutionary program, but rather a survival program which includes a free breakfast program and a program where kids can get free shoes. We must provide the young with strong bodies and strong minds and teach them the truth about this society".

NEWTON also quoted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, stating "We will level the earth if we do not get our manhood". He stated that, "A man must make a covenant with death. The reactionary system seeks to solve problems through murder, legal or otherwise. A man who has been executed cannot have his grievance redressed. There is no law we must respect. The state has a covenant with death and solutions are based on violence while they preach non-violence. Life cannot be taken away by gradual processes also; example, denial of medical care, unemployment, etc. The BPP would rather be kicked out with a stick rather than swept out with a broom because the broom is humiliating. We will not bow to the stick or the gun. The BPP wishes for a time when the gun will not be needed. A time of life, harmony, peace and order".

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is publicly identified as the former Minister of Information of the BPP. He is a Federal fugitive and is currently in Algiers, Algeria.

Concerning prisons, NEWTON stated, "No law can justify the kind of prisons we have here. No law can justify the death penalty. Reactionary suicide is a reactionary tactic. Our obligation is to preserve our lives by any means necessary, as well as by standing in front of a tank. The

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BPP spits on the tank to show contempt. Revolutionary suicide attempts to destroy the tank. We attempt to bring an end to the causes of danger and provocation.

"Individually we do not know if we will see the fruits of the struggle, but we know the people will survive. He stated that there are really only two alternatives - reactionary suicide and revolutionary suicide. The BPP chooses revolutionary suicide because we are dying every day. When law does not serve the people it should not be recognized. If BOBBY and ERICKA stay bound up tight, we will pull back the switch and there will be no more light. Our goal is education, so there will be no more racism or war. We are diminished when we have to take lives. We are all 'homo sapiens', all of the same species. We cannot work out new value systems given the current power circle. We must be ready to take life to break the power and we call upon you to help us. The whole concept of nationhood is made up to exploit the people. We know man must eat-earth should supply these things. No one has the right to fence in grain while people starve. The State thinks it can determine who will live and who will die. To straighten out the Courts, we must straighten out the country by power in the community."

After concluding his speech, NEWTON stated that he would be in New Haven for several months and plans are presently being formulated to start a free shoe clinic in New Haven.

SF T-5

January 31, 1971

A great deal of community support had been generated for NEWTON's speech. This was evidenced by the overflow crowd which responded for NEWTON's appearance.

SF T-6

February 1, 1971

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The overflow from NEWTON's appearance at Lee High School were given free passes for an appearance by NEWTON which was scheduled for Woolsey Hall, Yale University, New Haven, on January 31, 1971. All persons except those given free passes would be charged a fee of \$2.00 to attend NEWTON's speech.

SF T-7
January 30, 1971

At 10:10 PM January 30, 1971, Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON and his party leaving Lee High School. They entered the above-described Peugeot and the vehicle proceeded to [redacted] where they were escorted into this residence by [redacted]

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[redacted] New Haven Attorney DAVID ROSEN, who is assisting CHARLES GARRY in the defense of BOBBY SEALE in New Haven.

b. Woolsey Hall
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut
January 31, 1971

On January 31, 1971, NEWTON spoke at Woolsey Hall, Yale University, concerning new ideology changes in the BPP. NEWTON spoke before approximately 1200 people, predominately Yale students. NEWTON expounded on his Panther Philosophy and discussed revolutionary intercommunalism. NEWTON was assisted by other Panther leaders, including [redacted] and [redacted]. He was also assisted by several pertinent guards and the audience was thoroughly searched prior to entering the hall. NEWTON's speech lasted approximately 90 minutes and he entered and departed by the rear door of the hall.

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SF T-6
January 31, 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date February 8, 1971

On February 1, 1971, ~~SA [redacted]~~ furnished the following summary statements made by HUEY P. NEWTON at his speech of Woolsey Hall, Yale University, January 31, 1971:

NEWTON began by thanking those present for freeing him from prison and said he was here to free BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS as well as LONNIE MC LUCAS. He called for the freeing of all political prisoners. He stated that we must change our revolutionary attitudes - put them into practice. He assured the audience that BOBBY would be freed by "whatever means necessary." He stated that the BPP is against the death penalty. The "racist reactionaries can make no law that the people are bound to respect." He stated that contrary to public opinion, the BPP does have an ideology. He quoted MALCOLM X by stating "Watch in the halls of justice - injustice is being done." He paraphrased that quotation by stating, "Watch in the halls of education - miseducation is being done." NEWTON discussed materialism and various philosophical theories such as "Kant's Rational Method of Solution." He also discussed WILLIAM JAMES' pragmatism. He discussed MARX and ENGELS and dialectical materialism. At times his pronunciation was erroneous and logic completely incorrect. Many of the approximately one thousand persons present appeared unimpressed. He criticized the United States and its capitalism and imperialism and stated that the United States Government exploits its people. The United States has gone from a colonial to a neo-colonial system and has now reached a reactionary intercommunalism. The BPP's ideology calls for a revolutionary intercommunalism. He discussed also minority cultures and stated that the Black Culture had been "raped." He said there does not exist a war anywhere in the world today but merely police actions. He added that the people will have power. He also stated that Black Capitalism cannot exist. He also quoted Freud, Hegel, and Professor ERIC ERICKSON. He advocated a theory of "essential miscegenation." He criticized FREUD, JUNG, and HEGEL as

On 2/1/71 at NEW HAVEN, CONN. File # NH 157-1031

by SA [redacted] amp [redacted] Date dictated 2/5/71

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having made mistakes concerning man's essential motivation. He discussed the Lumpen Proletariat and defined it as the unemployed minority. He stated that as unemployment increases, the Lumpen will become the majority and hence the people will take power. NEWTON's speech lasted for approximately one hour and ten minutes. Near the end he was interrupted by a bodyguard who passed him a note which appeared to be sent by CHARLES GARRY (this note may have told him to bring his speech to a close, which he did). NEWTON concluded by stating "we will pull the capitalists down lightly. Even the capitalist was not born of a stone - he has relatives also." There followed NEWTON's speech a question and answer period in which three questions were asked. NEWTON was asked to :

- 1) Comment on the trend toward Western culture
- 2) On the anti-semitic nature of the BPP
- 3) Whether or not Russia was a socialist country

NEWTON answered all three questions by avoiding the questions and going off on a separate tirade.

Source further advised that NEWTON arrived approximately two hours late for his speech. He was dressed in a full length beige topcoat and carried a short black baton with a silver head which he used for emphasis during his speech. He appeared to be extremely satisfied with himself; however, his delivery was poor and many of the spectators appeared bored by what he was saying. Source stated that approximately half of the people there appeared to have paid the two dollar entrance fee; however, several had free passes and were allowed to enter without paying. There were no unusual incidents; however, one older professor refused to be searched at the door and was sent away. NEWTON arrived by the rear door and departed by same since it is a short walk to Trumbull College where he is staying.

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JLC/sad

c. Radio Station WYBC
New Haven, Connecticut
February 1, 1971

Subject was featured on Radio Station WYBC on the night of February 1, 1971, and was interviewed by students at Yale University. NEWTON stated he was well pleased so far with New Haven and response he had received. "It's very beautiful and we're proud that the people seemed to be very interested in the plight of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and also that they're concerned about the kind of repression that all people in general, and black people in particular, suffer in America." NEWTON was asked how long he would be in New Haven and stated, "We plan to be here for an undeterminate length of time". He would like to mobilize the court for BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and for the freedom of LONNIE MC LUCAS. He did not mention a definite time, stating, "It will be approximately 30 to 60 days, but if necessary we will stay here more time". NEWTON then went into the history of the BPP, discussed NAT TURNER, civil rights movements for the liberation struggle, and questions were telephoned in by Yale students but were screened prior to asking NEWTON by the moderator of the program. NEWTON made no unusual statements of this program.

Agents of the FBI
New Haven, Connecticut
February 1, 1971

d. Seminar At Trumbull College
Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut
February 2 - 4, 1971

On February 2, 1971, information was received that a seminar would be conducted on the campus of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and that the major participants would be HUEY NEWTON, ERIC ERICKSON, noted professor from Harvard University, KAI ERICKSON, Acting Master of Trumbull College,

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JLC/sad

Yale University, and Professor ELTING E. MORISON, Master, Timothy Dwight College, Yale University. In addition, the following 14 students were selected to witness this seminar:



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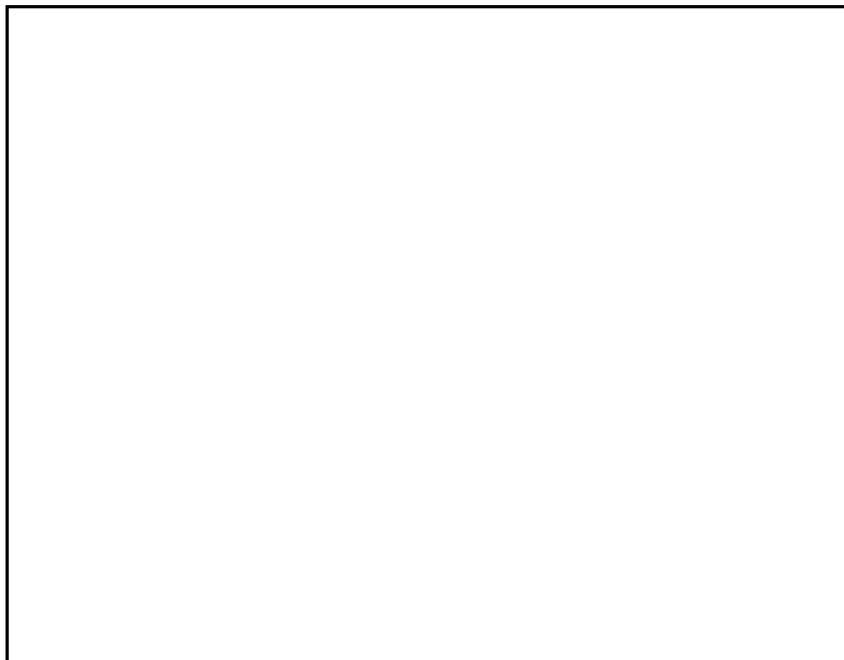
Three chairs had been reserved for Yale University Press personnel and would be occupied from time to time by Mr. CHESTER KERR of the Yale Press and his assistants, JANE F. ISAY, Editor, Yale Press, Mr. WHITNEY, and JAMES L. PRATT, Assistant Director, Yale University Press.

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The following individuals would be included in
NEWTON's party:



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An additional chair would be set up for a technician
from the Audio Visual Section in order that photographs might
be taken.

SF T-7
February 2, 1971

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JLC/sad

NEWTON's three day seminar was to be tape recorded and edited for publication by the Yale University Press. This book would be published in a paperback edition and all proceeds would go to HUEY NEWTON and the BPP. A guarantee of \$28,000 has been promised to the BPP. Yale University was attempting to "keep this matter quiet until after the departure of NEWTON from New Haven".

SF T-5
February 2, 1971

NEWTON concluded his three day seminar with ERIC ERICKSON at Yale University on February 4, 1971. NEWTON, during the three day seminar, appeared to be nervous and that by the third day, the situation at the seminar became "uncomfortable".

NEWTON was unable to transfer his ideas to practical action. He indicated that his plans had been formulated, but he did not seem willing to develop these plans. During question and answering periods, NEWTON continually evaded questions, and attempted to discuss problems of the countries, such as Cuba and Africa. NEWTON appeared to have been well coached and tutored by someone extremely familiar with Marxist - Leninist philosophy and ideology. He also appeared to have been tutored recently in the History of Philosophy and was able to discuss the basic ideas of EMMANUEL KANT and HEGAL. He appeared to have given his presentation several times previously. Those who participated in the seminar did not appear impressed and by the third day seemed disillusioned. ERIC ERICKSON attempted to get along with NEWTON and , therefore, did not question him too closely. ERICKSON took copious notes the first day and did not speak hardly at all. The students, who participated, were not allowed to question NEWTON directly. They were required to direct questions through KAI ERICKSON, the temporary Master of Trumbull College. NEWTON was observed drinking beer on several occasions during the nine hour seminar.

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During the three day seminar NEWTON spoke specifically concerning KANTS "Rationale", Materialism and Logic, Marx and Engels, Freud, and specifically dialectical materialism. Remarks by NEWTON were illogical and confusing.

SF T-5
February 5, 1971

The ERIC ERICKSON - HUEY P. NEWTON seminar was held on the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press Building, 149 York Street, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday on February 2 - 4, 1971, from approximately 9:00 AM to 1:00 PM each day. This seminar was attended by various university faculty and students, as well as select members of NEWTON's personal group. This seminar was by invitation only and was closed to the public and news media. The moderators of the colloquium were KAI T. ERICKSON, Trumbull College, Massachusetts; ELLING E. MORISON; TIMOTHY DWIGHT, College Master; and CHESTER KERR, the Director of the Yale Press.

A group of 14 Yale students were also invited. NEWTON's party consisted of [redacted] and an individual named [redacted] who was described [redacted]

[redacted] resides at [redacted] was stationed at the entrance door at the conference room and allowed only those on a specified list to enter. Refreshments were served periodically and the conference room was off limits to people working in the building, as well as outsiders.

NEWTON and his group were guests of Mr. ERICKSON and resided and dined at Trumbull College. Extra security was furnished by the Yale police to insure that there would be no embarrassing incidents during NEWTON's stay at Yale University.

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JLC/sad

On February 2, 1971, NEWTON's party arrived at 10:35 and did not appear to be in any hurry. NEWTON's group consisted of [redacted] and an individual named [redacted] who was described as a personal friend of HUEY NEWTON. At 11:30 AM the seminar broke up, with a coffee break and no formal schedule was followed. All appeared to be getting along well and the seminar was being tape recorded in order to be used for a future publication in book form. At 11:47 the group returned to the conference room for further discussion. At 1:00 PM a first key session ended with a light lunch served buffet style. The only individual who left the seminar was [redacted] who reportedly has an ulcer and who travelled to the kitchen on several occasions for milk. NEWTON and his party left the building at 2:15 PM and returned to Trumbull College. Just prior to the breaking up of the first day session, two individuals appeared at the building and were refused entrance. They were later identified as personal friends of NEWTON and from out of town. They departed with NEWTON.

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The second session on Wednesday, February 3, 1971, commenced with the arrival of NEWTON at 9:55 AM. The second session followed the format of the first session. [redacted] again continued his coming and going to take care of his ulcerated stomach. An additional person to NEWTON's party named [redacted] took part in the second session.

[redacted] the BPP in
Chicago, Illinois.

The third and final session of the seminar on Thursday, February 4, 1971, again took place at the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM. [redacted]

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[redacted] all sat in on the final session as observers. At 9:41 AM, CHARLES R. GARRY and DAVID ROSEN, Defense Attorneys for BOBBY SEALE, arrived. At 9:52 Mr. and [redacted] arrived and were allowed to observe the seminar. NEWTON and [redacted] did not arrive until 10:32 and the dissatisfaction on the part of the people kept waiting was very much apparent.

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At 12:25 PM, NEWTON and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] exited from the conference room. [REDACTED]
her coat and as she was leaving, NEWTON passed her a key and
stated that he would see her at another time that day. At
12:35 PM, NEWTON, [REDACTED] GARRY and [REDACTED] departed the
building and went directly to the courthouse to visit with
BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS.

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The last session was concluded with no incidents
or disorders of any nature. During the complete three days
of the seminar, there were no open attempts by the public,
common news media, or anyone else to try to gain entrance into
the building because of the session being held with NEWTON
and his group.

SF T-7
February 5, 1971

On February 5, 1971 the "New York Times" carried the following article concerning NEWTON's three day seminar entitled "ERIKSON AND NEWTON DISCUSS ISSUES IN CONFERENCE AT YALE."

Session in Afternoon at Yale

By JOSEPH B. BEEASTER

Special to The New York Times

NEW HAVEN, Feb. 4 — For the last three days Erik H. Erikson, the psychoanalyst, and Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther, have been engaged in lengthy discussions at Yale University.

The public and the press were barred from the series of three-hour-long talks that ended this afternoon, but 14 selected students—eight white and six black—sat with the two men at a long rectangular table in a library at the Yale University Press and were allowed to ask questions. The university press hopes the conversations can be turned into a book.

Neither Mr. Erikson, who is 68 years old and a professor of developmental psychology at Harvard, nor Mr. Newton, the 29-year-old minister of defense of the Panthers, who is free on bond pending a retrial in California in connection with the death of a policeman three years ago, would talk with a reporter.

Others who were present during the discussions, however, said the talks centered on the ideology of the Black Panther party as outlined by Mr. Newton, with Mr. Erikson making comments and observations drawing from his youth as a student of Freud and his more recent studies of Ghandi (for which he won a National Book Award last year) and Martin Luther.

Party Shift Explained

One student said that Mr. Newton's opening statement on the first day, which ran an hour and 15 minutes, closely resembled a speech reprinted in the Jan. 23 issue of the party newspaper. There, Mr. Newton told how party members has shifted from thinking of themselves as black nationalists in 1966 to revolutionary nationalists, then as internationalists and finally to something which he called "revolutionary intercommunalists," but did not precisely define.

After a coffee break, several students asked questions of Mr. Newton. But Chester Kerr, the director of the Yale University Press, said: "Somewhat to our surprise, Erik Erikson never opened his mouth the first day."

Instead, the psychoanalyst fascinated many of the students by furiously taking notes on a long narrow pad, writing first with a blue pen, then switching off to a red one for underlining and connecting ideas.

The next day, Mr. Erikson opened with an hour-and-15-

minute monologue using the notes for guidance.

The two men spent most of the session today answering questions that had grown out of the two earlier meetings.

Despite the vast differences in age and background between Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton, Mr. Kerr and Kai Erikson, the 39-year-old eldest son of the psychoanalyst who served as moderator, said they felt the two had managed to communicate and understand each other.

Moments of Frustration

Mr. Kerr said there were "obvious moments of frustration," but added: "This surely could be said of any academic seminar."

"A nine-hour conversation has its own rhythm, its own logic and its own momentum," said the younger Mr. Erikson who is a sociologist and master of Trumbull College at Yale. "This was an intense, sustained conversation for nine hours."

Many of the students were frankly awed by the two men. Some were unconvinced, however, that Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton had come away understanding each other.

In a statement reminiscent of those issued after diplomatic meetings, Mr. Kerr said both men had agreed that the discussions had constituted "a useful and educational exchange."

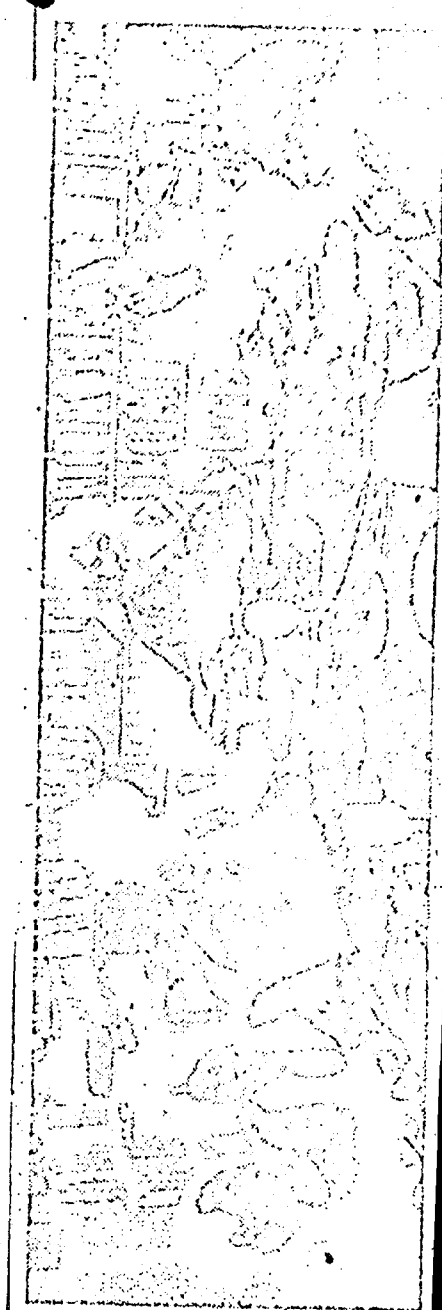
The younger Mr. Erikson said he had arranged for the discussions. Initially, he said, he had planned for a meeting of Mr. Newton with some students. Then he asked his father if he would like to talk with Mr. Newton and the more elaborate meeting developed.

In the last few days, Mr. Newton and at least two other members of the party have been living in the guest suite and Trumbull College. Last night and the night before, Mr. Newton and Mr. Erikson met informally at the younger Mr. Erikson's home.

Mr. Kerr and some of the students felt the evening chats had brought the two men closer and caused "done natural barriers to drop."

On the second day, for example, Mr. Kerr said, instead of referring to Mr. Erikson as "the professor," Mr. Newton would remark, "as my friend Erik says..."

After each three-hour discussion, the group relaxed around a table of roast beef and ham and cheese sandwiches, bean soup, beer and coffee. For the senior Mr. Erikson, there was always a paper cup of brandy and soda.



By AP/Wide World

On February 5, 1971 the "Yale Daily News", a daily newspaper published on campus at Yale University, contained the following article entitled "THREE-DAY COLLOQUIUM ENDS."

Three-Day Colloquium Ends

By TOM WATSON

A three-day colloquium featuring Kai Erickson and Huey Newton concluded yesterday afternoon, but its content will not be known until the possible publication of the proceedings in a book.

Commenting on the session, Kai T. Erickson, who along with Erling Erlanson moderated the colloquium, said, "It was the tempo, the temper of the tone of the conversation that gave it its power. Secrets weren't wanted; new information was not revealed."

Erickson continually stressed his belief that neither the flavor nor the content of a "very powerful nine-hour colloquium" could be accurately reduced to a few words, however. He accordingly declined comment on the substance of the three-day exchange. Details have been extremely

sketchy throughout the conference. The site of the colloquium, the second floor of the Yale University Press, was not released until today.

Closed And Intimate

According to Erickson, the participants wanted a "close, intimate exchange without being the center of a spectacle."

The meeting place was not released in order to keep down the number of people in the room, he explained.

Although the ultimate content of the colloquium is not known, Erickson did say that the first day (Tuesday) was largely devoted to an explanation by Newton of the ideology of the Black Panther Party.

"It was a careful presentation of the Panther Party's current emphasis on 'intercommunalism,'" Erickson said. He again stressed the importance of the tone of the meeting.

"A nine-hour conference has its own rhythm, its own logic; and it can't be highlighted," Erickson explained.

The second day began with comments by Erik Erickson, followed by general discussion, Kai Erickson said.

Complicated Negotiations

Contrary to earlier reports, the idea for the colloquium originated in a phone call to Erickson from "some one close to Huey Newton."

Negotiations for the meeting were then carried through a variety of third and fourth parties.

Erickson did not actually speak to Newton until Sunday night at Woolsey Hall.

A few days after the proposal that Newton speak to some Yale students, Erickson thought of inviting his father, Erik Erickson.

Proposals concerning the possibility of a book emerging from a transcript

of the meeting were first made by a New York publisher, Erickson said.

Options for such a book appear to be currently held by Yale University Press.

Before a book may be published however, the major participants of the colloquium must give their consent, Erickson said.

The transcript of the meeting has been copyrighted.

Fifteen persons participated in the colloquium. They were Newton, Erickson, the two moderators, and 14 students. Eight of the students were white; six were black.

The number of participants was in part decided by the capacity of the conference table, according to Erickson.

The actual selection process for the students was to a large extent random, he said.

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JLC/sad

e. New Haven College
West Haven, Connecticut
February 5, 1971

On February 5, 1971, at about 1:30 PM, NEWTON spoke at the Student Center, University of New Haven, West Haven, Connecticut. The crowd numbered approximately 250, and was comprised primarily of college students. The speech lasted about one-half hour. NEWTON made some of the following points during his speech:

The problem of survival is a most important one. Since laws are made by man, they are sometimes unjust. There are ways to correct these laws without reverting to physical violence; such as marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, etc.

He spoke out against the death penalty since there is no appeal from death in the event the state makes a mistake.

He stated there is a need to reconstruct the social system. If the system will not allow reconstruction, you have the right and duty to take necessary steps to correct it.

The BPP's aims are to help the socially oppressed whites and blacks; to reconstruct society so the people can take it over.

Many business leaders and governors of states consider the rest of the people as inferior; the Panthers intend to bring power back to the people. The power structure is hindering progression in some areas. Despite advances in medicine, people are not benefiting. The Panthers have set up about 44 health clinics in various states and have recently opened up a shoe factory which serves all who come.

He asked that all present support BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS by coming to the courthouse during the trial.

SF T-8

February 5, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

f. Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey
February 9, 1971

On February 9, 1971, NEWTON arrived at Jadwin Gymnasium, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, as scheduled. The affair did not start until 9:20 PM because of delays which were due to the presence of metal detectors at the entrances to the gymnasium and the subsequent search of all persons who activated these detectors because of the presence of metal in their possession. Approximately 6000 individuals were in attendance at the speech, which was sponsored by the Princeton Chapter of the New University Conference (NUC). NUC has had problems financing the event; however, Professor C. WILLIAM WHEATLY, who is the leader and often times spokesman of the NUC, said the organization had received money donations from undergraduate students and outside sources. It is not known if NEWTON lowered his fee, since according to WHEATLY the NUC had raised about \$5800 and this, of course, was not enough to cover NEWTON's fee and expenses.

The NUC is self-described as an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist group which is opposed to the war in Indo-China.

NEWTON spoke on "The BPP Program Now". He gave a historical analysis of the black man and at no time did he ever make any inflammatory statements or utter any obscenities. NEWTON's speech was not a fiery speech and at least one half of the people in the audience became very bored shortly after NEWTON started his speech and as a result they left the gymnasium. The crowd was not sympathetic and very few applauded NEWTON. No unusual activities occurred.

SF T-9
February 9, 1971

SF 157-1203
JIC/sad

[redacted] BPP member from Jersey City, New Jersey, transported NEWTON and [redacted] from New York City to Princeton, New Jersey, but the method of transportation utilized is not known. NEWTON was paid the sum of \$800 for this engagement immediately prior to his speech. NEWTON was quite upset over the small sum but agreed to fill the engagement because the audience was in place and they were desirous of hearing him speak. There were between 5000 - 6000 persons in the audience, many of whom left after a short time. By the end of the speech, which was about 11:00 PM, one third to one quarter of the original audience remained. The audience generally was unenthusiastic as it was obvious NEWTON's speech was vague and difficult to follow with little continuity.

b6
b7c

SF T-10
February 9, 1971

Prior to entering Jadwin Gymnasium all persons attending the speech by NEWTON were required to pass through a metal detector.

SF T-11
February 9, 1971

NEWTON's speech was recorded by SF T-11 on February 9, 1971. A transcript of NEWTON's speech is as follows:

HUEY NEWTON

... statement. For the freedom away
or how to take the freedom away of DAVID FRY (ph) so DAVID
FRY can be set free. He was ah put into jail for simply
ah selling our newspaper. That tells, that says a lot for
the First Amendment, you know. We don't believe in it any
way but ah it is becoming very clear that they don't either.
So ah the only things that are right pressing on me and should
be pressing on you is the freedom of BOBBY SEALE (ph) and
ERICA (ph) and also of ANGELA DAVIS and some of their brothers
and MICHELLE MC KEAB (ph). (APPLAUSE). You can free them,
the BLACK PANTHER PARTY cannot free them. The BLACK PANTHER
PARTY is not responsible for my freedom, you are. So it seems
to be the problem, a problem of consciousness as we call it.
Sometimes ah the people are so ah outraged by the violence
and by the brutal treatment of the established order until

they have had a spontaneous recovery and I say spontaneous recovery because we believe at one time all of us realize our powers, our powers based upon our freedom but now we might feel overwhelmed because of the vicious authority of United States Imperialism. But ah tonight we will attempt to develop an approach to the problems in our community, the problems of the world. We will do this, ah, in a systematic way but first I would like to apologize. I would like to apologize to you, ah, for my, own ah shortcomings and that is that, ah, I'm not a very eloquent man, but the BLACK PANTHER PARTY was not built to form fancy phrases, ah, clauses, fancy phrases and clauses, that is it was build to form a program that was very concrete. After we made a very concrete analysis of our environment, that the material we attempted to, ah, to institute a program that will relate to these problems but in order to implement a program and institute a program such as ours, we had to have some system of thinking, that would give to us a conclusion that reflected

the real world. And I mention this to you because much of the time we're not clear on our thinking and especially now that, ah, in the various institutions where I've had the, ah, opportunity to speak, many of the educational institutions, I've seen miseducation there. I saw it through the, ah, discourse of some of the students, in fact most of the students. It was very apparent that something had gone wrong. It is very difficult for us to think in a society such as this that our educational institutions do not even attempt to teach us anything. It teaches to, it, it would like to confuse us. It likes to mislead us but yet extract the work, the creative things that are necessary to perpetuate this whole reactionary system. This is done through a very ah, tricky method, a very devious method. And tonight we will point it out through pointing out, ah, not only the, ah, the, ah, devious (inaudible) of the established ruler circle

and all of its institutions, the educational institution being only one of them, the educational institution is only an agent for the reactionary ruler circle. They do this, ah, its really a double evil, that, ah, first the institutions are erected and established in order to, ah, aid the development of a highly industrialized, technological society but the problem, the issue, is how would the ruling class be able to do this, to educate and at the same time miseducate. How would they be able to turn out technicians. How would they be able to turn out the scientists either, without turning out fakey people. And I'll tell you, ah, we have to give them a couple of points because they almost did just that but for a few of us. Most of us don't know how, but we know that its a fact but the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, through using a systematic, ah, way of approaching our problem, figured it out. The first thing is in order to keep the industrial, technological society going, we must, we need educated people, a special kind of

education, we need scientists. So we will will them with a conglomeration of facts, facts that show no relationship to each other, facts, facts that are categorical, in other words, they teach that there's no relationship between Physics, and Sociology and Psychology. They say you must specialize and be competent in that area and that even in that area they teach us that things are so disconnected and so a part can change without changing the whole. And you can change the whole thing even leaving one part stable and this is why you hear such rhetoric, ah, from the established order. That the only thing wrong with American Empire is that there are few, there are few fall people around, so therefore we'll institute a poverty program to correct that. The ruling circle will stay in time. We see that they teach us that there's no such thing as development, that things are just shifted around like, ah, mechanical, ah, parts is shifted and they're no interconnected at all, they only, ah, act according

to others, externally. So we eliminate 2/3 of humanity and keep that 1/3 intact. We know this is not true. But this is what we learn that we become professionals. Professionals are specialized in a certain area and we're always dedicated and responsible for that area and that's the way things always happen. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY calls this approach not only the ah approach of the ruling circle of the United States, but is ah we call it a metaphysical ah materialistic approach, or sometimes we might call it the metamystic, materialistic approach. But first, that I will lay the foundation which is our chief ah obligation today to exactly how the BLACK PANTHER PARTY arrived at some of its conclusions, 'cause too much of the time that you arrive at the conclusions without investigating them, and accept them as facts, dogma. The educational institutions are responsible for you doing this and we criticize and we can never criticize without offering a constructive criticism. A constructive criticism is always based upon a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, so I'll back up a little bit now and

go over some of the things I stated later on in our discussion but first I'm gonna ask ah some agreements from you and I need these agreements now in order to hold an intelligent dialogue and for this reason that we men, human beings, don't know very much you see. We don't know very much but most of the time we start out with the basic presumption, sometimes they call basic premises and we if we are not careful we take these hypocrisies of basic premises as absolute truth. We do this because it is difficult sometimes to test our first presumption and this is why I say that we don't know very much you see. It is to a point that we believe that science will deliver to us the necessary information and all of us are scientists, that we will deliver to ourselves the necessary information so that we will know something about beginning, ending and also first presumptions because there will no longer be a presumption, we will prove them true. We believed that science would do this but ah until it happens we don't necessarily know there will be a case.

Now I warn you got a pretty long way yet but after I lay the foundation and show you how the BLACK PANTHER PARTY arrived at his at its position and then we will talk about application and that's when we really get into ah what is' known as revolution but before we talk about revolution we have to talk about a systematic way of thinking and for planning because we know that ah a revolutionary act un-planned is a power revolutionary act so we're not going to follow that theory that we're going to suffer and we're gonna stay here tonight until we all agree, all reasonable people here will agree, that ah the vanguard of a people's revolution had reached a reasonable, rational, logical, dialectical conclusion and if we're not able to represent and defend the position then I will be perfectly willing to express the philosophy or ideology of anyone here whose able to give forth a reasonable approach. So ah first, in order to develop

a systematic way of thinking that boasts of a conglomeration of facts that show no relationship to each other only when the boss says A relates to B and you put those together and you come with an automobile, that ah we will attempt to show how systems of thought were arrived at.. Most of us here, many of us here would like to think that we do not have or I don't have an ideology, I do not have a philosophy, I only relate to the facts of the matter. That's a clear indication of one whose _____ a conglomeration of facts and there's no _____ to their facts, just as in a scientific laboratory that ah we attempt to develop a formula in order to ah understand whatever we're studying. We understand the thing better if we understand it in the school context _____. So in order to understand society, as the scientist must also use the laboratory, but the laboratory in this case happens to be

itself and our community. So all of us have an ideology.

Number one, don't fool yourself. You might not be conscious of the ideology but there is a system that you use that, you give, that gives you what you believe is a valid conclusion.

In developing a system of thought it was necessary for the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and as any logical institute to examine all of the ways of reaching a conclusion. So first we went through what was called the idealist way because generally there are two great schools of thought and that is the school of the Idealists and then the school of the materialist and there is various persuasion of each. Some people mixing one with the other but first let's talk about the idealist way.

The idealist first say that I'm not sure and in fact the external world does not exist and all of the things, all of the pictures or images are not really images because even an images signifies an external object. All other pictures that

go around in my mind are only intangible, spiritual things projected by an intangible being which is myself, you see. This person is called a subjective idealist and I would ask you to bear with me because it takes sometime for me to relate this first statement through the fact of revolution but revolution don't come overnight. A spontaneous revolution is called a riot and not a revolution at all. So all people who are truly interest^{ed} in the problem will struggle here through this very boring speech to the question and answer period, where you will be able to challenge it, ah I believe I was talking about the ah subjective idealist and he's a very difficult person to deal with because as we already examined we saw that ah a man does not know very much, especially about the material world. We realize if we close our eyes we can see things or^{we} have concepts which is a better

of somewhat practical, we assume that they're wrong. We assume that in fact there is an external world and science in the future will give us the necessary information to prove that, but we can't prove it right now. So therefore we're somewhat arbitrary in our choice between the idealist way which says that I'm only a spiritual being and what's outside an only a spiritual thing. We say that in fact there are material things there and that in fact the basis of all things are based on material in other words, we do not believe that an we will go on existing if suddenly a head were to disappear, we think that it would be the end for us so therefore that even the spiritual, even a spiritual has a material foundation because it relies upon the organism and mechanism of the brain which is definitely material so this is the case for the materialist. Maybe at the end of this an

dialogue if someone will set forth a case for the idealist. I will accept few things about him because as we already said, we don't believe any. So ah the idealist school developed to a certain extent and I take a shortcut from the history of development of thought and philosophy. It developed and progressed as far as I'm concerned when a man by the name of EMANUEL KENT (ph) applied logic to the idealistic abstraction or to those spiritual concepts that man seems to have. When he did this the intergration of idealism and logic, that you have something that is called rationale. When you intergrate these two qualities, first you only have a conglomeration of ah spiritual abstraction before you discriminate between them through them quality, quantity, weight and value. In other words, what is the difference between one concept or one of those pictures when you close your eyes. What is the difference between one and the other? How do

you find relationship between them. The only way either, the only way you can do this is give one a weight, a value that the other one does not have and by that method that you can distinguish between them. Some people say that logic is also based upon mathematics and they say that especially the mathematicians, they say that we're, they get their weight and value, they get the weight and value from the external world but we won't stipulate that at this moment because we don't know, but they get it from some place. So they get weight and value, quantity and quality that's really called in scientific terms logic, the mathematicians say they get it from the external world. We say they either get it from the external world or they arbitrarily apply weight, value, quality and quantity to idealistic abstractions so that they can distinguish between the two and find a relationship such ^{they} asado in what they call pure mathematics, algebraic reasoning

or geometry or any of the so-called higher mathematics as depends upon reasoning. Remember that the things we get from reasoning are spiritual things or just concepts and these concepts might and might not relate to the external world, so when EMANUEL KENT (ph) applied logic to idealistic abstractions, there was a new system developed called rationale and I must make it clear that he did this because ah people were not satisfied with the spiritualist and even in EMANUEL KENT'S (PH) time. So in order to reach a valid conclusion that ah we ah, we created or pointed out rather, a new method of arriving at conclusions. So the rational method goes like this and we ^{HAVE} are set examples of it in mathematics, that the rational method will give you a rational, valid, logical conclusion but the conclusion has very little to do with our environment and the reason ~~why~~ I'm talking so much about it is because to know what to do, first

we have to know what not to do, you see. So ah the rational method was very good in dealing with those abstractions and it goes like this in mathematics of course you can ah use certain symbols and algebraic reasoning as $A = B$ and $B = 3$ and da da da we reach a conclusion of X . We find out what that is all about but X might not exist in the external world and that's why we say that ah the mathematical way of approaching things does not first does not cure and secondly it does not necessarily tell us anything about the external world, the external world we must know something about because as victims we're oppressed by it. So as revolutionists, we must figure out a strategy, a plan, to manipulate it, get around it, and devastate it, but in order to do this we must use clear thinking, clear thinking that takes time. Clear thinking that will not be pursued through rhetoric and phrase mongering; clear thinking that only comes through sacrifice

and sweat. So this is our call. . Now ah it goes further with the rational method, its not only mathematical, certain schools are . I'll give an example, a logical rational ah . If the sky or A if you will, you can use either or, because emphasis is upon the system and not the ah, ah, not the ah subject matter that I've given the system. If the sky is above my head, when I look upward, if there is nothing in between, then I'll see the sky and that sounds very good and matter of fact is valid but it does not necessarily relate to the external world because I gave you a condition. If the sky is above my head, but the sky might be beneath my feet, but if its above my head then when I look up would I see the sky. So that's perfectly valid but it has very little to do with the external world, with the material world, which we agree exists.

which we agree that if we find any solution to our problems

it will be analysing that material world.

So there were some people dissatisfied with the pure reasoning

as it was called, of EMANUEL KENT (PH) and I tell you these

things in a nutshell so we won't be up all night,

as I am up all night, most of the time, ah Some other people

were dissatisfied so therefore they attempted to ah to ah

progress and promote and ah or develop some new methods of

thought, new systems that will better keep us in touch with

the reality of the external world that exists independently

of what we wish it will be because we know we're not just

progressive . But before I do this that

ah I would like to show some weaknesses in the material way.

I do this ah for all honesty because what we want is not

indoctrination but clear thinking. So we wanna know the

shortcomings of even the methods that we're using, you see,

because the question is a question of honesty and people are not being honest with the victim. People are not honest with us but we must be true to each other because in truth we'll find strength, you see and truth will develop the things that will free us but we will not develop it otherwise. So with the other school of thought, materialism, we already understand what it means because we've been over that and that is that in the external world there are objects that produce an stimuli that bombard the organism and therefore knowledge occurs. Knowledge occurs if the images that we have if the reflection correlates to the external fact or the external object then we have knowledge about it. When we say something about it then truth occurs. In other words, truth is only a statement about external facts and if this statement correlates to external existence then we have truth and when we store this information we call it

knowledge. So in the material world we have an a similar problem. There are many objects out there, so in order for us to distinguish the difference between those objects and find a relationship between them so that we can manipulate them in our own interests. That we will apply what is called logics to them. But logic is no mysterious thing. It is more than common sense, its more than common sense simply because ah we know that common sense is a kind of ah a vague term, you see but ah logic is really a scientific term. Its a scientific term that has certain shortcomings, in other words, that ah in order to distinguish the difference between, the relationship between the material objects, then logic is applied and logic is quantity, quality, weight and value. So we apply this and we get this quality, quantity, weight, value even, even through examining the external world if it exists, which we believe it does, we will act accordingly.

We believe that it exists so therefore we'll act as a man and that it does exist and this is only from agreement with your permission. So either the weight, value, quantity and quality is gotten from the material world which we believe that it comes from there or else is arbitrarily applied through some ah creation of our own to the material existence out there it could be a fact that there is no difference between those objects out there. Perhaps that ah we only do that to ah help us in our fantasy but whatever it may be that we do distinguish between them and we use that system of thought that's called logic. So after we do this we intergrate logic with materialism and we get another concept, the concept is called empiricism, this ah empiricism or empirical evidence is no good, it doesn't work and at last we can distinguish between those material objects, so after ah we apply or intergrate empiricism with ah or after we intergrate logic with materialism, we get empiricism. A man by the name of

PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH) perfected this method of thinking. The method was ah based upon historical evidence, in other words that this way of thinking would make us closer related to ah the material world. It would tell us more about that thing that we either have to submit to or that thing that we will conquer. So ah empiricism then was viewed as somewhate of a revolutionary thing and the revolutionary too. But ah some people were not satisfied with this because historical evidence does not necessarily help us in dealing with the future nor does it tell us ah very much about the present. It only would give us ah some information about what has already happened, for an example, the sun has been shining for many years, does that necessarily mean that it will always shine? No. But empirical evidence will show that its been coming up for many years. Man has been on ah mother earth for many years,

empirical evidence will show. But does that tell us, does that assure us that man will not be wiped off the face of the earth by the push of a button? No it does not. So we realize that the advancements that PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH) through applying ah logics to ah materialism and coming up with the system of thought or ideology that's called empiricism, gets us closer to the truth perhaps, but it does not help us in the way that we need help, because our problem is so involved with the future occasion, until we need more than the methods that's been given us. We want to know about the future, what will make us free. That only tells us this, and our schools rely upon it very heavily, matter of fact, our whole ah Black Studies ^{Program} was co-opted through, through or by the historical approach. In other words that ah all people became free of oppression through establishing their own nation. So, therefore, for Black people in the United States, the only way we will be free is to establish their

own nation. This is based upon historical evidence;
empirical evidence, but lets see that its not necessarily
so. (APPLAUSE) It is not necessarily so. In other words
empiricism or an historical materialism, does not necessarily
give us the tools to deal with the future but lets go on.
I won't condemn this way of thinking without investigating it
further. Matter of fact, I will be the first to defend it
or or at least in 1966 when the BLACK PANTHER PARTY were Black
Nationalists and segregated, that the conclusions were reached
through ah the method and ideology of the historical materialist
so ah I can sympathize with those who are still reaching
conclusions based upon history. I don't hold them responsible,
I hold the ah reactionary ruling circle responsible because
they condone it and this is why they finally support the
Black Studies Class. Of course Blacks are not only ah not,
Black in particular are not the only victims of this kind

of brain washing, this kind of a dogmatic approach. Many of the so-called radical scholars are also victims of it. Some are victims of it even though they denounce it. But you can easily tell when they embrace it because they base all of their strategy, they base all of their tactics, they base their philosophy the difference from ideology upon a historical event and we'll go into that in the next hour or so. No, I'm just kidding you, I won't take that long but they base ah they base their whole philosophy upon ah the event of 1917 in the what was then Russia and they call themselves Orthodox Marxists and they say that if you deviate from the approach of Marx-Lenin, the Marxist-Leninist approach, then you're revisionary, you're not a dialectical material but really their being historical and

and their not at all ah spiriticians and scientists because a scientist would not accept philosophy and by way of definition that I'll make a distinction between what the BLACK PANTHER PARTY calls philosophy and ideology. We have an ideology and we steer away from philosophy. In other words, we call ideology the systematic way of reaching a conclusion. So ideology involves a process, while philosophy is a conclusion. Usually its a collection of conclusions that were arrived at through ideology. But once you arrive at a conclusion then things all of a sudden are pretty static and this is why with the empiricism, the empirical way, the historical way, it does not really reflect the true, the real world because it talks, it talks about things, like this static, like that night in a constant state of transformation. It talks about things like yesterday this was A, the next day it was B, but they did not tell you that yesterday was

both A and B and it always, it was already becoming C, D
and F. In other words that they tried to stop things
and picture there did not reflect the ever changing
quality and the ever changing nature of the universe, so in
that way we get certain schools, ah certain ah parties that
call themselves Marxist-Stalin. Marxists who are very idealistic
because really a few ah historians is some what idealistic
because the conclusions are based upon the way he viewed the
environment and not based upon the way the environment is
in fact, because we know that things do not stay the same.
We cannot name one thing that is maintained itself totally
for even one day but ah but ah we will, we will try to give
you evidence of this because we don't want you just to
accept a ah a dogma because this is what we criticize. So
we see that ah when we, when PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH)
applied what some called common sense, others called logics,

to the material world and came up with empiricism, it was an advancement, but it did not help us to predict what will happen in the future, we only know what happened in the past. No if we don't think clearly we'll think that ah we might conclude that historical information will, will give us the knowledge about the future because we will unconsciously apply something else and in a few minutes I'll tell you what that is. So we would like to be very clear that just because the world is here today does not guaranty that it will be here tomorrow and that is the trouble with historical materialism or empiricism, because we want to know about tomorrow, especially Blacks in America because we know what happened yesterday and we want to change things tomorrow. We want to change things tomorrow. (Applause). So in order to do this, in order to do this, we must take a systematic approach to it and I'm sorry if I take so long and I try in

every way to cut this ah discussion down, but each time I do, it, I feel very badly because I find myself doing like the instructors. They try to get off work at 4 o'clock, at 3 o'clock. So, therefore, they push everything into those few hours, not caring if they've given you a totally idealistic view. (APPLAUSE). But ah we're not going to do that. No. Because we ah saw they shortcomings of the rational method or pure reasoning of KENT (ph) after he intergrated logic with idealism and we, we also saw the shortcomings of ah WILLIAM JAMES, after he intergrated logic with materialism and came up with empiricism. We saw the shortcomings, so we have two advancements there. We have the rational method and we also have empiricism Ah, because ah CARL MARX (PH), who is most known for perfecting ah the system or the equation or the formula, if you will. That they say that ah the line of thinking that we'll talk

about next is Marxist thinking. That's why that some un-
fortunate people call themselves Marxists. But I would
like to let you know that I'm not a Marxist that ah we're
all Panthers ah that ah MARX (ph) himself, matter of fact
MARX himself matter of fact made it very clear. He said
that one thing that I'm not, I'm not a Marxist and he
said this why. He said it because he was more interested
in a systematic way of thinking or ideology, if you will,
rather than _____ your conclusion because con-
clusion are by by necessity, information that does not
reflect how things really are. So what he was saying was
this. He was saying that unless the process and that
people go around saying that their Marxists that ah I'm
going to disown this because I want them to be interested
in process. So everyone says that he's a Marxist is necessarily
a historical materialist because they want to apply the method,

the strategy of 1917 to 1970 in Babylon (ph) here, that's the United States and it does not work, because first, according ah to ah the dialectical method, now I'm just a little ahead of myself, forgive me, I'll pick it up.

First we have two advancements. We have a rational method and we have empiricism. What happens if we intergrate those two qualities? After we intergrate those two qualities in order to give us a better understanding of the ah external world we have a thing that MARX (PH) called dialectical materialism. Now before MARX, I would like to ah explain to a few of my friends that ah I already made it clear in the matter of MARX that exactly marx is most known for ah perfecting the system of thought but the system of thought itself has very little to do with MARX. In other words, if someone else had done that the phenomenon still would be the same. Matter of fact, the thing that MARX saw had been

examined years before him, ah, how did these ah offer a
dialectical method of argument and this was ah ah to
present ah thesis _____ . But what
person will say this is so. The other person will challenge
that and hopefully they reach a conclusion that will show
an intergration of what both of us think, you see. They
will view things from all sides, but even before Socrates
and Aristotle, even before those three, that the dialectical
approach was going on, was going on and probably originated
originated ah in a place that most anthropologists Dr. LEAKY (PH
in specific would say the Cradle of Man, it originated in
the Cradle of Man and that is _____. I'll
show you, I'll show you evidence of this (NOTHING ON TAPE FOR
ABOUT FIVE SECONDS). The philosophers in Greece made pilgrimages
to ah the University of Timbuktu and ah they went there to
learn a system of thought because they realized that Timbuktu
at that time from 1100's and up to was the cultural center of

world where they would give books if you gave them gold
but for the Greeks they pilgrimaged, they travelled, to
ah the area and at that time, ^{the} African had developed a
dialectical approach to his whole life, in other words he
did not deal in absolute, he dealt in a process ^{AND} he even
founded his whole remission upon a dialectical argument
between the gods. In other words _____ that
the African god ^{ALWAYS} had at least two heads and sometimes more
because the god did not deal in absolute. So in order
for an African to be safe in his natural environment that
he had to please and get favor of the good head and out
maneuver the bad and this was the kind of a dialectical
approach, so we see that the genesis of the dialectical
method might and I believe it did start with the genesis of
man. That's a _____. Now I'm saying
this to ah brag but we like to keep things also in the historical
context so that ah some people here won't think that ah in

order to give someone credit that ah we're belittling
and not recognizing the contributions that someone else
made and in fact I'm not here to praise any man. We're
here to develop a system of thinking or an ideology if you
will because our educational institutions will not give us
that. They would rather say and criticize an ideological
approach which is a system of thinking. So they can stuff
you with a conglomeration of _____, a conglomeration
of fact so that later they can turn you on and you will spit
out little cards with holes in them. They will like that
because they don't want you to be conscious, but they want
you to produce. So in order to do this they will criticize
any system that you develop because they believe that it is
good not to have a system, because once you have the system
of thought then this will give you the ability to question
the very foundation, the very foundation of their system
because they have one remember. It will give you the ability

to not only do that but to understand in order to change your situation that everything else will change. No, they want everything else to change but they will stay the same because things are not interrelated. So this is why they want you to be specialized. But ah away from that I'll go on to try to give you this system of thinking or at least discuss it with you and if you don't invite me here again then I will weep for you and I'll be very sorry because I'm glad to see you tonight and you're responsible for me being here, not only by the invitation but by the _____ when you opened the prison gates for me but because that ah I have a great for you that ah I thing that I and the Party have an obligation to not ah give you perhaps what you want but give you what we think you need because we're servants of the people. So ah (APPLAUSE) I will try to make it as short as possible. Now, after we've intergrated the two

qualities of the rational method and the empiricism, we got what MARX called dialectical materialism. And he called it dialectical materialism because it was like a dialogue that offered an _____ and a synthesis in the material world. MARX also believed that everything had, has a material genesis. That all of our spiritual thoughts are based upon our being here as a material being because we haven't seen anyone through any concept without also presenting his physical body. We think people, we think people talk about the powers of the spiritual but when we face them down when we ask a question, we see that this has a material basis. So dialectical materialism first because that it is intergrated the advancements of thought such as the abstractions of the mathematical idealistic school and the rational or that intergrated with it, the rational method that would

really based on idealism and intergrated that with the empirical method that was based upon materialism. It has intergrated the most important things and most functional things of both of those schools. So after the intergration rational with the empiricism we get full, a whole view. In other words we're not viewing half but now we're quick to approach the external world that seems to be in a constant state of transformation and also constant conflict. We see that ah the basis of ah our thinking is based upon material existence and we see everything in the world seems to be always moving. So we ah say that things seem to be propelled, things move because of a principle of motion and matter. Perhaps the motion and matter are arrived at through an internal contradiction, that everything seems to be subject to. What do I mean by this? First, we'll examine the ah physical world. In Physics we see that

an atoms clash and when atoms clash they subdivide. They have a break-down such as you have the electrons and protons and the neutrons. And the break-down probably will go on. But this is through the contradiction of the dialogue in the physical world. And this dialogue occurs because even within the atom there seems to be an internal contradiction and this is what gives that an matter motion the things, the things that tipped in reaching equilibrium or straining apart. We see that an its always a dominant inferior relationship between things of contradiction, even internally. So the opposites struggle based upon their unity because their connected together only because of the relationship in the external world but because their eternal quality. For instance the atom already has the electron within it but because of some other an external contradiction it allows the electron to become dominant or escape the mass. We see that in the world of

biology that there seems to be a contradiction always going on within the organism. That is, first, the organism's cells multiply, in order for it to mature, in order for it to live. If there's no multiplication then the organism will die. But while its multiplying and maturing, it will reach a point where it will no longer multiply, it will start on a decline, It will decay. It will become old and will die. But we could not ah mature unless the cells did multiply. We could and we would not die unless at some point that a change in the struggle of the opposites because that's the very thing that's responsible for our death, the fact that we became mature. In the natural world we see that lets take a thing like a like a caterpillar. That as it grows and matures it becomes more and more fat and hairy. Its quantity will increase and at

some notable point it will stay in a cocoon and emerge as a butterfly. The caterpillar had to have had that contradiction in him in order for it to spin a cocoon in the first place in the first place, but when the butterfly emerged of course the caterpillar was wiped out but not completely because the butterfly showed some of the properties of a caterpillar and also some of the properties of the new thing that was in contradiction but because when you change a part of a thing, it changes the whole thing, a new development occurs, a transformation, we call it an a _____, where there the ah caterpillar leaped from a caterpillar to a butterfly. In other words that sometimes the growth or quantity decrease the increase of somewhat smooth going. But in everything we've investigated that in order for a transformation to come about that there

seems to be need for some eruption. The eruption then would be the change in the dominant although the internal contradiction or as we call it the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity. United because its in one thing. Struggling because it carries things that negate each other So that we say that ah with everything, with everything it has a determining factor and also it has a factor that limits it. So we say that every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination but we must realize the interconnectedness. We must realize that everything is interconnected, its moving because of the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity and that's called motion and matter. Motion and matter causes things to give itself a self movement because of its internal contradiction. But the thing I want to point out that everything that we've

examined, I say everything we've examined because there might be more information that we get later on it shows that its becoming something else and this why its necessary for us to try to gadge no only what it is now but what its becoming because this will give us a clear picture of the universe, would know that its not one thing but seems to be in a processes all the time, and this is why in order for us to manipulate our environment we will have to know not only what it is today but what its becoming and when we find out, when we find out what its becoming we'll know how to react to it. There's some other things that ah the scientist show and that is that all of the qualitating transformations or developments seem to be based on a quanitating increase or decrease. We know that things have an internal contradiction but we see this contradiction grow and when it reaches a noted point there is a reverse in the dominance of the opposites and when this occurs then we get a qualitating transformation

but its always based on quantitative increase, it seems to be. When I say always I correct myself because man knows nothing about absolute, such as always, he knows nothing about beginnings or endings, we only know about his _____. But because I'm victim to (boozwar) (ph) language I'll I'll contradict myself but because I'm a revolutionist I'm not afraid to correct myself. So if they hear that ah, if they that we're free then in order for a thing to show that quality changed where the dominant in the struggle will change that there must an increase and a decrease in a certain factor. Now ah we talked about the physical world, we talked about the natural world, we talked about a little biology, and I would like to introduce another phenoenon. Its also connected and shows some ah similarities to all of this and that is society. In the social world we

see that ah society clash. We see that cultures clash.
And when they clash we say that there's a dialectical
thing that happens. Just as happens, just as the same,
not the same but a similar phenomenon happens in a
dialectical argument. Remember you _____
and then you get a _____ an intergration of all
of that. We see that ah if we increase something in physics
if we increase a couple of protons and a couple of ah ah
neutrons here, we get a whole new composition. We know
we can just multiply atoms and, we see that the composition
will change and at some point there's a qualitative change
So we see that an argument just happened, where things clash.
We see that ah in society that when cultures meet or when
cultures have a contradiction that both are transformed and
the sociologist call it acculturation. An acculturation
means that ah when two cultures are ah thrown together that
something happens. That ah either one is modified more than

the other but the other will be modified because of the contradiction. We see that an integration might happen, a simulation might happen or annihilation might happen, but something will happen because nothing ever stays the same. We don't believe that it does, based upon our investigation. Now if this true, and if this is true that all that all qualitative changes or qualitative transformations are based on quantitative increase or decrease, but we find out the necessary properties, qualities, that we find out the necessary quantity that make thing change in a particular specific area then we can bring about the change. So its the same with society. If an if its concluded, if we conclude here tonight that we can make a _____ leap through an knowing what is necessary to increase or decrease in this society then we will go out and manipulate that and bring about the qualitative change because we definitely need that

because we're victims but we want a reverse in the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity. In other words at this time that a certain class is dominated and we want to reverse that through increasing whatever is necessary to make the victims dominant. When we do this we will have a whole new society. So first lets see what they've learned and ah in Sociology though and anthropology. We see that ah we know now we know cultures ah come into ah contradiction that something will happen and both will be modified and this is our problem here tonight, but in order to understand that, we have to understand that how its based upon some principle in the universe and the principle is not a principle that some preconceived notion or scheme in the interpretation of everything but is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. So each thing has to be individually analyzed. So what we're getting at is this. Is that today that the BLACK PANTHER PARTY

is _____. That first that we or we represent the
_____ class. We say that the _____
is the only ah class that carries potentiality of
revolution. We say that ah we realize that ah classes
clash and its the property class against the class that
don't have property and when they clash and its all then
a revolutionary contradiction with one class trying to
overthrow the other. Here in this country the country
is very ah difficult to analyze because we not only have
a class contradiction we also have what we call racism,
where the class lines become somewhat vague and this, we
claim tonight this is only a _____ of the oppressor.
So ah but to understand it in a scientific way we have to
see how the universe works. So we say that ah first thing
that we know that the _____ which means
the unemployable. They carry the revolutionary banner today.

That they carry it free for the new society and many historical materialists will say, will call themselves Orthodox Marxists. We'll say no, its not true, that the _____ will bring about the new order because this is what happened in 1917 and this was MARX's analysis but MARX was analysing a set of concrete conditions and he came up with a concrete conclusion. Because at that time proletarians in Russia did carry the revolutionary potentiality and in fact was destined to be the majority class because at that time that the industrial base in Russia was on the upsurge it was a determination while the agricultural work of the peasants class, peasantry class on the decline and that was the limitation of that class and in spite of the fact that the proletarians in Russia in 1917 in spite of the fact that they were the minority and see the similarity that the _____ EXISTS in this society

they also the minority but they carry the potentialities of the majority because of the trend of the technological developments and it seems to be the same where the peasantry class was doomed to negate itself. It was negating itself through yielding through, to the technological advancements in Russia. So while the proletarians of 1917 were minority they were not only destined to be the majority but they were also destined to bring about the change because of the total conditions existing in 1917 which match the conditions which exist now. Now the proletarian class is one of the most reactionary Racists classes we've ever seen. We see that they relate to capital and industry even though they fall victim to it and while the _____ are most alienated and they want to tear it down. At least

they want to see the controls and make it work for them.

So we see that at the first thing that at it was necessary in Russia in 1917, it was necessary for a capitalist class to exist because that class through hoarding the surplus, through exploiting the peasantry, created the necessary at capital, to at create an industrial base or a technological base and they did this and as they did it they also developed a proletarian class. So this shows the internal contradiction that in order for capital or the _____ class to exist they also had to have a worker. So this was the internal contradiction in that particular phenomenon.

And as they became more industrialized, as they became more industrialized, the enemy of the _____ became logic, as their technology advanced. They were also, technology itself the _____ itself was also seeing that there was about to be a negation of negations as it was called. In other words the capitalist negated the feudal lords and now

negate the _____ that the capitalist actually were somewhat responsible for creating. So we see that at one time in history and what is so is so. We see that at one time in history that a _____ or phenomenal situation we see that a set of conditions a subject can change because if dialectical materialism mean anything, it means we possibly have to apply the formula to a new set of conditions and therefore come up with new answers. If we do not do this then we're being static. So it would surprise us very much if the same answers that a history gave people who struggle for a separate nation. If this answer was true now, it would contradict all concepts of development. It was true that the proletarian class at this time was still the revolutionary class. It will show a static thing; it would not show any development. So we see that now that the _____ or the unemployable are becoming the largest class because

technology, some experts say, in the next ten years we will be able to do a function with only approximately 10,000 workers involved and this this will be called the Age of Technocracy. We saw what happened with automation it displaced people. We saw now think we're moving into cybernation (ph), displace more people and now they say that when they reach the Age of Computer, the real age of the computer or a technocrat, they will displace all of the workers with the exception of a very few. And all those people who used to be workers, they become what? They will become unemployables or they will become _____ because that is unemployable workers. So we see that while the proletarian class is in the majority this time that the creative things to be, that they're being negated through the development of technology. They're being displaced and placed in the ranks of the _____ and people aren't

conscious, the worker or the _____ worker or the
ex-worker. Many of us because we're blind and misled
they get angry with the other _____. They say if
it were not for you competing with us we would have jobs
today and we saw that with the hard-hats who were victims
but blinded all the same and of course we have to defend
ourselves against them but we must also weep for them
and try to educate them or bring about some kind of con-
sciousness because we dont like _____ people around
us and if we can help a person who's also victim as we are
then we will do that but we will not commit to him. So we
see how society is moving now. We see that at one time
that the proletarian carried the banner but ^{of} the fact that
everything is in a constant state of change that they do not
carry the banner any longer. Now they will be negated by
another class. Now when society reaches a point where very
few industrial workers will be what will happen to the _____

What is happening to it now. If the ruling circle has any power at this time stay in power then what you see in society is most of the people on welfare to appease are drawing unemployment 11 months out of the year. Not enough enjoy the abundance they created through their exploitation and slavery because starting back in 1619 in Jamestown that we Blacks contribute to the technological development in the industrial empire exists to date. So because of this contribution that we feel that we own it and because we feel that we own it, we have no no conscious about appropriating and negating the negation. We have nothing whatsoever about taking what is ours. We want to take charge you see. But when we take charge then we will not make the mistake that the oppressor made by negating himself through creating many enemies. So when we take charge we deliver the power to various communities of the world. So we will be secure

in our existence and existence of our descendants, but until this time lets understand what is happening now. Now I spoke earlier about ah ah about the fact that is somewhat unrealistic to try to solve the contradiction of exploitation, Racism and oppression through gaining a new nation and I say this with a certain amount of reluctance just as the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to go from Black Nationalism to Revolutionary Nationalism to internationalism and then reach the highest plateau of ideological development and going into what we call revolutionary interfeudalism (ph). What does it mean? First, it means that we want some answers and since we're staisfied with things that happened in history, does no necessarily give us what we want for the future, we have to come up with some reasons. Let's analyse the arguments of the ah ah national ah nationalistic _____

because a person first is reacting to some treacherous violent, oppressive, greedy action of the ruling class which is the master of us all. So we will examine the solution because when if we were to take route we want to make sure the suffering will pay off. Now, some time ago in history that its true that the fact that nationhood was to cure a people from Racism, it will, it would secure a person from domination by another culture or ethnic group, by another nation and by way of another definition a nation is apiec of land. Its set of cultural institutions, political institutions, educational institutions, security institutions that serve the people, usually you can distinguish one nation from another through analysing their language, through observing their behavior patterns, through investigating their culture by way of definition which is by way of definition learned patternsn of behavior. We could see this

and we know one thing that in history if you were separated from a person or a group of people rather through partaking or _____ water that you are relatively safe if you have self-determination. In other words you would have freedom to control your cultural destiny, your political destiny and you will be reasonably sure that your territorial boundaries will be respected because if a person from another culture from another nation, started to attack you you see it from many miles away. If a person or group of people, if a nation wanted to control you'll be virtually possible of the difficulties in communication so forth. But as time went along and technology developed drew everyone closer together and the United States in particular became nationalistic and then later on they became imperialistic

and imperialism means that the fact an empire developed.

An empire is a nation transformed. So once a country

becomes an empire it is no longer a nation because for

_____ an empire is a nation transformed. Now

at some time in history it was true that the Roman Empire

allowed other nations to exist but this was because of the

low level technological developments such as transportation

and ah ah communication through the media. This was the

cause it was difficult for them to know all of the world

so the Romans say. We are an empire because we control

all of the known world. But nations existed outside of the

Roman Empire because the Romans did not know all of the

world. The modern empire is a different story because it

doesn't stay the same. Perhaps we need another word. In the

modern empire 1970, in the 70s, we know, we believe that the

imperialist know all the world so therefore the imperialist

control not only the known world; they control all of the world, all the world they want to control and when they control all of the world they negate the quality, it negates the foundation and criterion necessary to give a land space the definition of nation, because the empire remember controls all other people. They have control of the political, the economic, the academy, they have control of the territory. They have control of the culture. so therefore the United States negated all nations and transformed them into what looks like oppressed community because the _____ did not have the quality of _____ . So through this domination, through this domination that the United States, the American imperialist created a situation that was not colonial because the colonized people in history showed first a certain amount of _____ of the culture because a settler hardly

ever saw where most of the natives lived now in the
backwoods. That communications were so bad until a
settler had to live there. They relied upon a psychology
of intimidating the natives and in fact the natives at any
moment they became conscious could overthrow that specific
settler or that particular group of people who are
dominating them and usually he felt very secure so he
stayed around the towns in the _____ of the nation
not into the backwoods of the town. But as colonialism
developed and controls became more rigid through communica-
tion and through world control by the North Americans that
he withdrew from the land because it wasn't necessary for
him to be there any longer and then some scholar _____
_____ because the fellow was not present. But
as _____ developed, the economy of the country
or the _____ was more intergrated and to the

empire to finally see very little difference. So we see a phenomenon where its not Neocolonialism (ph) any longer. What it is is reactionary intercommunalism (ph) because the reactionary forces all what use to be nations of the world but are now a dispersed collection of communities on the seas just as Black people are dispersed all over the United States but yet they are controlled by one man, one group and that's a small ruling circle and by way of difinition I talk about that group of people who own the 75 companies that control not only the economy in the United States but the continental world and if you don't believe me you could easily investigate or read the report the President was responsible for doing and that is the report of Civil Disorders that JOHNSON was responsible for. _____ said' 76 companies control the economy of the United States and then I add also the world and we know that the ruling circle realizes

what has happened. We realize this, that he'd use everything in domestic action. In other words, when the Korean war occurred, when the Korean War occurred that the United States called it a police action. In other words you have police action inside of a nation but how can you have a police action with another nation. They use everything, they define everything as a disturbance to the Americans. In other words there's a riot going on in Vietnam, a police action. There's also a police action going on in every community in the United States in order to perpetuate the existance of a small ruling circle who have all the communities _____

So we realize that it will be very, it will be very good if we could separate and create a nation of our own if this will give us freedom because I think that most of us will agree that the cry for nationhood is not an abstract thing where we just want a nation but we relate nation to freedom so

actually people are saying that ah we want some freedom.
We want some freedom just as when the Algerian war took
place according to _____ the revolution
in Algeria, the war of liberation that France offered a
seat to the revolutionary forces which they declined by
saying that we don't want some France, we want some freedom.
So the same thing we say that it will be simple if we could
just separate but we see that the whole world is _____
by the small ruling circle there's a saying I can remember
from Sunday School if you will, saying I went to the mountain
to hide my face, the mountainside offered no hiding place
so we realized that if the people ten thousand miles away
in the mother country and in Vietnam, in Latin America.
If we see that they're already separated but yet _____
control of the ruling circle how can we separate the five

_____ here and be free while _____.

We say that the only way that we can be free is to negate the thing that is attempting to negate us. The only way we can be free is to negate and eliminate the slave master. We cannot separate from him because we realize that he's intergrated all the land spaces and all the institutions into one civilization. Now we can be very unhappy about this but we saw one thing, that everything carries an internal contradiction and just as a captialist created the an exploitation in Russia, 1917 the also created the conditions for the new society, the collective society, even if you dont' call it socialist believes that it was necessary for a civilation to exist in order to use the surplus to develop a tool on industry in order to free man. But only a few poeple because a few people had control of that tool and that is the industry. But while they did

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this they were negating themselves because at some point

the dominance in the contradiction, the dominance as the quantity grew of industry therefore the quantity of exploitation grew. We saw something happening reach a noted point and then the proletarian expropriated the tool and made it a social tool. So it was very much like the caterpillar into a cocoon and emerge as a butterfly. But he already had to have those properties to do that. He could not come out an egg. So capitalism itself the Russians found carried the basis and the foundation for their collective society. We see now because of the necessity of civilization, dependent because of division because of the need to survive would consume most of the things they produce so it took a greedy man to exploit them and use surplus in a way to give himself an abundance and while he did this we saw what happened, an industrial complex existence, an industrial base existence that was finally taken away by the people. So it seems that history

goes on but we must see where it is going. Of course we don't praise what the capitalists did in 1917, they were both revolutionary and reactionary at the same time. They were revolutionary because they expropriated the feudal laws. At the same time they were reactionary because they resisted change because they wanted to say we could change part or reform part, maintain control because a change in the part does not modify or transform the whole but this is a wrong way of thinking and empirical evidence shows what happened. So we see now that in this country first that the proletarians becoming _____. The Blacks of the country are already _____. We see that White people generally are getting upset because something is happening and they're not getting the job they want. Right now they're blind, so they attack students and Blacks who

point them the truth, they're real aggressive. But they don't see it yet. So we must make a distinction between the way we deal with an objective enemy and a subjective enemy. Those people are just as _____ or subjective enemies when they don't agree with us, and I say us the victims, the exploited. Our objective then _____ holding the goods you see. So, this point in history was travelling so fast that we got here from the West Coast in about four and a half hours. That we can get to Vietnam now in about ten hours and Algerian in about nine hours and that transportation is so fast that going from one land space to another is like going around the block. So therefore get land separation we see will not qualify a nationhood along the lines of a traditional definition... So we need something else. So we say we'll recover our culture because a culture will make us free. It will give us the truth and also it will give us

strength and division in order to maintain a nation. But we see it because we see the evil and we see how cultural indoctrination _____, racists cultural indoctrination hurt us and is hurting the world. We see this but what do we say. We say that we will develop a culture to defend ourselves. Now we see _____ happen. We see that we have very few surviving _____. We also see that the world is now in a trend in becoming westernized. We see that the Japanese are acting very Western. We see that their value system reflects the contact and dominance of a small ruling circle. So we say that the difference between Blacks in this country, Chinese in this country, Japanese in this country shows no qualitative difference. The trend is if the ruling circle stays in power long enough, the same thing will happen to Afro-Americans, what happened to the Japanese, the Chinese in Hong Kong and the African, both North and South Sahara. We see that technology seems

not to backtrack. We see that all of the power is centralized in one place and it seems to be Wall Street. We know that there must be some internal contradiction. We know that things cannot go on like they are. So we want to know the quantity we have to increase or decrease in order to change the whole thing delivered upon the people. Now we saw what happened with the _____ capitalist of 1917. Now we have the problem of imperialism. But we that imperialism has laid the foundation for world communism because in order for the people in the various communities of the world to have freedom, in order for the people to plan economy and a world government. First, we must be centralized. Now its centralized by reactionary forces just as the capitalist _____ centralized the wealth in Russia 1917. So the world now is struggling to expropriate the power and tools in order to redistribute throughout the world so that the people in the communities of the world will be free and

they will have control then of the institutions where they live. And we see also that there will be a need for this because if it does happen, then we will have a mutual slaughter of man by man. We see that nations are a thing of the past. There's no nation existing in the world today. This is why the BLACK PANTHER PARTY are no longer internationally because inter means the interrelationship between things and in this case, nations. So an internationalist first assumes that nations exist but if there's no nations in existence then we could not very well be international and this why we're intercommunalists (ph) because the nations of the world been transformed and they file around one centralized authority. Get this, a selection of communities evolve ^{around} one State administration. So there are only communities in the world and all of them are communities under _____ was the four white community operations on whether a Black community, Africa, a Black community in Harlem, a Black community right here. We see that

the same security force, we see that the police action that we suffer are also the police action that the Vietnamese suffer the police action that the people in Laos suffer. We that its the same police action people in the Dominican Republic and the people in South Africa and all the other communities suffer. So in order for us to change this thing we must know first where the power is.

(Inaudible) the authority before it happens (inaudible) People, do you think we will be able to again, to backtrack technology so that nations will exist. History shows that this is usually not the case and things do not repeat itself, it shows the progression in stages of development. So because we cannot have a nation that we want freedom and in order to have freedom we would have to have the essential quality that nation is signified soil is made of. So we don't want America, we want mother earth. We want mother earth in order to divide among the people of the world and in order for us to have freedom

(APPLAUSE) and self-determination. That is control of the institutions because the communities by way of definition are comprehensive collection of institutions to serve the people. Now these institutions are serving only one small group and the people are angry about this but we must also realize what has happened. So my proposition is this. That just as capitalism was necessary in order to establish a modern socialist economy, imperialism or a similar phenomenon it would be necessary to cut the ties of wealth and lay the foundation for Communism and this is not supporting imperialism but this is saying that imperialism has an internal contradiction. It has negation and it has negated the people's freedom and now you'll see a negation of the negation but when we do this the people of the world then have and profit by or they will be able to reach the wealth because in the United States we'd never see a socialist state. The reason you'd not see a socialist state is because first of all the very name the socialist state

requires that nationhood exists. Also ah that if there's
no nation then we can not have a redistribution of wealth
based upon the reported people in a particular area and
the United States is _____ the whole
world, it means to have a redistribution of wealth you
would have to redistribute to the whole world. You would
have to start, you would have to start not only, -not reparation
how can we have this when much of the wealth is invested in
machinery which has the potentiality of freeing all of mankind.
In other words LENIN instead of praising the prolitarian saw
the day when man would be able to stay in place _____
and move mountains. It sounded like even Lenin realized,
anticipated technocracy. The only thing is he saw that by the
time technology developed to that thing that the people would
already have the tools under control but we see now the
reactionary ruling circle have the tools under control and that
what we have, we have not Communism. What we have is not even

imperialism. We have reactionary intercommunalism (ph)

because every people in the world only represents at best

the provisional government. In other words, what is the

difference between the Vietnamese who are operating at the

liberation front, who are operating in the south who

instituted a provisional government and ah the government

that's in Korea of the Honorable KEM O SA (PH). What is

the difference because there seems to be no difference.

First, the Koreans have not liberated all their communities.

So at best I think they have a provisional _____.

The Vietnamese in the South have not liberated all of their

land so therefore they realize they have provisional government.

We see that the Chinese from the Peoples Republic are _____

_____ because they could not use their energies to promote

the welfare of the people. They must use most of it for defense

because they know they _____. They have not

liberated all of their communities. They do not have Formosa,

or Taiwan so therefore only part of their community is liberated

and I'm hear to say that if the community in Detroit _____
_____ If when they liberate that A block then if they
had, if the community had instituted a provisional
goverment they would have been on the same footing as
the Peoples Republic of China or any ahah community that
has liberated territory. But we can not say that they have
nation or government because nations are made of stronger
stuff. So we say this, we say that first we ~~must~~ realize
that the people of the world have suffered from a common
enemy and we realize the contradictions that lie within
imperialism but we see that with centralization of the power
that we know that America, we know that North America, the
only way it could come to grips with it and give justice to
the world os to have a redistribution of wealth and also a
redistribution of power. In other words the African has the
right, has a right to share in the control of the operation

in General Motors. He has the right to share in the wealth of Oil Refineries because all of the people were responsible for producing that. So in order to do that we have to have a world government and that's all Communism means. It means a world government with one community and we know because we're so thrown together, we know that cultures seem to change. I was talking to AL BALEY (PH) and he just did a study of his ancestors and he went back to a remote part of Africa, in West Africa, a little village not commonly, is not commonly travelled to by outsiders. He made the pilgrimage for about seven years. The last time he went that something shocked him very much and that was that he saw an old African man walking down a dirt road with a small thing to his ear that he carried. IT was a transitter radio with CBS coming across. So AL BALEY (PH) saw a culture about to be transformed so he got together a few

college students to try to get what part they could preserve and bring it back. So I'm saying that we cannot turn this trend around because just as everything else is subject to change so are cultures but now they are changing for the interests of the Westerner and the reactionary ruling circle so what we really want, ~~what~~ we really want the power in the people's hands so they can make the kind of behavior pattern, create the kind of behavior pattern that will be in their interest and because the people of world are so thrown together they will have to work out some culture or behavior pattern that is essentially human because whether we like it or not we will modify each other and we don't want this modification to be annihilation so in order to keep us together we must have control of the mass media that the reactionary circles now control. We must have control of that in order to give a fair, equal redistribution power because that's only another

manifestation of technology, because we know, because
radio beams, we know that the television satellite, we
know that they're chiefly responsible for molding cultures.
So in this we will not backtrack no matter where we go and
this is why we say we cannot hide, we cannot separate but
what we can do is expropriate. Everyone realizes this and
its hightime that the _____ AND also the
proletarian and let me tell you something about that. Many
of the people think that we're anti-proletarian or anti-worker.
No. We know that we're not only willing to work outside of
the factory including our liberation army. We must go into
the factory because the worker will not disappear, the worker
will not disappear, he will be unemployable. He will be an
unemployable worker. So why wait until he's unemployable go
into the factories and educate him so he will know exactly
what to do but also know the worker of the future or the
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revolutionist of the future would not be a Unionist because

it won't be necessary for a large group of people, You see, the people who bring about revolution, must be or have the potentiality to be the majority. So we know that time we know that time is quickly and the leaps in technological development is getting rid of the prolitarian and putting him in our ranks. So we say that along with the people of the world, that we must prepare our people. We must also prepare, prepare ourselves to develop a new culture, a culture that's based upon values that essentially human and is is a behavior pattern that will promote the unity of man instead of promoting division of man. So our chief motivation then is to turn back, turn back the violence and turn back the oppression of the aggressor to the time where to a situation so the people then will control. So they said that the 70s, the decade of the 70s is the decade of the boomerang or the first stage of violence, where violence is turned on the oppressor, hit him, its likely to kill him

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and then he wouldn't know any more than he did the first time

our main motivation would be to free the people of the world to free our community. Now this seems very abstract but its but its not. In other words that we say that our dispersed communities whether Mexican, Black or all White is on the same footing as all other oppressed communities so I think we should do the same thing. In other words liberate the territory and institute a provisional government and to close-in because the United States is around us. We know its around because we see that the whole world is upset over what they've been doing and we know that after we expropriate that we don't want to make the same mistakes that they made because we're a little smarter than that. So in conclusion I would like to say and then if anyone cares to hang around then we'll have a short question and answer period. But in conclusion that we want to develop that kind of santiy that will deliver us the freedom necessary and we will not

be duped by the Nationalism because we know the United States is nationalist and we know they're hated by the whole world and we see that all our friends are trying to create an apparatus that will allow people to hold hands and to be friendly in order to live. The power of peace brothers and sisters. (APPLAUSE) If you have any questions there's a microphone up here and a microphone over there. The people in the front there's a microphone right here.

I have one other statement to make and I almost forgot it and I would like to that, is that the first thing that I talked to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER (PH) THE other day you know you can call Algeria and we talk frequently because we have a little liberated territory there. Its called _____ where we're allowed to give asylum you see and we communicate with all of the communities who are _____ and fighting the aggressor. So ELDRIDGE
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asked me to ah to ah tell, to ask you a favor and that is

he would like for you to liberate the territory and set a place for him because he would like to come home again and he knows that he cannot come home until you liberate the territory and when you do that, to make it real safe, institute a provisional government, you see and then we can talk but ELDRIDGE is moving around the world in all those liberated areas and the people are friendly towards him and that he should be home soon but it all depends on us. On March 5, KATHLEEN will be back to talk to you and give you a report. (10 second pause) This is a letter concerning DAVID KLOT (PH) and ah it indicates that the BLACK PANTHER PARTY deserted KLOT (PH) and this is not true at all but let me tell you something that usually I don't mention names when I'm on the podium because there's so many political prisoners as the political prisoner's loved ones and family might be in the audience and if I called the NAMES of BOBBY SEALE (PH) and say ANGELA, IF I

get MICHELLE MC KEAB who no one talks about and is beat up every day you remember _____ and that he was the only brother who survived that murder that the police are guilty of there and he doesn't get any support but if you don't mention all of them then people aren't happy. So what I would like to say to free all political prisoners and we're doing now everything in our power to give DAVID CLARK (PH) legal aid and also a possible bail. I don't know all the facts of the case because as I said the party _____ there's so many political prisoners and this is a strategy. The ah the reactionary regime attempts to disperse the interests of the community, the focus of the community through arresting so many people it will make factions in the defense apparatus instead of having the people mobilize in one case, such as mine, where the people declared it a political case and the whole country, the whole

world mobilized behind it. Now we have literally hundreds of political prisoners and we must learn a method and a strategy to work more effectively to release them and we must not get hung up on just issues because then we'll be methamystical materialists. They'll drag us from issue to issue to keep us away from the cause of the issue in the first place so they want us to deal with the effects of it and the party wants to deal with the cause but we're now considering and doing everything we can for DAVID CLARK (PH) and I'm going to try to personally see him while I'm on the East Coast (APPLAUSE) Oh, I'm sorry, I can't see very well.

UNKNOWN MALE:

The first question regards your Ideology and the Black Panther Party. First, you mentioned political prisoners. There's a rumor, probably a widespread one, but, there's a rumor and probably a widespread one that the Party is coming apart because of the political persecutions and whatnot. Do

you as President have enough support in the Black Community that if this system came down on you, hard, would you have the sympathy or the support or apathy and most of the Black Community wouldn't help you?

HUEY NEWTON:

Ah, the first thing, the PARTY was born of repression because repression breeds resistance. If it had not been for repression there would be no Black Panther Party so therefore I'm saying that's a _____ increase of the quantity would not negate the party, it will create more party members until we reach the noted point and then there will be a qualitative leap, you see and that qualitative leap is treating everyone in the world and everyone in the United States like, you see, the Black Panther Party. They're doing it every day and everyone is getting angry and if people get angry our forces will get stronger. So not wanting, we don't

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want them to be like they are, we would like some peaceful

either be nonantagonistic or antagonistic. Nonantagonistic contradictions are not based upon economic conflict we saw the people make but those contradictions that are based upon economic clashes they seem to always show some ah some ah abrupt violent change but to answer you question ah Commandant brother ah we see the party growing because say two years ago we didn't have an embassy. I guess that the Black in American, America's rural Black seemed to be the first ones to erect a government in exile and that is in Algeria where we have some liberated territory and it was granted to us by Korea, China through some deals they did for Algeria and if the situation or the occasion arise where you have to leave this country for revolutionary reasons then your welcome at our small liberated space.

UNKNOWN MALE;

What I really mean is that in the community do you presently have the active support and the active sympathy of

the entire Black community or a good enough majority of it to

support your cause and help you go strong. This is opposed to a reality of the situation and a rhetoric of it.

HUEY NEWTON:

Ah, the answer to your question is that you said full and entire and I guess you were speaking in' absolute. The answer is no because we dont' understand entirety. We only understand portions of and as far as ah because remember we said earlier in our talk and I keep referring to my talk because it only a discussion or lecture you see. I could make you feel good but we already agreed we already agreed when man talks about absolutely, beginning, ending or all of them he doesn't know what he's talking about because its something he can't conceive of. Maybe some day that we can talk about those things and say those words and they're significant. But as far as far as the influence of the Party_____ I'm their steer head and

a head of a steer is only dangerous with that force behind

it a certain amount of force, you see and the people then represent that force and they'll do the job and for the people related to the Party, first party, because the vanguard is small. We think that we've had a great influence not only here in North America but in the world. Certainly were not interested in becoming, in becoming a Party that's based upon number. We would like to start people thinking because we're a _____ group and if we can influence your thinking where you come up with the answer and then create a truly revolutionary Party then we'll join that yousee. So we only want to make a contribution because our motto is service to the people. So the answer is that no we now have influence upon a significant amount of the people in America but not the majority and we'll say in the future we believe the majority will think in dialectical terms and we believe

that they will see the necessity of liberating territory
through the means that been developed by other communities
through also exploiting.

UNKNOWN MALE:

Last question

ANTOHER UNKNOWN MALE:

Er, excuse me, you want to keep it limited, cause
we have people here who might want to ask questions.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

g. Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York
February 14, 1971

NEWTON spoke in Hendricks Chapel, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, on the evening of February 14, 1971. Hendricks Chapel was filled to capacity as approximately twelve hundred applauding students heard NEWTON's comments about "intercommunalism", revolution, and United States repression of black political prisoners.

NEWTON stated that the security forces of this country are the enemies of the people. He defined security forces as the various police agencies and Armed Forces of the United States. He advocated that the "people" should use force to take over the operations of General Dynamics, Wall Street, General Motors, and other "establishment programs". According to NEWTON, the riches of these corporations should be redistributed to the poor.

NEWTON told the crowd that "without you, there can be no change and no revolution". He said, "people must liberate their institutions, and when this empire that is America can no longer control the world and when the universal police can no longer oppress the people, there will be but one world and one people". NEWTON said that the whole world, not just black people, must be liberated. He stated, "all political prisoners must be freed" and called for support of jailed black leaders ANGELA DAVIS and BOBBY SEALE.

NEWTON also said that the BPP was instrumental in assisting TIMOTHY LEARY to flee the United States. He said that the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) helped LEARY to escape from prison and transported him by car to Oakland, California, and from Oakland, the BPP transported LEARY to Algeria.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix.

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

TIMOTHY LEARY is a well known drug user presently in exile in Algeria.

NEWTON also talked about his future plans and indicated that he intended to travel to Connecticut to hold demonstrations as long as BPP members are being tried in Connecticut courts.

NEWTON's appearance at Syracuse University was sponsored by the University Union, the Black Student Union, and the Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse. The principal personalities involved were LAWRENCE ERNEST ALEXANDER, Chairman of the Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse, and IRA KURZBAN, President of the University Union. They paid NEWTON \$2000 plus transportation expenses for the speaking engagement. The money was allocated from "student activity fees" which students are required to pay at registration time.

SF T-12

February 15, 1971

The Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse is self-described as a radical, independent political party.

The Black Student Union and University Union are officially recognized organizations on the Syracuse University campus.

All students who entered Hendricks Chapel to hear NEWTON's speech were searched for weapons and recording devices before they were admitted. Several penknives and small recorders were confiscated from the students. These items were later returned at the conclusion of NEWTON's speech. The reaction of some of the students to the body searches was that NEWTON was being "overly paranoid". Some students refused to be searched, and they were denied admittance. The body searches were conducted by members of the Syracuse University Black Student Union. Other security precautions consisted of "bodyguards" standing on either side of NEWTON

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

during his speech, and other "goons" circulating amongst the audience to insure complete compliance with NEWTON's security regulations.

After his speech, NEWTON and his travelling companions returned to the downtown Holiday Inn where two rooms had been reserved for them in advance by the Black Student Union.

SF T-13
February 15, 1971

h. Radio Program "Hot Line"
Radio Station WVON
Chicago, Illinois
February 19, 1971

On the night of February 19, 1971, NEWTON appeared on radio program "Hot Line", a radio discussion program sponsored and broadcast by radio station WVON, Chicago, Illinois.

The following is a transcript of that program:

VOICE:

...Hot Line, are not necessarily those of the management of WVON or the participating sponsors.

(Music) Hot Line. A program of public comment. A program where you voice your opinions and ask the questions of our Hot Line guests. And now, Wesley South and Hot Line. (Music)

WESLEY SOUTH:

My name is Wesley South and this is the Hot Line, a program of public comment, a program where you may voice your opinion or ask the questions of our guests and you do that by dialing our (incoherent). And we have been announcing it all day, and the last four or five days, that Huey Newton would be our guest. We understand that he is in town and ah, I can understand that he is very much in demand and possibly he is on his way here, we hope so. We called the Headquarters, the Black Panther Headquarters here just, oh, maybe seven minutes ago, and they say, well he's supposed to be there, and..they did not know why he was not here. So, we are, should I say stuck at this point without a guest. We cancelled our other guest who was going to be here in order to provide a, a spot for Huey Newton. He will be at the Coliseum, incidentally on Sunday. And so if you don't hear him here tonight, you can hear him at the Coliseum Sunday. So, since we don't have anything planned, since many of you

out there do have quite a bit that you would like to ah, discuss, then there's only one thing for us to do, and that's to resort to what we call our grab-bag. Unfortunately, and I say unfortunately again, we don't have anyone to answer our telephones, so consequently you just have to let the telephone ring, until I answer it. Now, we will have what we call the grab-bag, and that's where you're allowed to call in until, well, and make any comment that you feel would be of interest to our community, and from what I understand there are many of you out there who have something to say. Now we ask you that I hope that I don't have to say it again, I've been saying this for eight years, but I have to say it each time so I guess I'd better become accustomed to it, and that is you've got to turn off your radio, when you and I are connected. I mean turn it off, not down, because we're on a six-second delay. That means what you are hearing right at the instant that you hear it, was actually spoken six seconds ago. And that means that ah, we cannot ah, allow anyone to be ah, to come in without that. The FCC regulations say that when we have this type of show, we must have a ah, delay in order to prevent any obscenities from going out over the air. Now there are occasionally when there are a few youngsters and surprisingly quite a few elderly as well, middle age people, at least adults, who try to get something obscene through. And usually, not always, but usually, when you hear ah, some dead air on one of these programs, whether it's mine, Ben Sanders (ph) on WDBZ, or

any of the other stations, it's indicative that someone has said something, had said something that is ah, well, objectionable, and quite likely it's obscene. So, we ask you to dial us, keep your comments as brief as possible. You hear someone make the comment that you h..were about to make, please hang up because as right now, all of our phones are busy.

(Portion of program not cut as it was not pertinent.)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE:
(Calling into radio station)

....so I said well how long would it take to check out about the gun. An' he said until tomorrow. An I said...

SOUTH:
UM:

Uh-huh.
...why so long? He said cause we have our reasons, that's the way we do things.

SOUTH:
UM:

Uh-hmm.
So finally, anyway, about around twelve thirty, one of em told me say, ah, well you can get out on bond. And I asked him how much my bond was...

SOUTH:

Wait now, (incoherent)
You reared, the..I'm talkin about the little girl now that they'd accused you of raping.

UM:
SOUTH:
UM:
SOUTH:

Right.
Ah, s..you raised her from a baby.
Right.
And you have thr..two other children of your own, you and this, and ah, your wife, which you say is your common-law wife.

UM:
SOUTH:

Right.
Uh, all right. Now, I'll tell you what. We have our guest in the

studio, I'd like, th..your wife
I (incoherent), she's in the
hospital, I didn't say what hospital,
she has a telephone at her bed,
and I spoke with her, and ah,
she's on the line also. She's
listenin'. You're both there..
Right.

UM:
SOUTH:

And I will, ah, talk with you
about this, though, ah you..I
told you to get a lawyer, you have
a lawyer, and ah, we'll talk about
this one day next week, okay?

UM:
SOUTH:

Okay, fine.
Yeah, okay. Oh, a, just a moment,
ah, (incoherent) just a moment, hold
on. Just a minute. Ah...just a
minute, hold on. Ah, now if you'll
put this on here, an' you can hear
same thing I'm hearing. Ah, you have
we have Huey Newton sitting in the
ah...now, if you talk right into that,
(incoherent).. Now what..What did
you say just a, a moment ago?

NEWTON:

Ah, I would like ah for the ah
sisters, ah..

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Sisters and brothers.
Ah, sisters and brothers, to ah,
report these ah, ah tragedy ah
this murder, ah, ah to the ah
Black Panther Party, ah at nine
two four, ah six nine seven, ah
five. Ah, the address is fortytwo
thirtythree Indiana Street, ah, in
Chicago, is our, our local branch
here, our state branch. Report it
to ah, ah Bob Rush, ah who is the
companion of Fred Hampton who was
murdered ah fourteen months and
fifteen days ago. So he can sympa..
not only sympathize with us, but
identify with you, and that we'll

do everything possible to mobilize the community against the abusive and the brutal authority who are responsible for it.

SOUTH:
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:
(Calling into radio station)

Okay?
Okay.

SOUTH:

And we'll talk with you next week.

UF:
SOUTH:

All right, thank you.
Sure. Good night.
Well, (stumbles over words) we're hanging up now. Thanks for calling.

UM:
SOUTH:

Okay, thank you very much.
Now, ladies and gentlemen, our guest has arrived, ah, we're gonna take an extra three or four minutes tonight, and ah, let's stop here for a message, that's our final message, then we'll be back in just... we have one more, is that right?
Good.

SOUTH:

(Commercial)
And our telephone number, five nine one, five four hundred.
Well, we have our guest here tonight.
And that's ah, Huey Newton.

NEWTON:

(Incoherent)
Now, what are you doing in Chicago?
Ah, I came to Chicago, to ah, first of all, ah thank the people for my release ah from prison because I would not be out of prison and ah to say the least that ah, not only out of prison, but ah, I would not have lived the gas chamber, ah in California, ah if it had not been for the power of the people, ah demonstrating their interest in my case, and the ah kind of attention given to me, and I would like to um, ah to thank them, and I

know that the words are of little value, to ah, when one tries to express such a, a, ah emotion (incoherent) are a value of life. I would like to say ah without words, ah, because words aren't sufficient, I would like to say, ah, thank you. And, of course, the Party itself will demonstrate our thanks, ah to you by programs. A life was given to me, and ah we intend to preserve the rights of the people, and eventually ah, ah do things that will accomplish our necessary transformation so that life will be guaranteed, and then we'll, we'll not have ah, the need for a ah survival program such as our ten-point ah program, which is no more than their ah, a survival kit.

SOUTH:

(incoherent)

NEWTON:

I wa..

SOUTH:

I, I know it was in California, which prison was it?

NEWTON:

I was imprisoned at ah (incoherent).

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, ah, which is called the ah California, ah Penal Colony for Men, and ah, I stayed there for approximately two years. Ah, I was in the County Jail prior to my trial for one year, and ah, so it was a total of ah, ah really ah, just about three years, short of about two months.

SOUTH:

What was the charge that they had you on?

NEWTON:

Ah, I was tried ah for first degree murder, and the ah, ah jury, ah who were a very unenlightened, and who were ah engineered by the state, ah,

prosecutor, and all of his ah
bombastic ah ah strategy ah
that's based upon the (incoherent)
ah, they ah (incoherent) the
(incoherent) absurdities of what
he was saying ah it was a compromise
verdict, ah (incoherent),
ah they didn't release me as I
should have been, ah, but they
sent me to prison for fifteen
years.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

That was a policeman, wasn't it?
Ah, yes, I was accused of ah
killing ah, one of the
(incoherent) who occupy our
community as a foreign troop
occupies a territory, and a
the community, ah, clearly issued
a mandate to the state, saying
that we will not tolerate the
kind of indecencies that you are
attempting to ah inflict upon ah
this individual. And ah I would
like to emphasize that what this
individual, because it could have
been anyone, it just was a
coincidence that ah, at that time
I was head of the
Black Panther Party, ah, that
ah lovely people and that have
ah instituted programs ah
demonstrating their concern for
the people generally.

SOUTH:

Don't you believe that it's,
that ah because you were Huey P.
Newton, and because you were one of
the top officials in the Black
Panther Party, this could have been
one of the reasons that you were
arrested, and ah that they were so
severe with you, and if it had been
anyone else, yes, but I mean, what,
didn't they make a special effort to
(incoherent) of your activities?

NEWTON:

Ah, I would agree with that, ah, because the established order has always feared the Black Panther Party because they have the interests of the people at heart. Uh, but, it, and the ah, same ah ah vain ah the people ah, would not ah tolerate ah the state murdering me, ah because of the love that they have for the Party. And ah of course, that the Party is a very small thing, a very small (incoherent) compared to the kind of ah, ah sacrifices that have been made for our history, and ah, I would like to ah, ah, ask the people to grow in their concern so that there'll be concern by each ah individual that's done an injustice by the state.

SOUTH:

You'll be at the Coliseum on Sunday, (incoherent) er, what time is that? Two PM?

NEWTON:

Two PM.

SOUTH:

And you'll be ah, is there any particular program that, or would you just be the only speaker there?

NEWTON:

Ah, as far as I know, that ah, I am the only speaker, ah..

SOUTH:

Yes, you're the main speaker.

NEWTON:

Ah, the main speaker, of course, is Bob Rush. He was the ah ah Chairman ah of the ah Chicago ah f..I'm sorry, it's ah, I, sometimes I mix up the ah the rank and file order ah Bob Rush is the Deputy Minister of Defense of the ah Chicago Chapter, will speak. And there might be other speakers.

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, b..in fact, there aren't any guest speakers.

SOUTH:

I see. Ah, do you...eh..how old are you?

NEWTON:

Ah, I'm twentynine just two days

ago, February seventeenth is my birthday. This is my last year of being a teenager. I'll be a, I, an adult next year. (chuckles) You won't, you won't be a boy to ah..

SOUTH:

NEWTON: No.

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: No, I'll be thirty, so ah..

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: I will bridge the ga..generation gap, ya know. If I can hold on ah to my youth, as well as ah the ah foresight of the adult perhaps I'll be in a position to c..really contribute something.

SOUTH: You were one of the original organizers of the ah Black Panther Party, weren't you?

NEWTON: Ah, yes, I was the founder of the ah Black Panther Party...

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: Ah, and Bobby Seale is the co-fon... founder of the Black Panther Party.

SOUTH: How about Eldridge Cleaver?

NEWTON: Eldridge Cleaver joined the Black Panther Party after he was released from prison, but this was about six months after the Party started.

SOUTH: I see. So you are the founder.

NEWTON: Bobby Seale is the co-founder.

SOUTH: Yes.

NEWTON: I wonder if you would tell us how you happened to ah form it, why you formed it, and how did you have been able to keep the very small group of people close to you and dedicated to

SOUTH: (incoherent) It was nineteen sixtysix, wasn't it? Almost five years.

NEWTON: Yes, October nineteen sixtysix. Ah. First off, I would like to

clarify that, ah, it is not a question of keeping a small group of people who ah, ah, ah close to you, and ah it is the fact that the Black Panther Party and its love of the people ah generally, the oppressed people. Ah, as far the organization, it's a vanguard group, and by that I mean sphere-head (ph) necessarily in a small cadre.

But (incoherent) of course, (incoherent) which is much (incoherent) and I lacked ah, ah supplies of force in this sphere. Ah, in the (incoherent) of the Black Panther Party, we had a love of the people as part of the people and that's the force behind the vanguard, or the small cadre. Ah, we have fortyfour chapters and branches and ah in ah approximately thirty states. Ah, we have seven ah branches, and ah, and ah, what we called our Intercommunal (ph) Section in ah seven countries. Ah, so we ah have a great influence, and we judge our success on the basis of ah how much influence we have upon the people and the influence that we attempt to get, is an area of enlightening or ah bringing about racial conscious. So the people ah will ah exercise their power and therefore gain their just deserves which is control everything in the universe.

SOUTH:

How did you eh..we..How did you organize and why (incoherent) come about? I mean, I'd like to get (incoherent). I think ya didn't just come out and say one day we're gonna, ah maybe ya did (incoherent) organize the Party, the Black Panther Party. Eh, w..would ya take it through..

NEWTON:

No, I..I would like to say that,

but I'm not so arrogant that I think that the history of the black resistance to oppression, ah is responsible for the Black Panther Party. That ah ah the Party ah was formed in October of sixtysix and ah nineteen fiftynine, nineteen fiftyeight, that I was a member of the NAACP, and ah later CORE and ah in nineteen sixty ah a member of ah; not a member of, but I associated with ah, the Muslims. And ah with the RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement. Ah, I was associated with (incoherent) labor, and Socialist Workers Party. And ah was frustrated with all of them.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
Because ah..
This was just a natural outgrowth of the ah..

I think that ah th..the Party itself ah ah ah synthesized ah the total ah contribution that's been made historically. Ah, so therefore I have great respect for al..ah..for all of those who contributed. Even though I might have great criticism of many, but I will not deny his contribution, ah, his contribution might have been a negative thing, but even that ah was a positive ah contribution to the Party because at least we knew what not to do.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

You said something a moment ago about you had fortyfour different ah units in the ah (inaudible) (incoherent) ...or cadre groups. Yeah. Ah, we read in the paper here not too long ago that ah you were closing some and going underground. Is this correct or incorrect? Ah, no, ah, and even if we were

going underground, that I wouldn't admit it here. Ah, I will say that our forward, progressive chapters are still functioning. We're anticipating more opening up because we think that's necessary before anyone goes underground, if you ever go underground, ah, you must first ah make an impact above ground so that people will at least recognize and lend their receptive ear to the kind of ah educational things.

SOUTH:

You didn't, you didn't make the statement, (incoherent) statement that you're going underground.

NEWTON:

No, no, no. But I..I think it's not enough just to say there was a, that statement because ah, it's not that I'm denouncing any underground action, it's just that ah, I do..

SOUTH:

Certain things have to be done before you do go underground.

NEWTON:

Ah, yes, we also have to have a lifeline and a vein ah, that ah will ah connect ah the above-ground with the underground. Ah,

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

If you do not have that, then the underground is not only underground but it's buried, and you're..you're above-ground without a strategy that's secret is ah somewhat ah impotent.

SOUTH:

Ah, one other thing. I noticed that that ah many of the (incoherent) in that group, many of us were older. We look at many of the people who are in your organization, and we often wonder, at least I often wonder, and I've heard some of the other..my contemporaries say the same, why do you ah, advertise what you're going to do, like really puts you on the spot. I've heard you say the

the, I heard, ah, some of the other members of your organization say that the power of the, what, is it, revolution coming out of a gun, what, what's the..

NEWTON: Ah, i..it's probably the quote of, of the chairman..

SOUTH: MAO Tse-tung, yes.

NEWTON: Ah, that says political power grows through the barrel of a gun.

SOUTH: Yes. All right..

NEWTON: And you know the people, I would like to add something. I always have to clarify that statement.

SOUTH: Yes.

NEWTON: Ah, what I have to say, cause may because Americans generally and b..black people in particular ah did not ah ah study and understand thoroughly, especially the English language.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: And I can understand ah being dis..

SOUTH: Well, how about..

NEWTON: Being disillusioned with it. But understand that..

SOUTH: That wasn't what my question w..

NEWTON: No, no, no. Your, your question was and ah was based that statement..

SOUTH: Yeah.

NEWTON: But I doubt if you understand that statement, and maybe you do, but I say..

SOUTH: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: ..generally, people don't.

SOUTH: Yeah. I understand.

NEWTON: In other words, now may I explain it.

SOUTH: I don't need it.

NEWTON:

All right. Political power grows through the barrel of a gun with emphasis upon grows, it is not there by accident. Ah, the Black Panther Party adds political power grows through the barrel of a gun, but it cultivates and th...c the ownership and the control of the land and the institutions thereon. So then, ah, the other statement by the chairman is not in contradiction, (incoherent) we're advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, that ah war is abolished through war, in order to get rid of a gun, ah, it sometimes becomes necessary to pick up the gun. So our main emphasis is to become disarmed, to disarm man so that he will not mutually slaughter each other. But, ah, we will not be ah, ah mysticists, and ah deal in idealism, where we will say that ah, in spite of, of people taking our head with the sword, that we will never defend ourselves. We said we will defend ourselves, but we will also weep, ah, for our trans..ah..gressor, because he is only an ignorant, ah, unenlightened Homo sapien. So, we ah, ah want to ah ah change or bring about the transformation of (incoherent) because our great feeling of love ah, for people. Ah, we have (incoherent) love we know that only people of dignity can love each other. (incoherent) dignity could not love another who's on a high level than the person who's maintained his manhood. So in order for us to truly love each other, we say that we will maintain our dignity. This..if you attempt to take it away in the name of love, we will (incoherent)

that we have to hurt you to do so, but we will hurt you that you will weep because the death of any man diminishes us. But, at the same time, that we know that we must preserve sanity because we believe we're sane, and ah we must not let the madman run amuck and cause the bloodshed that he's been doing for the last four hundred years.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Now..
I'm sorry for being so long-winded.
Yeah. What I was..my question was ah..Well, let me ah go and ask another question first. It has been ah attributed to the Black Panther Party that they, if they have to, if they must, they would resort to guerrilla warfare. This is one of the reasons why they..am I right there? I..in order to protect the people.

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Ah..
..And to protect themselves.
Yeah, I, I thing that's the wrong word, but ah..

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

I thought, I thought I was using the right word that I had heard.
Well, sometimes we use the wrong word.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Oh, I see.
Ah, but ah, we will use the strategy that's effective, sufficient, and necessary. And ah, if that strategy happens to be guerrilla warfare, which I think guerrilla warfare would not work in this country because that ah very clear military strategy. Ah, ah this country will (incoherent) because of our whole different composition of conditions, it will require a whole new creative set of strategy and tactics. But,

ah, what I would like to say is this. Is that ah, as far as we're concerned that our..

SOUTH: (interrupting) Wait, I (garbled) let me ask you..

NEWTON: Ah..telegraphing, ya hafta have a station break?

SOUTH: No, I want to ask this so you can answer all that's here.

NEWTON: No, no, no, but, no. First I would like to add to this then.

SOUTH: Okay.

NEWTON: That..but as as far as our ah strategy and broadcasting our strategy...

SOUTH: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: In nineteen sixtysix, we walked around the street armed..

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: And ah, it made a point because we know one thing, that black people because we're powerless ah cannot call a press conference. The press hafta call us. And (stumbles over words) in order for the press to call us, (clears throat) we have to do something that they consider significant, whether it's positive or negative.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: In our case, of course, we could only offer a negative thing because we were suffering a negative reaction from them.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: So the main emphasis here, is usually the tool for the mass media of communication. This was the case in nineteen sixtysix of October.

SOUTH: Yeah.

NEWTON: So, at first, you do what? You regain the res..you gain the

receptive ear. Secondly, ah the press will make it very derogatory, but the victim has been suffering from the derogatory ah dealings of the press all of the time. So he sees through it. So in effect, ah, two negatives make the positive, and two positives make the negative. So ah we ne..negate the negation because the press will make a double negative when they report it, and the community will view it as a positive because I say those people are outraged, just as we are. And ah you speak of a generational thing, that ah, well (incoherent) Ho Chi Min (ph) of Vietnam, the late Ho Chi Min, Uncle Ho?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
Said that it's perfectly ah, incorrect to broadcast military tactics for military reasons. But it's perfectly correct to broadcast military action, or military strategy for political reasons. Ah, so ah, you could judge what we're doing in that context. Now, ah, after that time, after that ah armed kind of demonstration, there was a real demonstration because it was a little more than that. It was that twilight zone, in between some real action, but not yet there. Ah, after we've exhausted that we've gone onto higher level because we don't need that any more because the community is (incoherent) we are the only party with a program. That isn't including all of them.

SOUTH:

I have to stop here and say this is WVON, Cicero. Go right ahead.

NEWTON:

All right. Ah, so, what I'm trying to say, and I won't ah be too long-winded that I'll say in front of the Coliseum, and my throat gets sore where I can't talk, and I think it would be a catastrophe for me not to be able to address ah, the people I love very (incoherent) in person. Ah, at least to say thank you anyway. Ah, what I'm saying is that what we did in nineteen sixtysix of October, w..was no more than what you did, ah say ten, twenty years ago, and that is when you stood up to your boss now you, a plural, and said that I would not be treated like a dirty dog and sleep in a hollowed-out log, ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
That ah I would rather drink muddy water, ya see? And ah you showed your outrage, and you let your comrades knew, know it, because..

SOUTH:

(Interrupting) Will you, what we try to do...(both speak simultaneously)

NEWTON:

Because..wait for a minute, huh? Wait.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

..take another step.
Wait just one minute, huh? You let your comrades know it for political reasons.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
You knew you couldn't take on the sheriff and all his dogs But you also knew that your comrade was coward. Ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
Because they were, had internalized that negative identity. But, ah after you show a certain amount

of dignity, that ah ah there
were (incoherent) of ah
dignity and manhood as you
allowed them, and then through
your communica..through communication
and your fraternal kind of relation-
ship and love. So this is essentially
what the Black Panther Party intends
to do. Now we do not walk around
with guns, but at the same time
we maintain the same policy..that if-
if we cannot maintain our manhood
we'll level the earth trying.. But
this time we will not be sitting
ducks, we will deal with you in a
military way, and I won't discuss
that here because it's incorrect
according to Ho Chi Min (ph).
Now, ah you spoke of Ho Chi Min,
you spoke of ah Chairman Mao. Ah..
I could start speak of O..ah..
(incoherent) or, or, yeah,
Odinga Odinga (ph) ah, who's ah
fighting in Kenya ah..
Yeah.

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

...for the liberation of the
ah people of Kenya, fighting
the over-reactionary (incoherent)
Ya know revolution ah, is a sort
of ah, ah, strange thing that
ah i..the basis of it is a struggle
between the old and the new.
(incoherent) was a revolutionist ah
in nineteen sixtyone, but he became
old and ah he tried to consolidate
and hold to his position. So there-
fore, he became reactionary. And
the new Odingo Diga (ph) who is
a relatively a young man, I don't
think he's a teenager any more, he's

about thirtyfive or thirtyseven now, ah, but at any rate, now he's struggling to take the freedom to a higher manifestation, and the Black Panther Party (incoherent) this is the answer and we will not change, that we will classify ourselves as reactionaries, if we're honest. Uh-hmm.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

So we always go through, ah, ah continu..ah..a continuation of transformation. In nineteen fiftysix we said we're nationalists. A short time after that, we said we were revolutionary nationalists. A short time after that we said we're internationalists. A short time after that we say that, we're not nationalists at all. We're inter-communiteralists because it's necessary to view the world as your community because as we anticipate a universal technology we must have a universal identity so that we will not divide each other into tribes, nations, species and pseudo-species, but we must embrace each other as Homo sapiens and looking for the same thing and that is life, and happiness and well-being and dignity.

SOUTH:

Now, the question was this, let me get to the question. And, don't answer until I finish it, (incoherent)

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Don't tempt me then. (Both chuckle)

Okay. Ah, is there a, I mean, d..that the Ho Che..Ho Chi Min, Chairman Mao, and O..

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Odinga Odinga (ph).

Odinga Odinga.

And I could have mentioned (incoherent), I, I could have mentioned Patricia Mulba (ph) I made secretary in New York, who ah smuggled her way over from

France. I just wrote a book about him, ah, that I adore him. I could have mentioned Malcolm X. Before them all I could have even ah ah mentioned ah one of the great movements that you..know much about I'm sure, which is Markus Garvey (ph), and ah, before that ah we picked the man that Markus Garvey hated, and perhaps he wasn't mature enough because he could have used some of the ah contributions that the man offered, but criticized at the same time those, Booker T. Washington, and ah and ah ah...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

DuBois?
DuBois. Ah. E. B. DuBois, he liked to be called DuBois. Ah, that ah he could have used this, and he did use some, but what we try to do is this. We try to ah make an (incoherent) and integrate the complex whole to get the best out of everything so that we will not only view the best of the two worlds, but we will have it. And that will be the new thing. And after this we dedicate ourselves to constantly change because we know that man wants the one thing, and that's free. And his ultimate freedom will rest upon his ability to become Godly, and ah we think that he has the potentiality to reveal the secret to ah the Buddha at the head of the garden. (incoherent) secret of the beginning and end... Now there's one last question. ..which we know nothing about now. Now maybe I can get to the question now.
Go ahead now.
(incoherent)

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON: D..don't tempt me please.
 SOUTH: Don't tempt ya, okay. Ah, is there a..
 NEWTON: Is it all right (incoherent) around?
 SOUTH: Yeah.
 NEWTON: He says it's all right.
 SOUTH: Okay.
 NEWTON: Okay.
 SOUTH: Is there a..
 NEWTON: I mean it'll be all right with Fred Hampton.
 SOUTH: Yeah.
 NEWTON: That's why I'm happy.
 SOUTH: Is there a spiritual..ah, any type of link between the Black Panther Party and Ho Chi, the late Ho Chi Min (ph) and his followers and Chairman Mao. I kno..now I would assume that there is eh, a ah, what do we call it, Communist, ah, ah base for the Black Panther Party. Am I right, or a Socialistic base? Which is it? Or is there..
 NEWTON: Well, I, I would hi..I could only answer that in full context. The same link that is between ah, Chairman Mao and Ho Chi Min (ph) ah, we would have to say that's the same link as between DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and also Markus Garvey (ph), Malcolm, because as I told you before we've..
 SOUTH: Yes.
 NEWTON: ..integrated all the good thi... of the thinkers of the world. Now we're not dogmatists, and we don't sit, we're not flunkies for anyone. We say that we're for freedom and if a man says a thing just because he's of a certain, ah, ethnic or racial group, or country, we don't disqualify him because the white racists say disqualify it, we'll disqualify it on the basis of it not being functional for us. So, ah. we say this, that we're interested

in mankind, and ah, we're dedicated to not being prejudice or discriminate against anyone ah because he's from, from a certain region or his texture of his skin is a certain way, or his eyes are slanted a certain way. And this is i..in spite of everything else, even though we would have every reason to hate everything American. But we don't do that. We say even America has contributed something, even though the double negative, which makes a positive. Uh-hmm.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

And maybe that's e..the future of the Third World which is the colored world, and we like to call it the black world, because we know one thing, we know that the dominant gene is black and we said we must not be racial chauvinists, but at the same time that the future itself will eliminate the problem of light skin texture and dark skin texture if the mass media is the (incoherent) ah, ah, development ah, throws man together that the, the cells of dark men will probably dominate over the cells of light, and ah, this is no ah great thing to celebrate about, it's just that I think that problem will be solved who have not only effected (incoherent) in a biological way, will also have it in a spiritually, ah, a in a spiritual way, the cultural way, political way, and a way that will deliver man ah, to what we call the promised land, and that's the collective society that man would love each other,

share with each other..

SOUTH: Do you really think that could come about in this, in the entire world, or in the United States?

NEWTON: Not in your lifetime, and perhaps not in mine, but without a dream we cannot have a dream come true.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: So, therefore, I pursued the dream...

SOUTH: (Both men speaking simultaneously, Newton continues speaking. South's remarks incoherent.)

NEWTON: ...with a passion, because I will not except the nightmare of this reality if here..that is a pitiful excuse of a life. I will not call it the happy life. I will not commit to it and I will not give up my manhood, and that's what the (incoherent) want of me. They wanted it in prison, and now they want it out of prison, but I will give up nothing, they'll have to take it but in the process I might take something.

SOUTH: All right, let me ask you this question, and make it, eh, you've got two minutes to answer it. So, think of your words real carefully. Ah, when do you think, because you've answered part of it, you said not in my lifetime, and maybe not in yours, when do you think we will have a good, ah...

NEWTON: Well, you've done many good things in your life, your generation..

SOUTH: Yeah, yeah, I'm saying wha..

NEWTON: And I appreciate that.

SOUTH: ..what I'm saying no, no I didn't mean it would be, it may never be Utopia, but when do you think it will be..

NEWTON: I don't believe in Utopia.

SOUTH: Well.
NEWTON: Because that would be a final conclusion. I believe in a continual ah, process...

SOUTH: I hit the wrong nerve, when I said Utopia. Let me, let me get the rest of, eh, what, when and where eh, do you think this will occur in the United States?

NEWTON: Ah, it would...
SOUTH: You only have ninety seconds.
NEWTON: It would have to occur in the world because the world is one community and that's why we call ourselves intercommunists (ph) because...

SOUTH: No, why would it happen in the world then?

NEWTON: Pardon me?
SOUTH: When will it happen in the world?
NEWTON: Ah, could you have told when you, your generation..

SOUTH: I don't know.
NEWTON: Wait just one minute.
SOUTH: I don't know.
NEWTON: Wait, I, I'm not asking you, my (stumbles over words) ninety minutes. You could not have told when you ah would have when your mother would delivered Malcolm or when ah the people would have delivered the Black Panther Party. So I cannot tell when the Black Panther Party ah, with all of the contributions be given to it, would deliver a new idea and a new strategy to gain freedom. So I say power to the people, best to the fascists, and love to all of the people.

SOUTH: Are you gonna cry when the fascists die?

NEWTON: Pardon? Yes.
SOUTH: ..cry..
NEWTON: Yes. Because the fascists are, that's only an adjective to modify the noun

of Homo Sapiens, human beings. So, he is not born of stone, he is born of woman, so therefore I cry for his mother, I cry for his sister, and his family...
SOUTH: It is only his deeds and his beliefs that you..
NEWTON: Th..that's, that's correct. But I would not ah submit to his deeds, and be distant to them.
SOUTH: Ladies and gentlemen, our guest tonight, Huey P. Newton, age 29, (inbackground) just a moment, (into microphone) ah, the ah Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party..
NEWTON: And ah, and ah Supreme Servant..
SOUTH: And Supreme Servant.
NEWTON: Of the people..
SOUTH: Of the people. And he will be at the Coliseum on Sunday.
NEWTON: Yes.
SOUTH: At ah two o'clock.
NEWTON: To thank the people.
SOUTH: To thank the people.
NEWTON: Cause I would be dead if it were not for the people.
SOUTH: You would be ah not here if it weren't for the people, you'd be dead.
NEWTON: Thank you.
SOUTH: Until Monday night at one, eh well no, at eleven o'clock.
NEWTON: Yeah.
RECORDING: Hot Line, with Wesley South is a public affairs presentation of Globetrotter Communications, Incorporated. Join Wesley South, Monday through Friday at eleven, for topics of our time....

(Recording discontinued.)

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

i. Chicago Coliseum
1513 South Wabash Street
Chicago, Illinois
February 21, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI observed the arrival of NEWTON at the Chicago Coliseum on February 21, 1971, at approximately 4:45 PM.

NEWTON spoke at the Chicago Coliseum on the afternoon of February 21, 1971. Approximately 2000 people ranging in age from 19 to 30 years were present. Of those present, approximately ten per cent were white. A \$1.00 donation was charged at the door and everyone entering the Coliseum was searched for weapons, cameras and recording devices.

NEWTON told those present that the BPP supported all anti-capitalistic organizations. He was critical of GUS HALL, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), because of the fact that HALL was operating in 1917, rather than 1971. NEWTON informed the audience he had had a recent discussion with National leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, currently in exile in Algeria, who had informed NEWTON the people had to organize and fight against fascism in the United States. NEWTON also spoke on the fact that BOBBY SEALE was also a victim of American fascism.

SF T-14
SF T-15
February 21, 1971

NEWTON thanked those present for lending their help and support while he was in prison. He also stated he wanted to get ANGELA DAVIS to return to the folds of the BPP and denounce the CP. He stated the BPP in California had constructed

SF 157-1203
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a shoe factory and were presently making shoes for children less fortunate. He also called upon all political prisoners to be freed.

SF T-16
February 21, 1971

BOBBY RUSH introduced NEWTON as the "Man of the hour". At the outset of his remarks, NEWTON proclaimed the fact that he was a "revolutionist" and wanted people freed, noting specifically that BOBBY SEALE and ANGELA DAVIS must be freed. NEWTON advised those present the BPP was behind ANGELA DAVIS, but wanted her to return to the BPP and denounce the CP. If she would do this, then the BPP would give her all-out support.

NEWTON also spoke as to how the people had freed him from prison. He stated that the people are being oppressed and that this power that is in the hands of the oppressor must be taken from the oppressor by the people. NEWTON stated he was against GUS HALL because all the CP understood was how people lived in 1917 and that the CP could not relate to the present. NEWTON also informed the audience that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER wanted to return to the United States and in time he will come back, but could not return since all of the people were not free. He also stated that BOBBY SEALE was not guilty and that the State had no reason to say when an individual should live or should die.

NEWTON, during a question and answer period, stated that ELMER PRATT, also referred to as "Geronimo", was a traitor to the people and for that reason, had been suspended from the BPP.



b6
b7c

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON called upon those present to go to 4233 South Indiana Avenue, the south side headquarters of the Illinois BPP. He wanted people to work for the Panthers and after a six month period, could be called Panthers. NEWTON was critical of JESSE JACKSON, leader of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who is presently running for Mayor of Chicago, because JACKSON would not say whether he was a revolutionist or not.

The speech was concluded at about 6:00 PM.

SF T-17
February 21, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON's departure from the Chicago Coliseum at approximately 6:10 PM on February 21, 1971.

The Deputy Superintendent's Office of the Chicago Police Department advised that the area in the vicinity of the Chicago Coliseum had returned to normal by 6:30 PM, February 21, 1971, with no incidents reported.

The April 10, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of NEWTON's speech at the Chicago Coliseum. The following is the speech as reported in this newspaper:

**STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SUPREME SERVANT
OF THE PEOPLE AT THE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS COLISEUM,
FEBRUARY 21, 1971**

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

First of all, I would like to thank you for my very presence here. If it were not for you I would have been in the gas chamber long ago. I would still be in prison. But because of the power of the people and the fact that you realize your power, I'm here today. So I would like to thank you. But I can't because I can't find words to express my gratitude. So without words, Thank You.

Today I would like to ask you to do something else, another favor. Will you free Bobby Seale, the Chairman, and Ericka, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and also Brad Green. I'm sorry that I kept you waiting; I will try to make it worth while. But you will have to forgive me, because I'm not familiar with fancy phrases and clauses. I'm a very practical man, we have a practical Party. We have a practical Party; the Party is ded-

icated to the survival of the people. We were not founded upon eloquent words; we were founded upon a survival program. And, I feel quite out of my realm here, because I'm not a speaker. I'm a man of action. So as best I can, I will outline to you the Black Panther Party's program and also persuade you to join in the program.

Many people believe that in order to participate in the community programs that you must be in the Black Panther Party. But this is not so. We ask everyone to become involved in the community programs, the self-defense program. Self defense, you know, is a necessary thing today, because the people's very existence is in danger. The violence of the aggressor comes in many forms. The vicious service-revolver of the police is only one manifestation of violence. But it is equally violent for the

"The Black Panther"
April 10, 1971

State and the small ruling circle to deprive the people of housing, of medical care, of food, of clothing, those acts are acts of aggression, when we live in such an affluent society. The Black Panther Party views those acts as very violent ones. So therefore we must defend ourselves by any means necessary. We will use those means that are necessary, efficient and sufficient; and, we would like to warn our aggressor that we will not rest until the people are free. So not only do I ask you to free all political prisoners, but also to free the people, because that will be the final test.

Some people have told us in order for us to be free, that we must have assimilation. But we know that is not so. Some people have told us in order to be free, we must have integration. But we've tested that also; and we're still not free. Some people have also told us, in order for us to be free, we must have separa-

tion. But we know that's not so, because, when we look around the world, we see the African people are separated, we see the Chinese people and the Vietnamese people are separated from the aggressor here in the Empire of North America, but yet they're not free. So the people do not want assimilation, integration or separation. They want some freedom. We will not be free until we negate the power of the aggressor.

We think it's somewhat absurd to feel that here in the United States, if we were to get a small plot, that United States Imperialism will let us exist side by side with it, when it won't even let people

ten thousand miles away exist; will not let them exist until they submit-submit to the brutal tactics of the imperial army. The imperial army wears many uniforms, but they all do the same thing. They're all flunkies for Daley; they're all flunkies for Nixon and General Motors. And we see that they might wear the uniform of a local policeman; they might wear the uniform of the National Guard; or they might wear the uniform that the men wore who slaughtered the Vietnamese people in My Lai and Son My or invaded the borders of Laos, or the people who are responsible for the siege of Africa, and for supplying the Portuguese with the weapons to torture the people of Angola and Mozambique.

We see that the world is different than it used to be, some years ago in history. To be separated geographically, you could claim nationhood. But now we see that the aggressor has co-opted the whole world. And we see that just to be separated by geographical location, whether its water, land or partition, does not necessarily mean freedom. In order for the people to be free we must not separate from the slavemaster, but take the slavemaster's power, appropriate that power and distribute it to the people, so the people will have the power. Those countries that used to be called nations now more resemble oppressed communities, communities under siege. We see that the universal police are doing everything possible to either exploit or eliminate. But as far as we are concerned, we say that we

know that the power that we're fighting is great—but we will not submit. A slave should never die a natural death. A slave who dies a natural death will not balance two dead flies on the scales of eternity. I spoke of the survival program, the Black Panther Party's program. And I would like to say that that survival program is not a revolutionary program. It's a program instituted in the community so that the people may survive pending revolution. In other words, people make revolution. If we suffer genocide, then revolution will not occur, because we won't be around. If we can preserve the life and the welfare of our children through the Breakfast for Children Program, if we can preserve the health through distributing free shoes in the community (we've just opened a new shoe factory in Oakland, we hope to have them all over the country), so that we can give shoes to the children of Buford County, who suffer from hookworms, simply because the grounds are infested with hookworms. The people must survive. But, as I said the survival program is not a revolutionary program. The survival program is to guarantee the existence of man, so that he can make the necessary changes, so that the survival kit will not be necessary. Our program is like a first-aid kit or survival kit, used by a pilot who is shot down over a sea. He takes a first-aid kit with him, and also takes a few protein tablets. He might take some warm clothing, but he knows that he won't really be comfortable, until he reaches the shore. So we say that we're doing the same thing; and we'll reach

the shore when the people reach the level of consciousness to change the society, and therefore change the world. Until that time, until that time, it is very necessary to stop just talking about revolution, because you might not be able to participate; you might not be able to participate, if you are wiped out beforehand.

So we see the world now as one community, because the oppressor has transformed it, and reduced the larger units to a smaller unit. We see that there's only one State power and that's the State power of General Motors because they're administrating the whole world. And if you don't believe me, just look around and you'll see what happened in the Dominican Republic a few years ago, when Juan Bosch was ousted. You see what happened when Patrice Lumumba fought for the people in the Congo, the same people were there—the fascist American forces. So in order for anything to come about, in order for any kind of social system to be realized by the people, first things first. We must take away the power and ability of the aggressor to inflict harm upon the people. So this is the unity cry of the people of the world. It is a cry that is necessary in order for the people to survive. We view all of the people who are now fighting as simply instituting a survival program. We see that people are becoming more and more conscious of the need to create the unity that is necessary, to overwhelm the power of the machine that is now in the hands of the aggressor.

According to Johnson's report on civil disorders about 75 companies control the economy of the United States, and subsequently control the economy of the whole world. So we see that the whole world's economy has been integrated into Wall Street, and that in order for them to plan their future, they must first consider the force and the atrocious actions of the American government. We know that the people of America would like not tomorrow, but yesterday, to change things. But people are confused. People are confused because of a low level of consciousness. And that's the main theme of the Black Panther Party. Not only do we institute a survival program in the community, we also institute an educational program, built around the survival program. Because if a man does not know how to get to that land, when he is cast out at sea, then he's lost and he will struggle forever. And he will be like the myth of Sisyphus pushing a rock up the hill, only for it to fall back at its own weight. So we must first realize exactly who the enemy is. We must stop fighting our potential friends. But we must defend ourselves against anyone who threatens us, because we will not let insanity prevail. Sane men must prevail, in order that man will prevail, so that mankind will have a future.

We know that for some years now the Black Panther Party has been under siege. Just a year ago Fred Hampton was murdered. Fred Hampton was murdered because of a conspiracy of Hanrahan and Daley and all of those other vi-

scious tools of oppression. We know that this happened. And we must not forget this. Because Fred Hampton was conscious; he didn't only say he was somebody, he said, "Not only am I somebody I know who I am - I am a revolutionist". Some people claim that the Black Panther Party is a suicidal Party but I would like to reject that here tonight. The Black Panther Party realizes one thing, that death comes to everyone. But it varies in its significance. To die for the reactionary and the racist is lighter than a feather; but to die for the Revolution and the people is heavier than a mountain and deeper than Lake Michigan. Because of the changed phenomena in the world today, it is very necessary for the people of the world, all of the victims, to not only unite, but also develop a common language. They also have to develop a culture that's essentially human. Because, whether we like it or not, we are thrown together. We're thrown together, and in order to avoid the mutual slaughter of man by man, we must develop a common identity, a universal identity, because of the universal nature of technology. Today that technology is being held away from the people. It's held from us. But we will seize it in order to free the people from not only the natural forces, but also free the man from the labor, so that man then will be able to indulge in productive creativity and create the kind of social system, create the kind of value system that will allow us to live together in peace.

We know that our enemy, in fact, is

only a small ruling circle. But we have many people who fight the victim. This person, who fights the victim much of the time, is also a victim; and that makes it even more confusing. Gradually as the climax comes, the people are seeing that it is not in our interest to fight each other, because there's one common oppressor, and that oppressor now has divided. Not only divided the world into nations, not only divided the world, and therefore divided the human spirit. So that men now see each other as something less than a man. We call each other species and pseudo-species of we say that we're human or we're hominids, but the others are not. While the small ruling circle stays on the outside of all of this and acts as a so-called peacemaker, but really enjoying the fight, because while we fight, he robs us both blind. In our community in California, if you want to see the biggest fight you've ever seen, let the oppressor come down in the community with a poverty program and offer a dollar-sixty-five an hour with ten positions open, that community then will divide into the Chicanos, into the Blacks, into poor Whites and stab each other to death for that dollar-sixty-five an hour. And fight for what they all deserve. What they rally should do is turn on the person that keeps away the abundance, because there's enough for everyone. But in order to understand this, we must become conscious.

Today I would like to call your attention to the trial that's going on in Connecticut of Bobby Seale, the Chairman,

and Ericka. Their trial is another aggressive violent act. Some people wonder are Bobby Seale and Ericka guilty, or are they not guilty? And I say that that's not the question, even though they are obviously not guilty. The question really is - the question is, does the State have the right, does the State administration have the right to ask for a man's life? Once the State asks for a man's life, it negates and invalidates its power; it becomes illegitimate. It becomes illegitimate because a contract that any man makes with his administration - with the State Administrator, do wrong, or an injustice towards the citizen, who is then to have a redress of grievance that's set up by the State, so that things will remain peaceful. But how could you have a redress of grievance. If the State takes your life, you cannot come back then. The State decided, because of your power, that I was not guilty so they released me and now the people ask for a redress of grievance. But what if the state had had their way; what if you had not intervened? They would have taken my life, and then denied that they were ever wrong. And Bobby Seale and Ericka's murder, must stand witness against it, and do everything possible to free them. So I say Free Bobby and Free Ericka and all other political prisoners.

There's been some misunderstanding about the Party at this point. Because the mass media is only an agency of control by the reactionary forces. They've spread the lie that the Party is deteriorating, because some people have been

suspended for various reasons. But this is ~~not true~~ at all. Remember that we base our success upon the programs we institute in the community and when these programs fail, the the Party will fail. Until that time we would like to call those who stand on the sidelines, just gesticulating and criticizing, we would like to call them a liar, because our work will speak for itself. It's not only a great pleasure to be here, it will be even a greater pleasure when I see you at our center at 4233 Indiana Street, where you sign up for our community program and involve yourself in the survival program. Because it's been too long that we come, and we come to speaking engagements and rallies to be entertained. But now the day is so violent and the people's very existence is so under threat, until if we do not involve ourselves more than talking, we have a very short future. So I ask you to show your enthusiasm; show your enthusiasm for the Black Panther Party's program; show your enthusiasm for the community's welfare, by attaching yourself to some program. And then we will know that the people are not only becoming conscious, but putting this consciousness into action. And, therefore we will be ensured of a victory. Otherwise we will sit around, we will sit around and look for feel good words. But we will not understand why we are becoming more and more in danger, dying off everyday like flies, but yet doing nothing about it, nothing but words. So we say, put your words into action, put your put your words into action, put your energy to work in the community, because the communities themselves are really nothing but what used to be-could

be called a nation. In other words, the nations of the world now are merely a dispersed collection of communities.

A community is basically a collection of institutions that are supposed to serve the people. So we have Black communities here in Chicago, we have Chinese communities here in Chicago, we have Chinese communities in San Francisco, Puerto Rican communities in New York, Black communities in New York, and really, it's like a dispersed collection of nations but the only thing is that the aggressor administrated all of these communities, just as he administrates the wealth and the economy and the political institutions of all of the so-called countries of the world. The

countries of the world now are merely a dispersed collection of communities. The reality of today is not internationalism, but reactionary intercommunalism. We would like to transform that into Revolutionary Intercommunalism by turning the institutions over to the people. And that's the prime motive of the Black Panther Party.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

FREE BOBBY, FREE ERICKA, FREE ANGELA, FREE THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS, FREE THE PEOPLE, AND FREE YOURSELVES.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

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j. JIM DUNBAR's Television Program "A.M."
KGO-TV, San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

On February 26, 1971, NEWTON was a guest on JIM DUNBAR's morning television talk program "A.M." from 7:40 AM until 8:30 AM, which was broadcast live on San Francisco Television Station KGO-TV, Channel 7. Following is a summary of that program:

Mr. DUNBAR began the interview by asking NEWTON if there has been a change in his (NEWTON'S) title from "Supreme Commander" to "Supreme Servant".

NEWTON replied that the Central Committee of the BPP has bestowed upon him a new title of "Supreme Servant" and he hopes that in the future he will be able to persuade the Central Committee to change his title to "Servant" and drop the "Supreme".

In response to Mr. DUNBAR's question if the change in NEWTON's title indicates any kind of change in the leadership of the BPP, NEWTON stated there has been no real change, that there have been development periods and periods of transformation which he said differs from change. NEWTON continued that the BPP has not gone from one position to another but has added, expanded and developed some principles. He explained that the Central Committee thought it was in the interest of the Party to put a new title on the head of the Party, which role he said he assumed in 1966 when BOBBY SEALE and he formed the Party.

Mr. DUNBAR stated that he has ELDRIDGE CLEAVER on the telephone in Algeria and would then talk with CLEAVER.

Mr. DUNBAR referred to the film that had been shown recently on television in the San Francisco area showing CLEAVER and TIMOTHY LEARY in a dialogue about drugs and revolution and he asked CLEAVER what is LEARY's status and if LEARY is still under palace arrest.

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CLEAVER replied that LEARY is not under any form of arrest and that he is just as free as the rest of them are in Algeria.

Mr. DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if CLEAVER's recent pronouncement of drugs, particularly LSD, and some of the other drugs, represents an international policy of the Panthers or if that was something undertaken by CLEAVER himself and then endorsed by NEWTON.

NEWTON commented that it was the intercommunal policy derived through the Central Committee of the BPP, which he described as an Intercommunal Party. He continued that the BPP does not use the word "international" any longer because it confuses people and that "the world is really one community -- inter-related communities -- at this time even though the reactionary forces control them". NEWTON stated that the "polit-bureau" makes policy and that the "polit-bureau" is "part of the whole Party, whether it's an intercommunal section or a branch or a chapter in this community".

Mr. DUNBAR asked CLEAVER if he planned to return to the U.S. soon, to which CLEAVER stated that "It should be absolutely clear that I have every intention of returning to the United States and it will not be too long a time when I'm ready to do that".

NEWTON commented that CLEAVER will return to the U.S., but that in order for him to be able to return, the communities must be liberated. He stated that "We have to prepare a place for the Minister of Information and for the people to be free and to be able to move freely".

Mr. DUNBAR asked CLEAVER if he considered himself in any danger in Algeria at the present time.

CLEAVER stated "I think that when one is dealing with the agents of the fascists imperialist's empire of Babylon there is always an element of danger involved because these pigs are running all over the world making trouble and trying to destroy the progressive forces of the world. But we're not worried about them because the first one that we catch we're going to deal with him".

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Mr. DUNBAR told NEWTON that he understood NEWTON to have stated that the number one goal of all Black Panthers should be the freeing of people like BOBBY SEALE and he thought he had read where NEWTON was quoted as saying it was somewhat more difficult obviously for a man to participate in that when he is in Algeria or somewhere else. Mr. DUNBAR asked NEWTON if he might have been referring to CLEAVER or if he had been misquoted.

NEWTON stated that he had been misquoted and commented that in order to free political prisoners we have to first free the people in the community.

Mr. DUNBAR referred to the recent renouncement by the BPP of CONNIE MATTHEWS, RICHARD MOORE and MICHAEL TABOR as enemies of the people and asked CLEAVER if he would expect to see them in Algeria.

CLEAVER stated, "I don't know their travel plans but we could expect to see almost anyone here. Many people come to Algeria because they know that here the government has a very progressive policy toward revolutionary, liberation movement. So, if they were to show up I wouldn't be startled. But I don't know of any travel plans they have to do that."

DUNBAR asked CLEAVER what contributions TIMOTHY LEARY has made as far as BPP world aims are, to which CLEAVER replied, "Well, I think that TIMOTHY LEARY is not one who would be looked upon in terms of world aims of the BPP but more so as a product of white America. We took upon ourselves the case of TIMOTHY LEARY specifically at the request of the Weatherman organization and this was to show revolutionary solidarity with our comrades in arms. So, I think you should apply that question to the goals of the American revolutionary movement as a whole and our role here so far as TIMOTHY LEARY is concerned is to look after him and take care of him and try to keep him from getting into trouble because the man has suffered very severe mental damage from very extensive use of LSD. "

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DUNBAR further asked CLEAVER whether he was satisfied with LEARY's final position renouncing LSD and CLEAVER stated, "I'm not satisfied with it because he equivocates. When he's not before any microphone or camera he can be very emphatic in his review of that, but he still vacillates in terms of taking an honest and forthright position on that front, but the process of re-educating one who has undergone the use of LSD seems to be kind of slow, but he's coming along okay."

DUNBAR then asked CLEAVER if he had anything he wanted to say to any of his followers in the San Francisco Bay Area.

CLEAVER stated, "I just want to comment on the present situation that exists inside the BPP, specifically in reference to the purge of brother "GERONIMO" and the expulsion of the New York 21. Our position over here -- and we have three members of the Central Committee of the BPP over here -- is that this action is regrettable. It should not have taken place, it took place without proper consultation with the other members of the Central Committee and we lay the responsibility at the feet of DAVID HILLIARD and we demand that DAVID HILLIARD be dismissed or resigned from his position as Chief of Staff of the BPP so that we can go about the work of bringing the Party back together again because it looks to us as though as a result of the action taken by DAVID HILLIARD over a long period of time, the Party is falling apart at the seams".

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if he had any comments, to which NEWTON replied in the affirmative. NEWTON continued, "ELDRIDGE, of course that I'm here and I'm very much in touch with the Central Committee and Central Headquarters and I would disagree with your position, though I hate to disagree with it here, but of course, you leave me no other choice. As far as the purge was concerned, I think the purge was a necessary thing. That the people not only ran out on their comrades, they also ran out on BOBBY SEALE, who is now facing the death chamber in Connecticut. When CONNIE MATTHEWS was asked to testify, that was the next day she left and took two people

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with her, one who had threatened my life. So, I don't think the Chief of Staff is responsible -- I'm responsible for it and I take that responsibility".

CLEAVER then told NEWTON that, "We plan to deal with that in a report to the Central Committee of the BPP".

This concluded the conversation between CLEAVER and NEWTON on the television program.

At this point in the program, questions directed to NEWTON were accepted from people calling in by telephone.

An unknown female referred to the recent publicity regarding NEWTON's residence in a high-rise apartment building in Oakland, California, and asked NEWTON if he is paying \$650 a month for rent of the apartment.

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Newton replied that he honestly did not know how much the BPP is paying for his security and continued, "I'm living in a building that I don't like. I consider it a prison. It's away from the community. The Party decided I live there only for security reasons. I argued not to be there. I was placed there but of course I would like to be in the community, but the Party decided that until the community could offer the security necessary that they would be responsible for my security. As far as the expenses are concerned, I think that the money used for my security should be used on our programs but their position was that they spent about three million dollars in order to save me from the gas chamber and they think it would be rather foolish for me to be assassinated the next day after I'm out. But I would agree with the people, and, as a matter of fact, I'm anxious for the people to write in at 1048 Peralta and give us an answer on exactly what to do concerning security."

BPP National Headquarters is located
at 1048 Peralta Street, Oakland,
California.

Dunbar asked Newton if his chief concern was the police, to which Newton stated that the Party is concerned with anyone who has threatened the life of a member of the Party. He continued that he receives about 25 threats a day and that he is sure some of those are from the police. Newton further commented that when he was on the gurney going into the operating room the police promised that if he did not die in the gas chamber they would murder him. Newton also stated that the Party thinks it needs more direction than it actually does, that the Central Committee held the Party together and he thinks they could go on without him in the event he is assassinated. Newton said, "But I've always taken the position that I know I won't live forever, but I just demand that my death be significant."

Another unknown female telephonically stated she had attended a meeting where a film was shown in which the BPP's Ten Point Program was set out and she asked Newton to tell the viewers about that program.

Newton replied that the BPP does have a Ten Point Program which he said is their survival program. He then mentioned the

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various programs the BPP provides for the communities, such as free health clinics, Breakfast For Children Program and the recently instituted Shoe Program, whereby he said the BPP will make shoes for people in the South and the poor people in the communities.

DUNBAR mentioned that it appears that the leaders of the BPP are in jail, have been killed, or are facing jail, whereas the white revolutionaries seem to "be making it" and he asked NEWTON if that indicated a possible change in the direction of the BPP.

NEWTON answered that black people are the most oppressed people in the world and continue to be the victim. He said the BPP is not only the vanguard for black people but the vanguard for the people's revolution of the world, including whites. NEWTON continued, "Our interests and our goals are really the goals of all the world. We're fighting for the interest of everyone and blacks in particular, because we are the most victimized in the whole world. Of course, we will not let the Weatherman or any other white radical group be our vanguard. They will not set our principles or our strategy. We want the people to survive pending revolution. We have to educate the people to such levels until they see the necessity for revolution. Survival until revolution. Our Ten Point Program is not a revolutionary program; it is a survival program."

An unknown male then telephonically asked NEWTON to comment on what is happening internally with the BPP and specifically concerning the comments by CLEAVER.

NEWTON commented, "There was clearly a contradiction and as far as the Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD is concerned and the way he handled the Party after he took control of the Central Committee after BOBBY SEALE was imprisoned and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was driven into exile, I think the Chief of Staff did a very fine job in holding things together until I returned. He had a tremendous responsibility with short notice. I think it was too bad that the Minister of Information took this time to bring it to the forefront. The Central Committee of the BPP will now have to

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"discuss not only the position of the intercommunal section and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER per se, we'll also have to consider the comments and the fact that it was brought out not to the Central Committee but the public."

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if the fact that CLEAVER recommended that DAVID HILLIARD be removed from the BPP would be a violation of the bylaws or rules of the Party.

NEWTON replied that it would not be a violation per se, but, "We would only question the timely, or untimely, expression of it. So this would be the discussion. I cannot make a decision here because I am not the Central Committee."

DUNBAR asked NEWTON how many are on the Central Committee, to which NEWTON replied, "We don't even give out that number."

DUNBAR inquired if major decisions such as those relating to the removal of members from the Party are submitted to a vote and if it is a democratic procedure.

NEWTON stated that it is democratic centralism and continued that the policy making is centralized, but it is democratic because "We believe that it is in the interest of all of the people."

DUNBAR asked NEWTON if he had one vote as Supreme Commander or if he had any "extra weight", to which NEWTON replied, "I have much influence within the Central Committee and I'm also on the 'polit-bureau', inside of the Central Committee, which is a smaller group than the overall committee. I only have one vote, but I have much influence because of my position as one of the old guard."

NEWTON was asked by DUNBAR if he has veto power, and NEWTON said, "No, I don't have veto power."

At this point NEWTON announced that the BPP was holding a Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity Rally for BOBBY

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SEALE and other political prisoners on Friday night, March 5, 1971, at the Oakland Auditorium Arena, Oakland, California, and urged people to attend that function. NEWTON stated that KATHLEEN CLEAVER, wife of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and he (NEWTON) would be the principal speakers.

An unknown male telephonically asked NEWTON to explain the type of society the BPP is trying to create and to give a political analysis of the ANGELA DAVIS trial.

NEWTON stated he would like to have more time than he had to answer the first question, but that in connection with the new society, it would be a society that has a capability of developing a culture that is essentially humane and will be based upon collectivism. He explained that everything will be commonly owned and commonly administered so that a few people will not be able to horde and to exploit other people. He continued that the exploitation of man by man will end and that this is the primary goal of the BPP. He remarked that this is not the end goal because, "We are a revolutionary group and revolution is a process --a process that means constant change."

Concerning ANGELA DAVIS, NEWTON stated that, of course, she must be set free and that this is the Party's position. He continued, "We criticize ANGELA's connection with the CPA (Communist Party of America) or the American Revisionist Party-- that's the name we give to the Communist Party--so we asked ANGELA to denounce the CPA and join the true revolutionary party because we feel the BPP is the only Communist Party in America. So, this is our position and in spite of that small argument, we support ANGELA DAVIS and we will go on supporting her in spite of her bad judgment."

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DUNBAR commented that the so-called "New York 21" are being represented by counsel and that it was his understanding that the Black Panthers currently on trial in Oakland are being represented by court appointed attorneys. He asked NEWTON if the New York Panthers are more important than the Oakland Panthers and why the Oakland Panthers are not represented by GARRY or someone else.

NEWTON told DUNBAR he would have to specify which Panthers in Oakland he was referring to inasmuch as some members were expelled from the Party and therefore were not given counsel by the Party.

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if TERRY COTTON, LANKFORD, WENDELL WADE and SCOTT are still in good standing with the Party.



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NEWTON replied that JOHN L. SCOTT has been reunited with the Party. He stated that SCOTT had quit the Party and therefore he was not given consideration that regular members would have been given but that he is now back with the Party. NEWTON said that LANKFORD is not a member of the Party and had defected some time ago. NEWTON also said that WADE is a Party member again.

NEWTON was asked by DUNBAR why he carries a swagger stick and after holding up the swagger stick so it could be seen by the television viewers, NEWTON replied that the Party had presented him with the swagger stick and that it is a command stick. He explained that the swagger stick signifies the leader of the Party at a particular time and is a symbol of command and that when he no longer holds the position as head of the Party, or if he is imprisoned, the stick will be passed on to another leader.

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The February 27, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, reported that after the foregoing television appearance by NEWTON, he held a brief news conference. At that news conference, a radio reporter asked NEWTON for elaboration on the dispute between CLEAVER and himself, to which NEWTON replied, "He found it necessary to bring that point out in public first. It was a shock to me and we will take action against that. If it was left to me, he might find himself in jail just as LEARY was in jail".

According to the article, NEWTON continued that "If the Central Committee decides he (CLEAVER) will be disciplined, I will recommend that he be put into jail inside our embassy in Algiers".

JIM DUNBAR privately stated on February 26, 1971, that during a commercial break on his program "A.M." when he was interviewing NEWTON, he asked NEWTON what he (NEWTON) would do about CLEAVER'S [redacted] and NEWTON replied that the Central Committee might have to "recall CLEAVER from Algeria". NEWTON told DUNBAR he would not repeat that during the televised broadcast.

SF T-18
February 26, 1971

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On March 1, 1971, [redacted] Intelligence Division, San Francisco Police Department, advised he had determined from the General Manager of KGO-TV station that NEWTON did not receive any pay for his appearance on the JIM DUNBAR show on February 26, 1971.

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k. Fund Raising Cocktail Party
Held By [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Massachusetts
February 26, 1971

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[redacted] will have a cocktail party at her residence, [redacted] Massachusetts, on February 26, 1971, to raise funds to finance the legal expenses incurred in the defense of BOBBY SEALE. HUEY NEWTON and CHARLES GARRY are scheduled to attend that party.

SF T-19
February 17, 1971

[redacted] mailed approximately three hundred invitations, which read "You are cordially invited to attend an evening with Charles Garry and Huey Newton. \$25 per person." The party is scheduled to follow a public lecture by GARRY at Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which commences at 7 PM. The invitation stated that in the event the invitee could not attend, checks may be made payable to CHARLES GARRY or the Legal Defense Fund and forwarded to [redacted] residence.

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SF T-20
February 24, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI, Boston, observed that the cocktail party began at approximately 9 PM. 27 males (20 white and 7 black) and 28 females (21 white and 7 black) were seen entering the house, including HUEY NEWTON who arrived at 10:25 PM accompanied by [redacted] of the Boston Chapter of the BPP and an unidentified white male. The party ended at approximately midnight.

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The March 7, 1971, issue of "The Boston Herald Traveler" contained an article entitled "Cambridge Socialite Gives Fund Party For Panthers", written by GORDON D. HALL, a regular contributor to the Herald Traveler, who interviewed KENNELLY after the party. The article states that "about 40 individuals including several Mrs. KENNELLY described as 'prominent' paid \$25 each for the 'privilege' of listening to Panther Defense Minister HUEY NEWTON outline his Party's continuing need for financial and moral support Mrs. KENNELLY wouldn't say how much but she indicated that funds well in excess of the \$1000 taken at the door were collected for the Panthers." When asked about her own financial support of the Panthers, she dismissed it as being nothing more than "giving to the best of my ability". According to the newspaper article, "that giving includes one contribution totalling \$3500, another of more that \$700 (for car rentals to transport Panthers to distant appointments) and the donation of a Volkswagen bus used daily by officials of the Panthers, Boston branch on Winthrop Street in Roxbury".

1. Radio Program "Black Montage"
Radio Station KDIA
San Francisco, California
February 28, 1971

A pre-taped conversation between NEWTON and LOUIS FREEMAN, Moderator of program called "Black Montage", was broadcast over Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, California, on February 28, 1971, from 4:30 PM until 6:00 PM. This program had been taped on February 23, 1971, at the studios of Radio Station KDIA.

NEWTON began the program by thanking all the people listening to the program for his release from prison. He then spoke briefly about his early life, stating he was born in Louisiana in 1942 and his family had moved to Oakland, California, when he was one and a half years old. He further

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JLC/sad

commented about members of his immediate family and reminisced about his growing up in the black neighborhoods in the Oakland area.

During this program when NEWTON was discussing the various programs of the BPP he stated, "We offered troops to the people suffering in Vietnam - the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government. It was not only to show our revolutionary solidarity, but it was also an attempt to stimulate the thoughts of our black brothers who are allowing themselves to be drafted and put there to fight for more victims of capitalism".

NEWTON stated the median age of the members active in the BPP is 19 to 25 years. He said he is currently writing a book called "Revolutionary Suicide" which he hopes will be completed in a few months.

NEWTON also discussed the ten point program of the BPP, which he called a survival program. He said it is not a revolutionary program, but a survival program pending revolution.

NEWTON was asked about his living in the high-rise apartment building in Oakland, California, and who was paying the the rent of the apartment. NEWTON stated that the Central Committee of the BPP decides where he is to live and that the Central Committee wanted him to live in the most secure place in Oakland. For that reason the Central Committee made the decision that he reside in the apartment building and the Party pays the rent. He stated he would rather not live in the apartment building, but because of the security it provides for him, the Central Committee has demanded he live there.

At the close of the program, NEWTON announced that the Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity would be held on March 5, 1971, at Oakland, and the speakers for that event would be KATHLEEN CLEAVER and himself. He urged all those listening to the program to attend that event.

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m. Intercommunal Day Of Solidarity For
BOBBY SEALE and Post Birthday Celebration
For HUEY P. NEWTON
Oakland Auditorium
Oakland, California
March 5, 1971

The above-captioned event took place as scheduled on March 5, 1971. The admission price was \$2.50 per ticket. The event began at approximately 8:00 PM rather than 7:00 PM as originally scheduled and this was due to the extensive security precautions surrounding the event. Members of the BPP thoroughly searched the persons entering the auditorium to attend the speech.

NEWTON arrived at the auditorium at approximately 9:30 PM accompanied by four bodyguards.

SF T-21
March 5, 1971

SF T-22 advised NEWTON spoke for approximately ten minutes and stated in part as follows:

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"I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism including sexual fascism. That we are against all kinds of chauvinism including racial chauvinism; we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists.....

"And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the people for the simple reason that some people around seem to want to be known through the media, but the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs pending revolution.....

"We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions because without the contradictions there is no transformation. So from the contradictions that have developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap.....

"Words will not start the revolution either.
Only action.....

"Recently it has become all too obvious that through their various means, the agents and agencies of the U.S. Empire Ruling Circle have powerfully struck at the main artery of the heart of the struggle of black people and other oppressed people. That is, they have struck at our unity, which is the core of our winning, of our survival, of our being free. Divisiveness is the main tool the oppressor has to defeat for the struggle for liberation and revolution."

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Approximately 3,000 persons attended this event, with approximately 40 per cent black. No incidents occurred and the audience was orderly throughout the event.

SF T-22
March 5, 1971

NEWTON expressed solidarity with ANGELA DAVIS and stated that the BPP will support ANGELA DAVIS in her trial. NEWTON did not mention ELDRIDGE CLEAVER by name, nor did he directly refer to the split between CLEAVER and NEWTON. NEWTON received a standing ovation and immediately following his speech he left the Oakland Auditorium.

SF T-18
March 6, 1971

Page two of the March 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the following article setting forth the text of the speech given by NEWTON at the Oakland Auditorium on March 5, 1971:

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND
SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE
ON THE OCCASION OF REVOLUTIONARY
INTERCOMMUNAL DAY OF
SOLIDARITY - MARCH 5, 1971

Power to the People, Brothers and Sisters,

First of all I would like to thank all of you for my very presence here, because if it weren't for the Power of the People, I wouldn't be here tonight. I'm not here because of the Black Panther Party; I'm not here because of any group, I'm not here because of a group of kamakazis. I'm here because of the Power of the People.

We must remember that Revolution is a process. It's not a conclusion; because once we conclude, then we become counter-revolutionary. And that means even with the gun in our hands, because fascism also has a gun. And I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism, including sexual fascism.

That we are against all kinds of chauvinism, including racial chauvinism, we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists. Before I went to prison, most of you know, you are aware, that I never made any speeches, you see, because I'm not a very eloquent man. I'm better known by the actions. And the Party was built upon the actions. And the action itself is a process. And we're not ever fixated. We haven't accepted any dogma. And we will not.

And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the People, for the simple reason that some people around us seem to want to be known through the Media. But the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs, pending Revolution. Because remember, you make the Revolution. We can't free

political prisoners, only the people can free political prisoners. And a people who are not free cannot free their prisoners, cannot free the prisoners that fascism makes. So I would like to say that we must work very hard in order to lift the consciousness of the people. We must free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, the seven and the three, and all other political prisoners. Randy. We have to free all of them.

But we must remember that we must exhaust every possible tactic. And we must let it be known that never broadcast military tactics for military reasons. It's perfectly correct to broadcast military tactics for political reasons. That's what Uncle Ho said, and I agree with him. So we would like for the people to know that there are many things that we will not discuss in public. But what you can do is watch the fruits of our work. And we would like to say that our Party became an intercommunal Party upon its actions. And I think that's very good. So I'm asking you in order to free all political prisoners, free the people, free the woman and also the man, that we have to get together in unity by substituting verbal expressions for action. The final test of the pie is the action. We'll stand on the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party from 1966 when it was formed will stand on its record, will stand on the action. We won't claim to be ultra-leftists; we won't claim to be infantile leftists. What we'll do is act in accordance with the particular set of conditions and the particular problem that we have at a time. So please judge

us upon our actions and we will develop like that. We will not develop with tip service coming from anyone. And sometimes I'm very thankful that I don't talk too well, because that's only one way of communication. We say that a picture is worth a thousand words, but action is supreme.

But what kind of action you take will depend upon the particular set of conditions. And I say all of this, because you know the Party and the world today is under turmoil. And this is very good. We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions. Because without the contradiction there is no transformation. So from the contradiction that has developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap. If this leap eliminates some of us, then, of course, we'll weep for that. But we must not stop the Revolution. I will not stop the Revolution. You should not stop it. And, for all that it's worth, we know that words will never stop it. Words will not start the Revolution either. Only action. 'Sixty-six kicked off the armed manifestation of Revolution in this country, because it focused upon the need for the People not only to defend themselves, but also to develop a consciousness necessary to perform and to act to be able to fight in a protracted war. And that is why it is necessary for us to develop the correct ideology, which is a system of thinking. And we must not rely upon and conclude with the philosophy, which isn't necessarily a conclusion.

So we're ideologically revolutionists. We're in a constant state of change. And we fight with all people who want

to change, because we know change will offer our hope. So after all of this, we must pay more attention to what is happening. The news media has attempted to discredit the Party by saying that it's over, because they don't see anyone. I think our programs are better than the Party. The communities are involved in forty-four cities. We must support these; we must expand them. Because I read an article, recently, a few months ago, where Che had some problems in Bolivia, because the peasants were so unconscious until he could not rally them even with the "focos". They did not understand why the military, the regular military was dropping. So what did he do. He attempted to form certain programs that he called survival programs. He attempted to form a free health program in order to get the peasants inside, to help them, and also to provide things for his focos. He also took to form a free breakfast program, a free shoe factory,

and a sporting good store (for obvious reasons). So programs are good. Because an act that might be revolutionary might be counter-revolutionary, if the correct preparations are not made.

So to be a serious revolutionist, we must know that we are involved in a process, and not a set of principles or conclusions that are of face-value revolutionary. I do not know one thing that is revolutionary in itself. And all things might be revolutionary in context. In other words, capitalism was revolutionary when it kicked out feudalism. And now we have a situation where the capitalists have become the imperialists, and the people of the world, of the communities of the world will have to kick them out. So in order to free Angela, Bobby, Ruchell Magee and all other political prisoners, we must kick the fascists out. And we cannot do it with lip service.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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n. Black Panther Party Picnic
De Fremery Playground
1651 Adeline Street
Oakland, California
March 27, 1971

The BPP held above-captioned event on March 27, 1971, from noon until approximately 4:00 PM. Approximately 150 to 200 persons attended. About 90 per cent of those in attendance were black with approximately 80 per cent being young children ranging in age from 2 to 12 years. Music was played by The Lumpen, a BPP revolutionary singing and musical group. Sandwiches and soft drinks were provided by the BPP to those in attendance and the children played various games. NEWTON appeared briefly at the picnic at approximately 2:00 PM. He ate some food with the children, talked to several of the children and adults in groups, but he did not give a speech to the entire gathering.

SF T-23
March 30, 1971

o. J's Bag
Highway 151
Burke, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

The University of Wisconsin Afro American Center (UWAAC), Madison, Wisconsin, has made tentative arrangements for NEWTON to speak at the above-mentioned establishment on April 3, 1971. Plans included busing arrangements from UWAAC for those attending speech.

SF T- 37
March 31, 1971

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JLC/sad

On April 1, 1971, the UWAAC agreed to pay the BPP \$2500 plus \$375 for expenses for NEWTON's appearance at J's Bar on April 3, 1971. In addition, the UWAAC is paying \$250 for the rental of the bar for NEWTON's speech.

SF T-37
April 1, 1971

The April 1, 1971, issue of the "Wisconsin State Journal", a Madison, Wisconsin, daily newspaper, reported that BENNY FICK, Manager, J's Bar, formerly D. J.'s Bar, said Wednesday he has reached tentative agreement with the UWAAC to rent his bar for a speech by NEWTON on April 3, 1971. FICK stated security arrangements will be handled by the BPP. 2000 persons are expected to attend and loud speakers will be installed in the parking lot in order to handle any overflow.

NEWTON spoke at J's Bar on April 3, 1971. He announced that there has been no split in the BPP and that only ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the New York Chapter of the BPP have defected from NEWTON's leadership. NEWTON stated that CLEAVER's adherence to violent revolution is not consistent with NEWTON's belief that deeper rapport with the community is necessary before the revolution is possible.

SF T-37
April 3, 1971

The April 4, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner", a daily San Francisco newspaper, reported that in a speech given by NEWTON in Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971, he said that the split within the Party is not serious and will serve to strengthen the ranks. It was reported NEWTON said the split had solidified the attitudes of members who remain in the Party and that Party members now think more alike since many of the recalcitrants have left the Party.

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According to the article, NEWTON criticized ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and remarked that CLEAVER did beneficial and sincere things for the BPP in the beginning but had no interests in the Panthers' political machinery.

The article reported that the 300 persons attending NEWTON's speech were frisked before-hand by members of the Afro American Society.

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3. Cancelled Appearances

a. University of Illinois
Champaign - Urbana, Illinois
January 7, 1971

On December 12, 1970, SF T-4 reported that NEWTON was scheduled to appear at the University of Illinois, Champaign - Urbana, Illinois, on January 7, 1971.

Arrangements for NEWTON's appearance at the University of Illinois could not be finalized because of a difference of opinion between the University of Illinois Administration and the BPP about security measures to be taken at NEWTON's appearance. The University of Illinois Administration would not make University police in a force sufficient to provide proper security. BPP members from Chicago wanted to exclude police from the appearance and provide their own security. Consequently, no University of Illinois space is being made available for NEWTON's appearance on January 7, 1971. Therefore, NEWTON's speech was cancelled.

SF T-24
December 24, 1970

b. University of California at
Santa Barbara, California
January 13, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to speak at the Center for Black Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara on January 13, 1971, on the topic of intercommunalism but this appearance had been cancelled [redacted]
[redacted]

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JLC/sad

In connection with BPP security measures for NEWTON's appearance, two San Francisco area BPP members were sent to Southern California to determine if adequate security for NEWTON could be provided. Upon their return, they reported a lack of cooperation on the part of the sponsors of the speech in regard to special BPP security procedures. It was specifically stated that the BPP was refused permission to search all persons desiring to enter the hall to hear NEWTON speak. Consequently, the appearance was cancelled by NEWTON based on the lack of cooperation of the sponsors and campus authorities in regard to necessary security measures to secure NEWTON's safety.

SF T-4
January 12, 1971

c. California State College
Hayward, California
January 21, 1971

The January 14, 1971, issue of "The Daily Pioneer", a daily newspaper published at California State College, Hayward, California, contained an article announcing that NEWTON would speak in the gymnasium at California State College on January 21, 1971, from 1:00 PM to 3:00 PM. The honorarium for NEWTON was shown to be \$1250.00.

The January 21, 1971, issue of "The Daily Pioneer" contained an article that stated that NEWTON's appearance at California State College had been cancelled. According to the article NEWTON answered the request for his appearance at California State College at Hayward with the stipulation that either armed guards accompany him or there would be a search of everyone entering the gymnasium where he was to speak. It was stated that NEWTON said he would refuse to appear if his request was not met with agreement.

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The article further reported that the Black Panthers received notice from the California State College Administration Office that due to a state college ruling no guns are allowed on campus. According to the article, a Panther spokesman said that if no armed guards were to be present then a metal gun detector would have to be used at the door to the gymnasium.

The Dean of Students, LYLE EDMISON, replied that this was against the idea of the college being a free and open university and a definite "No" was the answer to any frisking at the door.

The article reported that ART LIPTON, Speakers Committee Member, had stated that he had received information from the BPP that NEWTON receives an average of ten assassination threats a week.

The article reported that due to a conflict between the BPP and the college administration over the use of a metal gun detector at the door, NEWTON's appearance at California State College, Hayward, California, was cancelled.

d. Television Program
"Contact" WNHC-TV
New Haven, Connecticut
February 3, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to appear on a program called "Contact" on WNHC-TV, New Haven, Connecticut, on February 3, 1971. He failed to show up for the program and the announcer stated that his appearance had been cancelled.

e. State University of New York
Stony Brook, New York
February 13, 1971

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

[redacted] Security Police, State University of New York at Stony Brook, New York (SUNY-SB), advised on February 13, 1971, that the appearance of NEWTON at SUNY-SB scheduled for 8:30 PM that date had been cancelled. He explained the reason for the cancellation was that NEWTON would not consent to the University's prohibition concerning searching those who attended the speech. [redacted] that since oral arrangements could not be concluded between the BPP and the University, NEWTON was asked not to appear.

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The February 14, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" reported that the State University of New York at Stony Brook cancelled a speech for February 13, 1971, by NEWTON. According to the article, a spokesman said Panther representatives had failed to appear to sign an agreement that no one would carry weapons on campus and that students attending the speech would be examined with a metal objects detector rather than physically searched for guns.

f. Columbia University
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

NEWTON is scheduled for an appearance at Columbia University, New York City, New York, on February 15, 1971. His appearance has been approved by the Board of Managers at Columbia, a legitimate student organization and is scheduled to be held at McMullin Theatre, Columbia University, from 2:00 - 5:00 PM on February 15, 1971.

SF T-25
January 13, 1971

On February 15, 1971, [redacted] Security and Investigations, New York City Police Department, advised NEWTON had cancelled his scheduled appearance at Columbia University. No reason for the cancellation was given by the BPP.

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JLC/sad

g. Music and Arts High School
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

On February 4, 1971, it was learned that the Student Senate of the City College of New York (CCNY) is sponsoring the appearance of NEWTON at the Music and Arts High School, 135th Street and Convent Avenue, New York City, and the appearance is scheduled from 7:00 PM to 9:30 PM on February 15, 1971, at the school auditorium. The Student Senate of CCNY is an elected body of CCNY and is financed through student fees. The security for the appearance will be handled by the Wackenhut Corporation on the outside of the school and other security will be employed inside the school itself.

SF T-26
February 4, 1971

On February 15, 1971, BPP representatives in New York City cancelled NEWTON's appearance at the high school of Music and Arts and no reason for the cancellation was given.

SF T-27
February 15, 1971

h. Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois
February 19, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to speak at the above-captioned University on the indicated date. On February 16, 1971, NEWTON cancelled the speaking engagement and no reason was given.

SF T-28
February 16, 1971

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i. University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin
February 20, 1971

NEWTON is scheduled to speak at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on February 20, 1971. His appearance is sponsored by the University of Wisconsin AAC.

SF T-29
January 29, 1971

Department of Protection and Security, University of Wisconsin, advised on February 20, 1971, that approximately 3000 persons attended scheduled speech at the University of Wisconsin Stock Pavillion on that date. An unidentified Negro male made an announcement that NEWTON would not appear inasmuch as the University of Wisconsin had promised to make the field house available for NEWTON's speech but had not done so and that security for NEWTON provided by campus police would be wholly inadequate. The Negro male stated NEWTON would speak on campus at a later date and urged students to leave the Pavillion and crash the field house. According to HANSON, approximately 300 to 500 members of the audience marched to the field house, entered, but were immediately dispersed by campus police without incident.

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4. Requests for Personal Appearances

During the period from January 15, 1971, through April 20, 1971, there have been several requests received at BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, from various universities and radio and television stations for personal appearances by NEWTON. The engagements accepted by NEWTON have been set forth in this report in the foregoing sections.

SF T-4
January 15 - April 20, 1971

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B. TRAVELS OF NEWTON

On January 29, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco, California, to New York City, New York, on United Airlines (UAL) Flight 28. Purpose of travel was to begin East Coast speaking tour.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
January 29, 1971

On January 29, 1971, [redacted] UAL, San Francisco, advised the ticket for NEWTON's travel on that date was paid for with cash.

NEWTON was in New Haven, Connecticut, from January 30 until February 5, 1971, where he made personal appearances.

FBI Agents
New Haven, Connecticut
January 30 - February 5, 1971

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On the night of February 5, 1971, NEWTON traveled to the Boston, Massachusetts, area, where he stayed at the residence of [redacted] Massachusetts. On February 7, 1971, he visited and inspected the BPP Center located at 23 Winthrop Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts. He departed from Boston on February 7, 1971, and traveled to New York City.

SF T-3
February 5-7, 1971

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On February 9, 1971, NEWTON traveled by automobile from New York City to Princeton, New Jersey, where he fulfilled a speaking engagement at Princeton University. Upon completion of his speech, NEWTON returned to New York City.

SF T-9
February 10, 1971

On February 10, 1971, NEWTON returned to San Francisco from New York City on American Airlines (AA) Flight 145. NEWTON returned in order to appear in court on February 11, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 10, 1971

On February 12, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to New York City on AA Flight 14 at 9:00 AM. Purpose of this travel was to complete East Coast speaking tour.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 12, 1971

On February 14, 1971, NEWTON traveled by air transportation from New York City to Syracuse, New York, where he spoke at Syracuse University. On February 15, 1971, NEWTON returned to New York City from Syracuse via AA.

FBI Agents
Syracuse, New York
February 14-15, 1971

On February 15, 1971, NEWTON arrived at San Francisco from New York City on UAL Flight 23 at 2:15 PM.

FBI Agents
San Francisco
February 15, 1971

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NEWTON's ticket for travel from New York City to San Francisco on February 15, 1971, was prepaid in Boston by Carte Blanche Credit Card Number [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Massachusetts.

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[REDACTED]
Port Authority Police
John F. Kennedy Airport
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

On February 19, 1971, NEWTON departed San Francisco on AA Flight 222 en route to Chicago, Illinois, where he had a speaking engagement on the afternoon of February 21, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 19, 1971

On February 22, 1971, NEWTON returned to San Francisco from Chicago on AA Flight 65.

SF T-4
February 22, 1971

On February 26, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to Boston, Massachusetts, on AA Flight 682. Purpose of travel was to attend fund raising cocktail party at the home of [REDACTED]

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FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

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NEWTON traveled on a first class ticket which was paid for with a check drawn on [redacted] [redacted] California, signed by [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] AA
San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

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[redacted]

On February 28, 1971, NEWTON took a shuttle flight from Boston to New York City. On the same date, NEWTON traveled from New York City to San Francisco on AA Flight 145.

SF T-4
February 28, 1971

On March 23, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to Boston, Massachusetts, on AA Flight 216.

[redacted]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
San Francisco International
Airport (SFIA)
March 23, 1971

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On March 24, 1971, NEWTON traveled via automobile from Boston to New Haven, Connecticut.

FBI Agents
Boston and New Haven
March 24, 1971

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On March 26, 1971, NEWTON arrived at San Francisco from Boston on Trans-World Airlines (TWA) Flight 33.

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[REDACTED]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
SFIA
March 26, 1971

On April 2, 1971, NEWTON departed San Francisco en route to Chicago on UAL Flight 136. Purpose of trip was to go to Madison, Wisconsin, where he had a speaking engagement on April 3, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
April 2, 1971

On April 3, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Chicago, Illinois, to Madison, Wisconsin, on North Central Airlines Flight 111.

FBI Agents
Madison, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

At 5:30 PM, April 3, 1971, NEWTON returned to Chicago from Madison on North Central Airlines Flight 272.

FBI Agents
Madison, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

On April 3, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Chicago to San Francisco, arriving at 11:10 PM, on UAL Flight 135.

[REDACTED]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
SFIA
April 3, 1971

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On April 16, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Oakland, California, to San Luis Obispo, California, via automobile for purpose of having a two day vacation. NEWTON returned to Oakland from San Luis Obispo on the afternoon of April 18, 1971.

SF T-2
April 16 - 18, 1971

During all of NEWTON's travels he was accompanied by and one or more other BPP members.

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JLC/sad

C. EXPULSIONS

1. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND OTHER MEMBERS OF
THE INTERCOMMUNAL SECTION IN ALGIERS

On January 28, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria. He discussed with NEWTON an article appearing in "The Village Voice", a New York underground newspaper, regarding a film of CLEAVER and Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY which was made in Algiers. NEWTON complained to CLEAVER that the BPP did not have control of the film and, in fact, had not even seen it. NEWTON said he would not allow it to be shown until the Party got possession of it.

CLEAVER explained that the film was made when LEARY was in Algiers and that the individual (not identified) was supposed to have contacted the BPP for the necessary authority to use it. NEWTON said the man had not contacted [redacted] or the BPP about it, and CLEAVER said he would send information regarding the man so he could be reached concerning the film.

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NEWTON criticized CLEAVER as he did not get permission for the film and said that it was necessary that they get some coordination on things of this type.

NEWTON then terminated the conversation after complaining of a bad connection.

SF T-2
January 28, 1971

On February 19, 1971, NEWTON contacted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers, Algeria, at which time the following matters were discussed:

NEWTON attempted to justify to CLEAVER the necessity for his residence in an exclusive and expensive Oakland, California, apartment building and referred to recent publicity

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which had been afforded the matter. He explained that it was necessary for security reasons and was paid for by some writers in Los Angeles. CLEAVER was not aware of any publicity in this regard and was apparently not concerned about the matter. NEWTON said he would send CLEAVER the press clippings and told CLEAVER that the FBI had tried to smear him and "HOOVER and his boys gave it a national smear".

NEWTON told CLEAVER they had been unable to find the jackanape with the film CLEAVER said he had sent to the United States regarding TIMOTHY LEARY and noted the guy had just contacted [redacted] once and then disappeared. CLEAVER wanted to know if it had been shown anywhere and was told it had not been, although the tape had been played all over the country. NEWTON then said that the white radicals had been demonstrating against CLEAVER as a result of his stand on the LEARY matter. CLEAVER said he was sending an article today for the white radicals to read.

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NEWTON then returned to the publicity about his residence and inferred that some jackanapes, unnamed, in the Party, had accepted the smear, and he wanted CLEAVER to write an article about it when he received the clippings and NEWTON's responses. CLEAVER agreed to do so.

NEWTON then told CLEAVER that he was about all finished with his communal tour and now planned to come to Algeria with [redacted] on her return after March 5, to which CLEAVER responded "No you ain't". NEWTON then told CLEAVER that [redacted] was scheduled to speak at the Oakland Auditorium, Oakland, California, on that date and wanted to insure she would be here as she was listed as a speaker on posters and in publicity regarding the Intercommunal Day activities scheduled for March 5th. NEWTON expressed concern that [redacted] would not appear as it would appear he had been giving if she did not. CLEAVER said he knew nothing about [redacted] being scheduled for March 5th and he did not positively assure NEWTON she would be there but said he would deal with it, but did not explain further.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

CLEAVER said the only thing he had seen about Intercommunal Day activities and the tribunal (in Stockholm) was the original announcement in the BPP newspaper and he inferred to NEWTON that when it came to intercommunal business he was being bypassed and, in his opinion, NEWTON was responsible as NEWTON was in charge. CLEAVER said he had been receiving calls from Denmark, Germany and France for information and was unable to furnish it as he is not informed. NEWTON and CLEAVER then argued again about this matter as they have done in the past and NEWTON reminded CLEAVER that certain things he had sent had been sidetracked by jackanapes and apparently this had also happened to certain material sent to CLEAVER. He indicated that items going both ways had been ripped off.

CLEAVER said some things had reached him but then pointed out that [redacted] in Paris had received an order from Central (National) Headquarters in Oakland not to relate to Algeria. NEWTON denied knowledge of this and inferred this must have come from [redacted] and noted that [redacted] was that jackanapes [redacted] noting she had tried to break them (CLEAVER and NEWTON) up. NEWTON criticized CLEAVER for his lack of confidence and CLEAVER responded that NEWTON knew him better than to think that. NEWTON did not know what CLEAVER was talking about and said he did not know [redacted] and only knew he was [redacted]

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CLEAVER told NEWTON he had prepared a video tape which he was sending in which he was going to review a lot of problems and set forth his suggestions as to how many contradictions presently facing NEWTON and the Party should be dealt with. CLEAVER told NEWTON he wanted him to relate more closely to him and Algeria as he could give help. NEWTON then complained that he did not know how to get any closer to the intercommunal section and noted that all he gets (from CLEAVER) is a lot of criticism and no recommendations or suggestions and does not want such criticism without constructive suggestions.

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JLC/sad

NEWTON said he had had confidence in [redacted] making correct reports and was undermined. Both agreed that they should not let petty problems come between them. CLEAVER said his video tape should help clear the air. He then again commented to the effect that the news which he received in Algeria indicated to him that there were a lot of criticisms in the Party which were not being dealt with to which NEWTON replied that it was not true and blamed the mass media for attempting to promote a factional split. CLEAVER cautioned NEWTON that he had taken a lot of unwarranted opposition not directed to him, but built up and directed at [redacted] while NEWTON was in jail. NEWTON said he didn't understand this and CLEAVER said that he would when he played CLEAVER's video tape.

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Further, with respect to [redacted] and her scheduled appearance in Oakland on March 5th, CLEAVER said that she is going to try to make it and he is now waiting for [redacted] to return from Kuwait, where they were to participate in a conference on Palestine, and plans to submit an overall report at that time.

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[redacted]

In relations to Intercommunal Day activity, NEWTON told CLEAVER that he was waiting for the intercommunal section to give him the format to which CLEAVER replied that he needed to know the original plan. NEWTON said that it was to include support for the statement of Madame BINH of North Vietnam, the struggles of the peoples of North Korea and China, the consciousness of the Third World strugglers for liberation of their community. CLEAVER wanted to know if the Stockholm tribunal would be considered. NEWTON did not know, said [redacted] took all of the material.

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CLEAVER told NEWTON he had heard nothing from [redacted] but had heard about the stipulation and had received many inquiries regarding her.

SF T-2
February 19, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On February 23, 1971, NEWTON contacted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria, at which time they discussed various matters, summarized as follows:

NEWTON complained to CLEAVER about the planned showing of his video tape in the San Francisco area and CLEAVER pleaded ignorance. NEWTON accused CLEAVER of making no effort to contact him or BPP Headquarters about these things and complained about people who keep coming to the U. S. from Algeria with things such as this video tape, over which the BPP has no control for fund raising purposes. CLEAVER protested that he has no one to send with such items and depended on people who happened to come through Algeria. NEWTON told him that in the future he was to call and someone would be sent, but CLEAVER did not think this practical in view of the expense. NEWTON responded that CLEAVER was just giving the material away without regard to the funds which could be raised through proper handling of this material.

CLEAVER said he had video tape equipment except for an editor and therefore had had to rely on the people he was able to contact who agreed to handle the editing of his material. He implied he was presently doing a video tape on BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and had several other thoughts in mind and wanted to produce tapes regularly and did not think it was functional to send someone to Algeria each time one was ready. NEWTON told CLEAVER he had heard CLEAVER had prepared a short video tape which he referred to as the "Madame BINH" tape. CLEAVER denied this and told NEWTON he had it wrong, but said he was covering wide varieties of subjects which he did not identify.

CLEAVER also told NEWTON he needed money and wanted NEWTON to send him \$5000 per month and NEWTON said the Party doesn't get \$500 per month in view of the expenses for maintaining Party facilities. NEWTON told CLEAVER he thought the Koreans were sending him money and this brought a laugh and a vulgar remark from CLEAVER in denial.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON told CLEAVER that [redacted] had to come to the U. S. and said he would send JOHN SEALE to get her, but did not think CLEAVER would let her come. CLEAVER suggested that NEWTON, [redacted]

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[redacted] come to Algeria as they had many things to discuss and this would be the best thing for the Party. He made no commitment regarding [redacted] possible trip. NEWTON claimed he would be arrested if he left the country or applied for a passport but told CLEAVER he would make such an application. CLEAVER said he read where J. EDGAR HOOVER was mad as there were no restrictions on NEWTON's travel. NEWTON said he was as "hot as cayenne pepper" and would be in handcuffs if he attempted to leave. CLEAVER implored NEWTON to come as they had to talk and told NEWTON if he did make the attempt to be sure and bring "The Chiefs". NEWTON told CLEAVER "The Chief" [redacted] [redacted] is "all for you". CLEAVER told NEWTON to send the [redacted] if he did not come.

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CLEAVER inquired about BOBBY SEALE's case and NEWTON said he was getting bad press and that (CHARLES) GARRY (implied in vulgar terms) was mishandling the SEALE case as he had NEWTON's case. NEWTON did not further explain this observation and no comment was made regarding it by CLEAVER.

As to the status of the BPP at this time, NEWTON said that BPP stock is the highest manifestation of Marxism - Leninism and CLEAVER agreed, saying everybody is using inter-communalism all over. NEWTON indicated the Party was in an uproar and was somewhat peculiar, or not peculiar, in that the Party makes its greatest advances in times of contradictions. He said lots of people are frustrated but the contradictions were moving to higher levels. The Party makes its advancement at the height of contradiction. Because of the contradictions the Party program is spreading. Everything looks good to NEWTON. People are frustrated and think things do not look good but they do not look good to them because they

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JLC/sad

don't understand that "The only time you have qualitative transformation is between quantitative chaos". He agreed there was a lot of chaos in the Party but concluded the Party was getting stronger, not weaker. CLEAVER made no response to these observations.

SF T-2
February 23, 1971

Information concerning the conversation between NEWTON and CLEAVER on February 26, 1971, when NEWTON was on JIM DUNBAR's morning television program in San Francisco, in which CLEAVER demanded that [redacted] be expelled from the BPP and to which NEWTON disagreed, is set forth in this report under the section captioned "Personal Appearances", sub-captioned "Completed Appearances".

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On February 26, 1971, NEWTON ordered that BPP Central Distribution Office, 1336 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, be instructed that no more telephone calls are to be accepted from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Intercommunal Section in Algeria and that no more materials and information are to be sent to them.

SF T-30
February 26, 1971

The April 3, 1971, issue of "Right On" contained a text of a telephone conversation between NEWTON and CLEAVER which reportedly took place on February 27, 1971, when NEWTON was in Boston, Massachusetts. Following is the text of the conversation as reported in "Right On" :

"Right On" is a newspaper published in New York by BPP members who defected from NEWTON's group and now follow CLEAVER.

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JLC/sad

"EC - Hello?

HN - Hello.

EC - Hey man.

HN - ELDRIDGE

EC - What's happening?

HN - Well, you dropped a bombshell this morning

EC - Yeah.

HN - Don't you think so?

EC - I hope so.

HN - Well, it was very embarrassing for me.

EC Well it had to be dealt with, man.

HN - Well I have to deal with it too because
I think that it was unfair because when
you bring things like that it should be
brought to the Central Committee and dis-
cussed openly and not outside, you know?

EC - Well the way a lot of stuff has been going
down it hasn't been done that way, man.

HN - Hello, you listening? The Intercommunal
Section is expelled

EC - ...Right on, if that's what you want to
do, brother. But look here, I don't think
you should take such actions like that.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"HN - Well, I'm taking it, brother. You dropped the bombshell all over the country now that there's a fraction, well I want the fraction to be put to work, because I wish I could've devastated it if it exists but I don't think it exists. As far as you're concerned, you can go to hell brother, but you're expelled, all communications will be stopped and that's the end of it.

EC - Say HUEY.

HN - What?..I'm going to write the Koreans, the Chinese, and the Algerians and tell them to kick you out of the, our embassy.

EC - Say HUEY.

HN - And to put you in jail. You're a maniac brother.

EC - Say, HUEY.

HN - Like TIMOTHY LEARY, I think you're full of acid this morning.

EC - Say, HUEY ...

HN - What?

EC - I think you should slow down brother, 'cause that's not going to work, you know.

HN - Well I think it will. We'll see.

EC - O.K., we'll see.

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JLC/sad

HN - And you know, I'd like a battle brother.
We'll battle it out.

EC - Say HUEY, that's not the best way to deal
with that.

HN - Well this is the way I'm going to deal with
it.

EC - Well, then I think you're a madman too
brother.

HN - O.K., we'll battle like two bulls, we'll
lock horns.

EC - We'll see then O.K.?

HN - But I think I have the guns.

EC - I got some guns too, brother.

HN - Alright, you put yours to work and I'll put
mine to work, but I'm not a coward like you
brother, cause you ran off and got Lil BOBBY
HUTTON killed and I stayed here to face the
gas, you see. But you're a coward 'cause you
didn't attack me this morning, you attacked
the Chief. You attacked him but you wanted
to say my name, you see. So you're a coward,
you're a punk, you understand.

EC - Say HUEY...

HN - You're a punk!

EC - I think you've lost your ability to reason
brother.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"HN - Hey brother, you heard what I called you
and that's what I feel about you now.
You're a punk!

EC - I wouldn't call you that, you see...

HUEY hung up. End of conversation."

On February 28, 1971, NEWTON commented that rumor is that he (NEWTON) has fired ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He stated, however, he has not yet made it known publicly since he is waiting for the right opportunity to put out the news. He remarked that CLEAVER is crazy and is just putting on a power play to take over the BPP, but that CLEAVER does not have the necessary forces in the United States to do so. NEWTON said he is going to expell CLEAVER and have him placed in jail in Algeria. NEWTON also commented that he has to keep CLEAVER from contacting people in the BPP in the United States since CLEAVER was sending assassins to kill DAVID HILLIARD.

SF T-2
February 28, 1971

On March 1, 1971, NEWTON ordered that BPP National Headquarters and other BPP offices and pads be instructed that no more telephone calls are to be accepted from Algeria because the whole Intercommunal Section has been expelled from the Party. In that connection, it was reported that CLEAVER has been calling various BPP chapters and telling BPP members that NEWTON is irresponsible, that [redacted] keeps him shot full of "dope", and that the members should follow him (CLEAVER).

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SF T-4
March 1, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 1, 1971, [redacted] and NEWTON were discussing the recent split between CLEAVER and NEWTON. In that regard, [redacted] advised NEWTON it is his thinking that NEWTON should not write any articles for the BPP newspaper at this time criticizing CLEAVER, but he should let other members write articles criticizing him (CLEAVER). NEWTON agreed with this advice and said he would have ELAINE BROWN write an article for the BPP newspaper. NEWTON commented that by doing this it would not look like an argument between himself and CLEAVER, but an argument between CLEAVER and the BPP.

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SF T-2
March 1, 1971

On March 1, 1971, [redacted] suggested to NEWTON that details concerning the expulsion of CLEAVER and the other members of the Intercommunal Section be printed in a national magazine that is widely read by black people. NEWTON turned down the suggestion, indicating that the matter would be handled by the BPP through its own newspaper and other BPP controlled propaganda material. NEWTON reportedly indicated that a series of six articles would be printed in coming issues of the BPP newspaper, which articles would be prepared by the BPP Central Committee. NEWTON reportedly would not respond to the expulsion personally inasmuch as it was his feeling that any dispute was not personal between himself and CLEAVER but rather between CLEAVER and the BPP. For all practical purposes, NEWTON indicated that the problem would be handled completely for at least the coming three weeks solely by the BPP, following which a determination would be made as to how to follow up the matter.

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SF T-28
March 1, 1971

On March 1, 1971, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria contacted NEWTON in Oakland, California, and both ELDRIDGE and [redacted] spoke with NEWTON. Following is a synopsis of the information discussed at that time:

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JLC/sad

The CLEAVERS, and the Algerian group, made an appeal to NEWTON to come to Algeria and [] attempted to reach NEWTON by references to past activities in which the early Party was successful. NEWTON stated they had destroyed the Party, which [] denied, saying everything they had done was to build the Party and a major problem that existed was the long separation from the U. S. of the CLEAVERS. She implied that NEWTON was receiving a distorted picture of things and could not make proper decisions without personal discussion with the people in Algiers.

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NEWTON inferred they did not have the best interests of the Party at heart and wanted to know why ELDRIDGE tried to have him assassinated in Harlem. [] denied any such attempt was made.

An effort was made to convince NEWTON that everything ELDRIDGE CLEAVER did was for the love of the Party, the people and NEWTON. NEWTON was told he had to come to Algeria as the people there could not come to the U.S. It was implied CLEAVER's recent actions were very necessary because of the fact all avenues for waging the struggle and for self-criticism were closed to Algeria and they had to move in whatever manner was available to them.

NEWTON concluded by these statements that the entire Intercommunal Section was all of one accord and that he would do everything possible to destroy them. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER stated the action he had taken was the only possibility open to him and wanted NEWTON to come to Algeria right away. NEWTON said that if he went to Algeria it would be to kill CLEAVER. CLEAVER told him to come ahead. NEWTON then concluded it would be wrong for him to take such an action since he was very democratic and very fair and therefore felt it necessary for CLEAVER to come here and face court martial.

NEWTON continued, in an obvious attempt to anger CLEAVER, that he "Won't do you like you did RAHIM" (CLINTON SMITH). CLEAVER did not respond and NEWTON continued he would not do CLEAVER like he did little BOBBY (HUTTON) and implied

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

CLEAVER ran out and stripped his clothes and exposed himself and said this was not because CLEAVER was so open but because CLEAVER was a coward.

CLEAVER became angered and told NEWTON he was right there with the dirty (obscene) [redacted] who threw his piece down and ran and hid under a woman's bed and left CLEAVER and HUTTON in a burning house with guns in their hands and told NEWTON he was a (obscene) fool if he didn't know it. NEWTON blamed CLEAVER for the situation and said it had occurred because CLEAVER had gathered too many people together and did it because he was afraid.

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CLEAVER said he could accept the criticism on the April 6, 1968, shootout on the basis of military tactics and strategy and told NEWTON he should also accept criticism for the October 27, 1967, shooting in which NEWTON was involved as it was a "jive" situation that developed which was not under NEWTON's control, but concluded that was another problem. NEWTON said his actions had been a "conscious choice" on his part and that "I did it all for myself". CLEAVER told NEWTON he was a (obscene) liar and NEWTON said he was not and that CLEAVER "Didn't know the decision, it's true".

CLEAVER said a debate about things of this type would not help the current situation. NEWTON said he liked it better this way and that CLEAVER could take his so-called Central Committee and battle it out, to which CLEAVER implied there was no battle and it would do no good. NEWTON said that it had been very destructive as far as he was concerned but that he and BOBBY (SEALE) would try to gather up the pieces.

Continuing, CLEAVER said there was nothing in the pieces except a revisionist dream world constructed by [redacted] and inherited by NEWTON when he came out of prison.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON defended [] and said he did a fine job holding things together and CLEAVER agreed he did the best he could but said nobody was perfect and NEWTON agreed and said mistakes were made. CLEAVER apparently felt NEWTON should listen to more criticism and told NEWTON he refused to listen to his comrades and turned against them like they were his enemies. NEWTON reminded CLEAVER he had turned against NEWTON on the recent television program (DUNBAR show, San Francisco, February 26, 1971) and greatly embarrassed him. CLEAVER reminded NEWTON he had called CLEAVER and NEWTON agreed and said he did it with sincerity and in friendship.

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CLEAVER changed the topic to [] and the New York 21 and said NEWTON should not have allowed the expulsions to happen. NEWTON told CLEAVER he did not know [] or the New York 21 and CLEAVER responded that he got information from various sources which he believed since he did not get it from NEWTON. NEWTON said CLEAVER should not be offended if NEWTON believed his sources and in fact, his own eyes and noted he had received letters from [] and observed the actions of [] [] He told CLEAVER he did not know what he was talking about and said CLEAVER had not done anything but receive his so-called reports.

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After a long pause, CLEAVER remarked "Well, you're not going to come?" NEWTON said he would come after the Koreans use the iron broom and sweep the embassy (Intercommunal Section) clean. He told CLEAVER he would have no place to go except back to babylon (U.S.) but that the comrade Commander (NEWTON) could go any place and was not afraid and yet CLEAVER was afraid to come to Babylon. CLEAVER said he was not afraid of NEWTON but that the "pigs" would get him if he came back and that NEWTON had no fear of them now since his bail was not revoked but might think differently if that happened.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON said he would then go to the penitentiary and that it would make no difference as he could live anywhere and could continue the struggle. CLEAVER did not feel that was the kind of example after JONATHAN JACKSON that should be set before the people. NEWTON told CLEAVER he had not set the example of JACKSON and said CLEAVER ran. CLEAVER again became angered and said "You (obscene), you gave me an order to leave". NEWTON said that was not right, that CLEAVER begged to leave. CLEAVER then told NEWTON he was just out of his mind.

NEWTON then asked "Why did you kill RAHIM?" and repeated the query during a long silence from CLEAVER. CLEAVER then told NEWTON to come over and they could also discuss this matter and said "That ain't no big thing". NEWTON pursued the matter and wanted to know "Why do you live with [redacted] and then kill RAHIM because he was (obscene) your wife?"

There was no response from CLEAVER to these matters. NEWTON then pointedly attempted to anger CLEAVER about his wife [redacted] and told CLEAVER that [redacted] always wanted to have sexual relations with NEWTON and if she had come for the March 5th affair he would have had relations with her. CLEAVER said he was aware of this and agreed with NEWTON that was one of the reasons he had for not sending [redacted] CLEAVER wanted to know if that was what NEWTON called being a Supreme Servant to the people and if it was NEWTON's only interest in CLEAVER and his wife. NEWTON agreed that it was and said that if he came to Algeria he would have sexual relations and would commit a vulgar act on CLEAVER himself. CLEAVER told NEWTON to come on (twice). NEWTON laughed and said, "See you brother, Power to the People" and hung up.

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SF T-2
March 1, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 3, 1971, BPP National Headquarters was preparing an article for the forthcoming issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper setting forth details concerning the killing of CLINTON RAHIM SMITH by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria. This is one of several articles to be prepared by the BPP to belittle, downgrade and embarrass CLEAVER with the intent of neutralizing CLEAVER and his appeal to Party dissidents. These articles are being prepared at NEWTON's direction under the editorship of ELAINE BROWN, now regarded by NEWTON as the editor of the BPP newspaper.

SF T-2
March 3, 1971

The above-mentioned article appeared in the March 6, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The March 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained an article captioned "Intercommunal Section Defects", which reported that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED] and all other members of the Intercommunal Section of the BPP have defected from the BPP. The article stated the BPP Central Committee was reporting their defection so that any confusion that may have arisen over their membership in the Party can be cleared.

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2. ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT AND
MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP

The following article authored by NEWTON concerning the purge of ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT from the BPP appeared in the January 23, 1971, edition of "The Black Panther" newspaper:

ON THE PURGE OF

GERONIMO FROM

THE BLACK

PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party is informing all Chapters, Branches, N.C.C.F.'s and the mass of People that we are purging from our ranks Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G".

In addition to committing flagrant violations of our Party's principles, this man ultimately showed that although he claimed allegiance and devotion to the struggle of the People from oppression and to the Black Panther Party, his devotion and allegiance was still to the ways and rules of the Pig Power Structure. When he left the Marine Corps' Special Forces (having trained Green Berets), the armed agency of the CIA, he joined the Black Panther Party. But he has proven beyond a doubt that he is as dedicated today to that Pig Agency as he was when he was in Vietnam, killing innocent Vietnamese women and

children on various "search and destroy" missions.

It is certain that we were under an illusion that he had switched allegiances, for his lies (which he admitted he had been trained to tell) were extremely convincing. For the Black Panther Party did everything in our power to allow this man - who can no longer be considered such, for he lacks human compassion and understanding - to remain free from the vicious clutches of the pigs. As a result of our efforts, this jackanape informed the Central Committee of our Party of certain demands he had - namely money. He advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that they were armed and that if his demands were not met, he would "move on" (assassinate) our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. This nape further stated that he in fact didn't like the manner in which the Chief of Staff conducted himself or the Party's business, and that he felt he needed to be removed anyway. He also mentioned that once his forces were together, he would also "get rid of" (assassinate) our Assistant Chief of Staff, Jane Hilliard.

But, the most disgraceful, cowardly, revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly that if the Party would not go along with his ideas, he would

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assassinate the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton.

As if this were not sufficient, he used money he had obtained through and in the name of the Party to purchase alcohol and narcotics for the purpose of indulging himself and his stupid cohorts in nightly bourgeois, orgiastic revelry. (Without the direct eye of the Party's leadership, he maintained a personally pleasure-seeking life.)

During this period - that is, prior to the arrests in Dallas, Texas on last December 8th and after he left his obvious Party tasks to avoid capture by the pigs - during this period, Geronimo 1) violated many young Black sisters he met while moving from town to town, forcing them to submit to himself and the other fools; 2) left a wide trail for the pigs to follow, thereby, exposing the Party to the pigs, by letting most of the people he met know he was a member of the Black Panther Party; 3) harassed and intimidated many of the people with whom he came into contact, by demanding their aid under the threat of their lives; 4) purchased "Christmas" presents ("Christmas" being the high holiday of the pig capitalists, particularly the avaricious businessmen; and, the period during which the masses of People are exploited in the highest.), to send to his and the others' families and friends. In addition to the counter-revolutionary nature of this particular act, he would have provided

additional exposure of their location - which was to have been clandestine (secret).

Finally, Geronimo and the others who are hereby purged - Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday, and George Lloyd - attempted to organize other renegades from our Party and themselves into a counter-revolutionary, little rebel roving band, certainly not adhering to the Party's principles or orders, but also violating the masses of People themselves. They are like snakes who crawled into a baby's crib. And we expel them from our ranks, as we would such snakes. We have no word of good to say for them and have faith that the People will someday let these pigs like all other burn in the Fires of Reaction.

Let it be known, then, that Geronimo (Elmer Gerard Pratt), his wife Sandra Lane Pratt or Sandra Holmes or "Red" (who worked in concert with him), Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday and George Lloyd are forever purged and expelled from the Black Panther Party. Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton

HUEY P. NEWTON
SUPREME COMMANDER AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

3. CONNIE MATTHEWS
AND OTHERS

On February 9, 1971, a statement released to the news media in New York City by NEWTON informed that CONNIE MATTHEWS TABOR, MICHAEL TABOR, RICHARD MOORE, and EDDIE "JAMAL" JOSEPHS are expelled from the BPP for life and that they are enemies of the people.

SF T-10
February 9, 1971



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On February 10, 1971, NEWTON again explained that CONNIE MATTHEWS TABOR, MICHAEL TABOR, RICHARD MOORE and EDDIE JOSEPHS were expelled. At this same time, NEWTON stated that no BPP member was to relate to the New York 21, not to attend the trial, or offer any type of moral or physical assistance to them.

SF T-35
February 10, 1971

The February 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained an article on Pages 12 and 13 which announced the expulsion of CONNIE MATTHEWS, MICHAEL TABOR, and RICHARD MOORE at the direction of NEWTON.

The foregoing article also states, "... The New York 21 were expelled from the Black Panther Party for their attacks on the Party in their letter to the Weatherman". A footnote to the article stated that the counter-revolutionary statement of the New York 21 appeared in the "East Village Other Newspaper".

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The February 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" also contained an article advising of the expulsions of MARCIA ROBERSON and ROSEMARY MEALY from the BPP in New Haven, Connecticut, apparently at the direction of NEWTON.

On February 13, 1971, it was learned that [redacted] [redacted] the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Dallas, Texas, had apparently been purged from their affiliation with the BPP after [redacted] disobeyed orders from NEWTON to come to BPP National Headquarters in Oakland.

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SF T-4
February 13, 1971

[redacted]

The NCCF is an organizing arm of the BPP.

An article appearing in the February 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" confirmed the expulsion of CURTIS GAINES.

4. DISBANDING OF THE PORTLAND
OREGON, BPP CHAPTER

On January 22, 1971, on orders of NEWTON, BPP Central Headquarters prepared a letter disbanding the Portland, Oregon, chapter of the BPP. The text of the letter was as follows:

"Because of the refusal to adhere to the rules and principles, as laid down by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, and the refusal to communicate with Central Headquarters, the Portland, Oregon, Chapter is hereby disbanded as of today's date by order of the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party."

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JLC/sad

The letter was to be signed by NEWTON and forwarded to a representative of the Portland BPP Chapter, but it is not known if this was ever done.

SF T-4
January 23, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

D. CONNECTION WITH STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED
PRODUCTIONS, INC. (SCPI)

On January 20, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with JOHN SEALE, stating it is his (NEWTON'S) plan for the BPP to have its own motion picture company. He stated that in this way they could make documentary pictures and also make pictures which would have the Lumpen starring in them. NEWTON said this should make the BPP a million dollars in the next year or so. According to NEWTON, the BPP will start looking for a suitable location for a studio and also start checking on the costs of equipment that they will have to purchase. Subject also commented that possibly the BPP can have its own theatre in the San Francisco Bay Area in which they could show their films.

SF T-31
January 20, 1971

JOHN SEALE has been publicly identified as the Production Manager of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The Lumpen has been publicly identified as a singing group consisting of four members of the BPP who make public appearances for the benefit of the BPP.

On January 21, 1971, NEWTON was considering having SCPI produce boxes with BPP leaders' profiles on top, BPP knives, and BPP watches.

SF T-4
January 21, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The January 23, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of NEWTON's speech given at Boston College on November 18, 1970. At the end of the text is the statement "Copyright by Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., 1970".

On January 25, 1971, [redacted] learned that [redacted] was in jail in New York City for unauthorized use of a rental car. [redacted] instructed a BPP member in New York to contact [redacted] and to arrange his release from jail. Later the same date, [redacted] discussed this matter with NEWTON, who immediately told [redacted] that he should not have given any instructions to [redacted] since all orders for [redacted] are supposed to come from him (NEWTON).

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[redacted] attempted to explain to NEWTON that the car in which [redacted] was arrested had reportedly been leased by [redacted] for the use of [redacted] in New York. To this, NEWTON remarked that apparently [redacted] didn't have anything to do with that, but he (NEWTON) wanted to find out how he was involved because if he was involved, NEWTON would fire him. NEWTON told [redacted] that he (NEWTON) had informed [redacted] before that he would fire him if he ever did anything again that NEWTON had not authorized him to do.

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NEWTON further instructed [redacted] is not to handle any criminal matters for the BPP.

SF T-4
January 25, 1971

[redacted]

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On January 19, 1971, NEWTON stated he had bought a house located about one block from BPP National Headquarters in Oakland. He said this was for BPP members to live in. He also remarked he would pay \$9,000 or \$10,000 for the house, but that he would not make payments and would pay cash.

SF T-2
January 19, 1971

On January 25, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] in New York stating that [redacted] was going to be in and to be sure to take care of him. [redacted] said he would do so. [redacted] stated he will try to patent the watch-band, have a copyright on the picture, but no one has done the photograph. NEWTON said that if you can put a photograph on a button, you can do it on a watch. NEWTON stated the big thing is on the band and if we have it, it will be good. [redacted] asked if this was the bullet band. NEWTON commented he is going to show the face of the watch, but he definitely wants the patent on the band. NEWTON informed [redacted] had made the band and did a good job and looks good. NEWTON then stated the band is where we are going to turn over surplus. NEWTON told [redacted] to draw up an offer on a contract to send ANGELA DAVIS's attorney for SCPI. NEWTON told [redacted] is going to do the actual photo of ANGELA's face on the watch. NEWTON advised [redacted] to offer her 15 or 20 per cent and no more because the CP has enough money and they don't need any more. NEWTON told [redacted] that the CP also was exploiting the Panthers when at the time of ANGELA's arrest and after NEWTON had asked her to state she was not a member of the Panthers and she refused to do it. NEWTON guessed the CP wouldn't do it because of the institution making up the CP. NEWTON informed [redacted] that the Party will now ride on her coattail in an effort to make money on the outstanding publicity given her case. NEWTON advised that the inside of the watch will carry the words "Free Angela Now."

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON advised that there would be both American and foreign distribution of the watch and that a statement of her case will be placed inside and he hoped that she would write same. NEWTON advised [] that when he wrote ANGELA DAVIS, advising that Stronghold is interested in her case, not to mention NEWTON or the BPP as such.

[] then informed NEWTON that he knows [] in Atlanta and plans to call him to arrange a deal between Stronghold and SNCC. NEWTON informed [] that his name should not be mentioned nor should the name of the BPP when [] talks with [] NEWTON stated he did not want any connection with the building in Atlanta as far as the BPP is concerned. [] informed NEWTON that [] will probably ask what Stronghold is and then stated that he would tell [] that, "Stronghold is a movement corporation which does a lot of work in the field of printing, in the field of books, in the field of commercial stuff, for various movement groups and we'll leave it sort of vague at this point". NEWTON agreed and said keep it vague.

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A characterization of the SNCC is contained in the appendix.

NEWTON then asked [] about a building in Harlem, New York, and [] advised they have a new lease on it and were negotiating purchase. [] informed NEWTON that he is conducting a search to make sure they can occupy the building. NEWTON asked if it was true they could get it for \$5,000 and [] answered yes. There was then some mention of a printing press in New York being obtained and utilized to print papers out of that area.

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[] then asked NEWTON if they got a permit for the shoe factory and was advised by NEWTON that this had already been done and at the present time they are making a sign for the building.

NEWTON then stated that he had heard that they were having trouble with the money. [] told him that they weren't having any trouble, however, when you get into tax exemptions, Uncle Sam comes in and gives you a hard time.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON asked [] why they just don't forget the tax exemptions and [] said because apparently [] is not willing to. NEWTON asked where he heard this information and [] said that [] original concept, from what he gathered from him, it was important how he gave the money. [] informed NEWTON that he would rather, instead of sending the \$12,000, have [] send the Party \$9,000 non-exempt and place it right into Stronghold and eliminate all the problems and then they could pick up the other \$3,000 coming down the line. [] stated, in other words, all he can save basically on the tax exemption would be about \$3,000. NEWTON then asked if they already had the \$12,000 and [] came back and informed NEWTON that the \$12,000 went out of one foundation because Uncle Sam challenged it and now it's going back into another foundation. NEWTON then questioned whether [] has control of the money and [] told him no, he would have to write out a new check. [] stated that there was no other choice, it was legally required. [] explained that he wrote him and told him what the story was and that he was supposed to sign a new check. [] stated there were no problems involved from what he gathered. NEWTON then said go ahead and send him the \$12,000 and then we'll send him back the \$3,000, if he is interested but NEWTON felt sure he won't want anything back. NEWTON informed [] that he would straighten it out so it would go direct to Stronghold.

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[] advised that it is his philosophy concerning tax exemptions that in almost all cases it is not worth the problems that arise. He stated it is not bad if you are not political, but if you are political, it is ridiculous. He again stated it really raises more problems than it solves. NEWTON then told [] that he would straighten it out and to put all the money in Stronghold.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON stated that it is his opinion that [] would give the whole thing up. [] stated that he has not spoken to [] at all and that [] was handling that part of the transaction. [] informed NEWTON that [] said there is an understanding but cannot be put into a firm legal document until [] meets NEWTON because it is an understanding based upon a personal feeling that he would give up his advance. [] continued stating that [] had discussed the matter with [] son) concerning this arrangement and they are apparently just waiting for NEWTON's meeting with [] further advised that Yale is not aware of the money that would be going to [] would be going to NEWTON also. NEWTON stated this sounded dangerous that Yale did not have knowledge of this and [] informed him he was going to see [] and try to work it through. [] stated that the second understanding now is 50 per cent and 50 per cent, \$14,000 as far as Yale University is concerned. (u)

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NEWTON asked [] what arrangements have been made on the royalties and [] informed him that they were as follows: 15 per cent on the hard cover, 10 per cent on the cloudy paperback, on the mat paperback it would be 50-50 per cent between the publishers and the authors based on a 10 per cent royalty.

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[] stated that the above are top dollar figures and were more than what they could get from Random House and probably from 90 per cent of the other publishers. [] felt these were very good figures and that the only problem was working out arrangements with [] as to what he will give them. [] said this was probably a personal question and not a political one. NEWTON told [] that he is not going to ask [] for it and [] told him that this is his and [] responsibility. [] stated that he thought all that [] wanted to do was to meet NEWTON. (u)

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NEWTON told [] that if they can get the southern press which is presently in the Atlanta House, even though it needs repair, and also purchase a press in New York,

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

they could save a lot of money. He stated that the price for the house and the press in Atlanta is \$28,000 and in addition, he wanted to get a community press, cost of which was \$92,000 for New York. He said that this \$92,000 press can print 16,000 papers every four hours and if they could get it they would start saving about \$10,000 a week. NEWTON further advised [] that they already knocked down the cost of the paper in printing in both New York and San Francisco and already saved about \$4,000 a week. He told [] if they could get three presses operating they could really save money.

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SF T-2
January 25, 1971

On January 26, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON and stated that he was in the position of getting the patent for the watchband. [] stated he might only be able to get a designed patent on the band. [] commented to NEWTON that probably only hunters and pigs will be buying it. [] also informed NEWTON that the patent would be done in about six to seven days and the final answer on the patent will be received in about a month.

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[] further informed NEWTON that he had received a video tape from Algiers, a film with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER talking with TIMOTHY LEARY about the drug culture. NEWTON then drops this subject and asks [] about a fund raising film done by OSSIE DAVIS. NEWTON says he did not have permission to do it. NEWTON further identifies this film as one done last month and states that it is presently in the Oakland area.

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NEWTON informed [] that he was working with [] on obtaining the film done on FRED HAMPTON's death. NEWTON stated [] is in on this film and has already advised him that the Panthers could have it when it was finished. NEWTON stated that [] had informed him that they needed about \$25,000 to finish it. NEWTON then stated he was offered 30 per cent by a [] individual not further identified.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON then advised [redacted] that he wants him to send a strong letter to [redacted] about the book, "Free Huey". [redacted] stated that "Ramparts" wants to do a hard cover edition of the book and will share with the BPP 50-50 per cent but the Party has to order a certain number of the books. [redacted] stated "Ramparts" indicated [redacted] was presently getting an advance and royalty on the book. NEWTON told [redacted] that they still have not gotten anything on the soft cover, and six months ago [redacted] stated he would see that the Party would get some of the royalties.

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[redacted]
[redacted] New Left magazine
entitled "Ramparts".

[redacted] advised NEWTON that he had heard through "Ramparts" that [redacted] had told them to share their profits with the BPP and not take any of his profits. NEWTON stated he will take 50 per cent from "Ramparts" and 50 per cent from [redacted] also.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON then asked [] if the rented car was on the way and [] stated he hopes so and he will check on it again.

[] asked NEWTON if the "Dirty Time" people have been contacted as to the price of the watches being manufactured. NEWTON stated that he wants the price down to \$5.00 per watch and wanted to invest ten, twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars.

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[] informed NEWTON that he did not know the present status of the Atlanta Building for the southern press operation. [] informed NEWTON that he would have to contact [] on the building again and that he had found out that at one time last year the SNCC was supposedly going to give the building away to be used as a black studies library.

SF T-2
January 26, 1971

On January 28, 1971, NEWTON received information that the Revolutionary Time Company in Los Angeles, California, had already come out with watches bearing photographs of BOBBY SEALE and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and planned to come out with one shortly of ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON indicated he plans to initiate a suit against Revolutionary Time Company for producing these watches.

SF T-2
January 28, 1971

On February 11, 1971, [] and NEWTON discussed the progress being made regarding the producing of watches bearing photographs of BPP leaders. [] said that

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

the manufacturer stated that the paper bearing the photographs on the face of the watches will not last, to which NEWTON remarked that people will not know that until they buy one. [] said the watches would cost approximately \$6.00 each to produce, and NEWTON indicated they might have the manufacturer start making watches within the next few days.

SF T-2
February 11, 1971

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On February 15, 1971, [] told NEWTON that she had been in contact with the manufacturer of the watches and they had reached a tentative agreement that the cost would be \$5.25 per watch without boxes or \$5.50 per watch with boxes. They agreed for the BPP to place \$10,000 down for the first 10,000 watches and then appropriate arrangements would be made for payment for the remaining 20,000 watches. NEWTON said the watch sales are going to be under control of SCPI.

SF T-4
February 15, 1971

On March 3, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON concerning the necessary legal work to be done regarding the purchase of a house in Harlem, New York, on 127th Street. NEWTON instructed [] to go through with the closing of the transaction, stating that when the time comes they will evict ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's people who are living there now.

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NEWTON also instructed [] to get \$1,300 or \$1,500 to [] in Chicago for expenses and budget, presumably for BPP operations in that city.

SF T-2
March 3, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 4, 1971, NEWTON said that [] had just about completed the arrangements for the purchase of a car for NEWTON, but that [] thinks NEWTON ought to consider renting a car rather than buying one. At that time NEWTON did not know if he would have [] go ahead and buy or rent one, but NEWTON said that the car he does get should have a telephone, inside locks on the trunk and hood, radio, heater, and leather seats.

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SF T-2
March 4, 1971

On March 28, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON, informing him that he had taken care of that little matter for him. (This matter was concerning a donation made to the BPP), and reportedly wanted to know if he could stop by NEWTON's place and discuss same with him.

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SF T-2
March 28, 1971

[]
[] the St. Augustine Episcopal Church, Oakland, California, and a sympathizer with the BPP.

On March 28, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON and was advised by NEWTON that he wanted the money turned over in cash. [] reportedly apologized to NEWTON and stated he had not understood it that way. Amounts of \$6000 and \$3000 were mentioned, and [] stated something to the effect that all money the church gets is reported to their national church for tax purposes, but he felt he could handle this transaction by showing that the money went out as

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

Missionary Outreach (phonetic) and that he did not get to keep it. NEWTON reportedly advised [redacted] was supposed to give \$6000 and since he has given only \$3000 he still owes the Party \$3000.

SF T-2
March 28, 1971

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On March 27, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] [redacted] stating that he wants to get a check cashed and needs \$5000 today. NEWTON reportedly told [redacted] that he has a check, but it is made out to Stronghold. NEWTON then advised [redacted] to go out and buy one bottle of Cognac, one bottle of Tangueray and four bottles of Pinot Noir.

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] [redacted] inquiring as to whether [redacted] had received the \$10,000 from [redacted] which was to be used for the "watch." [redacted] advised NEWTON that they have to have a \$7000 down payment, plus another \$800 for the New Haven house.

NEWTON informed [redacted] that he must have \$5000 by this coming Monday and indicated that [redacted] might be the individual designated to bring this money out to him. NEWTON reportedly stated that the Wells Fargo Bank will handle the transaction and the money should be available on the East Coast by 10:00 AM Pacific Time.

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NEWTON reportedly then advised that "another guy" in Los Angeles is supposed to donate \$6000. NEWTON then commented to [redacted] on the film which is being handled by [redacted] in Los Angeles. This film supposedly will net the Party \$30,000.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON spoke of the \$10,000 to be used for the ANGELA DAVIS watch, ANGELA being chosen by NEWTON because he decided ANGELA has a bigger name than BOBBY SEALE.

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON reportedly informed [redacted] to go ahead with the purchase of an automobile for him and [redacted] reportedly told NEWTON he is worried about the image. NEWTON told [redacted] not to worry because he does not drive and he does not even have a license. NEWTON reportedly then asked if they could afford the car and [redacted] replied that he is not worried about that, just the image.

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

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On March 29, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] advising her to pick up some money at the Wells Fargo Bank. [redacted] was later in contact with NEWTON and told him that the money had not arrived yet. NEWTON reportedly told her at this time to contact [redacted] and find out what happened to it.

SF T-2
March 29, 1971

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On March 29, 1971, NEWTON was again in contact with [redacted] informed him that there were more money problems and that he can only send \$1000 instead of \$3000 because some of the checks deposited to that account had not cleared. NEWTON was then in contact with an unidentified individual, advising him that he is sending [redacted] back East tonight with some checks.

SF T-2
March 29, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[redacted] has been publicly identified as
a community worker for the BPP and the

[redacted]

On March 30, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted]
[redacted] advising him that they were ready to go on the watch
project and that BOBBY's would be first. NEWTON stated the
down payment had been given to the company and told [redacted]
that if he needs any more money he should contact either
NEWTON or [redacted] NEWTON reportedly asked [redacted]
how soon he would be able to leave to take the materials to
the company and [redacted] advised him he could leave Thursday
or possibly tomorrow after the paper was out.

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SF T-4
March 30, 1971

On April 5, 1971, NEWTON said that he needs \$4000
on April 6, 1971, and then commented that the "watch deal" is
now off because the \$7,000 that was to be used to pay for the
production of the watches was used to purchase a house in New
Haven, Connecticut.

SF T-2
April 5, 1971

On April 12, 1971, NEWTON reportedly asked [redacted]
[redacted] what his thoughts were concerning the
purchase of a large complex building which houses three
restaurants on a parcel of land about one acre in size that is
worth about \$15,000. The exact location was not mentioned but
source reported that [redacted] commented, "It would be high up on
a mountain", and then indicated it is probably in the Oakland,
California, area. [redacted] then discussed the possibility

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

of building a \$45,000 house on the lot and then selling it for \$60,000 or \$70,000. [] reportedly stated it is his opinion that HUEY should buy the lot since he only needs to pay ten per cent down and that cost would also be a tax write off, to which HUEY remarked, "I don't pay no taxes".

HUEY stated to [] that he had to find a rich woman to marry and [] reportedly told him to marry [] as she has a lot of money. [] then asked about Stronghold, to which HUEY replied that Stronghold is a one man corporation and that [] Stronghold. HUEY reportedly continued [] is the only one who can write checks for the corporation, but that he (HUEY) is the lone stockholder, and that, "I own [] Understand?" HUEY then said that Stronghold is a tax free corporation which is legal and the money goes to free breakfast programs.

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On the same date, HUEY told [] he would try to get \$2,500.00 from the Wells Fargo Bank on April 13, 1971, and he would then contact [] to further discuss the buying of the property.

SF T-31
April 12, 1971

On April 14, 1971, HUEY NEWTON was in contact with [] advising her that he needs about \$1000. [] reportedly informed NEWTON that they did not have any money and that the \$2500 that [] had sent to them had to go for overdrafts at the bank. [] informed NEWTON that she had sent [] checks, totalling \$2500 and he then sent her the check for the same amount. She stated that the account had \$2,800 in it to begin with so now it remains at \$2,800. NEWTON could not believe that the money given to them in the amount of \$18,000 had already been spent and he instructed [] to contact [] and get an accounting from him on all the recent receipts and disbursements. NEWTON then advised [] to get \$1200 for him and [] reportedly informed NEWTON she will check with []

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SF T-2
April 14, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On April 14, 1971, [redacted] was in contact with [redacted] informing her that HUEY NEWTON wanted her to check out a house at 2608 Grant Street in Berkeley, telephone number 845-3348. [redacted] stated that this house is the one that [redacted] knew about and it is a five-bedroom house, listed for \$18,000 to \$22,000.

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SF T-4
April 14, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

E. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

On March 4, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] in Cuba. NEWTON discussed with her the recent split between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and he requested that she make the information public in Cuba. In that regard, he instructed that the information be put out in such a way that he (NEWTON) will look favorable with the people in Cuba.

SF T-2
March 4, 1971

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[redacted]
publicly supported the BPP and its leadership.

On March 16, 1971, [redacted] was in contact with NEWTON at Oakland, California, and at that time NEWTON requested that [redacted] make a trip to Europe on the weekend of March 20-21, 1971, in order to appear at meetings of the Northern European BPP Solidarity Committees scheduled on those dates in Copenhagen, Denmark.

[redacted] requested a letter from NEWTON and also cassette recordings of comments by NEWTON to be played for individuals with whom he would come in contact, specifically for some North Vietnamese group at an unknown location, but possibly in Paris, France, or Stockholm, Sweden, or some other location where the North Vietnamese Government presently maintains delegations.

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NEWTON was to prepare the materials requested by [redacted] and forward them to a BPP Office in New York City, where [redacted] would pick them up.

SF T-4
March 16, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

As of March 19, 1971, NEWTON had not prepared the letter and recordings to be taken to Europe by [redacted] NEWTON was supposed to do so as soon as possible and forward them to an individual in New York City who in turn would forward them to [redacted]

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In connection with his present travel, in addition to serving as a representative of the BPP at the European Solidarity Committee meeting in Copenhagen, [redacted] planned to contact embassies or delegations in Paris representing Cuba, Communist China, North Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Albania, and would present NEWTON's letter to officials at these establishments.

[redacted] On March 19, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] and furnished him with a brief message for presentation at the Solidarity Committee Meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark.

NEWTON reportedly said that his greatest concern about the contradictions between ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Central Committee of the BPP was that people had lost the attention they had previously placed upon the most important thing at this time, which, in NEWTON's mind, was the freedom of all political prisoners in general, and BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE and [redacted] in particular, and also [redacted] in spite of recent statements by her against NEWTON. In this regard, NEWTON said that he realized [redacted] had spoken through coercion and duress when she recently attacked him.

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NEWTON continued that he felt that all political prisoners should be free, whether from male chauvinism, from the steel gates of maximum security, or free from oppressive society, but that they should only be freed through the power of the people as otherwise their freedom would be insignificant.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON also felt that the freedom of political prisoners had to be based on mobilization of the people so that the people themselves would realize their power and the subsequent act of freeing the prisoners would then be a political act and not an individual act.

NEWTON then reportedly called for a solidarity of all the progressive people of the world and indicated they should band together to free all of the people.

It is not known if the comments furnished by NEWTON to [] in this instance were also included in the letters to be forwarded to [] for his utilization in his contacts with various foreign delegations in Europe on his current visit, however, it is speculated that the context of NEWTON's message to those delegations would be somewhat similar to his views which were furnished to []

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SF T-2
March 19, 1971

On March 23, 1971, NEWTON received a report from [] This report by [] was made from Copenhagen, Denmark, where he had attended the Northern European Solidarity Committee Meeting held on the weekend of March 20-21, 1971. Reportedly, [] had submitted details regarding the conference and contacts made by him with individuals attending the conference, by letter to NEWTON, and had also prepared and received recorded tape cassettes in the form of reports, which would be submitted to NEWTON at a later date, possibly after [] return to the United States.

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[] had reported that, in his opinion, all of the European Solidarity groups were solidly behind NEWTON in the dispute between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, except for the group functioning in Germany. [] felt that the opposition of the individuals in Germany was due mainly to the influence of [] the "Red Panthers", who continued to support and identify with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[] further reported that the Black GIs associated with the "Voice of The Lumpen", in Frankfurt, Germany, apparently leaned toward NEWTON but related primarily to spontaneity and were caught up in the pronouncements of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and, in effect, had not taken a positive side in the dispute.

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[] planned to travel to Germany on or about March 23, 1971, and indicated he would speak to the GI organizers in Frankfurt to seek the support of that group and of other German black activists for NEWTON rather than CLEAVER. [] said that he had been in contact with representatives of this group and had made elaborate security arrangements for his trip, however, was afraid to use bodyguards offered to him by the GI group.

[] believed one of the best assets he had to work with in cultivating the Germans was the fact that [] who had had dealings with the Germans, was one of the most hated persons who had represented the BPP in the past. Reportedly, [] had blocked more things in Europe than anyone could imagine and many of the people with whom [] had been in contact actually hated []. He felt that this hate of [] was one of the strongest things presently available to him in NEWTON's favor for soliciting support of these German groups for NEWTON.

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[] was reportedly pleased with the statement issued for his use by NEWTON regarding his (NEWTON'S) dispute with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and felt that the statement by NEWTON had cleared up several things for BPP supporters in Europe, who had been extremely anxious to receive such information.

SF T-2
March 23, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On April 4, 1971, [] furnished a report of his activities to NEWTON. [] reportedly was then in Paris, France. [] indicated he had made contact with delegations representing the Chinese, Koreans, Cubans, and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam. He reportedly had been well received by all and received expressions of solidarity from all for the BPP except for the Chinese, who were non-committal at this time. [] had not, as yet, seen the Albanian delegation.

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[] in his contacts with these groups, had discussed the current stand of the BPP in relation to the Party's solidarity to the revolutionary peoples of the countries the delegations represented. He had also discussed the factional dispute in the BPP between HUEY NEWTON and former Minister of Information, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and all persons contacted by [] reportedly sided with the BPP Central Committee, represented by NEWTON, with the exception of the Chinese, who did not, apparently, believe what [] had said about CLEAVER.

[] further reported that the NLF of South Vietnam considered NEWTON's recent offer of troops as a "beautiful symbolic gesture". This group also requested that the BPP publicly support their efforts for a peace treaty with the United States in relation to the Vietnamese conflict.

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[] reportedly had obtained from the NLF of South Vietnam a letter addressed to BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, expressing solidarity to SEALE from the NLF and from freedom loving, progressive people, which called for these people to support the courageous struggle of black people against imperialism and racism for peace, equality, and justice. The letter also contained a demand that President NIXON immediately stop the oppression of black people in the United States and set free, at once, any leaders of the BPP, particularly its Chairman, BOBBY SEALE.

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JLC/sad

The NLF also expressed gratitude to the BPP for its current struggle against U.S. aggression. [] hoped this letter would be published in "The Black Panther".

[] also reported he had made contact with the black GIs in Frankfurt, Germany, through their group, "Voice of the Lumpen", but had not yet established a complete rapport with this group as they were not as politically mature as he had hoped.

[] requested that NEWTON prepare a letter expressing the solidarity of the BPP to the Indochinese people and also a second letter expressing solidarity or a special message to the black GIs in Germany. He also suggested the re-issuance of a poster by [] which depicted a "Lumpen" with a gun and the slogan "Our Fight Is Not Vietnam". [] reportedly also suggested that the "Lumpen" write two songs of solidarity directed to the black GIs and to the Indochinese people. [] was of the opinion this would have beautiful value for propaganda purposes.

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SF T-2
April 4, 1971

On April 8, 1971, [] contacted NEWTON and expressed his [] elation over the great success that his visit to Paris had had. He claimed that he had been able to see "everyone" expect the Albanians, and he was scheduled to see them on April 9, 1971. After that, he felt that he should proceed to Copenhagen, because he had observed a certain hesitancy, not further described, among those formerly the most solid for the BPP. In other words, [] said it appeared to him that "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was up to something". [] had no information that CLEAVER was actually up to something but was merely suspicious because of an apparent change in attitude from the northern solidarity group.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[] then went on to say that he did not feel that France was ready to receive NEWTON with the acclaim that was due him. [] said that if he (NEWTON) came to France, he felt that he (NEWTON) should be greeted like the head of the state, or at least of the head of a revolutionary government. To receive the appropriate reception much preparation and arrangements would be necessary, and such conditions were not yet an actuality in France. [] even fancied that North Vietnamese might want to have NEWTON join in the Paris Peace Talks. In this event, [] felt appropriate arrangements could be made, but again would require considerable preparation.

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In this conversation with various "revolutionaries" in Paris, [] was told that the true revolutionaries preferred to deal with revolutionaries who were active in the struggle on their home grounds, rather than with revolutionaries who were in exile. It is believed that in this case [] was referring to the NEWTON - CLEAVER situation where NEWTON was on homeground and CLEAVER was in exile.

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[] said that he had sent NEWTON eight rings from the South Vietnamese NLF for the political prisoners being helped by the BPP. These rings were reportedly made from metal from American airplanes shot down in Vietnam. [] decided that he would not proceed to Copenhagen at this time, but should return to the United States and discuss his European tour personally with NEWTON. NEWTON then instructed [] to come directly to California to see him.

SF T-2
April 8, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

F. BPP IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND "POLITBUREAU"

NEWTON presided at the classes of the BPP Ideological Institute held on January 9, January 16, and January 23, 1971

SF T-2
January 9-23, 1971

On January 7, 1971, NEWTON instructed [redacted] [redacted] San Francisco BPP member, to obtain some books for him concerning elements of psychology, anthropology, and physics to be used in connection with the Ideological Institute. [redacted] got the books for NEWTON the same date.

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SF T-2
January 7, 1971

On January 10, 1971, NEWTON and [redacted] [redacted] were discussing the BPP Ideological Institute. At that time NEWTON stated he has been reviewing some books he had previously read concerning philosophy and dialectical materialism, and he now feels they are not very good study materials for the BPP brothers and sisters who are attending the Institute. He remarked that some of the definitions in the books are non-functional, particularly the definitions of logics, empiricism, and rationale. He further commented the books only tell how logics, empiricism and rationale are used and do not tell about the "stuff" they are made out of.

NEWTON also remarked that the books he has read and has assigned for reading by the people attending the Institute are very confusing to the members attending the classes because the books explain logics and "runs down" the process and the system but don't say a thing about the qualities of

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JLC/sad

logics, empiricism, and rationale. He continued that the books tell about the system that logics use and dwell on the system rather than actually what logic is made up of. He stated that when teaching the classes he talks about what logics, empiricism, and rationale are made up of and then when the students read the books he has assigned they become confused.

NEWTON further stated that he may end up having to write a basic book on philosophy for use at the Institute and that he would like to lay a foundation with a definitive-type work on the qualities of logics, empiricism, and an explanation of what they really are and what they are made up of.

Titles of some of the books NEWTON is using in preparing his lectures for the Ideological Institute are "Introduction to Dialectical Methods", "Enduring Question" by RADAR and HOLT (phonetic), "History of Materialism", "Theory of Knowledge", and "Materialism and Dialectical Method" by MAURICE CONFORTH. In that regard, NEWTON commented that "Introduction to Dialectical Methods" really helped him understand rationale.

During the conversation between NEWTON and [] [] told NEWTON that he [] had just completed reading an article by a Marxist scholar entitled "Materialism and Idealism in the History of Negro Slavery in the United States" which [] thought would be good reading for the people attending the Institute. [] also stated he hoped he would be able to attend some of the classes held by NEWTON, but he did not know if his schedule would permit him to do so.

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NEWTON said that at the classes to be held at the Ideological Institute on January 16, 1971, he planned to discuss "Mechanical Materialism, Pragmatism, and Existentialism".

SF T-2
January 10, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On January 31, 1971, it had been learned that the BPP is considering the creation of a "politbureau" to be composed of top Party leadership and to function above the current Central Committee of the Party. NEWTON had referred to this possibility in his first lecture to BPP leaders at the first class held at the Ideological Institute. NEWTON, however, did not completely explain his definition of the "politbureau".

At the Institute meeting held on January 30, 1971, [redacted] presided. Apparently some of the people attending the class raised a question about the "politbureau" which [redacted] attempted to explain to those present.

After the meeting, someone inquired about the "politbureau" to [redacted] had not attended the session chaired by [redacted] on January 30, 1971, and was not clear on the "politbureau" definition himself. [redacted] was of the opinion that the "politbureau" was definitely over the Central Committee and was composed of the most politically advanced people in the Party.

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[redacted] had apparently discussed the foregoing with [redacted] after which [redacted] stated he had learned the "politbureau" consisted of the leadership, the founders of the Party, and was the "old guard, rear guard, advance guard and vanguard" of the Party.

NEWTON became angered about the inquiry concerning "politbureau" and immediately contacted [redacted] about it. NEWTON ordered that [redacted] be immediately suspended, that he return to Los Angeles, and to sever his [redacted] relationship with the [redacted]. The suspension was to remain in effect until NEWTON later returned to San Francisco. [redacted] then attempted to explain to NEWTON that [redacted] had not discussed the "politbureau", except to explain it, but this was not accepted by NEWTON inasmuch as [redacted] had not attended the Institute meeting himself.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON then spoke with [redacted] who was in Oakland attending the Institute, and she informed NEWTON that [redacted] had merely tried to explain "politbureau" based on an inquiry and stood behind "the most advanced thinkers in the Party".

NEWTON then immediately countermanded his suspension order for [redacted] informing [redacted] it was cancelled and that [redacted]

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[redacted] Source said that NEWTON specifically instructed, however, that [redacted] or JOHN SEALE had to attend the classes at the Institute to insure that NEWTON was not "sabotaged" [redacted]

SF T-4
January 31, 1971

The BPP Ideological Institute is a type of re-training for BPP leaders, conducted chiefly by NEWTON and with the expressed purpose of re-indoctrinating BPP leaders in NEWTON's interpretation of BPP philosophy such as "intercommunalism".

SF T-35
February 3, 1971

On February 10, 1971, [redacted] told NEWTON that the Ideological class held on February 6, 1971, was very poor inasmuch as the discussion was not guided and the people "went off into tangents". [redacted] said that she did not feel that anyone attending the class on February 6th learned anything.

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[redacted] continued that the class held on January 30, 1971, was not much better, but she gave no further explanation. She told NEWTON that the discussions held in the two classes had been recorded on tape and that she wants him to listen to the tapes so he can see just how the discussions went. NEWTON indicated he would listen to the tapes if he has the time.

SF T-2
February 10, 1971

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

On March 2, 1971, NEWTON stated he is going to enlarge the Ideological Institute, with special attention to inviting representatives from Southern states to attend. He said the Institute is designed along Marxist - Leninist lines, and that he intends to introduce his (NEWTON'S) new theory of "Revolutionary Suicide" at the Institute sometime in the near future. NEWTON gave no details of his theory.

SF T-31

March 2, 1971

As of April 20, 1971, no information has been received that any representatives from any Southern states have been invited to classes instructed by NEWTON.

SF T-2

SF T-4

SF T-30

SF T-31

March 2, 1971 - April 20, 1971

On March 6, 1971, BPP National Headquarters informed various BPP members in the Oakland area that classes of the Ideological Institute would be held on March 7, 1971, and that NEWTON would be instructing the class.

SF T-2

March 6, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

G. INFLUENCE IN SETTLING STUDENT DISRUPTION
AT MERRITT COLLEGE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

On March 15, 1971, DOUGLAS MIRANDA was in command of a "student coalition" group at Merritt College, Oakland, California, and he directed the seizure of all Merritt College Administrative Offices and facilities at 57th and Grove Streets, Oakland. MIRANDA is a current high-ranking officer of the BPP and has been assigned by HUEY P. NEWTON to the task of controlling the Merritt College Black Student Union (BSU) in the best interests of the BPP.

SF T-32
March 15, 1971

As of March 19, 1971, there was no indication of any BPP direction of the student strike at Merritt College.

SF T-22
March 19, 1971

A group of Merritt College activists, both male and female and black and Chicano, met at the residence of NEWTON, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, during the late afternoon and early evening of March 19, 1971. A debate on the future course of action to be taken at Merritt College took place.

SF T-31
March 19, 1971

On the morning of March 20, 1971, NEWTON advised DOUGLAS MIRANDA that the blacks must take some action to regain control of the situation at Merritt College and that NEWTON was considering contacting the college president and offering

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to take pressure off of the school in exchange for an agreement by the president to drop the suspension of students.

SF T-2
March 20, 1971

On March 20, 1971, NEWTON decided to contact President NORVEL SMITH of Merritt College in order to make a deal to reinstate suspended students and to endeavor to place all blame for the Merritt College disruption upon Governor RONALD REAGAN and the Academic Senate of the College.

SF T-2
March 20, 1971

NEWTON conferred with [redacted] on the morning of March 20, 1971, and the comment was made that [redacted]

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SF T-31
March 20, 1971

In the mid afternoon of March 20, 1971, NORVEL SMITH, President of Merritt College, appeared at NEWTON's residence and requested NEWTON to use his influence to obtain a cooling off period at Merritt College. NEWTON responded that such a cooling off period would be humiliating to the BPP and not acceptable. SMITH stated he would not call police if suspended students came onto the campus and that if trouble started he would sound the fire alarm, order students home and close the school. SMITH further stated that if Monday was calm at the school he would give credit to the suspended students for their cooperation and would reduce their suspensions to a nominal two weeks. (The suspended students referred to are believed to be [redacted]

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[redacted] all of whom

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JLC/sad

are subjects of warrants sworn out by NORVEL SMITH charging that they threatened him in order to prevent his performance of the duties of his office).

SF T-31
March 20, 1971

During the meeting between NEWTON and NORVEL SMITH on the afternoon of March 20, 1971, NEWTON wanted DOUGLAS MIRANDA and the other suspended students reinstated and charges against them dropped. SMITH refused to drop charges, stating that was out of his hands, but SMITH agreed to reduce the expulsions to suspensions for a short period only.

SF T-22
March 20, 1971

Following the departure of NORVEL SMITH from NEWTON's residence on March 20, 1971, NEWTON advised MIRANDA that MIRANDA could go on campus and that blacks would be in control of the situation on the campus. NEWTON instructed MIRANDA to "cool" everything on Monday.

On the evening of March 20, 1971, NEWTON contacted PAUL COBB, a black candidate for Oakland City Council in the April, 1971 elections. NEWTON advised COBB that NEWTON wished to have a meeting of Oakland's black political leaders that evening to discuss the Merritt College problem. NEWTON named the following Oakland black political leaders whom he desired to be present:

Attorney JOHN GEORGE

Superior Court Judge LIONEL WILSON

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PERCY MOORE, Director of Oakland's
primary poverty agency

U. S. Congressman RONALD DELLUMS

SF T-2
March 20, 1971

On the evening of Sunday, March 21, 1971, PAUL COBB appeared at the residence of NEWTON. No other black political leaders are known to have appeared. NEWTON apologized for not previously involving the leadership of Oakland's black community in the Merritt College situation. NEWTON stated that the BPP's position was that NORVEL SMITH had only done what he had to do. NEWTON claimed that he would get NORVEL SMITH to drop charges against MIRANDA and other suspended black students. NEWTON proposed to COBB that the BPP and leaders of Oakland's black community display a united front on the Merritt College issues.

SF T-31
March 21, 1971

On the evening of Sunday, March 21, 1971, NEWTON declared that his primary goal was the establishment of BPP control over politicians in Oakland and through them control of the community itself.

SF T-2
March 21, 1971

NEWTON, in company with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DOUGLAS

MIRANDA, appeared on the Merritt College campus at approximately 3:00 PM, Monday, March 22, 1971. NEWTON found NORVEL SMITH

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

absent from the campus and contacted President SMITH by telephone. HUEY NEWTON asked SMITH if the latter was satisfied with conditions of calm on the campus. NEWTON further told SMITH that NEWTON was leaving town for a few days but that he was guaranteeing that quiet would prevail on the Merritt College campus during his absence.

SF T-34
March 22, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

H. MEETINGS WITH BOBBY SEALE

On February 1, 1971, NEWTON attended the trial of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS in New Haven, Connecticut. When the court broke for lunch, NEWTON was granted an hour to confer with SEALE and HUGGINS. NEWTON and SEALE embraced for publicity purposes; however, during the hour conference, NEWTON spent the time speaking to HUGGINS and [redacted] [redacted] who accompanied NEWTON, spoke with SEALE.

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FBI Agents
New Haven, Connecticut
February 1, 1971

On March 25, 1971, NEWTON appeared at Connecticut State Court, New Haven, to observe suppression hearing in the SEALE - HUGGINS case. On the evening of March 25, 1971, NEWTON and SEALE's attorneys traveled to Montville Prison, where SEALE is incarcerated. They conferred with SEALE for three hours.

FBI Agents
New Haven, Connecticut
March 25, 1971

On March 28, 1971, a message from BOBBY SEALE was broadcast over Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco. At the beginning of the broadcast, it was announced the message had been taped on the evening of March 25, 1971, when NEWTON had visited with SEALE in jail in New Haven. In the message, SEALE criticized ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and stated his (SEALE'S) support for NEWTON as leader of the BPP.

FBI Agent
San Francisco, California
March 28, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

I. SUPPORT OF ANGELA DAVIS

On March 8, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] [redacted] ANGELA DAVIS, and NEWTON informed [redacted] that the BPP is now opening its doors for a united front relative to all political prisoners and specifically ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON said the next issue of the BPP newspaper will contain statements of support by the BPP of DAVIS and other political prisoners. He explained to THORNE that the reason the derogatory article about DAVIS written by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER that was printed previously in "The Black Panther" was because [redacted] the newspaper and that she is in agreement with CLEAVER's views. NEWTON further told [redacted] that he intends to divide funds received from the recently held solidarity rally with DAVIS and other prisoners. NEWTON also said he would take part in the introduction of the film reportedly being prepared concerning ANGELA DAVIS.

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SF T-2
March 8, 1971

On March 8, 1971, NEWTON instructed that an article be written for inclusion in the forthcoming issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper concerning ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON instructed that the article state that the Central Committee of the BPP is backing ANGELA and that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had talked against her all along due to his sexual fascism and had forced her out of the Party by his high-handed ways. NEWTON further stated the article should state that CLEAVER's article concerning DAVIS had slipped into the BPP newspaper by mistake and had been approved for printing by CLEAVER'S [redacted]

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SF T-4
March 8, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The following letter from NEWTON on BPP stationery was mailed to ANGELA DAVIS on November 9, 1970:

"November 9, 1970

"Sister Angela:

"I received your letter via [redacted] and have also spoken with [redacted]. The Black Panther Party places itself at your disposal and we will do everything in our power to assist you and to see to it that you become free and take your rightful place in the community.

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"Even though ideological contradictions do exist between the Communist Party and ourselves we will work together with them to free you. We will however criticize the CP whenever we see the necessity in the interest of the people.

"Be strong Sister, the people are with you and you will be set free.

"Power to the People

"s/s HUEY P. NEWTON

"HUEY P. NEWTON
"Minister of Defense"

SF T-36
March 9, 1971

On March 16, 1971, NEWTON stated the BPP is going to give the ANGELA DAVIS Defense Committee \$500.00 from the funds raised at the Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Political Prisoners rally held in Oakland on the night of March 5, 1971.

SF T-2
March 16, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

J. INTERVIEWS AND PRESS STATEMENTS

The center fold of the January 16, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper contained an article setting forth the text of an interview of NEWTON by a representative of "SECHABA". The article is captioned "Repression Breeds Resistance, Huey P. Newton Talks to Sechaba" and is as follows:

Within a week of his release from a three year jail term, Huey Newton, Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party gave this exclusive interview to Sechaba. The interview was arranged by the Africa Research Group with the assistance of Karen Wald. We take this opportunity to pay tribute to Huey Newton, a great revolutionary leader of the heroic Black Panthers.

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 Black Power movement.

HUEY: 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 what Marcus Garvey talked about the kind of organisation that Elijah Muhammed has, that is based upon Black capitalism. 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, it's an empire that controls the world, through economics or through physical force - military might. Even 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 controls the wealth of the world it has stolen, usurped the wealth of the people of the world, including the people who are in the Black colony here in America and who were stolen from Africa. We feel that the only way that we can combat an international enemy is through an international strategy, unity of all people who are exploited, who will overthrow the international bourgeoisie, and replace it with a dictatorship by the proletariat, the workers of the world. And we feel that after imperialism is destroyed, nationhood will no longer be necessary; the state will then wither away; then the whole world will belong to the people and the old national boundary lines will no longer exist. We think that the movement is at this stage, we think that the dialectics are now breaking upon taking socialism, social ideology to its final goal: communism and the absence of statehood.

SECHABA: Do you want to say a little about the programme and programme of action in the immediate future for the Party and for yourself.

HUEY: Our programme is armed struggle. We have hooked up with the people who are rising up all over the world with arms, because we feel that only with the power of the gun will the bourgeoisie be destroyed and the world transformed. We feel that the imperialists will not become Buddhists overnight, they will not lay down their butcher knives. Therefore the people will have to use certain measures to restore peace to the world and to restrain the madmen who're running

amuck throughout the world oppressing people everywhere. The world enemy number one is the ruling circle in the United States of America. We view the United States as the 'city' of the world and all the other countries as a countryside.

As one country becomes free it makes each country stronger because it develops a base of liberated territory so that we'll be in a better strategic position to fight, and also it

will be one step in cutting off the raw materials that imperialism needs to feed its factories here at home. We'll

slowly strangle imperialism by freeing one country after another. This is why we support the brothers and sisters in

Southern Africa and those who are struggling in Northern Africa for socialist goals and against capitalism, against imperialism, as well

as the brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America. We support all struggles where people are struggling for freedom, and we also support our European brothers and sisters who are struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie in their country. When we are

nationalists, we support national wars of independence because this is a step

again towards cutting off the international bourgeoisie which is based in the United States. We feel that every

country has a right to be nationalistic at this point as long as they are internationalists at the same time. We feel that Black people in America have a moral right to claim nationhood because we are a colonized people. But

history won't allow us to claim nationhood, because it has bestowed an obligation upon us; to take socialist development to its final stage, to rid the world of the imperialist threat, the threat of the capitalist and the warmonger. Once he is destroyed then there will be no need for nationhood, because the nations won't need to defend themselves against the imperialist, because this is the most powerful imperialist country in the world, and other imperialist countries depend on the backing of the U.S. At this point the imperialist is running rampant, so any country has a right to claim nationhood or be nationalist, as long as they are internationalists as well.

If they are nationalist alone then they are chauvinist. If they are both nationalist and internationalist, they realize that they need liberated territory but they also realize that their interests are the same as every other peoples interest who are fighting against imperialism. While we respect your fight for nationhood and independence, and we struggle with you, we feel that we must destroy the very necessity for countries to be nations in the first place. And this is the whole idea of making the world a place where territorial boundaries will no longer be necessary.

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

NUEY: The repression breeds resistance. We feel that by virtue of the fact that we are being attacked, and the attacks are extremely vicious, we know 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're 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, because the Party must be hitting a sensitive spot, it must be a threat to 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.

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

HUEY: I would like to emphasize that without the people of the world struggling against imperialism, we would have a very weak position to work from here in the United States - which I am calling 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've done is just open up a new front. We should

say we are attempting to open up a new front, because we don't claim anything that we haven't done. But we are advancing the fight, we're strengthening our strategy of resistance and attack. We can do this because we realize the American fascist troops are being divided because the people of the world 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 guerrilla kind of tactic was used, the urban area or city was the last area to be covered, and that bases opened up first in the countryside. We see now many bases opening up in the countryside. We have advanced to the point where in many areas we've gone from 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're being attacked from the left and from the right and from all sides, we're still trying to follow your examples. We realize that you're also being attacked from all sides by the enemy. Because you are driving on you've 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?

HUEY: I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim Il 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 inspiration 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. We study and we 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've 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 an accusation, because I think we all should learn from each other.

SECHABA: Last year there was a United Front - the National Conference to Combat Fascism which included a number of groups, among them SDS, the DuBois Club, the Communist Party of the United States. What is the Black Panther Party policy on this kind of relationship?

HUEY: Our policy is that we are friends with all marxists, want coalitions and alliances within this country and

all over the world. We could never have success without a popular movement - and when I speak of 'popular' I mean it in the truest sense of the word, in the internationalist sense. We have to have a popular mass in order to achieve victory, because victory is not for us, it's for the people. Therefore the people must be considered and the people must take a part in the struggle at every level.

We view part of our role as a vanguard, that we must educate the people as we go, orientate them and provide an understanding of the social forces that are in operation and the dialectics at the time. We can only do this through involving the people in practical application, and involving them at every level of the struggle. And we do have relationships and coalitions and just comradely love and work with all these groups, and we hope to even expand into other groups - some we haven't even heard of.

SOLIDARITY IN ARMED STRUGGLE

SECHABA: Would the Black Panther Party like to set up or establish more direct contacts with the liberation struggles of Africa, Latin America and Asia?

HUEY: Yes we think that we can learn even more from each other if we were to establish better means of communications. One of the chief difficulties is a matter of communications. It is an international struggle - the Black Panther Party even thinks in terms of an international, an international

upon armed struggle and the socialist ideology, because we feel the International that exist now is so much deteriorated, as far as the Third World is concerned, especially the Third World countries involved in armed combat. The International has not stepped and criticized many of the national wars of independence and the armed struggle tactic as being too hasty and without enough orthodox political development. We see the need to overthrow the evil, greedy and corrupt officials and we see only one way to do this we don't believe we can do it through negotiation or electoral politics or any kind of non-violent means. The enemy is a violent man and we must treat him in an appropriate way.

SECHABA: And more specifically, would you be interested in having contact with the liberation movement of Southern Africa and, if so, in what form?

HUEY: As you know, we've offered troops to the Vietnamese people to show our international solidarity. At the same time we also made it clear that we would send troops or offer troops to any of our friends who would accept them. We think the ultimate posture of friendship that we could offer is to send our comrades to shed blood on your soil in the name of freedom, in the interest of the people, and against the imperialist enemy. If there is anything else that we can do other than to struggle to break the chains that shackle us, then let us know about that, and we will be willing to consider it.

SECHABA: Is there mass interest in the United States about the struggle in Southern Africa? What can Sechaba do to publicize the South African revolution among the Black people in the United States?

HUEY: We, the Black Panther Party, are a vanguard group, so necessarily we're more enlightened than the masses and we are very interested in the international scope of things. The people are as people all over the world, so tied up and so involved in their survival from day to day, that much of the time they overlook, or they don't understand the international nature of the struggle. That is why it is our duty - one of our first duties - to raise the consciousness 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're treated in this country. And we have a motto in the Black Panther Party which is an old saying: "a picture is worth a thousand words". And the people, maybe they don't read as much as they should; so we found in our political education that it's very helpful to show films. If you have any

ictures 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 and the White community. There are poor White people in this country who are now becoming involved in the common struggle, and we're involved with them, and we hope this national kind of involvement of many ethnic groups will aid us in relating to the people, to help them make that jump to identify with people from other countries who may be from other ethnic backgrounds or other cultural backgrounds.

So that's how you can help us, and on our side we can send you some more tapes and maybe some film footage of things that we're doing and things that happens to us in this country.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Footnote:

The above interview was done a week after the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, was released from jail. Since then, he has developed the Party's ideology to a much higher level and we have become intercommunalists and not internationalists as in the past. Becoming intercommunalists doesn't in any way contradict or negate any of the above statements but rather gives more validity to them and places us on a quicker path towards the achievement of one community, the community of the peoples of the world.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The March 19, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, contained an article written by Staff Reporter TIM FINDLEY captioned "NEWTON Talks of Panthers' Future". According to the article, NEWTON stated: "Reports of death of the Black Panther Party are being exaggerated by people who never understood the Party in the first place. The Party is not finished, the programs are continuing; but it's the vision that has been almost devastated now. You spend your time putting those programs together and now I go out and people don't want to know about that, they want to ask another question: 'Is it really a split?' I tell them, 'No, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER just quit', and they think that's funny".

The article reports on the various community programs the BPP participates in, naming the Free Breakfast For Children Program, free medical clinics, and the beginning of a free shoe factory.

In commenting regarding the split between CLEAVER and NEWTON, the article reports that "CLEAVER's main insistence in the past two weeks has been that BOBBY SEALE and ANGELA DAVIS can only be freed through sudden acts such as carried out by JONATHAN JACKSON at the Marin County Courthouse. CLEAVER, in short, is calling for his followers to abandon any illusions and begin 'the revolution.' " To that NEWTON replied, "No kamikaze act has ever made a revolution. Even though I wouldn't deny the necessity of a kamikaze act in a certain situation."

The article ends with the following statements of NEWTON:

"The credibility of the Party has been attacked. We can too easily now forget the community and start arguing personality and ideology among ourselves.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"ELDRIDGE is not destroying the leadership of the Panther Party, because I'd give him that. He's destroying the vision the Panther Party created".

On March 28, 1971, following a taped message by BOBBY SEALE that was aired on Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, NEWTON was interviewed by the KDIA moderator. NEWTON stated he was certain SEALE would be acquitted, but he described the New Haven black community as "suppressed" and alleged New Haven is experimenting with new police methods. He also stated that Yale University receives CIA funds and the atmosphere in New Haven is one of "creeping fascism."

NEWTON further remarked that the BPP has 38 chapters and branches, with 2 chapters and 1 branch defecting with CLEAVER and leaving the Party. He named only the New Jersey NCCF and the Harlem Branch as defecting.

NEWTON said that all BPP chapters have elaborate programs carrying out "survival pending revolution" and are concerned with the necessity of freeing all political prisoners.

FBI Agent
San Francisco
March 28, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

K. WRITINGS

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther"
contained the following article by NEWTON:

~~ON THE DEFECTION OF~~
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
AND THE DEFECTION OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Huey P. Newton,

Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party
and ~~Servant of The People~~

"The Black Panther"
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 new 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 Revolution". 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 above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to 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 oppressor's interpretations, that 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, and

the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party and murders 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 community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-Ameri-

can Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped

out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the police-

men in front of the office of Ramparts magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time 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 you 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, and because the process 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 concrete 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 and community police or something like this. 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 is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve

as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested

in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver

influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, 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 this 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 do it. 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. We must instead 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 we were related to 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 dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because 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 program. 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, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" also contained a letter from NEWTON to MUHAMMAD ALI (CASIOUS CLAY, former heavyweight boxing champion), which reads as follows:

"OPEN LETTER TO MUHAMMAD ALI"

"1048 Peralta Street
"Oakland, California 94607
"March 23, 1971

"Dear Muhammad,

"We want you to know that you're still our champ, not because you are the master boxer (and you are, of course), but because you are the heavyweight champ who has refused to compromise Black manhood. We respect the dignity and integrity with which you have worn the heavyweight crown. Even though your recent fight with Joe Frazier will stand in the archives of history as the greatest fight in history, it is really only an incident when we consider the fight you have waged against U. S. imperialism. You dared say "no" to fascism, they took your crown and tried to destroy you, but still you did not compromise. They immobilized you (as a boxer) for three years, but they did not immobilize your mind nor your spirit. We can only salute this kind of courage. When you fought Joe Frazier you were fighting the whole reactionary system. The system had immobilized you, persecuted you, hounded you and yet you came back strong. Yes, you out-boxed Frazier, you won the fight, you only lost the "decision". But whether or not you win in the ring is not our major concern --- our concern is that you win in the universe.

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"HUEY P. NEWTON
"Minister of Defense
"Black Panther Party"

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

L. GENERAL ROLE OF NEWTON

On December 14, 1970, NEWTON objected to the use of the word "National" on the sign outside BPP Headquarters at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, and ordered [redacted] to have the wording changed to read "BPP Central Headquarters".

SF T-38
December 14, 1970

[redacted]

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On January 14, 1971, NEWTON instructed that a meeting would be held at BPP Central Headquarters on January 15, 1971, and that all members working on the BPP newspaper were to attend. NEWTON and [redacted] have some recommendations and comments to make concerning the publication and format of the BPP newspaper.

SF T-4
January 14, 1971

On January 23, 1971, NEWTON was unhappy since they (Oakland BPP leaders) have retired the "Comrade Supreme Commander" and won't let him do anything. He said he can't go out by himself, that he couldn't drive and in fact, he doesn't even have a drivers license, but the Party would not let him drive if he did have one. Reportedly male members of the BPP in Oakland drive him wherever he has to go and as soon as it gets dark they take him home and won't let him on the streets. He said he would like to get out in the community like he did in the old days but you "can't turn back time".

SF T-2
January 23, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[redacted] NEWTON held a [redacted] meeting at
a BPP [redacted] New Haven, Connecticut.

SF T-6
[redacted]

[redacted] NEWTON addressed members of
the BPP in New Haven, Connecticut. NEWTON told the group
to start going to BOBBY SEALE'S trial.

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SF T-10
[redacted]

[redacted] a meeting was held at the
[redacted] New
York. NEWTON told the members that [redacted]
[redacted] New York BPP members,
were expelled. NEWTON stated that no BPP member was to
relate to the New York Panther 21, not to attend the trial
or offer any type of moral or physical assistance.

NEWTON desired to revitalize the BPP at New York
City and made changes in the leadership personnel.

NEWTON stated that he realized the BPP was in
dire financial straits but hoped he could supply the Party
with the needed capital. He stated that Random House will
publish his seminar with ERIC ERICKSON at Yale University
for \$30,000 and he will furnish another book concerning the
BPP. NEWTON also stated the BPP has plans to purchase a
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office in
Atlanta, Georgia, for a printing operation which could be
expanded to the East and West Coast.

SF T-35
[redacted]

[redacted] NEWTON visited [redacted]
[redacted] Office of the BPP and held [redacted] meeting with
[redacted]
[redacted] He

b7D

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

discussed the purging of [redacted]
[redacted] He said that they quit the Party themselves because they had written a letter to the Weatherman declaring the Weatherman to be their vanguard.

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NEWTON stated he was in jail with TIMOTHY LEARY. He said LEARY was in the honor section and was not surrounded by a wall and it was easy for him to walk away, but the Weatherman took credit for it. He stated that he (NEWTON) also had ill feelings for the BPP when he was in jail but the main reason was that he did not have the right exposure to the news media nor was he allowed to receive literature. NEWTON told the group he felt LEARY should be allowed to use his drugs whenever he pleased. He said he had also advised Algiers, Europe and Swedish officials of the expelling of the [redacted] [redacted] and that they were to be arrested on sight.

NEWTON said there is no longer a Panther 21 and that they are all purged except [redacted] and that the BPP will support only those two. He said that [redacted] [redacted] left with a lot of valuable Party information and that [redacted] left with quite a sum of money, but the amount was not known to NEWTON.

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NEWTON announced new leaders for the BPP in New York and concluded by saying that the BPP would continue to support ANGELA DAVIS.

SF T- 33

[redacted]

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On February 11, 1971, [redacted] told NEWTON that an article had appeared in the February 11, 1971, issue of the "New York Post" newspaper that reported two missing

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

Panthers, MICHAEL TABOR and RICHARD MOORE, may be dead. According to KENNER, the article reported that a police investigator said he is convinced the two may have been killed as the result of a deep split in the Party since they faced Party punishment for conspiring to kill the BPP Supreme commander (NEWTON). KENNER said the police theory was reinforced by a statement from Defense Attorney JERRY LEFCOURT who was quoted as saying, "I wouldn't be surprised if it were true" after being asked if he thought they might be dead. LEFCOURT was also quoted as saying, "I cannot think of any other reason they did not show up for trial unless they are fleeing for their lives".

NEWTON appeared to be very upset after hearing the above information and said, "That's pretty serious". He continued that he and [redacted] might be arrested as soon as they return to New York, but he was not worried about that except it would only mess up their being out on bail.

SF T- 2
February 11, 1971

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On February 22, 1971, NEWTON stated that [redacted] whom he described as [redacted] gave him a fund raising party at her home in Chicago on the night of February 21, 1971.

SF T- 2
February 22, 1971

b6
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On February 24, 1971, an individual identified as [redacted] contacted NEWTON and told NEWTON that BERNADETTE DEVLIN, who was then touring the United States, wanted to meet with NEWTON when he was in the Boston area on approximately February 26, 1971.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

BERNADETTE DEVLIN is publicly known as a member of Parliament from Mid-Ulster, Northern Ireland, who toured the U.S. in February, 1971.

On February 25, 1971, NEWTON instructed [redacted] [redacted] to contact DEVLIN and invite her to [redacted] party in Boston on the night of February 26, 1971. NEWTON instructed that DEVLIN be advised the Party would be of no cost to her and that he desired to talk with her at that party.

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b7c

SF T- 2
February 24 and 25, 1971

On March 2, 1971, NEWTON was informed that Attorney CHARLES GARRY had called some people in New Haven, Connecticut, and told them that the New York BPP chapter had purged NEWTON and [redacted]. Upon hearing this NEWTON asked if GARRY thought he was running the BPP and then commented that he has been noticing something recently about GARRY that was "funny". NEWTON remarked that lately GARRY has been using a great deal of profanity. He also stated that GARRY is a "congenial liar, windbag and always sticks his mouth out too far".

b6
b7c

SF T-2
March 2, 1971

After the split between NEWTON and CLEAVER on February 26, 1971, NEWTON instructed that the forthcoming BPP newspaper would contain articles about CLEAVER and the intercommunal section of the BPP. In that regard, NEWTON stated he would supervise the make-up of the forthcoming newspapers in order to be sure they contained no mistakes.

SF T-2
March 3, 1971

On March 5, 1971, NEWTON instructed that [redacted] and [redacted] be reinstated in Detroit. NEWTON stated that gang warfare is inevitable and the BPP needs everyone now.

b6
b7c

SF T-2
March 5, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[redacted] are members
of the BPP in Detroit, Michigan.

On March 6, 1971, [redacted] was informed by NEWTON
that Detroit was reinstated as a full party and that [redacted]
[redacted] the Party in Detroit. He was told to
get all the guys together [redacted] thought would qualify and
be ready to move very fast. He was also told to find [redacted]
[redacted] and tell [redacted] he had been reinstated and that he is
to receive his orders from [redacted]

b6
b7C

SF T-2
March 6, 1971

On March 9, 1971, NEWTON stated he had been informed
that articles in the newspaper had said that he (NEWTON) and
DAVID HILLIARD had ordered the murder of ROBERT WEBB in New
York. NEWTON stated he was not guilty of it and it was his
understanding that the community rose up against the man and
death with him.

SF T-31
March 9, 1971

ROBERT WEBB is a former leader of the
BPP in New York, who was murdered on
the streets in New York City in March,
1971.

NEWTON, in his dispute with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, is
endeavoring to push the BPP into above ground mass activity
involving other organizations outside the BPP. NEWTON
recently [redacted]
[redacted]

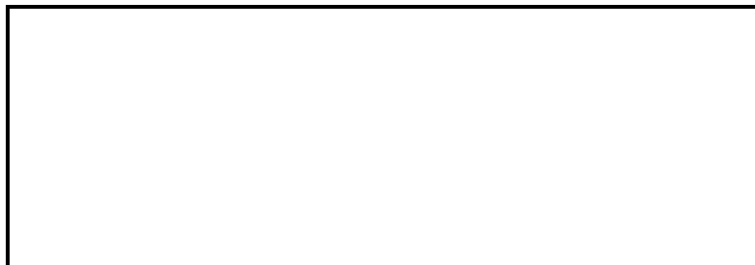
b6
b7C

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[redacted] and is
therefore out of favor with NEWTON.

SF T-32
March 11, 1971

b6
b7c



SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 12, 1971, a spokesman at BPP Central Headquarters, Oakland, stated that sometime soon, exact date unknown, NEWTON is going to personally inspect various BPP offices across the United States.

SF T-30
March 12, 1971

NEWTON was reportedly in contact with [redacted] Los Angeles film producer, on March 17, 1971, regarding the possible preparation of a series of films depicting various BPP programs and presumably NEWTON at various BPP locations around the country. [redacted] is supposedly interested in this proposal, providing film can be made in documentary fashion to give a true picture of "That's what is happening" so people will not come to the conclusion that it is a propaganda film. [redacted] and NEWTON are supposed to discuss this matter further.

b6
b7C

SF T-2
March 17, 1971

On March 18, 1971, NEWTON was told that [redacted] all Los Angeles BPP members, had been arrested. NEWTON instructed that they be bailed out, no matter what the amount the bail is.

b6
b7C

SF T-2
March 18, 1971

On March 20, 1971, NEWTON instructed [redacted] who was then working on the March 27, 1971, issue of "the Black Panther" newspaper, to eliminate all pictures and drawings of guns and references to violence in the paper.

SF T-4
March 20, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The order by NEWTON to underplay the theme of violence in the BPP newspaper was designed to change the BPP image from one of a police-hating organization to that of a group interested in helping the underprivileged through community activities. This is designed to appeal to adult blacks and to win their support.

SF T-36
April 13, 1971

b6
b7C

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON named [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] NEWTON had previously named
[redacted]

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

III. ATTEMPTED INTERVIEW OF NEWTON

On March 5, 1971, NEWTON was telephonically contacted at his residence in Oakland by SA [redacted] He was advised of the Agent's identity, the fact that the FBI had received an allegation that the BPP had plans to assassinate President RICHARD M. NIXON, and of the FBI's desire to interview him and other BPP members.

b6
b7c

NEWTON then asked the identity of the caller and he was advised that the caller was an FBI Agent. NEWTON remarked, "Oh no! I have to hang up, brother Comrade". He thereupon hung up the telephone and terminated the conversation.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

A. REPORTED Possession of Weapons

On January 27, 1971, NEWTON instructed JOHN SEALE to get him a jackknife and suggested he go to a diver's equipment store to buy one. He instructed SEALE to buy him a "square knife with a push button" on it and one with a "short, stiletto type blade" so he can carry it for "shaving purposes". SEALE indicated he would buy the knife for NEWTON on January 28, 1971.

SF T-2
January 27, 1971

On March 18, 1971, NEWTON mentioned that he has a high-powered rifle with a scope in the bedroom of his apartment, and commented that he can look across Lake Merritt and see the "pigs" and the prisoners in Alameda County Jail in Oakland.

SF T-31
March 18, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

V. TRANSCRIPTS OF SPEECHES GIVEN BY NEWTON IN NOVEMBER AND
DECEMBER, 1970

A. OAKLAND UNIVERSITY
ROCHESTER, MICHIGAN
NOVEMBER 16, 1970

On November 16, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan. Following is a transcript of a tape recording of NEWTON's speech made at the time of his delivery:

Speech by HUEY P. NEWTON

Oakland University
Rochester, Michigan

November 16, 1970

Power to the people brothers and sisters.

First of all I'd like to say that we're very happy to be here and it's always a privilege to speak to the people because it is our motto serve the people both body and soul. We are aware a few days ago, a week ago, that the gestapo violated the territorial integrity of our community once again. We say free the Detroit sixteen. This should be the cry of our community. We also say free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Soledad Brothers, all political prisoners. Also, we say free Huey and free the people. And I say that because we must realize that none of us are really free and we will not be free until the time that the people have control of the institutions in their community. We give support to the GM strike and League of Revolutionary Workers. The Black Panther party is in consolidar, solidarity with the League of Revolutionary Workers. Many people have misconstrued the contradiction of what appears as a contradiction between the Black Panther party and the League of Revolutionary Workers. We say that which is apparent is not always a fact. And that is why we study science in order to penetrate the appearance and to come up with some substance or take the veil away and take the facade away so we will know what's under the skin, because

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much of the time what is hidden is more significant than that which is revealed.

I will talk a little about the apparent contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party, but first, I'll have to get a drink of water.

I also like to say and I'll just like to interject this, I was warned, coming to the east, that the weather is miserable. That's what I was told, especially this time of year. And I kept explaining to my comrades that I would probably like it because I like cold weather. Probably because so much of the time I'm so upset and so angry and in such a state of rage until it takes the cool of the evening to make me comfortable.

So now, as far as the contradiction between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Workers. A short time ago, our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who resides now in the community of Algiers, Algeria, and whose manning our embassy there, wrote a theoretical work called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party". There he set forth a premise and a thesis that the luppen proletarians or the luppen proletarian class is a class that would probably carry the banner of revolution in the United States, and therefore transform the whole world because we realize the United

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States is an empire and any revolution that takes place in this country would necessarily effect the whole world community such, to such an extent until literally transform the world. The League of Revolutionary Workers and other people who claim they're, claim that they are Marxist scholars and social scientists, because Marx was no more than a social scien, social scientist, felt that there was some deviation to the formula laid out by Marx and Lenin and that formula is dialectical materialism, or in easier terms, it's the study of matter and how physical things interact, collide, divide, integrate, and transform. I said matter, I should say phenomena, because it's not only concerned with matter as far as the physical world. we find the same kind of relationship and the world we would call, the real world that we would call rational, the world that we would call spiritual, the world that we would call psychological, sociological, anthropologic, anthropological, and all of the other disciplines as far as science is concerned, they try to do one thing and that is work from a position of being objective because of disinterest, because of detachment. While the Marxist scientist sees an inter-relationship, between that complex hold. In other words, that all phenomena is related,

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all phenomena works in a pattern and we find that in this physical world if we study physics, which I haven't, but I do know some of the basic principles, we find that when atoms clash, they sub-divide into I think it's, if I remember my high school physical science class, they go into neutrons and protons and sub-divide again, you see? Therefore, they're transformed, but what happened to the atom? The atom did not disappear. The atom was transformed. It was made into something else, with some of the same properties that were characteristic of it before hand, would be represented in the characteristic of that new thing. So it's true in the physical world. We all agree. And the social world, we find that the social scientist attempts to study what happens when groups, well let's start with the psychologist. He starts with individual contradiction and then the sociologist starts, attempts to analyze what happens when social forces clash. How they're held together, how they integrate, how they're alienated from each other. You see? How when two groups of people who happen to be from different cultural backgrounds, it's anthropology. From different cultural backgrounds when they clash, or when they come together a process occurs that I believe you call it a cultururation.

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That is when two cultures meet or two different people meet of people say from an African past an African heritage, and of people from or European heritage, when they come together or thrown together a cultururation occurs and that means that both cultures are modified. It transformed into something else. And the anthropologists say that the culture, the stronger culture will show much less change while the weaker culture will show more change. I will take some exception to that. Unless it explains further, unless it means that the stronger culture has more power as far as fire power, as far as force, because I can't really make any distinction between that, between the strength of two different cultures. But I don't want to get into specifics, first I want to lay a general foundation in order for you to understand the so-called contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. Of course when we have other concepts assimilation might take place. Eventually, after cultururation integration perhaps and maybe none of it will occur, but something will happen when two cultures meet. It might not be integration; it might not be assimilation; it might not even be a cultururation. It could be my friend annihilation, but only the anthropologist don't

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talk about that too much. But of course we blacks here in America, we know about it. We Indians here in America we know about it. We Chicanos here in America, we know about it. We Chinese here in America, we know about it. Yes. And we poor white people when we clash with our class enemies who are rich, we know about it. And I intentionally use the term "we" because before too long the people of the world, of all communities, must unite against the aggressor against the rulist circle and whole structure including his agency and force. On a local level, your local police. On a national level, your national guard. Or rather, let's substitute on a community level, your national guard and let's call regents local, alright? And on an inter-communal level which we used to call international level, but we don't any more, and I'll explain that shortly. Incidentally, I just dropped this in so that when we have the question-answer period you can argue with me alright? That the Black Panther Party, the vanguard of the peoples' struggle for freedom, the vanguard of the people's struggle on an inter-communal level, the vanguard is no longer an internationalist. We're inter-communalists. But I don't want to stray from the issue. So we find that things change with time, things change with circumstances,

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and things seem to just change. Flux, flux, all this flux. And in order to understand these changes, that the scientist whatever discipline he may follow, attempts to use some formula some method some equation, to understand the environment. And that's why, or that's why we should be in school. Not to learn by wrote memory, but to learn how to think and we learn how to think by learning how to be as objective as possible, and then after gaining objective knowledge, learning to apply it in a creative fashion which is always subjective. But in order to be a real person and live in a real world, we must integrate theory with practice. And I say that practice is always subjective because once we put a theory into practice then, the theory then we're attempting to serve some real interest, our interest, our group's interest, or our people's interest. You see? So once you have that value judgement, once you place value upon anything, to that degree is subjective. So that's one of the differences between the Marxist scientist and the other so-called scholar who follow other disciplines. First, the Marxists claim that the other scientists, if he puts things into a category that he's only dealing with an abstraction, and he's not dealing with the real world, because he's not dealing with the real situation. So he's actually changed whatever he's

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attempted to analyze by taking it out of its natural context and putting it into another. I would like to strike that. Because I don't know what's natural. He takes it out of context, the context that it was in before and therefore changes it. And he changes it and then if he attempts to infer and predict from the conclusions that he draws after isolating a particular variable, he will find that the beginning of his paper, his thesis, or his term paper, will only exemplify mischievous madness and it will end with foolishness. So, the Marxist attempts to look at the world and look at world phenomena and its real environment. In order to do this, he must use an approach and he must try to be as objective as possible. So first, he starts out with the same assumption that all scientists must start out with because we realize that the first assumption or our first premise is all an assumption. Because its based mostly upon a belief. A belief that is very difficult to test, if it can be tested at all. So all scientists start out with the belief that first there is a real world that exists independently of ourselves. In other words, if we die that the world, the objective world or the external world, will not cease to exist but it will go on existing because it exists not because of our projection but exists independently of us. You see?

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It's an in his own right, you see? So that's where all Marxists agree with all other scientists who, whom he might criticize to be narrow-minded and backwards. So the second premise after we say that the world, there's a world out there and it's not only existing in my head, but in fact it exists in spite of me. And I'm gonna have to deal with that world. The second thing is that he agrees that everything is in a constant state of change and transformation. You see? And that everything is inter-related so this is where they part because many people are what we call pretty static. Even so-called Marxists. They make science of Marxist very dull to our young people because they think it's all attacks to 1917, the Soviet Union, and the Peoples Republic of China. Not necessarily so. Dialectics is only a method you see? Rather Marxism is only a method to understand the dialectics because the dialectics is a clashing and the inner works of the social forces. So after we understand this, then we see that whatever discipline or whatever we study that it is in fact a change. It's not the same as it was yesterday, even if it bears very certain similarities. Now I started off with the criticism of the so-called Marxist. And I also said that they

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criticize the Party because the Party place emphasis upon the revolutionary fervor and the revolutionary potentiality of the lupen proletarians. As proletarians proper, or the worker. The industrial worker proletarian, the industrial worker. Lupen proletarian. What does this mean? Marx, Lenin, there are a number of translations. Some call it scum. Some call it the people who cannot be organized. Dead weight on society. There is the people outside of, similarly outside of the immediate structure. You see? Lupen. The Black Panther Party calls the lupen the oppressed people who in this country are what we call the unemployables. They are the people who are who have been placed on the junk piles of society already because the ruling circle, the capitalist, does not need him any more. The ruler's circle is not interested in him any more. Because he cannot serve his You see? Now, the League of Revolutionary Workers say that this is the wrong position because history shows that it's always, it always defends the proletarian was carried out revolution. You see? That is, when I say revolution, I mean socialist revolution. Because that is the only revolution. Everything else is reaction. Because I contend that only socialism or communism if you will, will serve the true interests of the people. Including the ruling, what is known as the ruling circle now. It could be

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their salvation because it could save their lives. Now, the League of Revolutionary Workers also point out how could you possibly place emphasis upon and a belief that your lupen proletarians will carry out revolution and have the potentialities of building a new society and have the number which the Black Panther Party agrees that in order to have revolution, in order to have socialist revolution, it must be popular. In other words, there's no such thing as a socialist revolution by a minority. We disagree with the seven day wonder idea, or the ninety day wonder idea, per ce. That was a phrase some years ago by the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party does not mind, we do not mind being changed, really we're not being changed we realize that nothing escapes dialectic that we are also under a process of transformation. So necessarily our retoric articulation of the phenomena and also our position is likely to change. Or else we will cease being Marxists - Leninists. We will become historical Marxists and not really Marxists at all, we will become followers of Hagle and not Marx at all, you see? So the League of Revolutionary Workers point out that how can you possibly have or put the faith or expect the lupens to carry out a revolution when they are unemployed, they're a minority, and you've already said that it takes a majority of the people or a popular force to carry out

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revolution, socialist revolution. And we say we agree that it does take the popular but we also hold steadfast that the luppen proletarians are the most revolutionary class and they will be the vanguard of the revolution and create the new order. Establish the new order. This seems to be in contradiction, but it is not. Apparently, it is a contradiction, while in fact it's only paradoxical. That is, it seems that it's in conflict with itself but after we use some science, and some investigation, some observation and experience, we'll see that it's quite consistent. We say first we will give an example and maybe it will be self-explanatory while we're not historical Marxists, we do rely upon the storehouse of knowledge that has been accomplished through the people of the world making history and then writing history. 1917, the Soviet Union, Russia, Russia was according to many of the revolutionists, a backwards society, an agricultural society what today we will call a developing society, you see? And that meant that most of the people in Russia were peasants so the popular force in Russia were peasants, agricultural workers, victims of feudalism, while the minority and the very small minute force worked in industry so therefore we could properly say that they were proletarians, you see? But what happened in the Soviet Union?

At that time that Lenin and the Reds analyzed the situation the condition analyzed the social forces, and found that the industrial workers who was the minority, carried the revolutionary potentiality and would carry the people would carry the peoples' banner of revolution and socialism. And therefore transform Russia into a people's republic. The industrial worker at that time mobilized the peasants. The industrial worker vanguarded the struggle, involved the peasants, and created a new society based upon industry. You see? But while the industrial worker was minority in the in the Soviet Union and Russia, that the trend of development was that the industrial worker of the industries and capitalism was on the upsurge, you see? And feudalism was so exhausted and the people so deprived that til it was apparent that their class, the class of the peasantry, was on the decline. So the industrial worker was destined to be the majority, you see? And I say this because to be a scientist you also have to understand trends you see? Most of the conclusions that we draw in various sciences we attempt to predict some future action, knowing full well that our prediction might be undermined by change in social forces or change in the variables. You see? Because that thing remains constant but we will get probabilities in this way, why we

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have the science of statistics. We will measure our chances, you see? And I mention all these disciplines because I see many young people here who are bored to death with my very academic lecture because if I infer and perhaps not incline, but if I infer from the evidence, based upon first my experience here and my past experiences, my observation, that when I was your age that I wanted to hear some feel good stuff. But I'm sorry and I know that many of you are surprised, because you didn't expect this but I'm not gonna give you, you see, I'm not gonna be subjective and I'm not gonna subscribe to bourgeois democracy and give you what you are demanding but what is actually hurting you. I'm gonna give you what is in your true interest, what you need. You see. So I offer to you today an understanding, a way of going about understanding the world and then applying this to practice and therefore changing the world for your own interest you see. So because I have control of the mike, and I'm not gonna give you what you want, I'm not gonna give you what you desire, but I'm gonna give you not what's good to you but what's good for you. And I guess this is always the way I've operated and by this I've made many friends and also many enemies. I hope today I'm making friends. Well, I'll go on and finish up this part and this is to clear up what

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I call that apparent contradiction between the Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. Bear with me. So the revolution was carried out because the trend was in the Soviet Union 1917 that the peasant class was on the decline and the proletarian class was a capitalistic class at that time was on the upsurge you see. So the worker was destined to be the most popular, whether a revolution occurred or not, because the capitalist was gonna take care of that. What Lenin tried to do after he had mastered the science of Marx is to harness the social forces that he understood so well and therefore define the phenomena and then make it act in the desired, desirable manner. In other words, just as the scientist who would like to create a power force maybe atomic energy but first he would have to understand you see the workings of the science of physics and the workings of and the interaction of those properties and then after he does this he becomes subjective and he says that I want to do with this something I want to make it work for me so therefore it's called harnessing atoms, you see? And making it act in his benefit or acting in the way that he wanted it to act. So as I said, and I'm not to be redundant, but just for emphasis, that whether Lenin ever lived or not, that the proletarians were destined to be the most popular group in the Soviet

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Union, but what Lenin saw was that because they were, and this was being created by the profit by the capitalists, that they would be the most popular and the peasants class would be the minority and then there were many other reasons why the proletarians proved to be very revolution at that time. You see? There was much alienation between the owner and the worker. There was much hardship and so forth but I won't go into all the conditions that would or the attributes that would make up a revolutionary class. Today I'm speaking mostly in generalities because I have some other engagements tomorrow and I have a habit of going on for some eight hours sometimes if my comrades don't drag me off the stage or from the podium and I will try to limit it so I'll speak in generalities and we'll argue a little later. But in this country after we understand what happened in the Soviet Union, in this country we claim that a minority has a revolutionary potentiality, and we call them the lupen proletarian. Proletarian because by many of their attributes they are either workers unemployed or they're workers who are unemployable. In other words, they're people who would require some work in order to live so in that sense they're a part of the proletarians you see but we call this the left wing of the proletarian. And we call it the left wing of the proletarian

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because again we say the lupen proletarian are the most revolutionary and we say that it seems that because of the developments and the trends in technology that we'd notice technology going from automation to cybernetics we notice that it is not stopping at cybernetics but going into technocracy. We say that as the ruling circle develops his machine that he needs people less, he needs people, he doesn't need the people any longer. The numbers decrease while it took a hundred men, a thousand men, to put out many cars a day, now it takes fewer people. You see? Where it took say two hundred, now it might take fifty. Because the machinery is technology is being developed because the capitalist who owns the means of production is trying to make as much profit as possible and hire as few people as possible and pay as little as possible. In order to do this, he must first rip off and then reinvest his surplus in order to perfect his machine so that people he will not need people because as far as he uses people are pretty unreliable. They might even strike. While if his machine is perfected perhaps he could buy off a few technocrats, perhaps he could supply them with such abundance until they would never deviate from the will of their master. You see? So if the trend continues and you

could rest assured that the capitalist will do, follow a logic that is in his interest while the people always follow another logic which that is the logic that would lead them to own all of the wealth they produce. We know in order for any capitalist for any owner of a factory to exist that he has to pay us less, he has to pay us not what not the amount that we produce but he pays us a part so that he will make a profit. You see? In other words, if we produce ten dollars of wealth that he will pay us two dollars. You see? So he makes a profit, otherwise he wouldn't be there. But when the people realize that they don't need him that they can organize themselves so that they can collectively share in the wealth they produce then they will deal with the ruling circle. So in the case of the United States of this empire, it seems that most people who deal in science and district are rational thinking, logical thinking, would agree that the industries and the proletarian works in the industry they agree that he is attempting to use fewer and fewer people and each person that he is using is becoming more and more specialized, so specialized until he's being transformed into not what Marx told the worker in 1917, but into something that's called a technocrat now that not even a Marxist scholar would call a worker. You see? So if the proletarian class proper

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is on the decline because of development of technology, and if that is a trend, and based upon the evidence that is the trend until some other evidence is offered, I said it is a trend, now I didn't say that the trend would be completed. We the people will prevent that. And we will do it because it is not in our interest. But as the proletarian class becomes decreased because they're not needed any longer by the, by the capitalist, this would swell the lupen proletarians because as we stipulated before, or I stated, and I hope you agree, that the lupen proletarian are the unemployables. So the unemployment rate goes up. You see? The lupen class are being placed on the junk piles of society, they're becoming the most popular class, they're the most angry class, they're a class to look at for answers, they see no, they do not identify with the owner, with the capitalist. In fact, they hate him with a passion, they want what he has, he has the food, he has the wealth, they are the has nots, and they want that. But they realize in order to get that, they must organize and to prevent from what to prevent a vicious circle or to prevent the same thing happening to them, that happened to their former master, they will treat each other and they will call themselves, they will establish collectives, they will establish

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cooperatives. You know how a cooperative is run? You probably have some in Detroit I'm sure the unions have some which is no example really of socialist planning, because you can't possibly have socialism in a capitalist state, or a capitalist world, but it's sort of a bastard offspring of the collective socialist theory and that is, all of the people in the cooperative wants the store or wants his housing, share in the facilities if it's a store, if it's a market, they share the wealth. There's no owner of a cooperative. Not other than the people in the community who shop there. You see? And then they hire their technicians, their economists, the managers, and so forth. They pay them a salary and no one gets a profit, you see? And the would-be profit then goes back into the community and public facilities whether it's day care centers, whether it's hospitals, schools, and so forth. So, the Black Panther Party says that the lumpen proletariat seem to be the most revolutionary class here in America the working class of the proletariat proper seem to be on the decline, they seem to be suffering from reaction especially among the white worker. And I say this not because this phenomena has anything necessarily to do with color, but we know that the reactionary racist ruling circle has indoctrinated some of its victims to feel that he's

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superior to other people, other workers, and he's been able to pay them a few more crumbs so there's no qualitative difference between the black worker and the white worker, perhaps a quantitative difference, the white worker has more, he's paid off more, harder to get to because his stomach is full, he doesn't suffer the type of humiliation and insult day after day that we suffer. So we have to analyze all of those things also, but realize the white worker is not objectively our enemy. He's objectively our class brother and our class friend. This is even including the hard hats. Subjectively, they are definitely our enemies when they act as the hard hats acted. And much of the time when you want to act in a rational way, in an objective way, you have to deal with the fool that's gonna act subjective. And you deal with him you see in the best way that you can in order to preserve objectivity, that is, yourself because in this instance, objectivity is coming from you, you're initiating it. You're trying to establish sanity in the world, while your subjective enemy is trying to establish madness. I recall we choose sanity over madness because we choose happiness over sadness because we choose love over hate because we choose life over death, that we make the choice that we will preserve sanity and objectivity by even wiping out if necessary the persons who threatens that.

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In other words, I say whoever, whatever, threatens you when you're acting in the interest of the people, that you have the right to defend yourself. Now if possible, your defense will be to educate. This if you're given opportunity but if you are not given that opportunity, then you have to deal with the situation. You see? You will transform it. You wipe out sanity, you wipe out insanity and sanity will prevail. And we can only have love my friends if there is sanity. You see? We can only have happiness if people are really attempting from reason, and from fairness, to deal with the situation. So I say while objectively the white worker, even heard hats, are your class brothers, that subjectively, many of them are your class enemies but there two different, there are many ways to handle contradictions. That is a contradiction. And a contradiction is when and I explain this because I see many young faces in the audience and I'm always tempted to, to enlighten because I think that it's a waste of time to do anything else. Because remember I say I refuse to give you feel good stuff and therefore engage in madness. So I say that it is a contradiction contradiction. That's a contradiction when these forces meet and collide even with your with your objective brother, which let's say the hard

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hat for an example and when he's acting in a subjective way. And I say that objectively he's your class brother because your interests and his interests they're actually the same you see. That is, that both of you need to get rid of the ruling circle because both of you are being robbed but if he's gonna defend the master because of the insanity racism then he's operating from a subjective way or he's from a subjective position or a position not based upon reality or his true interests, but what he believes to be his interests you see. So now when you oppose him or when he opposes you and you're working and both of your real interests the peoples interests then these are two different forces clashing. And this is what we say in dialectical argument that when two, when people make two different statements about the same thing, if I say the microphone is chromed, and you say, not it's, well when I say that the wall is white and you say no that same wall is black, then that is a contradiction because you see it cannot be both things at the same time. You see? And that's in dialectical argument. It's just for brief things because we want to keep in mind the inter-relationship of all things. In the physical world, we call a contradiction much of the time an example, we call it a, a, a collision. When two cars meet head on and try to occupy the same space at the

same time, they have a contradiction really. You see? But in the physical world, he call it a collision. Now most of the time when people meet they don't even have contradictions, they only think they do. They really they're most of the time they're being contrary. In other words, one person will say the wall is white and the other person will say the wall is ten feet tall, and they'll argue all day, thinking that they're having a contradiction. But really, they're being contrary because they're talking about two different things, but presenting them like they're talking about the same thing. But the both could be ten feet high and also white. You see? Or black or whatever the case may be. So we say that while the working class and while the proletarians do not carry the revolutionary potentiality, there's also a class on the decline, and the lupen class on the upsurge, that in practice that he will act just like the Revolutionary Workers League. So therefore, there's no contradiction in practice because we'll both act in the same manner. We'll both we both support the strike as far as I know that we both want the same end goal and that's the establishment of communism throughout the world it seems to me that it's just a different interpretation of a phenomena, and we say that the reason that their interpretation is probably wrong, is because they're relying

too heavily upon the historical fact and not upon the dialectics of the situation. Dialectics of the situation, that it would be very it would be anti-dialectical to say that things are static. So therefore while in history, the proletarians were the most revolutionary class, and practice in history they were but today they're being transformed but we're dealing with the same people. Remember I said things don't change they're transformed, when the worker the proletarian is kicked out because of technocracy, he would just swell the ranks of the lupens, you see. But he won't become not a human being so therefore we can see no contradiction in organizing the in factory supporting the League of Revolutionary Workers, and also stressing the fact that we know who will carry the banner. You see? So we say that this is dialectical and this is in keeping with Marx Lenin thoughts, because we realize everything is in transformation. It will be very wierd, very strange to think that while everything else changes, because everything else is transformed according to Marx and Lenin's theory, that classes and the potentiality of a class remains the same. Just rational thought can't would disagree with them. You see? Just pure reason will shoot them down. You see? So we say that based upon trends based upon our analysis of the phenomena that the Black

Panther Party has put Marx - Leninism on a higher level, and that not to be arrogant my friends, but you could check it out at our embassy, that 800, 900 million Chinese people, 40 million are Korean people, the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, have stated that the Black Panther Party has inherited the legacy and will carry the world on to a new order. In other words, the Black Panther Party's a vanguard of the revolution on a world-wide level because the world is really one community and that we've taken Marxist - Leninist to a higher level and therefore we're the greatest Marxist - Leninists that ever lived, and we say this not to be arrogant because sometimes I wish that someone else would carry that banner because the way is narrow and the burden is heavy. But, we want to make it clear again that anyone can lay claim to this position but he must seize the time through not only theory but also through practice. Many times I'm criticized by my Party members of the Central Committee because they say it's in contradiction to my personality to talk about the greatest Marx and Leninists or greatest anything of all times. I think that this time it's necessary to point those things out, again not because of showmanism, because we're against this of all kinds. But we say that when the Black Panther Party stopped

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analyzing phenomena, using the most strictest scientific method, and using creativity that all human beings are endowed with an that Marx expected

(tape changed)

of all time but we will strive to serve the people both body and soul because we're merely servants of the people, we're oxens to be ridden by the people, we will shed our blood for the people, we will give our time for the people and we'll encourage the people to free us through freeing themselves. And that's why the cry should be free the Detroit 16, free all political prisoners and free the people. Now I will be very brief with this. Honest. Let me get a drink of water.. And if anyone is as thirsty as I am, I'll demonstrate . We can call drink from this glass, but don't drink too much because your brother won't be able to drink any. Would anyone like a drink of water. Now there's there's one other thing I'd like to throw out and shortly that, well shortly we're publishing a book, it'll probably be out well, the later part of January and most of it will be concerned with the theory of inner-communalism, but because I, I always I jump the gun and I throw things out too fast, before they're written there's a thousand questions so I'll just give a brief definition of inter-communal-

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ism based upon the scientific principles again of Marxism - Leninism and a fact that everything is under a permanent change of transformation. I said that the Black Panther Party or any communalists that were no longer internationalists were not internationalists for the same reason that we dropped nationalism at one point when we, when we were formed that we were nationalists or the narrow nationalist as we call it. And that is we're national showmanists. National showmanists for a good reason. Right? I say we're justified in holding those emotions but our position did not fit and did not, was not functional with the presence of the real world. You see? So we went from nationalism to what we call revolutionary nationalism that's revolutionary nationalism we went to we dropped that we disclaimed it, we denounced it, and therefore denounced our prior position because we're not ashamed of doing that because as I said we know that we're always in a period of transformation. You see? We went from what's revolutionary nationalists to internationalism. And we did this by offering our Vietnamese brothers troops and I didn't say a thing. I opened my big mouth and then I didn't get the doctrine out until later and because some confusion but I think the message got across. I think the message really got across to the people of Detroit after the 16

and after the seige because they saw those two tanks roll up they saw that if they're gonna fight the enemy, that they're justified fighting wherever his head pops up, matter of fact that it's probably better to downing 10,000 miles away. You see? In order to keep him out of our community here. You see? So we see that the same agency, the same body, the same equipment used in Vietnam is also used against us here. So why not my friends why not destroy that machinery, destroy that personnel in Africa, Asia, Latin America and also in Detroit.

You see? My friends isn't it true, it was the first thing that I learned in street fighting is the best defense is a good offense. And I used to hook

when I got to jiving you see? And I would do that because I anticipated, I anticipated him trying to foul me. You see? So in order to defend myself that I would put my best hook forward. You see? And usually I would try to get him in a position where I could field with him, as as efficiently as possible and also I realized this: I realized if the man had a butcher knife in one hand and a machete in the other, that it wouldn't do any good my friends to grab the machete and leave the butcher knife alone. Because if I did that, I would be in jeopardy. I say

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what you need to do is figure out some way to grab both arms to either restrain because remember friends, we're not blood thirsty, that's the enemy's characteristics. The people only want justice and freedom. We want to take the power away from our enemies, drag him down off of his high horse, and make him equal so he can't hurt us any longer. And then we'll love him. You see? But so we want to transform him really. Matter of fact, I think he will be much happier because we'll clear his conscience. You see? I think the capitalist has somewhat of a conscience. So I've said that first we try to restrain. When we see we can't restrain him then we have to take sterner actions. You see? Yes. So after their strength is proven, ineffective, then we'll try to disarm him. Matter of fact, I think that's very inter-related because everything is, you restrain you try to disarm. Right. Okay. Now if this proves that it will not do the job then what I'm gonna try to do, is cut both of his arms off and his head, too. And I'm saying while we saw the left arm of the fascist army in Detroit short time ago and we see it everyday because he violates the integrity of our community and we call it community where people stay and where they attempt to develop institutions that serve their interests, and these institutions are secure so that they could go on serving the people's interests, so they endure over a

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period of time. So a community is really a comprehensive collection of institutions, established by the people, for the people, so we say that the people should control these institutions for their interest. Now we see that the ruling circle penetrates our community in every way to exploit, to humiliate, and also to violate or kill. One of the agencies of the ruling circle we're all very familiar with, that is armed forces, because after the ruling circle makes a decision, then he sends in his bullies, his murderers, to make the people do what his boss, the decider, has decided they must do even if it means bringing the people to their knees. You see? So they develop all kinds of ways to bring life to an end. They have gas chambers, they have guillotines, firing squads, tanks, they have what they call local police, what they call national police, and what they call international police. And what we call now inter-communal police, because we see no difference in the activity, not any qualitative difference perhaps quantitative ones, we see no differences in the way the police force acts in Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa, Angola, Latin America, we see no difference in the way you act there and the way you act in Detroit. Because he uses the same equipment, he's there for the same reason, to enforce the will of his boss, the ruling circle. So we say the

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right arm and the left arm must be cut off because while the right arm is in Detroit, the left arm is in Vietnam and so we want to mobilize the people against things. We want a protracted war so that we can finally transform the whole situation where war will not be necessary any longer. Many people think that the Black Panther Party will like to go around with guns in the new order. This is not so, that we're advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war and only in order to get rid of the gun it becomes necessary to take up the gun. So therefore we want the best defense and we, for the purposes of a good strategic offense in order to end those contradictions. You see? Now, you've also heard many times that the statement that political power grows through the barrel of a gun and people take that to mean that when the Black Panther Party talks about politics, they're not talking about anything other than the gun. Aren't they so, how could they be so stupid. Don't they know that politics, politics are more complicated why do they always come from the gun? We say they are superficial and they're not understanding. What the term means is now really but at least we're quoted properly because that's the first thing in being objective. You see? In beinggkeeping close touch with what people say and what

the external stimuli, stimuli is all about. See now is the game when the external world through what we call stimuli or stimulus bombards the organism the sensory percepti, the sensory receptive system of the organism and makes an impression upon it. You see? And if this impression correlates to the objective fact assuming that there is an objective world, then we say knowledge results. You have some facts. And of course truth, truth is only a statement about the fact. Again a statement that correlates to the fact. But anyway, forgive me, I really going off of on a thing. What we're saying, we say we accept that statement political power grows through the barrel of a gun but to makes you understand it more clear, we will add something else. We say while it grows and emphasis is upon grows, through the barrel of a gun, it culminates and the ownership of the land and the institutions thereon. You see? And so the growing you see will also bring about a limitation. Every limitation brings about a determination, and every determination brings about a limitation. So while the power might grow through the barrel of a gun, it would also negate the need for the gun. And we claim to be non-violent. So my friends, I don't mean I don't mean to bore you any longer but I would like to say this concerning inter-communalism, that we do, we make these changes because we say that in order to be

internationalists, we must be a nation, nationalist because as far as I know that using definition of the word internationalism, inter means some corporation between and nationalism just what it says. It assumes the nations exist. So internationalism. You see? So we say that nations do not exist, that's our first premise. We say nations stop existing when the United States, the ruling circle, became an imperialist and therefore established an empire. An empire is somewhat connected to the root word, or one of the root words, of imperialism. So if you believe that there is an imperialist, and he lives here in the United States, you would have to believe that his home is an empire, and an empire means a nation transformed and a nation transformed into a structure and a body that controls everybody else every other geographical location in the world. You see? If that is true it is transformed the whole world, violated the attributes, and the criteria that defines nationhood because one of the first directives of the nationhood is that you have cultural determination, economical determination, territorial security, and institutions that represent the people in that particular country which we now call community. So we say that taking under consideration the scientific method, taking under consideration scientific method and the scientific method as I

remember it correctly, the steps, is that first, that we will start off with a hypothesis, or a belief, we will attempt to test it, we will try to be somewhat detached and disinterested, not disinterested like we don't want to know, but disinterested because we are not necessarily wanting a particular outcome that we just want the facts you see. And then collecting data and in a way that it can be shared with others and so forth. I still remember that you know I haven't studied those steps in about fifteen years I guess. So but you study very hard my friends because, so that you could teach me. You know? Because you will know much more because I hope you will profit from all of the madness that is going on, as well as the, much of the beauty that is going on and that beauty is that the people of the world are uniting to defeat the reactionary capitalist and to establish a world free of war and a world where all the monsters will be destroyed and the world will belong to the people. But back to my definition, our definition. Because really, I'm just relying upon the English language, and the Marxist scholars, they they seem to forsake that. They're as bad as a lot of the old philosophers who dealt in metaphysics and because they want to seem so profound they would start stipulating definitions

to things that really have already been defined, and therefore, they're a violation because once the definition is stipulated, then we would have to acknowledge that and after it's used it becomes lexical, or a common definition. Sometimes we have to re-define things if that particular label is not functional. You see? But I can't see where, what we're going today, what I'm attempting to say is that the words internationalism, empire, imperialist, are words that I think that they're functional. You see? So we say that we're inter-communalists and we're not internationalists for the same reason that we're not nationalists and that is that we say there's no nation existence because the United States itself is not a nation it's an empire and therefore it's transformed the whole world and when we get back that that reasoning is dialectical is that reason rational, is that reason is a combination of rational and imperial, then I would be in keeping with the science and I would say that it would only necess, it would necessarily follow that there are no nations, there's no internationalism. The world is one community and who made the world one community? Not the revolutionary. Not the communist. The communist talked about a, one world, one community, where the state, where the of the state will wither away, and there will literally be no

state in existence because there would not be need for it. You see? Well, my friends, that it happened but it happened at the hand of the capitalist. You see? I say the capitalist violated every criteria that nation is based upon as soon as it became an empire. Now if you want to argue that we will, you simply have to start off with first that there is no imperialism and you could be an imperialist and not necessarily have an empire. And you could talk crazy and go back into the Roman empire, say well you have the Roman empire but still you have other nations who had economies that were in tact, but I would call this primitive imperialism because the Romans only controlled the known world. The known world. But there's some indication that some evidence but no proof, that this dog in the west controls the whole world. You see? And when I say dog that I'm not talking about the American people because they don't control nothing. You got some races running around here thinking that they have some kind of blessing with white skin and blue eyes but that's only because they're a victim of the capitalist again and the media and the institutions that forms values and thoughts, and cultures. Because after all according to anthropology, culture is simply, and this is a general definition, culture by way of

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definition, are learned patterns of behavior. Alright? So and I said there's proof, there's evidence but there's no proof because it's sure that in the, the United States ruling circle controls all of the known world but there's some indication that all of the earth, all of the world, is known, as far as such a large part until you would generally accept my statement. So, if all of these, the criteria was violated and that there, that the world has really been transformed into one community, because we can't even call such countries like Japan, a country that's a victim of a colonialism. You see? Cause something else has happened. The economy is . The economy of the world the it's been so integrated into Wall Street until we could see no real qualitative difference. You see? And we realize that we have some people, we have, they have puppet governments usually natives now, and then we call it neo-colonialism, and then the scholars argue because they saw what they mean by neo, either it's colonialism or it's not colonialism. Neo. What are they talking about? Alright. So I told you I would be dragged off the stage. We have to go in a little while but let me run this down. So it's so integrated until the geographical location of the world I say there is only

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a quali, there's a quantitative difference, not a qualitative difference. It's because the capitalist not only ripped off the wealth of the world, in centralizing on Wall Street, he also ripped off the people of the world. He to the Chinese and made them work on the railroad. To enrich himself, he crusified the Africans that 50, 50 million according to Basil, Davis, and Melvindale Herskovich (phonetic), 50 million of my people died coming across the middle passage alone, and only a few million of us was placed here starting in 1619, but if we analyze a whole slave trade, Europe and America the collective crime, that 50 million of our people were killed, crusified, murdered, starved, sufficated, jumped overboard, rebel and killed in battle. You see? So he not only ripped off the well centralized on Wall Street, he also ripped off the people of the world, ripped off the Indians, took his land, took the labor of the black, took the land of the Mexican people. See? The work of the Chinese. Through getting a surplus from slave labor he was able to accumulate capital in order to build the industrial base in the north. So therefore, we slaves built this big technological monster. We built it, we not gonna give it up. I'm not going back to Africa. I'm not gonna separate. I'm gonna take his head, you see? We're gonna take his head and then because

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they have a concept, I'll tell you a little concept in law. You know I went to law school about six months before I dropped out, because I didn't see where it was relevant, but I admonish you my friends that wherever you are, and I don't encourage you to go to this school, but I do encourage you to do this. My friends, learn. Study in order to serve the people. You see? I don't know the conditions here. Most school are like prisons. I hate prisons. And you've indicated that the same thing is happening here. So what I would do is have it up to you. You See? I won't encourage or I won't discourage, I won't, I won't, I won't persuade you not to come but what I because I think it's it might be it might be even bad for you to come here you see. But before you make the decision, analyze all of the facts. You see? And I'm not here to do that today, but what I will say I will emphasize over and over again learn to read, learn your mathematics, learn your physics, your physical science, your biological science, learn your history, your culture. Know that knowing it alone will not free you, but we need and every human being must respect himself as a human being and the people in this country try to deny us that so therefore we have to find out the genesis of man in order to contradict and refute

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his lie. You see? And through this investigation we will find that we as human beings are of one family or homo sapiens of one species. We believe that. We don't believe that white people came from the earth and we came from heaven. We believe that we came from the same species according to all, not all but most scientific anthropological information the cradle and the genesis of man was my mother country Africa, south of Sahara, Dr. according to Dr. . I think you pronounce that man as was supposedly the the chain between the animal and man if you accept the theory of of evolution I believe they call it, if anyone can help me It's close enough. But anyway, so and this all people so my own indication that man was born from the African cradle, and probably black I accept that he's black with bushy hair like mine, black face like mine, big lips like mine, and big nose. Yousee? But remember now we're not showmanists so really that's irrelevant as far as any value to you as a human being. It only establishes first that all people are human beings and it kind of redeems what the white world did to us, it redeems the white world I say not what they did to us, only change in actions can start to create justice we've, I guess

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we've never to be paid but I said that it does more of a service to the European probably than the African because after we get this information we find out that white people in spite of their actions are human beings. You see? Their actions might indicate that they were less than that. You know 50 million people in the middle passage. You know? But so we say that white people were born of us and they would have to be our brothers and part of us you see because if they are from us and then somehow we produce them, and a human being can only produce a human being. You see? As far as I know. But anyway, so anyway that so it's nothing to be arrogant about, it's a matter for establishing facts, you see what I mean? And then accept and love all people on the basis of a common characteristic. Now I have so much to tell you. I was gonna do a talk about the new world and the kind of culture that we'll probably have that we Panthers call an essentially human culture, that in the new world there will be less emphasis upon divisions and learned behavior or patterns of behavior which is culture because the world's coming so close together because of mass media because of development of the mass media and again I get back all these things clash at the same time, and I want to tell you, and this is why I mix everything up. But please bear with me, that

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I was explaining how the capitalist violated all of the territorial lines. You see? And transformed nations of the community and while doing this he centralized the wealth. He does like the capitalist always would do. He will hoard the wealth, centralize it. He will create a monster, a monstrosity of a, of a technical base or a monstrosity of industry and by doing this by doing this limitation limitations because he's ripping off. It's a limitation and the view this is a subjective view. I call it a limitation because he's downing the people in doing this. It's also a determination because this is the way socialism and communism is created. Remember I gave you the example of 1917 when the capitalist started to establish industrial bases in in Russia and the people seized the time, ripped off the industrial base that they had created, that they had produced with their labor, expanded it and shared it. But we must admit that the industrial base was started to be created by the capitalist. So this is why we say that every limitation is a determination and every determination is a limitation. You see? So while the capitalist has centralized all the wealth of the world, violated all territorial land or controlled every economy culture and I say control the culture because of this: most of our surviving

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Africanisms are no more. We only have a few. You see? I still think we have a few. According to Herskovich and Mrs.

we have a few. Ours like the base things upon people who have you know proven somewhat honest and have used some sort of rational method or to gain fact. You see? So I thought you were gonna drag me off the stage. So anyway the, we were transformed we were transformed because our culture was abruptly cut off and then using the mass media, the tv, the radio the newspaper the school, in order to reduce us. And I say reduce us because while we're transformed, you see, excuse me my friends, it's not, it is not good for me to use reduce. They used all of these tools to transform us, that's a, a neutral term, alright? And I'm trying to be objective right now. Later on we'll be, we'll act crazy and be subjective after we establish all the facts, and then we say we'll put the theory of practice, and say we're gonna do it. You see? And then I'll be talking crazy to you, talking about if you don't believe in lead you're already dead. You see? And a .45 will stop all jive. A 357 will win us our heaven. You see? A P 38 will open prison gates. A carbine will stop a war machine. And then I think the end/^{that}was the only poem I ever wrote. And then the end is if you don't believe in lead, you're already dead. You

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see? But we're not gonna do that this evening. Come, come, my friends, come on. So we're not gonna do that this evening because now we need some information because the name of the game is survival pending revolution; you see? And this will be the theme of the convention and in Washington, D.C., the 27th, 28th, 29th of this month the theme will be survival pending revolution because we know that genocide is being attempted on black people, particular, and the people of the world in general, and in order to have revolution, at least people have to exist, because the people make revolution. So therefore, we say let's take first things first. Now it's not as clear cut as categorical as this, because I don't believe in categor, categories, it's overlapping. While we can win the broad masses in the survival program, we also can attempt to educate them, transform them to consciousness. We cannot feel, we cannot believe that we can go and put an M 16 off in Reverend Jesse Jackson hand. We're not ready for that. So what we have to do is first you see is make him realize the necessity for the society to be transformed completely, not a change in the establishment, but a change in the system. We have to make him know, that while he's talking about I am somebody, he should be saying I am a revolutionary, and

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therefore, finding out or becoming conscious of exactly who he is. You see? I am somebody, but who are you. I am a revolutionary. And, but we like to hear Jesse Jackson say that I am somebody. You know why? Because that shows a man in search. He's trying to find out who he is and that's why that we encourage dialectical argument and we know that at some point he will find out who he is and leave the Black Stone Rangers alone and stop coming around here, you see, cause a lot of people have faith in him. You see? I want to have faith because Reverend Jesse Jackson is a class brother. You see? He's not a class enemy. I talked earlier about objective - subjective enemies. An objective enemies, just hit me I never went into that. A lot of times I do it. That's why I like the question-answer period really better than a lecture because we can really get together establish a rapport and you can remind me of things where I hung you up. You see? But an objective class enemy is one whose interest is opposed to your's. You see? If he's a owner, his interest is different than your's as a worker. You see? And this means that you are to approach that contradiction a different way, you handle it in a different way. Your subjective enemy you try to educate him, and your objective enemy you try to annihilate him or transform him. So that's the difference.

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And we have to realize those differences in order to act in an intelligent way and learn how to manipulate the environment and cope with it. And all of you know what that means because I know what you have to go through each day just to cope with these teachers to stay in school. You know? I was suspended from school about twenty six times. I don't know why I stayed. Maybe cause I liked fighting, I don't know. Must have been something. No, I think I, I've always loved people and I like to meet my comrads in the hall and embrace them. You see? Maybe that was it, but my experiences were somewhat different than most of your exper, I hope so, because I didn't learn to read you see, until my last year in high school. When I say, read I mean this, it, saw, that's, that's one of the reason I used to fight so much you see? Because I didn't want my other comrads inside of the school room to know that I couldn't read and it was a little group of us you know, we were in what you what was called the dumb class. You see? And everytime it got, everytime it came around my turn to read, I would my partner so the teacher would kick me out. Therefore, I made, I remained, I kept the respect you see of my comrads. You see? And also, they didn't find out the secret, you see? And I jived like that all the way to the 12th grade. I learned how to read in the 12th

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grade and I started college that next summer, studied twelve hours, thirteen hours a day, in order to memorize the notes that my brother took who was before me, and he would read them to me and I would memorize them and luckily the teacher would give true and false tests and multiple choice. So I would get A's all the way because he would give the same test. You know teachers don't like to keep making up same tests cause they use a key so they from semester to semester they just use cut outs to grade those things. So if he had switched up on my though, I would have been in bad shape. That's business. But as I was saying before, I so rudely interrupted myself, no I said I'm not gonna crack jokes you know, but, but what I'm getting around to, I think I was talking about how every limitation is a determination every determination is a limitation, so I say at this time that the wealth has been centralized and one of the reasons that this is necessary in order to eventually free the people of labor it needs to be centralized and there needs to be a surplus so that you can create your base so to later on alleviate the people from toiling and working and living by the sweat of their brow, you see? In other words, you get a big enough surplus the people collectively they expand their base, they even take technocracy into something else. You see? And

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after they do that, because they own the machine, they stand back and they don't work no more. Cause who wants to work eight hours or ten hours. You see? We'll free, we'll have a free block of time which is called leisure, and this leisure will probably be used because man is a creative creature if he's not thankful, if he's not crucified by educational system, according to Hote, I believe his name is Hote, some of you teachers probably know the book "How children fail, How Children Learn". Now you ask me why do I read all those books, you know. Why don't you just read some black history. Our brother will see me reading, after I learn how to read, this was a long, after I spent about, I guess I spent about two years in college almost then I could, I was a functional illiterate. You see? But finally I did learn how to read and from teaching myself, my brother before me he couldn't teach me because he was too impatient, and plus he was mad because he didn't see how anyone could be so stupid in this day and time. So but late, now he apologized because he realizes that because of the structure that they could be so stupid. You see? So but anyway that's something else. That because all the wealth has been centralized and I said, oh yeah, I was gonna make this example. It's necessary for someone centralize the wealth and in order to centralize

the wealth and produce your surplus, it must be sacrificed. But you can sacrifice you see for a cell that then you could be ripped off and you do all the sacrificing and the other person does all the enjoyables, present and future. And this is the logic of the capitalist and logic of the people is to eventually stop the necessity for toil. You see? This is the whole thing. I guess Marx was as lazy as I am. You know, didn't want to get out there and plow, didn't want to get out there and do all of that stuff cause I know that people would much rather use their facilities in more creative areas not in a area where they produce something or somebody else snatch it away just so they can get a few crumbs to, to fill their belly. When actually they create the whole thing. So if the wealth is not centralized if you never get that surplus, conceivably you can think of socialism you say well why why does there have to be a capitalist in order to do this. Can't it just happen where the people agree. Well there's some historical evidence that it did happen, what we call primitive socialism. When I say primitive I mean before reading and writing. You have socialism in Africa south of Sahara, in eleven hundred, and so forth, but it wasn't scientific social, socialism, or socialism based upon technology. So you might get in problems by doing this, and an excellent example

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of this let me make this point
right now. An excellent example is this. Now I, this is a
good example and I swear to God it's, it's no offense because
there's plenty of it because the capitalist is taking care of
that. But let's say that at this time that we only have, yeah
good example that right now I don't have four glasses of water.
You see? I only have this much and say that this is some commodity
that could possibly reproduce and make abundance. You see? All
right? Say, say there was one say there was two little fishes.
Yeah. Right. Say if you had two little fishes you know, three
little fishes, okay? Three. I, I'm trying to give you a good
example, three, three little fishes, okay? All right. Now you
have three little fishes and say, that, did I say it right?
Fishes? No, no, okay, fish. Singular, plural, it's still fish.
All right, all right. Thank you. I know you're gonna teach me
you see because, but anyway if you had three little fish alright?
But correct me every time I make a mistake like that correct me
but don't chop up my whole speech just because I don't know
grammar. Hey look, say you had three little fish and you had a
and you, you and this other fellow, let's say your
class brother, say you guys were the owners of it all right? And
so the people out there eating nothing but meal, and therefore

were not so healthy because they didn't have enough protein, they only eating wheat, not enough protein. All right? And these are the masses of the people. They, you're their friend you're holding these three little fish, you see? And that you take one of the fish and you break them up, you break it up and you share it with your class brother. Both of you own it. You see? You went in together. And say, let's go further than that. Say that, no I want to keep it simple. That you break it up and the people they demand they say that because of some events and so forth we're responsible for the existence of the fish in the first place, so if you were to eat that one fish that we demand a part of it, and matter of fact you got two swimming around in the pond, and we want to split that up too. You see? And the capitalist because he's greedy and so forth, says no I'm not gonna do it, I'm gonna keep it, and I'm gonna let the fish reproduce and lay eggs and so forth, and they're mine, I'm gonna keep them, you see? And this argument goes on, hostility increases, but in fact you see if maybe the people had a moral right to the fish, but if the fish were given over to them and they downed them, they ate them up, which if they had a moral right to this, no argument, say they did have a moral right, but, what will happen to the source of their protein. Now if the greedy capitalist you see, now the the people see, actually lay seige ion the

man in taking it. You know? Because I'm somewhat of a moralist you see and I can't be so coldly scientific in those situations. But my point is, that that's an example of centralization of the wealth, and the fact that kept in the capitalist hands for a period of time, that the fish would reproduce and if they had a whole barrel full of that and he still didn't give to the people, and then the people, he's ripped them off, took the fish pond, and keep, kept reproducing the fish. But if the man hadn't kept them, number one, he wouldn't have got the surplus, if he hadn't hogged them; number two, the people really wouldn't have gotten their nourishment because it wasn't enough. You see? See what I mean? So this is why that it's necessary for the industrial basis to, all right, the industrial base to be expanded and so I have five minutes I can't go on with that example and it was a, it was a vision that's why it was given you, I think in visions you know and that's very unscientific, so don't even quote me on that. But I think that this is just a little thing I threw out I think that as far as all creativity, it comes in the forms of visions, in other words, Marx himself, the scientist Marx, really had a vision. You see? He had a vision. And then he had a re-vision. He revised the vision, but anyway, that's so anyway so what we attempt to do, the Black Panther Party, we

attempt to to tap our creativity, accept the scientific method, and then have visions. So the theory of inter-communalism is a vision, and whoever changes that will revise it and therefore be a revisionist. You see? But what I'm trying to say is now the United States ruling circle centralizes all the wealth, took the people's wealth, ripped them off all over the world, including the people centralized on Wall Street, and therefore laid the foundation for world what, socialism? No. Socialism means state. Socialist state. Now Marx said you go from feudalism to, from slavery slavery to feudalism, feudalism is capitalist and capitalist is socialist state a capitalist state to socialist state to communism, which is non-state, a whithering away of the state, where there's no national boundary lines and so forth. We see these things exist today, and it was carried out by the capitalist, but only is reactionary inter-communalism. You see? It's reactionary inter-communalism because the ruling circle had made the world one community but for it's own interest. So they're inter-communalists also, but we're revolutionary inter-communalists and we say that power to the people and that we want the people of all those communities to own and to control the institution in which they live, and the land they live on whether it's a community in Vietnam, or a

community in Hong Kong or a Chinese community in San Francisco. Whether it's a black community in Detroit, or a black community in South Africa, or a black community in Tanganyika, or a black community in, or a Mexican community in Latin America or a Mexican community in, in L.A., because all of these are more like communities than they are nations now, and then the capitalist have made the distance between the geographical locations which we used to rely heavily on definition of nationhood by showing a separation of a land through partition or sea or some other form of separation, you see? Partition, the sea, or a culture. You see? People very different, different languages, but what has happened? It, it took us five hours I believe to get here from San Francisco, it takes ten hours to get to Vietnam, nine hours to get to Algiers, Algeria, you see? So what is five hours, ten hours difference. You see? So I'm saying so we can't judge a nation on the basis of a distance. A long time ago, a hundred years ago, let's say, that when two geographical locations were separated for thousands of miles, say ten thousand miles, you call it another world. You know Columbus say, thought he was gonna fall off the world coming, trying to get to North America. You see? Actually he thought he was in India. But what I'm, what I'm trying to say is that so that's one of the

things we can we can just forget. You see? So we can't define nations on the on the distance or what kind of separation because the ruling circle can penetrate with rapid speed and high fire power no matter where you are. As a matter of fact, he's doing it and he knows that he's not a nationalist some some people think the American ruling circle think they're nationalists, they're not. See? They know they're inter-communalists because one indication, one indication, why is it they they don't say they have wars anymore. When they send the fascist army into communities, wherever the community may be, they call it a police action in Korea. They call it a police action in Vietnam. They call it a police action where they went in and ousted the rightful President Juan Bosch of Dominican Republic, which is acting strange now, but anyway, when they ousted him they were said to _____ was a police action. So you have a police, there was a police action in Detroit, a police action in in in _____ and when Detroit was re-named to Destroy It, according to H. Rap Brown, this was a police action. You see? And we see those agencies of the of the police integrate whenever their front lines are down, then they send in their second lines. What are the second lines? When they send in

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their regional police or their local police as you call it, and they get down, they were chased out of here out of Detroit, then they call in their what they call the national guard. You see? And when they were chased out they called the other police agency in. The leathernecks, you see. And now they call in the tanks all the time and think nothing of it. And when you have a contradiction is when the people attempt to free themselves of reaction in towns, and Vietnam, you go in and say Nixon then will say well it's a threat to the American community. And I agree with him. It is. It's a threat to the American community for this reason: because the capitalists have made all of the lands of the world a part of the mass community. You see? So that they're transformed I'm saying that even after people win, and we will win, we can, you cannot backtrack history. You cannot, we cannot say we cannot learn Swahili and some African rituals and think that we can forget or backtrack the race. You see? So we have to accept that and say yeah there's a few surviving Africanisms you see, and that many things in Africa of old that are good and functional, much of it is not at this point. And we agree with the only culture that's worth holding onto is revolutionary culture, that is, culture

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that's constantly in the making and change because it is not a stagnant and will be out of touch with the needs of the present day. You see? So this is what happened that I talked about the travel. Let's talk about the media and the culture. So then we used to talk about different cultures, different lands or nations in terms of different cultures, but I'm saying that there's a quantitative difference and not a qualitative one because like we been transformed either the people in the other countries are transformed such as the Japanese or they're in the process of being transformed and getting to the point right where we are. You see? Losing our surviving Africanisms. And I say this is a trend so therefore it proves as a matter of quantity that perhaps we've got more of the effect or suffered more of the effects. No, wait a minute. We've experienced more of the effects of the mass media, they are suffering because the small ruling circle is doing this. You see? So then they have but if the ruling circle is kept in tact and the people do not wipe them out, which I know the people will, then they'll end up just like we are. Not knowing their names. You see? So I'm saying that we cannot judge the nations then on the basis of a culture, because there's very little culture, cultural determination because of the satellites, because of transistor radios, because

of technology again. With the satellites, that the tv that you see on the six o'clock news can be seen anyplace in the world. And in fact it is in many places. And we know that the mass media builds culture. You see? So what's gonna happen. What we say, so that's another thing we cannot talk about as far as the difference in the nation. So what we say is this, make a long story short, and I could enumerate all of the same thing, make a long story short, someone's clapping because they want the long story to be short, a long story cannot be short my friends. A long story is long, and a short story is short. Hey look, so we want this to happen. Now I said I went to law school for a while that's a term I always like to say, because it's so relevant. The term is called in Latin it says, it's *trespas de bonis asportatas*. It, in English, the translation roughly, if I remember correctly, it's the taking away of the goods the taking away of another's goods, or someone else's goods, and then dominating them and controlling them like your very own. And that's called a tort you see, or it's it's a civil wrong. You could take the person into court, the person is usually guilty of this crime. This old English law about the sixteen hundreds but still/^{it's}still a law in this, in

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this country that of the, usually a person found guilty of this would be a landlord. For instance, he would be, accuse you of not paying your rent for dilapidated housing, dilapidated conditions, and then he would go in you don't have the money to pay anyway cause you're unemployable, you're unemployed, he would go in and seize the furniture, and seize the things that you need to live on. You see? And then use them himself. You see? Without benefit of any hearing or court action. So he's not, he's two violations, one, is more trecherous than the other. The first violation was a trespass. That's crossing the boundary on the threshold of yourdoor. You see? That's wrong. You see? He probably even made a rowdy entrance and you could have dealt with him if you had been home. You see? But you weren't. So he went in there and took the goods that your kids needed, took it up, ate it up, and he's already too fat. You see? So then that's the domination see like his very like his very own. Now how do you do I say it's a torch, you could take you have action in the civil court on this. You take him into court, and the first thing when he's found guilty because he would be. You see? When he's found guilty, the first thing the judge will say was is restore restore to this man what is his. The next thing

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he will say because that's the actual damage, that you took the goods. You see what I mean? So restore it. The other thing and it was a violation to even cross the threshold without permission so therefore we gonna charge you, it's hard to add that up. You see what I mean? How can we add up, what does it cost you to, well how much does it cost when you violate someone's threshold? So it's call a punitive damages. He would have to pay both actual and punitive damages. In other words, pay for the goods, and then there's a penalty for him doing that. Now the United States ruling circle, they ripped off the people of the world, took the goods, and dominate them like their very own, built a technological machine that really belongs to the people of the world, so even if we talk about real revolutionist country, we have to think of it in terms of all the people in the world, because first, the old Africa, Asia, Latin America, you see? They owe the Indian. You see? They owe the poor white folks. You see? So, but the main point I'm trying to make usually in history when people have socialist revolutions, they just talk about a re-distribution of wealth on the national level. You see? Or they, the geographical location where the particular people have to live. But the United States, you can't even talk about a re-distribution on

a national level because it's not a nation. See? So, if it's not a nation, and you can't talk about socialist state existing, that means after you rip the dog off you'll go almost immediately into communism, because your economy would have to be bigger on an inter-communal level, taking everyone under consideration, that the people are ripped off and also sharing the technology, and everything else with the people of the world and that's what communism means. You see? When the people of the world rule, you see, and when you realize it's one world and there's no national boundary lines, people be going across commuting to to Ghana and Tanganyika and back to Detroit. You see? All in a day. But what I'm trying to say is so all those who disagree who claim they're Marxist scholars, I challenge them, and I say they're not dialectic, dialectical materialists, they're either historical materialists or else, or else idealists. And they might just be a non-thinker. Sometimes people mix thought up so bad I just call them a non-thinker. You see? But I'm not even gonna try to figure the mess out. You see? So what I'm saying is it shows you that inter-communalism will still exist after people seize the structure and I say the United States always already has a potentiality you see or to the structure of of sometimes I get a loss for terms to explain the

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concept and nope I'm not one of those old philosophers
in metaphysics who wants to stipulate some-
thing to you so I'll try to find a term

(tape changed)

different. This is all people of the world. I truly believe that. Now I base and I think that blacks will have to lead this and it's not belittling our white radical friends, but I say that blacks are, that we've been endowed again with this banner of revolution, and we have to lead in the structure of this whole thing because of this reason, and we'll have coalitions and so forth, but we still have a Black Panther Party, probably will, it's not believe we're separatists, it's because at this time we feel that our community's under seige, and we have the answers for the community of the world. And after we probably, probably even in the heat of the world revolution you see that we will no longer have coalitions, we'll probably have mergers, I don't know. You see? A lot of thinking will have to change, though. We'll have to do a lot of teaching, so white people will stop being arrogant and racist without even knowing it because they been so conditioned all their lives but at this time we have a Black Panther Party that's all black for self-defense reasons.

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No other reasons. You see? That we can't risk at this point after history has shown us time and time again how we've been duped and so forth that we say we gonna for we know and we do have some qualities that seem to be international, excuse me, inter-communal, by, I don't say by instinct, because I don't believe in instinct, but remember I said that every limitation is a determination and every determination is a limitation, so therefore everything has a dual character. More than one side. The facts of the facts of slavery I told you how trecherous it was, it also carried some good qualities. You don't like that huh? All right, I'll show you. And this is only a speculation and if you disagree with me that I'll be happy as long as you disagree with me and use some some reason. You see? But I'm saying that I believe that everything has a dual character and not only do I believe that, I don't believe I'm relying strictly upon Marxist dialectics because African south of Sahara also believed that everything has a dual character. That's why in Africa south of Sahara our religion was dualism instead of absolutism and this is why that the African god always had at least two heads, and maybe five or six, one for fertility, one for evil, and one for good. You see? And this was dialectics

within itself. You see? So he tried the African tried to stay in favor with the good head and out of favor with the bad head and so on and so forth on down the line. You see? So maybe this was the start of , I don't know. But anyway, alright, I said the slavery, the positive side, was this: while it abruptly cut off, we noticed that people with 2,000 3,000 years history unbroken such as some of the Jewish people, you see? Some of the Chinese people, but Mao's taken care of that with this culture revolution and so forth. But people probably some of the African people too, you see, who weren't

you see first I would bet would have a hell of a complex about being what do you call himself, king of kings? You see? When you have a long unbroken history, it's good, it's beautiful, you refine things and so forth, but also you're more apt to come to become arrogant, you're more apt to say that I would do this because my father did it so many years before and this is a characteristics of the ruling class. You see? Because he rides around, he's non-productive and he says that I will ride in a limousine because my father rode in one and I'm better because my father always did it his way and he was better. You see? So he's living in the past and on, according to, well

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anyway, those are upper class values. Alright, alright, alright. But anyway, listen and this is the last thing and I'm not gonna hang up any longer. The the the black, we blacks because of the abrupt cut off, yeah, we suffer like Halie probably and some of the others, and whites too, you know and I mentioned the the religious thing. It's because you're victim to the past because you're chained to it. Now we're cut off, we lost a lot of positive things, but we also must realize and stop this looking back and the problems that we have today we look to the future for solutions and that's a communist characteristic. We always say that they say that Huey how do you feel and I could be in bed very sick and I say that I'm better, but I don't know that yet. But anyway, I'm saying that blacks could not look to Africa for the answer, you see, because our culture we don't know enough about it, Number one, and then our culture was so broken and we have and there was cut off and then slavery existed, so now we are dynamic we look for the future for the answer, not the past. You see? After the conquest. So on a international level, because we were dispersed all over the world, every time we see a black face and bushy hair and the person might be all, might be 99 % transformed, we would feel, I feel a certain amount of brotherhood on those facts. You see what I mean?

And I'll admit that, knowing all the time that we could be more different than we like, but probably know that the man suffered from the white world but anyway because we're dispersed it's easy for us to accept and even if the brother has a completely different culture, just about if he comes with an English accent if he comes with a Latin accent, and he acts Latin or acts English or we might say that brother he sure is cold. You know? He's trying to be some he ain't. See? He know he isn't native. You see what I mean? When all the time so in other words we feel this this togetherness and we feel rejected if the facts don't pan out and that's why we get a lot of young brothers and sisters being turned off when certain African leaders make certain statements that they probably shouldn't have made anyway, but I'm saying so we're internationalists or inter-communalists and we're more tolerant probably than other people because of our past experience of suffering and because we can tolerate other cultures or accept a person that's still a human being and still as a brother know even if he is different. So I'm saying that we only relying upon one or two characteristics. Now if we be real objective we could establish this humane or this humanitarian culture based upon the fact the human beings are so similar, in fact, in other words, instead of

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having just a black face and bushy hair you see like me you could have two eyes, a nose, a mouth, walk erect, you see? Hair, and so forth, and we could go on and on and add these things up and see that the man is more basically human and our differences are petty. You see? So this is why I won't go about that. But I could because as I said, I try to handle all things at one time so it sounds like conglomeration of distortion and unrelated thing but if you have faith in it, believe me they are inter-related. You see? So I would like to say that the Black Panther Party invites you to Washington and that we must free the Detroit sixteen and that we must unite against the world enemy number one, who is located here in the United States, and the people of the world must have solidarity, and then advance wave upon wave upon the reactionary races and then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kind will be destroyed. And then we will live happily ever after.

Power to the people.

I deserve that don't I? All right.

(First speaker)

On behalf of the Black Panther Party, and brother Huey P. Newton, we the Association of Black Students would like to express our great appreciation for their time in relating to us the Black Panther Party's position in relating to our common oppression. Right now I would like to say will everyone please remain in the gym until the brothers have left the building. Thank you.

People can I have your attention? Will you sit down please. Will you sit down? Please give our good brother a chance to leave the grounds please. Thank you.

I'd like to thank all of you black brothers and sisters we have participating in this event today. Thank you for volunteering. Will you hold it please. I have an announcement to make. We have an announcement to make. There's a free Angela Davis defense committee starting now. As you leave the exit the building, we're working for the National Office in New York they trying to get a free paper started so if you have anything to contribute, will you please stop and see us at the end of the back, please. Thank you.

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

B. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
NOVEMBER 17, 1970

On November 17, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Hill Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. SF T-39 made a tape recording of NEWTON's speech at the time of delivery. Following is a transcript of the tape recording:

Speech by Huey P. Newton

Hill Auditorium
Ann Arbor, Michigan
November 17, 1970

First Speaker: Mr. Huey P. Newton

Newton: Power to the people brothers and sisters.

I'm very happy to be here tonight and I want to thank you for my presence because if it wasn't for the power of the people I would still be in the snakepit and for that I applaud you, and all I can say is all power to the people. Tonight I would like to talk with you about a few things and I hope you bare with me because I'm not eloquent and all, I only have a message one single message and it's not based upon fancy phrases, clauses; it's based upon survival, survival through service to the people. Unfortunately, I'm not able to entertain, that we don't feel that it's necessary at this point or important to entertain. We must work very hard together to shed some light upon the situation today, the conditions today, in order for the people to live. We are threathened at this time with genocide. So things are very serious. A short time ago, the fascist forces violated the community of Detroit and imprisoned sixteen members of (blank tape). It was not you or me. I say but for fortune. Because I'm sure that the fascists do not discriminate in that area, they're universal. They're universal tyrants, they violate every community in the world. They violate the university community. They violate the Chicano community. They violate the Indian community. They violate the poor white community. They exploit

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and they kill the people. They imprison, maim, and murder. They seem to follow one logic and that is: make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail, make trouble again, until the very doom. While the people also follow a logic, we will fight, fail, fight fail, until our victory and the doom of the aggressor. On the 27th, 28th and 29th of November, there will be a peoples revolutionary constitutional convention in Washington, D.C. We invite you. Because without you there will be no convention. You must understand that without you there would be nothing, there will be no society would not exist, leadership would not exist, history would not exist, because you and you alone make world history, so therefore you truly have the power. Much of the time we do not realize our power so we say that we're unconscious, we're asleep. In order for us to actualize in order for us to actualize ourselves, to free ourselves, and to expand and engage in productive creativity, we must first become conscious. And at this point the chief issue should be consciousness. The convention will be based upon, the theme will be survival through service to the people. We feel that it's necessary to offer a survival program knowing full well that a survival program is not in itself revolutionary. Knowing full well that a survival program will not bring about the transformation of society that is necessary in order to have freedom, justice, and equality.

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But if we do not have a survival program pending revolution, there will be no revolution because we might suffer genocide. We might not be here and if we're not here then of course no revolution will ever take place. So we are very practical revolutionists we say that the Black Panther Party's program of service to the people through health clinics, through food for the children because we know that our children could be permanently damaged because of malnutrition and once the damaged brain we will get damaged ideas, or ideas that are so wanting that it will fail us as a service, it will fail us as giving us some idea and some program and some strategy to change the conditions in this society and subsequently change the world. So we are very honest, we say that our ten point program that we offer, as it will be offered at the constitutional convention, is not a revolutionary program, but now it is a reformist program. A program is reformist only when it will _____ and stifle the final transformation. All programs that will involve the people in the struggle; all programs that will lift the people's consciousness; all programs that will aid the people in their survival; all programs that will lead the people to struggle in order to change the conditions of this corrupt world, would be classified as a revolutionary program or a seige leading up to

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revolution. We know that we must be educated in order to deal with the very complicated situation. Today the world is very complicated. When I was a boy, what was so was so. What was not was not. Now I am a man. Things have changed a lot. Some things nearly so, some things nearly not. (unintelligible)

In order to approach the complications, in order to approach the type of oppression the people suffer today, we must approach it with the formula that will most likely lead us to an understanding of a condition. We see that first this society, the American empire, is a highly-developed technological society. And sometimes it's very intimidating to try to figure out some way to

what is our's. Sometimes it is very difficult to understand this and tonight I feel it somewhat of a honor to speak to you at this university because I will first assume, I will start out with a premise that the people here, or most of them, are interested in learning even though they might have come from the wrong place. As I said before, that I won't give a fool good speech and sometimes I'll tell the truth and I wish I could but I don't know how so all I can do is engage you in a lecture. But it won't be the same kind of lecture that you experience with your professors because we're not gonna start out with any

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dogma. None whatsoever. We're gonna start out as objective as possible. We will do this in order to understand fully the conditions. The conditions under which we suffer and we will try to do this in such a way that will give us a clear picture of our condition, not a subjective picture. But an objective picture and after we get these objective facts, then we will apply a little subjectivity. In other words, we will use the theory of, or will use the maxim of, we will integrate theory with practice because that's what the Black Panther Party is all about. We feel that theory is no good. We feel that knowledge is no good if we do not apply that knowledge in some way that will serve our interests. So tonight we will start out by trying to understand the social forces that cause and that is causing our suffering. And through talking to people as I travel throughout the country, it seems that for some reason there's some misunderstanding about the Black Panther Party. Perhaps it is because of the mass media, perhaps it is because of the educational institutions or the institutions that miseducate. But what for, whatever reasons, people seem to be somewhat shocked and somewhat surprised that the Black Panther Party operates from an ideological position and that position was arrived at through an analysis that gave us some insight and some

understanding of phenomena. In order to understand things usually especially when there many things are interacting and operating at the same time, we try to work out some formula. We try to work out some process of testing. We try to isolate certain variables. We try to control others so that we have a constant and we let certain variables play freely. We do these things, and we do it in the name of of discipline we call science. The Black Panther Party is found, the Black Panther Party as the principle that we call dialectical materialism. In order to understand the conditions in the world today, we have to develop a formula just as to understand numbers, we have to develop formulas. Just as in algebra and reasoning that we have certain equations that will solve certain problems for us when it is applied to certain unknowns, that there also certain frameworks and formulas used to understand other phenomena. In the physical world, it is commonly agreed that many things happen at the same time. Most people of learning, scholars they like to call themselves, agree that in the physical world things seem to be in a constant state of flux. Flux, flux, all this flux. In the physical world we notice that when we speak of banner, when we speak of phenomena, we use a discipline we call physics, and we notice that in the physical world, things to be in a constant state of transformation. We notice that the atoms, protons and neurons,

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we notice that atoms collide with each other, subdivide and subdivide again, therefore transforming themselves into neutrons, protons, or protons and neutrons I believe. Please give me help. It's been a long time, but the principle of the matter is that something happens when the physical forces clash. They don't disappear but they seem to transform themselves into something else. We see that in the world today whether it's the physical world or social world, we see that there are many forces. In sociology, and if I remember, and I keep saying if I remember because I've forgotten most disciplines that I studied some ten years ago, but I believe that the sociologist also recognized and will readily stipulate that social forces seem to clash also. Now when social forces clash, transformation occurs. The sociologist explains this partially in a theory they call acculturation, when two groups or two cultures meet, they are modified by each other. Both showing change, sometimes one showing more change than the other. Some sociologists who are not very objective say that the stronger will show less change and the weaker more. Not qualifying exactly what they mean by stronger and weaker. So we know that something will happen that the characteristics and the attributes of both will change. So

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from that you see a correlation between the physical world and social world. We Marxists criticize the social scientist or the sociologist. We criticize the psychologist. We criticize anyone who will try to explain a particular set of forces or particular event by taking it out of its environment because by doing this we do not explain the thing that we're attempting to explain, but we've transformed the thing itself by taking it out of the environment so therefore if we do not consider all of the forces, if we do not consider all of the variables at the same time and understand the inter-relationship between everything, we are not gaining knowledge, we're not coming to any truth, but we're dealing in mischievous madness. So this is why that I start off trying to explain the inter-relationship between things. So one of the principles of the social scientist who is also a Marxist would be to recognize that things are in a constant state of transformation. I sort of jumped the gun, because first, I would like for you to stipulate with me so that we can have an intelligent conversation that the physical world exists outside of ourselves, independently. I asked you to do that because without that stipulation, I would leave the stage knowing full well that you might have something. But at the same time knowing that in order to have an intelligent conversation, at least we

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would have to stipulate our first basic premise, because it's very difficult to test or prove. So our first basic premise would necessarily be based upon a belief, and then we will try to follow some consistent argument to a valid conclusion. So first thing, the physical world exists externally and independently of ourselves. Second thing, the thing seems to be and in fact are in a constant state of transformation. After we agree to that, and I will take silence as agreement, we can go on. Because it's very important because tonight and not only tonight I will confess that I never ask anyone to accept my conclusion. I never ask anyone to accept my belief. It's very functional to have people to stipulate a first principle. But all I will ask you to do is to follow your own basic premise down to consisting conclusion. If you do not do that, I will criticize you. And that's my function. That I believe that we can arrive at what is to be done by through combining theory with practice, combining rationale with empiricism and therefore relating to the real world. I mentioned rationale being combined with empiricism. And I mention this because this is another stipulation that I would ask. Matter of fact, that I take that back, you don't even have to agree to that. Not necessarily. I would be bold enough to make the statement that without understanding that history doesn't

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really prove anything, without understanding it, rationale and not necessarily based upon reality, if we do not understand that will be very difficult to arrive at what is to be done. Empirical evidence is based upon observation and experience. But, with that alone, first we can never predict or speculate about the future, and it cripples us because it doesn't recognize the constant state of transformation. If we act strictly upon observation and experience, we will see things in a static way. We will say that the lights are burning, the light is burning. And it will be a simple mind this kind of statement, because it will not take under consideration while the light is burning, it is also consuming itself. So therefore, while the light is burning, it is also becoming a dead light. And because it's becoming a dead light, part of its characteristic will be a lack of light in order to conclude that we would have to integrate something else into just our practical experience. In order to understand the real world because the real world is in a constant state of transformation and our statement based upon empiricism tend to be static. How do we get out of that bind? We get out of it by integrating rationale by integrating reason, as Emanuel called it pure reason. Integrate that with the real world of observation and experience, integrate rationale with the fact that the real world exists and we gain knowledge

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through observing but it will take it a step further. Why can't we use it alone? We cannot use it alone because it doesn't necessary have any relationship to the real world, that rationale could be strictly a symbolic and an abstract process. In other words, I could very easily say and he perfectly, a perfectly valid statement if the sky is above my head and there's nothing in between my head and the sky, when I turn my head upwards I'll see the sky, rational. If the sky is above mu head. So the sky might not be you see? So what we will do, if first use the process of observing and experiencing things or relying upon historical evidence, and then realize also that thing is in a constant state of change, and therefore apply rationale and say while "A" might be happening, it's also will cause "B". And it will cause "B" because when we get a certain combination of forces operating together, they will rationally and logically cause "C" to happen. So what've done. We've integrated rationale with empiricism and therefore we've come up with the new concept. It's called dialectics. And I say this is universal because with this method we can have we can analyze just about all phenomena and we refuse to take a particular force out of an environment, so therefore we have to understand all of the forces surrounding it. You see? And we will do this by applying the theory of dialectics. You could have a dialectical argument

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and you have that by one person offering a thesis and the other person offering anti-thesis. You see? And hopefully we will come up with the so by those two things conflicting, by one person making a statement that opposes another statement, the other person's statement, after it's argued long enough, if both people have to be consistent, they might come up with the conclusion different than the two people's former statement. You see? So that's a dialectical argument. Transformation through argument. You know Socrates used that a lot. In the physical world again a practical application of dialectics. Well first I would like to say this. That process that I just explained to you, would be really the solution of the revolting of a contradiction we call it an argument. In the physical world, we call it sometimes on common terms we would call it a collision. A good example: when two cars meet and try to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed, we call that a collision. So after we have laid down the necessary agreement that will go on with our discussion because now we're prepared to have an intelligent discussion, in other words, we won't be contrary. You know much of the time when people meet they think that they're having a contradiction, and really really they're only being contrary. Example: if I say the wall is ten feet tall and you say the wall is red and we argue until we fall down and foam at

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the mouth, we're not having a contradiction, we're only being contrary. In other words, the wall could be ten feet tall, and also that particular color. When we understand this, we'll stop wasting time, we'll start jiving. In the physical world, when we speak of things being contrary, it means that they're covering a different amount of space at a different time and therefore there's no need of further explanation. In other words, the same two cars. If you turn them back to back, and both of you giving them gas in forward gear, you will speed off apart and you'll be contrary, covering miles and miles of different space. You see with less friction. So after we have that down we will see that to approach any situation we need some method. The Black Panther Party chooses to use the scientific method, as based upon empiricism, empirical evidence, but also coupled with rationale and therefore we get a new method, which is called dialectics. We also assume, I said we also assume that everything comes from a material source. This is another assumption and we say this because in order to understand the world in which we live, we always start out with analyzing some material thing in order to understand religion we have to understand the functions of the brain. I think that it will be very difficult for one to be religious without having the mechanisms of the physical, the brain. You see? If it can be done, I know method about it. Therefore, I assume that even the

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spiritual is arrived at through the material. Furthermore, that if man did not exist I would assume that the intangible would not exist. In other words, the assumption says that it requires a man to entertain a religion, it requires a man to entertain anything that is spiritual and anything that is intangible. So therefore it seems that the material is greater than the spiritual if we want to measure greatness in terms of which came first. You see? So first thing, that after we have this down, I know you're wondering where I'm going, but you'll have to wait and see. You know, I would like to interject something in my own discord and that is that the Black Panther Party supports the League of Revolutionary Workers. We see no real contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. There is an apparent contradiction, but we're not in the state of dismay because of that because we're social scientists, and a social scientist is not impressed by the apparent, he wants to penetrate facts and get beneath, see? (blank tape) Be apparent, penetrator and understand those things that are really a fact. Sometimes the apparent they're deceiving so in order to get past it first, we say that we have to be disinterested. By being disinterested, it doesn't mean that we're going to get away from the situation, it means that we will not will any particular outcome, that we'll attempt to ascertain the real facts

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of the matter. We will not be deceived by certain indicators that do not really represent the truth. And after we get these facts we can better understand the situation. (blank tape)

The methods we use because I would like if you appreciate that method, that you start applying and perhaps you will come up with some sanity, perhaps you will come up with some truth, perhaps you will come up with some knowledge. You see? And if you don't appreciate it during the question - answer period, offer me something, offer me an alternative and we will have a dialectical argument. And if you convince me I'll readily give up my old beliefs and my old conclusions and I will adapt yours. Now, as far as the revolutionary, as far as the League of Revolutionary Workers are concerned. Time and time again I said, that we want solidarity with the League of Revolutionary Workers more than that. We would like to even merge with the League of Revolutionary Workers. More than that, that we will even drop the name of our party if the League of Revolutionary Workers will show us that they have analyzed the phenomena in the social conditions correctly and have come up with valid conclusions. Now, I said that we have no real contradiction with the League of Revolutionary Workers, that is, in practice. We will find that the practice of the Black Panther Party will not conflict with the practice of Revolutionary Workers. It will correlate and it will sometimes be the same.

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Probably most of the time it will be the same. Or the theoretical level. There probably will be a contradiction but I always like to leave that theoretical world, somewhat divorced from our practical actions because the people do not have the extravagant of time and the extravagant of condition to wait for us to split hairs and come up with some abstraction. The people need service, the people are suffering, and we can only alleviate that suffering through relative actions that would aid them in the alleviation of the oppression. And this will only come through practice. Now, where would the contradiction be. I said that we might have a contradiction in theory. First of all, I think I'm not for sure I think that the source of the contradiction evolves from an essay our Minister of Information wrote some time ago called "On Panther Ideology". In that essay, the Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who's now in Algiers, Algeria, manning our embassy, claims that luppen proletarian, the luppen proletarian class, the left wing of the working class, the most revolutionary class, and probably would carry the revolution banner and will probably be the vanguard in the struggle and will probably initiate the creation of the new order. While the League of Revolutionary Workers say that this is not possible, that how can the luppen proletarian, the luppen proletarians who Marx and Lenin made Marx and Lenin despair. The luppen proletarians

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that some trans, that some people translated, the words to come. The lupen proletarians to seem to be useless that is in Russia, 1917. The League of Revolutionary Rowkers set forth the theory that the proletarian class or the industrial worker will be the vanguard and will carry the revolution to its final climax and therefore initiate the new order. In other words, they'll say while the proletarian class may not be the most revolutionary class at this time, they do carry the most revolutionary potentiality and with development they will become and in fact history shows that the proletarians have always carried the banner so therefore they will carry it as a president in the future. The Black Panther Party says something is wrong with this. It's also pointed out by the League of Revolutionary Workers some of the representatives or may I qualify that. It has been rumored. All right? Perhaps I'm not giving fair representation to the real theory of the League of Revolutionary Workers, but let's assume that my statement was fair, and if my statements are not fair, then I will accept criticism during the question - answer period. Now, it's also pointed out by the League of Revolutionary Workers that the proletarian class is the most popular class and that history shows that minority has never created the socialist order. A minority has never created a revolution has never been the vanguard. Not a minority class anyway. You see? So there-

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fore the lupen proletarians in this country I will stipulate with the League of Revolutionary Workers are definitely a minority. I would also stipulate a minority class has never carried out a successful socialist transformation. I would agree with that. But I will not agree that the working class in America, in North America, I will not agree that they carry a revolutionary potentiality as a class. I will not agree that they will be the vanguard of the revolution, even though they represent the most popular class and it is necessary for the revolution to be popular. It sounds like a contradiction but I might inform you that it is not. It's only paradoxical. It seems to be in conflict but if we investigate it together, we'll find out, that in fact there's no contradiction. In Russia in 1917, a revolution occurred. One class clashed with another, and the society was transformed. A man by the name of Marx and a man by the name of Lenin, Lenin following the thought and the formulas of Marx, not only did he follow the thought and the formula, but he applied in a creative fashion, he applied it in a subjective way because anytime we apply the knowledge that we learn, automatically it becomes subjective because then we will a particular result. Therefore it's taking it out of its purer form. So a Marxist - Leninist is a person who knows his science of dialectical materialism

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but also a person who engages in practice, therefore integrating our theory and practice. Lenin realized that there was a conflict between the worker and the owner but he would not be satisfied at at at at acknowledging that contradiction he also was somewhat biased. He willed that the working class or the proletarian should be in control of the means of production, and the wealth that they produce. Because there's no wealth without work and he felt because of this, subjectively they should have that wealth. And incidently, I agree. But at that time in Russia, 1917, the proletarian class was the most revolutionary class, shows the most revolutionary potentiality, but also at that time we must know our history, that Russia was a feudalistic society and it was an agricultural society, that the peasantry was the most popular class; the industrial worker was the minority but because of the collection of social forces in operation at that time in 1917, the proletarians were destined to be the most popular class, the proletarians were destined to carry out the revolution, because feudalism was on the decline, therefore the peasantry was on the decline, while the working class, or the proletarians, were on the upsurge. An industrial base was created in Russia by the capitalist. The industrial base was created in Russia by the capitalist I say that runs us into another concept, while the

capitalist created through his profit , an industrial base, he also moved against himself by laying a foundation for socialism, therefore, that we understand better the theory of the negation of a negation. We understand better while every determination carries with it also a limitation every limitation also carries a determination. What does that mean? It means that while the capitalist plans to centralize the wealth, exploited the people and developed an industrial base, they also laid down the necessary structure to create the abundance that is needed in modern socialism. And in order to do this, the people suffer, so I'm not taking issue or promoting one or the other, I'm only saying that it seems, in order for society to develop, some kind of surplus must exist. And it so happened that the capitalist accumulated the surplus, but only for its own use. But only for that surplus to be appropriated at some later date. If the peasantry was not at a stage of taxity and taxing of the land consuming most of the things that they would grow, that a surplus would never develop. So what I'm saying is that because everything is always in a constant stage of transformation, everything has a dual character. It has two or more sides, and we must know all of those sides. Now we already have analyzed the Russia situation and we see that in Russia while the proletarians was the most, were the minority, while the peasants was the majority,

the proletarians carried out the revolution, such as today. This this country while the vanguard while the class with the revolutionary potentiality, in order to carry out their potentiality must be the most popular, we see the capitalistic owner is taking care of that for us. It seems to us especially analyzing the situation in your plants here in Detroit, the plants of Detroit we see that because of the development of technology that the development has gone from let's start at automation and cybernetics it's probably now going into technocracy and as it develops from stage to stage under the leadership of the ruling circle and with the guidance of a profit that they will try to streamline the machine so that people will not be needed. So as technology develops, people are not needed and therefore it would seem that the proletarian class as it exists today is on the decline. It's on the decline because the capitalists are casting the worker on the junk piles of society, casting him in the gutter of society, making scum of him because he's not needed and therefore swelling the ranks of a lupen proletarian or the unemployables. We see that if this is a trend, if it's in fact true, that the trend is moving into technocracy if technology is not static if the capitalist's motive is to make as much as he can and to pay as little as possible, it's only reasonable that he will hire as little people as possible. So the Black Panther Party claims that

if he's left alone that eventually he will have a man probably employed, but a man so specialized, a man so skilled, so we cannot call him what Marx called the proletarians. He will be a technocrat, and the vast majority of the people of the society would be unemployed and the vast majority of the people would not be needed, and the stage will be set for genocide. I say this because genocide could take many forms, probably the most humiliating the most hurting that slow form, where you slowly kill spiritually as well as physically that form where one feels useless. So if it is a fact that technology is going on developing and that a revolution might not occur tomorrow, or the next day, that the lumpen proletarian class that the Minister of Information talks about will not only be, carry a revolutionary potentiality, but will also be the most popular class, setting the stage for revolution. Lenin himself said, that he visualized the time only he assumed that the people of the communist world will bring it about that a man would be able to stand in one place, press buttons, and move mountains. It sounds like to me that even Lenin realized that because a class carries a revolutionary potentiality at one time, because a class historically carried out revolution, does not mean that it will remain a revolutionary class. In fact, some classes have ceased to exist. And that is true, it will bear out Lenin's prediction. One class that I'm sure that we can

or maybe that we can stipulate that is no longer is existence, almost out of existence. So generally, we can say that well virtually, the class is not does not exist any longer. And that is the slave class. The slave class was transformed into the wage slave. And if one class did not, if one class was transformed out of existence, then through reason it would tell me that another class also could be transformed out of existence. So, if my logic if I'm being logical it would mean that in order to understand the class that carries the revolutionary potentiality I would also have to understand trend and all of, all of the other social forces and physical forces that are that are in existence at a particular time. And I think that all of us are worried about it. All of us agree that technocracy is on the threshold of reality. We know that we cannot depend upon the kindness of the capitalist, we know that we cannot depend upon the sanity of the owner for our welfare. So we can only contend, we can only imagine we can only conclude that he will follow the logic that is in his best interest. Because you see the owner, is an objective enemy. His interest is different from our's. There's two kinds of enemies. There's a subjective enemy and an objective enemy. A subjective enemy should be dealt with in a different manner than an objective enemy. A subjective enemy is a person who believes that his interest is something

other than what it really is. So that person might prevail against a class brother and he will do this because either he's drunk with ignorance or he's drunk with racism, which is ignorance. And even feels institutions of learning to perpetuate ignorance. So, now that we've lost our hangup that the proletarians have to carry out, have to necessarily carry out the revolution, we see that that's all they, historical materialism. We see that that's only mechanical Marxism. We see that in order to be a real Marxist, one must be creative. One must know how to apply the formula and we must not just reapply and keep getting the same answer and say that we're getting knowledge. We've already done that we'll go from there and try to understand "it", the unknown. And as we understand the unknown, then we've really done something worthwhile. So we will stop going around saying that well it has happened like this time and time again in history, so it must happen like that in the future. We know that that's (blank tape) subjective enemy sometimes we mix it up we think that he is an objective enemy. And we treat the situation perhaps in the wrong manner or maybe we'll aggravate it. Surely, we would not be understanding to social conditions. For instance, the hard hat situation. The hard hats are exploited men, they are black people's class brothers, objectively. Sub-

jectively, they are our enemies. We will attempt to enlighten our class brother if we're given opportunity, but if our class brother and subjective enemy is too provocative, we would have to deal with him in a appropriate fashion, because the first thing we must maintain sanity, and we must not let an insane man win, because then insanity will prevail so in order to make sanity the reality, to make sanity reality, objective reality, we might have to take his head but we wouldn't want to do that. Nope, we wouldn't want to do that but we would like to be given the opportunity to handle that contradiction in a way that would be in our interest and that is we would like to see some unity based upon the common experience of being exploited by the owner. Now, I'm very long-winded, and I would hate you people to walk out and leave half so I will hurry along and I will just drop a few things and maybe that we can cut it up during the question - answer period and I hate to drop things because I feel that it's unfair that when you throw out terms people usually attach to them their or when you throw out words, people usually attach to them their lexical definition. And much of the time a lexical definition does not serve the scientist. Because he's dealing with some very precise and some very difficult set of forces, and if things are taken too loosely, then we wind up in a contradiction that's unnecessary. Based

upon a lack of clarity. But anyway, that people are interested in the fact that the Black Panther Party started out as a black nationalist organization, a black nationalist party. 1966 October. We moved from black nationalism to what we call revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism coupled with socialism. After becoming more aware of the conditions in the world, after coming more aware of the nature of the conflict, after after becoming more aware of our true interests, we dropped revolutionary nationalism and we were transformed into internationalists, and we moved with ease from one stage to the other. We moved without embarrassment. We moved because we are true Marxist - Leninists and we moved because without embarrassment because we realized that everything's in a constant state of change, and we're no exception. If we remain static, then we will not understand dialectical materialism. So the transformation was very easy. As we became more confident, then we merely moved from one level of consciousness to the other, and we encourage this. We moved from revolutionary nationalism to internationalism because we saw this in our best interests. We moved from internationalism to a high level of consciousness. Now don't jump the gun, I expect many of my friends to get uptight. When we claim tonight that the Black Panther Party, the

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Black Panther Party will from this day, from this day on,
embrace or reject brother inter-nationalism. We are no longer
inter-nationalists. We are now what we call and I would like
to give a definition to the phenomena because I think this is
an appropriate time to ask for another stipulation. And it's
really necessary because I'm going to use the word, that perhaps
has no common useage or has no lexical useage. So therefore we
have to start out plain and we've done this because the world has
changed so much until the old terms do not apply. We are now
inter-communalists. We're inter-communalists. The reason that
we're no longer inter-nationalists, the reason that we're no
longer inter-nationalists, is because the world has been trans-
formed to such an extent, that nations do not exist any longer.
Now let's go through that very carefully. We claim that no where
in the world is there a nation. If you will agree if I can get
a stipulation that the United States is an imperialistic country,
and that one of the root, the root word of imperialism is empire.
Then imperialism is an empire that the United States, that would
mean that an empire is a nation transformed. The United States
used to be a nation, the United States or the American States

used to be a nation, but it was transformed by the ruling circle into an empire and you cannot have a particular land space or particular country being a nation and an empire at the same time. The nation when it expands its authority across its own territorial line, when it controls every country in the world, either in fact or by proxy, when we would have to consider that country an empire, because its authority is extended to such an extent until its characteristics are much different than a nation. If it controls people of a different culture, people of a different language, people in a different area of the world, and if it does it on a world-wide level we would have to agree that the country is an imperialistic country and an empire. Now, if the United States, if the United States, if the American Government if the ruling circle, if the landstate that we call North America, if in fact it is an empire, and in fact that things are all inter-related and if in fact that we cannot change a part without changing a whole, we would have to agree then that when the United States became an empire something happened in the world. That thing is something did occur. A transformation occurred. The countries of the world were transformed, they were transformed from nations into something else. We would call them communities because we feel that they're whole being was . We feel that it was like them being transplanted to Chinatown of

San Francisco, or transplant it as the Africans in Harlem. We feel that the whole economy of the world is now being dominated by small ruling circle. We call him an imperialist. We we understand that when there's one change, in a thing that's connected to everything else those other things will also show a change. So how can we possibly say nations exist and also say that the United States is an empire. We would have to come up with some other term. Some people came up with the term well a colony. Others say there were neo-colonys because they didn't follow the tradition of the traditional characteristics of a colony. And so it became somewhat controversial of actually what happened because most serious-minded people understood that something did occur. We feel that at one time that the countries of the world were colonized, that the mother country sent foreigners to the country to dominate natives of a country. And the natives were the majority, and many of the natives in the country, most of the natives in the country, never came in contact with the foreigner, his culture was not effected if he didn't live in the immediate city and much of his rescurces were extracted and taken to the mother country, but you still could say the people existed as a separate . But

something else happened. The domination became so exclusive until the people resembled another people we know that the scholars will say are no longer nationals of another land, but merely dispersed communities with the past based upon another land and another language. In other words, black people in America were taken from the mother country. Their lives were sold, dominated, and controlled, their culture stripped away so almost thoroughly, until we resemble we do not resemble in culture what the African resembled in the eleven hundreds. As a result of our captivity, as a result of our indoctrination, as a result of the of the brutality, as a result of our people being completely indoctrinated through the mass media and other forms of brainwashing, that we were transformed into something else. And I say that we could see a great similarity now between the people of the world and the many ethnic communities here in this country who were even stolen from another land and controlled by slavery or else shanghaied or shackled and brought in to work on the railroads like the Chinese. So, we see very little difference so we see no qualitative different between the community of Chinese in Chinatown in San Francisco and the community of Chinese in Hong Kong. We see perhaps a quantitative difference, that is, that the Chinese in Hong Kong may show less change at this

point, than the Chinese in San Francisco, who've been here longer. But you see the same process happens. We see the same apparatus at work. We see that the United States not only, the United States ruling circle, not only robs the world of their raw materials and centralizes them on Wall Street, they also rob the world of its people. So judging this, let's analyze what inter-nationalism is. Inter means what? Means the inter-correlation or an inter-cooperation between two nations. So therefore to be an inter-nationalist, you would also have to acknowledge nationalism. To be an inter-nationalist you would also have to be a nationalist. Because inter is only the relationship between the two nations. But if the United States is an empire, and if the United States has in fact transformed the world and robbed them of every criteria characteristics that would make them a nation, then inter-nationalism cannot exist, simply because nationalism does not exist. So the only way that inter-nationalism can exist is the fact of the existence of nationalism. Now, what is a nation? First, just a general definition, a functional definition so that we can understand each other. A nation at least has to have some control of its economy. A nation has to have economic determination. A nation has to have cultural determination. A nation has to have control of its political

institutions. A nation has to have control of its resources. But we see that the countries of the world today have no control of their economy. We see that the countries of the world today have no control of their culture because their culture has been a process of change but only at the leadership of the ruling circle. We could see this very clearly, when we see what happened to us. I say that we could see this clearly, because we know what happened when a culture is put in a, people are put in a situation where they're constantly bombarded by a stimuli that opposes what they once were. They were changed. Now, if each nation in the world or country in the world does not have economic determination, cultural determination, if it has very little control, matter of fact over political institutions, I would say that it doesn't qualify the nation and I would say most countries of the world; I will say all countries of the world, do not fit this characteristic. Number one; a hundred years ago that we could truly say nations existed because one of the main things that

you have the nation was the fact that you were separated from another people. You were separated by land, space, water, by language, by culture, by dress, by your national character, and in order for even a stronger army to approach your shores and violate your territorial integrity, they would

have to travel for months on end, and while they're traveling you could be preparing to receive them. Be their friend or foe. But now what has happened. There is very little difference in travel time between coming here from San Francisco, and going from here to Vietnam. It takes five hours to come from San Francisco to here, and ten hours to go to Vietnam from here. So that means that just because you're divided by water or land space, doesn't necessarily guarantee any safety of your territory. That means that it doesn't it becomes somewhat insignificant when we start analyzing what a nation is all about. When we see the black people in this country all dispersed, in other words, that we have a Watts community, we have a community of blacks in in Detroit, we have a community of Mexican - Americans in San Jose, we have a community of Mexican - Americans in Harlem. In other words, that the communities are dispersed but you see they all evolve around a super-structure. We see that the ruling circle's in control of their destiny, and we see that the ruling circle is also in control of the destiny of the people of the world or the communities of the world. So that would mean that there's no independent race and you're not protected by distance. Now let's talk about culture. We will say that some other people have a language and a culture that's so different

from the ruling circle until we can they can qualify the nation out, I don't know. I would say that if you analyze it very closely, you would see through the development of technology we will see that we have the satellite, tv, we will see that the power of the fascist army will force the standards of the ruling circle upon the standards of the people, violate territorial integrity at any minute that he wants to, just as he violates the territorial integrity of our communities here. What is a community? A community is a collection of institutions that serve the people's needs and the people can conceivably can live within the confines of that community until they expire, and be somewhat happy and somewhat pleased that most of their needs are being met. But a community also evolves around some nucleus and that is usually the state administration. So we have varying regional differences between one community and another. But at the same time all of the communities are effected by the master or the ruler the ruling class in this case. So we see that the communities of the world or the countries of the world more resemble dispersed communities than they do nations. So we see that something has happened. Something very strange has happened that Marx and Lenin thought that the revolutionary forces would

usher in the withering way of the state. But something else has happened. The capitalist ruling circle has in fact withered the state away. There are no more states, there are no more nations, because the ruling circle has violated every characteristic that would rightly or that would not rightly, I don't like to use subjective terms unnecessarily. The ruling circle has in fact transformed you see nations. And because Marx said that there will be a time where the state will wither away and all national boundary lines would disappear and then communism will be the order of the day. We find that something else has happened that the capitalist has violated all the territorial lines, took the wealth of the world, put it on Wall Street, controlled the people, and therefore made one world community, but communities under seige, under seige by the fascist. One world community that's being brutalized by the ruling circle, and that is why the United States Government will not acknowledge any warfare any longer. Wars do not exist any longer. The communist talks about the day when we will no longer have wars and now the capitalist is talking about no more wars exist. We had a police action in Korea, we had a police action in Vietnam, we have a police action in Detroit. We have a police action in Connecticut where our Chairman Bobby Seale being tried and Ericka, in New

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York 21 these are all police actions because they're domestic disturbance. So therefore the ruling circle treats the world now as one community. So he's a reactionary inter-communalist and he says that while the Vietnamese are rioting and disturbing the peace, order must be restored by the police, the universal police. We see very little difference between the local police that violate the territorial integrity of our communities here in North America and the police that violate the territorial integrity of the communities in Vietnam. We know that we're both so controlled that we don't qualify as nations, therefore we blacks here in America are not the first colonies and the BPP thought we were. We're not. We're dispersed communities but also the people of the world are also dispersed communities and what we're demanding we want revolutionary inter-communalism to be the order of the day, and this can only occur after the ruling circle is down and the structure that has been created by the capitalist will be shared with the world. The technology that we produce, through slavery, the technology that was produced through ripping up the raw materials and also the people of the world, would have to be shared. And, this would be necessary to take, in order to take, carry on revolution. So let's think of our community now. The United States, the only country that I know,

of, that in order to have a revolution it would have to think in terms of redistribution of wealth, not on a national level but on a world level because it's ripped off Asia, Africa, and Latin America. So, so we will see that if a world community, redistribution of wealth does not take place, no revolution has taken place. We realize that it can't even take the form of reparation because how could you give or set amount how could you even offer assistance to a people who have built one of the strongest industrial complexes in the world. One of the people advance technology how can you pay back a people who have produced the wealth and also the people that you sold the raw materials in order to build the machine with. How could you how can you talk about reparation. All you could talk about is proportional representation and a communist framework on a world level. All you could talk about all you could talk about is the world sharing not only in the wealth that the United States exploited from the people, but we also have to talk about the people sharing in the machinery and that that we produce. Remember in order to have a socialist or a communist world, we also have to have a highly-developed industrial base. Now some people have been wondering, some people are wondering why is it that in the Africa, Asia, Latin America those countries who are struggling

for freedom, justice, and equality are not going into capitalism. Now Marx himself thought that the science he developed law of lines were maybe for slavery feudalism from feudalism to capitalism, therefore capitalism being revolutionary because for most of the people were feudalism and then from capitalism or capitalistic state, to socialistic state, and then from socialistic state to the withering of the state, and one world, you see? But in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, something else is happening. We see that the people seem to be going from feudalism to something resembling socialism. In other words, they're ripping off their bourgeois bosses are really just puppets for the United States ruling circle, and they're creating a collective order and I fail to call this socialism because it's not what Marx defined as socialism. What it is is more like I would agree that it might be some form of primitive socialist accumulation it's not really this. So we would call, I would just like to call it the people of the world in some of our communities have ripped it off and therefore have liberated territory. The people some of the people for instance the Chinese people the Peoples Republic of China they are really one big community, one big community that's liberated territory and a provisional government. In other words, it's very similar to the Yunnan or the National

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Liberation Front, who'll agree that the revolution is not yet completed but they have much liberated much liberated territory in South Vietnam and they have a provisional government where it's a little makeshift government. You see? But it's whole existence is based upon strengthening itself and giving the people a survival program so that they can so that they can organize the people and guide them towards eliminating the aggressor and forming a free community. Now we already saw that a community is a collection of institutions that have that that have existed over a long period of time, therefore it's somewhat stable. So therefore, a community is really just a comprehensive collection of institutions, that really serve the people. But now we see that the communities of the world, the institutions of the world, are not serving the people because the ruling circle controls them. And if this is the case, that it will mean that in order for us to have real justice in order for the people to prevail, in order for the people of the world to have control of the communities in which they live, it would be necessary it will be necessary to make certain changes. First, we would have to eliminate the person who causes the person who denies the community this freedom. Some also realize the world is not so inter that we cannot push history back. We

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And I say that I have a right to do that. But, because the world is so small now, because the wealth of the people have been centralized on the Wall Street, because the media is developed with so much until has lightening speed, because the people's wealth in the world is centralized on the Wall Street, the people of the world cannot go into a capitalist period simply because of this: it's absurd to think that they can. In order to get into capitalist period, first you have to have a surplus. In order to have a surplus, you have to be in control of your national resources. It's as absurd to think that the people Africa, Asia, Latin America can go into a period of capitalism and therefore promote themselves to some kind of independence and it is to think that black people here in America in ourdispersed communities can also have black capitalism. How can we have black capitalism when the why can we have black capitalism when our communities have already been robbed of labor and silver and gold and the capitalist has control of it. So if we if we are kept capitalism, all we'll be is the flunkies for the super - capitalist. Because we would have a so to follow my to follow my theory, too, to its final conclusion, That would mean that what's happening now in China in a very progressive country, what's happening in North

Korea, is that the North Koreans have liberated territory, not all of the community, because they haven't liberated the southern part. But we would say that what has happened is this: is that it's very difficult to think that the people of the world can do anything other in liberated territory because it's very it's very similar to what happened here '67 in Detroit, that if the people have been able to control their communities after they've drove first the local police, their national police and then the inter-communal police out, if we have been able to control that an institute of provincial government, it would have been no more than just liberated territory because first in order to have it have control of it and give the people what they need, and really say that we're independent we would have to have the wealth that's really our's. As long as the wealth is held by the capitalist who got it by trespassing and got the wealth by robbery, we would have to say that it's not really a nation that a matter of fact the Chinese say themselves they say that communism cannot really exist until the capitalist's down the ruling circle. They also say that in order for us to realize the real socialistic state that we would have to first deal with the capitalist. Why? Because the wealth that could or the commodities that could be consumed by the people are consumed by the military machine, in
for self-defense. So the ruling circle really

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controls China, because it's robbing the people of the things they need, by forcing the people to defend themselves against the aggressor and therefore putting what would be, what would be consumer commodity like hospital, homes, schools, into the people's hands and put it into the military machine's hands. You see? And is this necessary? Yes, because they have to hold their liberated territory but don't pretend or fool yourself, that they cannot give the people what they want until the redistribution of wealth is actually a fact. So, if all of this is really true, if it is a fact that all the people can do is have some primitive form of socialism, if all they can do is really have liberated territory for the purpose of liberating the world, therefore liberating themselves, then it will be very clear to us that the world is one community but remember I said earlier, I spoke to you about the negation of a negation. I also I spoke to you about every determination is a limit has a character of limitation. Every limitation also has a characteristics of determination. That means that there things always have a dual character. So, while slavery was transformed into feudalism, feudalism into capitalism, capitalism laid the foundation, the structure for socialism. You see? It laid the structure through hoarding a surplus and using it for the owner but at the same

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time making the possibility for that surplus to be ripped off and distributed in some way and therefore instituting socialism. So therefore, capitalism has a good and a bad characteristic. Excuse me, capitalism has both say characteristics of determination also a characteristic of of limitation. In other words, while it devotes itself to the capitalist, and expands the capitalist base it also lends itself by laying the foundation for its own destruction, that is socialism. Now now what has happened is this: what has happened is this: that the United States have centralized the resources, the wealth of the world, and put it on Wall Street, Rockefeller, Ford, and so forth, they're among cliques. So what is necessary is this: is that while capitalism has caused many problems and much suffering, it's also laid the foundation for communism. I would contend that the United States would never beca socialist state because socialism means that the redistribution of wealth can be considered on a national basis. You already agree with me or you indicated through your applause that in order for a revolution to really occur in America that the redistribution has to be on a world level. So that would mean that this is different than anything's ever happened before. So, the United States, the United States will ask that the industrial areas, the United States is really

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the urban area and the people of the world the countryside you see? And what is needed is the people to seize the means of production is located in the urban area and if we have to choke the urban area by by liberated territory until finally the people in this country in this war zone are able to deal with the ruling circle then this would be necessary and it further proves, it further proves that the world is one community so now we have the situation where after what happens after the doom of the ruling circle. We will not go directly into communism because I don't believe we will before after structural change is also there's always cultural lag in other words, the values of the people will lag behind the structural change so we will still have inter-communalism only revolutionary inter-communalism because then we will have the mechanism and the apparatus to wipe out backwards thinking such as racism, we will have the apparatus to wipe out the kind of ignorance that that's demonstrated and perpetuated by the ruling circle. The people of the world will have seized control of this mechanism, will use it for their interests. So we would find that while we will not backtrack while people will remain effected by each other and modified by each other, and transformed by each other, this would not be for the interest of a small group. It will be for the interest, the true interests of the people.

So then the people after see the structure, created for us by the capitalist, we will then start after the redistribution of wealth, or the proportional representation, we will start creating a culture that is essentially human. We would do this along lines of first investigating, and realizing what is in the best interests of man. We will first do this by concluding that we probably do have a common interest. We will probably do this by first agreeing that man is a homo sapien or of the same species. You see? And if this is true then we probably have some things in common. You know much of the time that we are jump to conclusions, we feel that you know what is a fact is not. Now black people in the United States are probably exposed to be probably the most revolutionary people in the world and I say that without showmanism, I say that after analyzing the situation. I say that after analyzing history and also the present. I say that because black people in the world are have a tendency

power the people of the world. Black people in America have a tendency to identify with people of different cultures all over the world. One person that he identifies with very quickly and feels a brotherhood towards no matter what he's from Germany, no matter what he's from Latin America, no matter whether he's from Asia, no matter whether he's from Africa. That

is another black man. And he will do this because the first thing that will strike him, and he will see the same man in bushy hair and his black face and he will identify with this man or for a number of reasons. First, the physical characteristics are so similar. The second thing, that he would automatically feel a certain amount of warmth because of the fact of oppression and racism in the world today. Now, this makes the black man of America somewhat an inter-nationalist because the person

from a different culture. This makes him somewhat tolerant even though sometimes he's sort of teed-off because he say that's like you over there with that British accent trying to be something he's not. He knows he's another brother. You see? So this identification I say in the new world will be expended.

I'm saying that the color and I'm saying that the texture of our hair is only one characteristic that identifies us as brothers and as one. You see? We can have 99 cultural characteristics that will violate this. And most of the time we talk to an African or a black person from another country who was born there, he probably has many things in common with his countrymen and few things in common with us. But still we have this identification, and I think this is good. But I think that this will be

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expended in the new world and I say it will be expended because finally, we will see that there are many other characteristics that will make that common bound and that is probably more characteristics than just the physical. Probably we will see that the fact that homo sapiens have two eyes, a nose, a mouth, two ears, arms, stand erect, we will see that the man uses language and we could feel the wonders with him because we will see that the man is a human being or homo sapien. We could, in other words, we can just extend the characteristics of hair and face, see? To other characteristics. Now we feel now that this is impossible; we cannot do this and I say under the present regime, no we cannot do it but because everything's under constant state of change that we know that this too will change. And we want it to change in such a way where we won't put ourselves in a bind. We know that if we gain our freedom, if we blacks gain our freedom and if we treat people that we've detreated those people would have a right, those people the real human beings will start scheming, those people will start plotting to do to us what was due before. So we for for for our generation for our children we will not them we will not create for them a problem that we can avoid. So we will start thinking in terms of ways of inter-

acting. Now, because the ruling circle is guilty of many crimes one of the crimes he's guilty of and now I'm being redundant, it's not even interested but I just want to add this: that ruling circle is guilty of what when I was in law school, I learned what's a trespass, a particular kind of trespass, it was called it's a tort. A civil wrong. It's called a trespass di bonis asportatas. It means it means it means that first you trespass to go on someone else's property, seize someone else's goods and then took them home with you and dominated them like your very own. And this is a tort. Usually a landlord is guilty of it when you don't pay your rent due in because your house is dilapidated and you don't have a job and he comes in and usually when you're not home, like a thief in the night, and takes your furniture out, takes your food that you need to feed your kids and uses them without any consideration without any kind of justification. Then if he's taken into court, you could have a you would have a civil action against him, you see? And you could probably file a collect not only actual damages but punitive damages. First, he's guilty on two levels. He's guilty because he violated your threshold, or your territory, secondly he's guilty because he stole your goods and then used them.

This is exactly what the ruling circle did to the people of the world so they're guilty of *trespas di bonis asportatas* and we're demanding, we're demanding actual damages as well as punitive damages. Now the people of the world do not want, do not want revenge. But, it will be left to the people of the world to decide which man is the war criminal. You see? Now I

now as far as I'm concerned, I would encourage the people of the world just to collect the actual damages, but I am not the decider, matter of fact the decider has to answer now. And I don't want to be put in that position. So, after considering all of this and after acknowledging the fact the world is all one community, whether we like it or not, we would and after knowing that history we cannot throw the world back into history and create a nation because the world is too small for that. After doing all of this, we we're better to we better try to understand each other, we better try to live together and we better know our real friends and our real enemies. After we get this knowledge, we'll know who to attack where and we'll know how to go about solving the contradictions that are existing now. We'll know how to approach the problem from from a standpoint of reason and not a standpoint of madness. You know some people are going around here talking about creating a nation in the United

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States talking about creating a nation in the United States not even considering the fact that the United States ruling circle not only controls the communities here, but will not let a nation exist 10,000 miles away. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, South Africa. So, we would also see that if in fact those are not nations they are treated as communities because they have some police action going on there, too. If that is a fact we know that we have to deal with the enemy in all of our communities. And this is why the Black Panther Party offered troops to the Vietnamese people in the feeling of solidarity or inter-communalism because we see the necessity we see the necessity of first demonstrating not only to the people of the world but also to the unfortunate soldiers who are there who are duped by the ruling circle who are duped into going there to kill people in that community. We happen to have many blacks there and I'm sure that if members of the Black Panther Party are accepted by the National Liberation Front, we'll be able to recruit, we'll be able to encourage our brothers to join our rank we'll be able to encourage our white radical friends to come over to our side, so that we can free the community and place the power in the people's hands. So this is why that is why that we make this

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offer to the Vietnamese people in particular and not the people of Mozambique or Angola even though if they did ask we would readily go. But the reason was a very strategic reason on one hand because we don't have any black American troops in Angola fighting against those black Africans even though if we don't regain our sanity we might be there because NATO is already there. American machinery is already there because Americans supplied the Portugese who are dominating the Angola people and the machinery, the firepower that's used to kill my people in Angola marked with the star and stripe. Because because the Portugese happen to be a member of NATO. You see? So we think we're justified and we'll go further than that that we will offer troops to anyone anywhere because we do it all as one community and we will not just fight and try to liberate one of our communities and let the others be dominated, that we will fight for once and for all to liberate all of our communities. Now we see that the fascist agency of the ruling circle has his right arm with the butcher knife in his fist and Asia and in Africa and he has his left arm with his hatchet in Michigan in Detroit, in Watts controlling the people there. So what we would like to do at the same time to seize both arms, remove the butcher knife and if we can, persuade the man to become sane again because in

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his real interest, if he knew what was good for him then he wouldn't act he is he does because he's jeopardizing his life and everyone wants to live. So, what we're really doing is attempting to place before the people, to place before the ruling circle, an alternative. We place before him goodness and evil, sadness and happiness, love and hate. We place before him life and death and we encourage him to choose life so that he and his descendants may live. This is the alternative, either that the ruling circle will change it's ways or they will suffer the consequences. Now, the Black Panther Party would like to ask, we would like to ask that the people of this community come to the aid of the Detroit Sixteen. We ask you to come to the aid of Angela Davis. We ask you to come to the aid of Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka who is now on trial in Connecticut. We ask you to come to the aid of all prisoners of war and political prisoners. Free all political prisoners. Free the Soledad brothers. Free the people. In order to free the Soledad brothers, in order to free all political prisoners, first you would have to free yourself because you are also a prisoner. And remember and I leave you with this thought. Now first we're gonna have a question - answer period, huh? Well anyway, I would like to, I just had a little thought. That, because of the charges of because of the

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transformation of the world today, we could see that the nationalist, the nationalist has the same attachment to his nation that the peasants in 1917 had to the soil. We see that the nationalist we see that the nationalist is so caught up and so determined by that attachment until it's difficult for him to think in terms of manipulating the total environment. In other words, that you remember during the revolution in Russia, the peasants resisted because after Lenin some people they mistakenly told them to go in seize the lands for yourself and didn't explain what you really need is collectivity that the peasants went and did just this. And then it left the burden on Stahlin and he was very criticized him rightly and wrongly, because he had to make cooperatives and stake farms out of that land in order to create order to develop industries that didn't exist. In order to develop a socialist society. So you see the difficulties in dealing with the persons attached to the land. Don't be attached to the land, be attached to life. Be attached to love and be attached to the people. This is what we want. Hey look I have a, I have a hundred notes here saying you always talk too long when you gonna give the question - answer period. So I have a lot of other things to talk to you about but I'm not. The question - answer period is now open.

Male: Power to the people, brother.

Newton: Power to the people, comrad.

Female: (unintelligible)

Newton: We feel that they are human beings and they should be treated as such. We feel that all human beings have a right to exist. We feel that when any person is violated then the people of the world should come to that person's defense.

Male: (unintelligible)

Newton: The question was how did the Black Panther Party feel about homosexuals and lesbians. I'm sorry, from now on I'll repeat the question.

Male: What's the latest on your trial?

Newton: Oh, yeah, I forgot about that. I go to trial January the 11th, and I meant to ask you that they'll try to put me in prison again, you know in maximum security, now we're in medium security you see. And I will ask you, because I know you have the power so I'm not gonna ask the judge, and I'm not gonna ask a few people who happen to be sitting on twelve chairs. I ask the people to keep me out of prison. And because I know because I know that the people have the power, so this is why that we must always come to the aid of our comrades because sometimes we're not conscious of this power and we'll ask that this we can't do

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anything, but as soon as we become conscious we always produce we always get what we want.

Female: Chicago there's no violence in the streets just self-defense and what did you mean by that?

Newton: Will you repeat your question please?

Female: You said in Chicago there's no violence in the streets, just self-defense. What did you mean by that?

Newton: Well I don't remember saying Chicago but I'll I'll entertain that anyway. Well in the first place, it's I believe that the Vietnamese people are only instituting self-defense because they didn't initiate the attack, they are defending themselves against the aggressor and we have to understand the difference between the aggression of the ruling circle and the fascist army and the self-defense of the victim. Every person and every people have to raise to defend themselves, not a not a fact an obligation under duty, so therefore the Vietnamese people in order to defend themselves in their territory are lodging an excellent offensive for defensive purposes.

Male: Well, considering what you said about this identity thing, you know. How come I can't join the Black Panther Party?

Newton: The first thing, a very short time ago the Black Panther Party offered troops to the National Liberation Front and we did

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it in revolutionary solidarity to our brothers in the community of Vietnam and we did this realizing that in order for us to go there we had to be accepted by the Vietnamese people. We also realize that the Vietnamese people while they do not represent a nation, they do represent a community. A community under seige. So, the Vietnamese people have acknowledged our offer. They acknowledged our offer and they said that they would take it under consideration. They said that they would take it under consideration and that they would give us a decision in the near future. They have rejected troops from from Korea on the basis that they didn't need them right then and the Korean people could do better by driving those fascists out of South Korea. So we say this: We say that the first thing that the United States or the American of the North American regime the ruling circle has dominated and laid seige to all communities. And in within the United States you it's a pluralistic society, or have you have many ethnic communities. So what we really want is control of the institutions in the community in which we live. You see? And that if there happens to be any other ethnic group member of groups living in that community of course he would have democratic participation. We don't want to exclude anyone, we want to make sure the people in a particular community

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who have a particular point of view are not dominated. So if the community in Harlem is no different than the community in Korea, the community in Vietnam, and if we have to go through a procedure in order to send troops there, we we we would like to thank you for wanting to join the Black Panther Party and join our community and we will consider it and let you know in the near future.

Female: Can I ask, can I ask you why when you said that the Black Panther Party receives bad coverage in the press in the United States you spent two hours talking about Lenin and Marx and everything that is in books and didn't inform these people about what's happening right here to blacks. I think you know that's a real problem. I wonder why you wasted two hours talking about what's in books and people need to know what's happening here.

Newton: Hey, would you repeat that please? No, no I was reading the notes here, I'm sorry you have my most humble apologies. Please repeat. Yeah, Oh, OK alright.

Female: I wanted to know, when there's such a problem in this country, with the press you said you found in that when you went around that the Black Panther Party have been giving had been receiving bad coverage and was getting a bad reception, and I

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wondered why you didn't spend the time tonight, which is what I think people wanted to know was about the Party about what's happening to the Soledad brothers, about what's happening to Angela Davis, what's happening to these people. The problems there that the press

(end of tape)

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C. BOSTON COLLEGE
CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

On November 18, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Following is a transcript of a tape recording of NEWTON's speech made at the time of his delivery:

Characterizations of the Progressive Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party are contained in the appendix.

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY
HUEY P. NEWTON
BOSTON COLLEGE, CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

HUEY :

NEWTON: (Unintelligible) if it were not for the power of the
(HN)

people. So, you're responsible and only you.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby

Seale, our Chairman, for Erica Huggins, for Angela

Davis, for the New York 21, for the Soledad Brothers.

Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Free the people. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth

of November, we will have a People's Revolutionary

Convention in Washington, D. C. We cannot have

that convention if the people do not come, because,

after all the people are the makers of the world

history. The people are responsible for everything.

So, how can we have a convention if we have no people.

Some people think that you can have a People's

Convention without the people being there. I think

that is the case in 1777.

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black

Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived

at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary

to institute a Ten Point Program, a Ten Point Program

that is not revolutionary nor is it reformist. It is

a survival program. We feel that we are threatened

the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant not only in this country but throughout the world; and the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation; but until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive; and, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten Point Program is the survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words--in other words it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with a mind that can be functional and creative. 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 a community health program. We have a program-- a busing program. We call this the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners because we realize that the fascist regime who operates the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and parents of the prisoners, they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So, this, too, is a survival program.

We must--we must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that it's the people--if the people are not here then, of course, the revolution cannot succeed because the people make revolution and only the people.

The theme of our People's Revolutionary Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At the convention, we'll present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit or perhaps a kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft and you need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few--ah--protein tablets in order 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 those things necessary to get you to that shore, then, possibly, you will not exist.

At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or to see the revolution.

The Black Panther Party--the Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people--matter of fact, we draw the line of demarcation--and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we're not gonna sit around--we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then, I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because the reactionary set up the conditions that caused his death. I repeat. If we do nothing, we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing, we're accepting the situation--the situation is the condition of reaction. So, therefore, reaction will cause that death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw. (Applause)

Yes. Because we feel that where there's courage, where there's self-respect and integrity, there's a possibility that we can change all of the conditions; that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary

enthusiasm and revolutionary--and it is called--ah--
the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee
a victory. We say that if we must die then we will
die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The
revolutionary suicide says that if I'm put down--if I'm
driven out--I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I
would much rather be driven out with a stick because with
the broom, when I'm driven out, it will humiliate me and
I will lose my self-respect; but if I'm driven out with
a stick then at least I can remain with the dignity of
a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the
death of a dog. (Applause)

Of course, our real desire is to live--our real desire
is to live, but we will not be cowered. We will not be
exterminated.

I would like to declare to you the method that the Black
Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position
and also, more than that, I would like to give to you a
framework or a process of thinking that might help us
solve the problems and the contradictions that exist
today. Today the world is very complicated. There are
many things in operation at the same time. It reminds
me of a little saying: "When I was a boy what was so
was so, what is not is not. But now I am a man, things
have changed a lot. Some things nearly so. Others

nearly not. Is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem with sanity. We must approach the problem with a method. We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on divorced from an attitude and emotion that we usually project into a situation. In other words, that we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma. We will let the facts speak for themselves, but we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to use to serve our interests. So, we will become subjective when we apply knowledge that we receive from the external world using the scientific method; but at that time we will admit that we will be subjective because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrated theory of practice, and this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.

Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us--ah--revisionists. They call us hoodlums. They call us--ah--everything but child of man, but tonight we'll answer those people; and I hope all of them are in the front seat because--ah--

I would like to have a dialectical argument with them. You know, in order to understand--ah--a group of--ah-- forces operating at the same time, science--ah-- developed--ah--what they call--ah--a discipline--ah-- one of the--ah--properties or characters--ah--characteristic of this discipline--the first is disinterest, to be disinterested. Not disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem but--ah--disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not promote an outcome. You just want to know the facts. The other thing is that science starts off with a basic premise. That is very important. And from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that--ah--even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with--ah--a belief because it is very difficult to test your first premise; but after we agree or stipulate a first premise, then we can have an intelligent argument because then we will just require each other to be consistent down to--ah--a valid conclusion.

So--ah--tonight I would like you to stipulate that an external world is a reality.

The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change--or

transformation rather--in other words, flux, flux,
all is flux. (Applause)

After we--ah--agree to that, we can go on with our
discussion.

You know--ah--the scientific method relies heavily upon
a concept called empiricism; but the problem with
empiricism is that it tells you very little about the
future--that it only tells you about the past. In other
words, it can only tell you what you gained through
observation and experience; and that's always past tense.
So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated
a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant
called his process of reasoning pure reasoning because
Kant's reasoning did not depend upon the external world.
It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon
dealing with symbols in such a way where you might
manipulate them to come out with--ah--reason based--a
conclusion based upon reason. For example, if the sky is
above my head, when I turn my head upwards I see the sky.
There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that
is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the
existence of the sky. I said "if," and that is why with
rationale you do not have to depend upon the external
world. With empiricism you can tell very little about the

future. So, what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after you integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking not only are we in touch with the world outside of us, we also can explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict attempting to reach some harmony.

You know--ah--also, Marx as a social scientist criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena or part of phenomena by taking it out of its--ah--environment--isolating it and putting it in a category and not letting anyone know--ah--about the fact that once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words, a discipline such as sociology, where we study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart. Without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that

is connected to the group we will get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So, what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.

In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think they say when two atoms collide they--ah--are transformed into protons and neutrons (phonetic), if I remember correctly what happens to the atom. It was transformed.

In social world, the same thing happens--or a similar thing. I can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two--ah--cultures collide a process--ah--occurs, or a condition occurs that I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of the--ah--contact.

Well, Marx called--ah--the social forces--when the social forces collide in a clash--contradiction. In the physical world, when--ah--two physical forces collide sometimes we call it--just that, a collision. For the cars--when two cars meet head on trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed.

Sometimes, other things happen. Matter of fact, had the two cars been turned back to back and sped off in

opposite directions they would not have a contradiction. They would be contrary, covering different spaces in different times.

Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other--we miss each other because in the first place we think we have a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example: I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red; and we would argue all day, thinking that we have a contradiction when actually we are being contrary. When people argue and also when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction; and we hope that we argue long enough provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope we can have some kind of synthesis; and--ah--tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that--ah--the mistake is some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact. In spite of their claim to scholarly research--in spite of their claim to follow the discipline of dialectical materialism, they fail to search deeper like the scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the

more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I will explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party because we follow the dialectical method and we also try--also integrate theory with practice. What we are not--we are not mechanical Marxists and we are not historical Marxists. (Applause).

Some people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to the past. They're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thought that edges upon dogma and what we sometimes call flunkeyism. (Applause).

Marx attempted to set up a framework--just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain-- ah--phenomena and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions then you try to move on and apply that framework to other thinking or those principles. And you're not afraid about the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective--

because you realize that the method that you'll use, if you use the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it last time because that's history. And if things are in a constant state of change we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, therefore, words that were used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new and if we use the old words to describe the past events then we might confuse people. They might think things are static and, therefore--ah--contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.

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 in 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who is now in Algiers, Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and called it "On Panther Ideology." Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletariat of this country at this time or the industrial worker does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claims that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumping--lumpen-proletarians carries that revolutionary potentiality and in fact it carries the people of the

world to the final climax of the transformation of society and it, therefore, will act as the vanguard.

(Applause)

It has been stated--it has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor--(Boos and applause)--that it is impossible.

How can the lumpen-proletarians 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 successful social revolutions. I would agree--I would agree that it is necessary for the people to 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. I would agree to that.

In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that in this country that it would take a popular force to achieve the transformation; but I also--I also will agree that the lumpen-proletarians are actually the minority in the country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. That only goes to show that--ah--what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes, we think things are--things are

really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So, what we will do is turn this thing about. We will analyze it.

Now in the Soviet Union in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them--ah--proletarians. Lenin, using--ah--Marx's--ah--theory, saw the threats because he was not a historical Marxist. He was a dialectical materialist; and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever-changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline.

That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution.

In this country, the Black Panther Party, taking careful note of the dialectical method--taking careful note of the social threats in the ever-changing nature of things,

we see that while the lumpen-proletarians are the minority and the proletarians are the majority and also that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we're starting with automation, going to cybernation, and then going from there 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 they will go on developing their technological machinery. They will go on developing their technology--their technological machinery because in the capitalists' hands and the ruling circle's hands, he's not listening to the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always promoted. That is, to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. (Applause).

At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately--and I say almost immediately and I say this because the trend that technology is making leaps-- it made a leap all the way to the moon. So, therefore, I say that if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian and the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and, therefore swell the ranks of the lumpen,

who are unemployables--unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So, every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle and this is why we say that the lumpen-proletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and, in fact, will carry the revolution out probably and in the near future will be the popular class, the majority.

Of course, I would not like to see all my people unemployed or unemployables, but being objective, because we are objective, because we are dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts and that's all we're doing. You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly, he said society goes from a slave class to feudalistic--feudalistic--ah--ah--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, and I would ask that you stipulate that--ah--virtually the slave class of the world is--ah--has been transformed into wage slaves. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force and if we can 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 be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the political or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course, the people did not disappear. They would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle did not need him and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production then he will not be called unemployable or a lumping--or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical. I think that's dialectical. I think it would be strange to think that only the slave class could disappear. You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said--he stated, "One thing I'm not--I'm not a Marxist." In other words, he was trying to warn--he was trying to tell Progressive Labor not to accept the past or the present as the future but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want. (Applause)

After taking those things under consideration, we see that--ah--as time changes and as the world is transformed that we need some new definitions to the situation, because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will get a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world's static. I would be very amazed--I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 still exist--would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact they looked at toil and working for your necessities as somewhat of a curse; and the whole, Lenin's whole theory after he applied or practiced--put Marx's analysis into practice was geared to get rid of the proletariat. In other words, that by the proletariat class or the working class seizing the means of production they would plan it such a way that they would be free from toil. Matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons, and move mountains. It sounds like to me that he saw a proletarian working class transformed so they could have a free block of time so they could indulge in productive creativity so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation so.

that they could have the happiness, the freedom, and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.

At this time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact, that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile. So, I'm saying despite the criticism that we've received from certain people we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same.

That is, because people would not disappear; not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, therefore, we need to lift their consciousness so they can deal with the ruling circle. We must lift their consciousness whether they're working in a factory or already been kicked out. So, therefore, the Black Panther Party says it is perfectly correct to organize the proletarian because after he's kicked out of the factory because he'll be called

unemployable or lumpen doesn't stop or transform a
(unintelligible) and in order to live he has to eat
(unintelligible) the machinery that he has produced
so that he can produce the abundance so that he and
his brother can live. (Applause).

Now I'm saying that we will not wait until the
proletarian becomes the lumpen proletarian to educate
him. Today, we must lift the consciousness of the
people so that we--so that we can get a clear picture of
what is to be done. We need to know that because the
wind is rising and the rivers flow. Times are getting
hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to
our mother's womb nor can we go back to 1917. (Applause)

As the United States or what I like to call North America
was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from
a nation to an empire, because an empire is a nation
transformed, it caused a total change in the world
because no part of a thing interrelated to change can
leave everything else the same. So, when the United
States or North America became an empire, it changed
the whole composition--it changed the whole phenomena
in the world. There were other nations in the world;
but empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the
empire or the imperialists control all other nations.

Now, sometime ago in history there existed a phenomena we call--well, I call--primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world; but in fact it did not know all of the world. So, therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land.

In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So, the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or affect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also said--we also see that--that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation, and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing it might crush other things or even crush itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of a negation. In other words, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism, they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a social

society some centralization of the wealth--we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth. We would have to have some harmony between the people. So first, the United States ruling circle, while it changed the whole world--while it rules the whole world and when I say nation--when I say nations, I will roughly give some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. First, economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety. The United States has violated every country--every nation in the world and, therefore, transforming that nation. Transforming the nation into what? We will talk about that later on.

When the Black Panther Party was--when the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966, we called ourselves--we called the party--a black nationalist party--we called ourselves black nationalists because, we thought nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that, we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we felt that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that

in order to be--for this is what we really want--
to be free--we thought that the nation would make us
free--we saw that in order to be free, we would have to
crush the ruling circle; and, therefore, we had to unite
with the people in the world. So we call ourselves
internationalists. We sought solidarity with the people
of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought
were the nations of the world. But then what happened?
We found that because everything's in a constant state
of change and that because of the development of
technology, because of the development of mass media,
because of the fire power of the imperialists, because
of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation
but an empire, that nationhood did not exist because
they did not have the criteria for nationhood, because
their self-determination was destroyed, because their
economic determination was destroyed, because their
cultural determination was transformed--and I would like
for you to strike "destroyed"; I would like for you to
put in "transformed." Excuse me--all of the nations
were transformed at the hands of the imperialists of
the ruling circle for the interests of the imperialists.
So, we found that in order to be an internationalist
we had--we had to be also a nationalist or at least

acknowledge nationhood. So, all internationalists are also nationalistic because as I understand that word, "inter" means some interrelationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now, if no nation is in existence and if in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, and we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact, we will try to shed light upon and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena and we will call ourselves "intercommunalists" because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. (Applause) So, tonight the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim internationalism and support intercommunalism. (Applause).

We have a problem--we have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information they had that when 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 process of being an imperialist, transformed into what we call reactionary intercommunalism, because the ruling circle has laid siege on all the communities

of the world dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by institutions in their land. Well, the Black Panther Party would like to establish--to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of revolutionary intercommunalism. This will be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and 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 the--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 community in Harlem and a black community in South Africa, a black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference.

So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions that serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation because a community revolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state

and the state has certain controls over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time. So, there's still something to be done. I said earlier-- I spoke about the negation of negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also, I would say socialism would not exist any place in the world. I would also say that socialism does not exist any place in the world because socialism requires a socialist state and if so how can socialism exist? So what--how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we-- how do we describe certain progressive countries or communities as we call them, the North Korean people? How do we define certain communities as the Vietnam's people, North 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. (Applause)

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 ground for the preparation of the liberation of the world, the seizing of the world from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved. (Applause)

Now I said--I want to start a question and answer period because I can go on for hours and hours and--I would really like to try but--yeah, sit down and don't start your question and answer--but I wanna tell you first-- I said that the United States would not be--ah-- socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States you would have to have a redistribution of wealth, not on a national level but on an international level--not on an international level but on an intercommunal level. And this is because how can we say that we have accomplished a revolution and redistribute the wealth just to people in North America when the ruling circle itself trespass de bonas as per tada. That is, they've taken away the goods of the

people of the world and transported them to America and used them as their very own. That is a tort.

(Applause.)

Now, remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. You see now if you have to speak in terms of planning an economy on a worldwide level, on an intercommunal level, that's saying something. That's saying that the people have been ripped off and it's much like the people in one country being ripped off and when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this. How--liberation will not serve because the people have not only been robbed of their own materials; they've also--their raw materials have also been invested-- their raw materials have been made into a technological machine. The people are responsible for that. So the people of the world will have to have control of that not for X amount of time--not for a limited amount; but it's theirs. So, all I can see, in order to plan a real intercommunal economy we would have to acknowledge the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that sometime ago nations did exist because technology

had not advanced to the level it is now. Some people will argue that nations still exist because of cultural differences. By way of definition, just for functional argument is a collection of our learned patterns of behavior--learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States black people, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here; and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms but by and large, you see, the transformation; this was achieved through a long stay but also through the highly technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. I say that the ruling circle has also launched satellites in order to put the beam across the world, to indoctrinate the world. We say that while there might be what we call cultural differences the difference is not a quantitative difference. In other words, if technologies and the ruling circle go on as they are going now that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt western values. I think Japan is a good example; and the difference between people in fact are getting very small. But, again, it's in the interests of the ruling circle. I don't believe

that history can be backtracked. You see. So if the world is really interconnected then we will have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free then they would control the institutions in their community and also have some form of representatives in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States would have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, would have to first return that. So, I don't see where we could talk about socialism when we're talking about world redistribution. I think that is what Marx talks about when he talks about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago, and he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa, but he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much but when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something in his ear that he cherished. That was a small, transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting Network. So what I'm trying to say, that the mass media plus the development of transportation makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get here from San Francisco to here.

It only takes about ten hours to get from here to Vietnam.

We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars. They call them "police actions." They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are right. (Applause)

What I'm saying--what I'm saying is that the ruling circle accept and realize what they have done. They know that it's one world but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know, because a short time ago, in Detroit, a 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 weapons, the same weapon they use in Vietnam. Matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that 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 they're there for the same purpose--that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. So, if everything--(Applause)--we accept--we see that it is true--it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where power is. We want power for the people. (Applause)

I said earlier--I said earlier and I strayed--wait--
that the theory of negation of negation is very valid.
Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa,
and Latin America the resistance always seek the goal
of a collective society. They seem not to institute
the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the
way from feudalism and try to jump 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, develop
a capitalistic base, and finally go 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. The black community in Oakland
or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism because the
imperialists have already pre-empted the field. He has
already centralized the wealth. So, therefore, in order
to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community
and move on him with a collective force. (Applause)

You know we have long arguments with people. We used
to call ourselves, before we became conscious, a
dispersed collection of colonies here in North America;
and people argued with me all day and all night and they
told me how can you possibly be a colony. In order to

be a colony you have to be a nation; and you're not a nation, you're just a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities and because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight, I would like to accept the criticism and say you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as the people of the world represent a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities--a dispersed collection of communities (Applause)--but--because they have no superstructure or they do have a superstructure of the industrial base that made labor to produce what was all put on Wall Street; and we would all agree that once a particular land or a particular people centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base we won't fight it in every single community, you see, because every single community would not have the resources, because it's already been centralized. Sort of a destroyed form of collectivity. See? Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So, after the things are collected; then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off?

And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces black capitalists and say that all we can do is liberate our community not only in Vietnam but here; not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the people of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy. Worries will end. State itself will no longer exist and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away because we know that in sociology we say that when change takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people--after the people possess the production, we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with revolutionary intercommunalism until such time that we can--until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought--until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking--and until such time when people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil--until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is essentially humane, that will serve the people instead of serving some god. You see (applause) it will be necessary to do that because

we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of the changing set of conditions; so, because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.

So, tonight, I think I've covered some of what I have to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that, I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver asked me to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. (Applause)

And, also, I would like to thank the people of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberation community in their liberated territory.

(Applause)

So, they've actually set the example for us. We know what we have to do to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities. (Applause)

Alright, we'll have a question and answer period before everyone leaves.

(Applause)

Unknown person: (Unintelligible)

JEY NEWTON (HN): (Unintelligible) agree with part of that. Something--
some--oh, I'm sorry, roughly--I had to try to
(unintelligible) because I would like to give you fair
representation; so I will--I will tell a paraphrase
about Rome that you can get. Now, listen--no, I think
I remember--the brother--the class brother--the
class brother--the objective brother, in other words,
I would like to explain something first, that the two
kinds of enemies--that both are objective enemy and
the subjective. Sometime, most of the time, the objective
enemy is really a class friend. You see. Only the
objective enemy or one who has different interests than
you is really your real enemy. So, he is objectively
your enemy because he can advance at your expense.
While the subjective enemy will hurt you, but he is only
hurting you because of lack of consciousness. So, you
treat those two contradictions differently. With the
objective enemy you try to destroy him. With the subjective
enemy, you try to teach him. You try to educate him and
make him conscious. You can do this most of the time
through understanding and love. So, first, I applaud that
brother, not because I agree with everything he's

saying, but because I recognize him as an objective class friend and I think the statements are based upon a lack of understanding. Your statement was this, and it's partially correct. He said this: "Fuck Karl Marx." He said: "Fuck Lenin." He said: "Fuck everything that you have said. Why? Because--because the real problem today is nothing more than racism." Now, let's analyze that. First, what's racism? Racism is an attitude of values. Racism is a way of thinking and relating to people. Racism is something that's called by something else because I would like you to stipulate the fact that attitudes all come from something else and that's the material. We cannot have racism without having a man. You cannot have racism by-- you cannot have racism without having another set of conditions that will induce racism. So, this is what we like to explain. However, we did not have racism as such in 1100, according to Malcolm Davidson (phonetic) and Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), who wrote "The Enigma (phonetic) of the Negro Past the Black (unintelligible)." We said, according to those historians, that Europe and Africa have an equal relationship, mutual respect, where many of the leaders respected the African soul and that they were sure that

the universities of Timbuktu were the cultural center of the world. But then, something else happened. The world changed and it became profitable for the ruling circle in Europe and Spain and Portugal--it became profitable and it also became a possibility that they could travel to the mother country with gunfire stolen from the Chinese, kidnap the Africans, take them to their country and scatter them throughout the world. In order to get labor and in order to justify it to their conscience, they developed an attitude of racism. So, therefore, so, therefore (unintelligible) racism because the Europeans needed labor. So, therefore, because of a property called (unintelligible), they kidnaped the Africans out of the (unintelligible). And, if you think attitudes and values exist independently of materials then show me how you can have a value or any man can have a value without having a body. Is the body not material? So, therefore, I think all spiritual things come from material. All the tangible things come from the material. So, while what my brother said seems to be correct, in fact is correct, in order to change the spiritual we have to change the material. In order to change racism, we have to change the racist-capitalist

structure--(applause and sounds of "Right on.")

But to change this--but to change this--but to change this (unintelligible) the people of the world will attempt to launch--will get the key of culture and a value system that is essentially human. Why do I say this? Because all of us changed anyway. There is no thing that is static. Flux, flux, all is flux. We cannot return to Africa of 1100; nor--nor can anyone return to a time that is already past. It is impossible. Because we cannot return to the past, we have to look for a solution in the future; and it is simple making--to just go around spouting words without analyzing the phenomena around us. And that is why I took so much time to give a framework of thinking so that perhaps, brother, you can go home and analyze that and know that in order to stop racism you would have to stop the domination of the capitalists because he don't hate you--(applause)

Listen--listen--he does not hate you just because something came up in the sky and said: "Hey, man." He hates you, brother, because he can use that hate to indoctrinate some other white people to corral you so that he can exploit both of us. (Applause)

Now--now--everything--listen--everything has a dual character. Everything has a dual character, and on research, now, perhaps I'll find that my hypothesis is wrong or that perhaps I'll find it is right. Now, the gentleman said--my class brother said--the brother whom I love said--the brother whom I will attempt to educate tonight said that--"Fuck Karl Marx because he's irrelevant. Well, I won't say that, but I'll say this. I will (unintelligible) research now to try and find out something because the brother said that down with the dialectic because it's--ah--ah--it's not important. It doesn't give anything. And I'll say this. I would doubt seriously--I would doubt seriously whether Karl Marx' is the real originator or whether he was really was the first to expound upon dialectics. Dialectics is actually trying to explain the dual character of things and the relationship between things. The University of Timbuktu even before that time--even before that time--it was acknowledged by the anthropologists that the African (unintelligible) had a religion they called dualism, while in Europe they preferred the absolutism. That is (unintelligible) our God had two or more heads. He had a head for good; a head for evil; a head for

fertility; a head for love; and a head for hate. And the African then would attempt to manipulate these things so that convince the world to good. To give them what he wanted (unintelligible) and I would think that this was the start of the dialectical method. I think that it is strange that in Greece that the Greeks had also a form of dualism. And you have now that in Europe first, you have absolutism where the God had one head. That is, he was absolutely good. He was not evil. He had no sexual properties and so forth. In other words, he deviated from the likeness of man and we all know that man created God. So, what I'm trying to get at is that why would the Greeks have a dual god. Why would the Greeks have a dual god and yet the other Caucasians did not is probably because Aristotle attended the University of Timbuktu and was educated by the Africans. So, you get back to the characteristics and established the type of religion that the Greeks had and perhaps went around to some scholars. And this was the start of the dialectical method; and this is only speculation but--as soon as I finish, I will let this young lady--maybe--I don't know. She looks very angry--she might be objective and I can't deal with emotions but--(applause)

Sound of person shouting in the background)

So, I stay away from (unintelligible). I would like to tell you this. Here in America--here in America--racism is rampant and we have to do something about that and we see that many of our objective class brothers act in a way to harm black people. In other words, they are subjectively our enemies and I would like to use the hard hats as an example. The hard hats are exploited. They have become increasingly employed. In other words, they are well on their way to becoming unemployable and instead of blaming the masses, they are blaming us for it. Now, wait just one minute. So, because that contradiction is different than the objective enemy, we would try to first educate the hard hats. We would try to lift their consciousness because basically, as black radicals, it is our responsibility to do this. Now wait a minute. Hold it. Now if--if we can convince the hard hat through dialectical arguments, through dialectical arguments, then we will have to use stronger stuff because even if a man is objectively our friend and subjectively our enemy, we have to preserve ourselves until such time until we can educate him because we will not let insanity prevail. So, in order to insure that

sanity will remain real, we might have to take the head of the insane man, but when we do this we will weep when he happens to be our class brother because it will diminish us. It will diminish us because it--it will diminish our numbers. You see? But we have to defend ourselves because if we do not do that then that will mean we let an insane man prevail. As long as there is one ounce of sanity in the world, there's a hope for the new world. And this is why that we must down fascism.
(Applause)

Unknown Male (UM): First of all, I would like to say--

HN: Right on, brother.

UM: I would like to get down to this point. What you were saying about revisionists and--ah--I been thinking on the problem (unintelligible) I don't think the Party is (unintelligible) and I would like you to explain.

HN: Explain?

UM: Explain how the Party can be revisionist.

HN: Yah. OK. Fine.

Well,, first, we would like to say a word--ah--did everyone hear that? The brother's question?

(Shouts of "No.")

HN: The brother would like to explain why some people would say the Party is revisionist. Is that right?

UM: Right on. You said that right.

HN: Well, first--ah--a revisionist--a revisionist is someone who revises the theories of Marxist-Leninism and tries to say that he is still an essentialist. You see? Now, I would like to say something, how a revisionist differs from Marxism. Karl Marx had a vision and then Trotsky had a revision; and the Black Panther Party is now having a revision with intercommunalism.

UM: (Unintelligible)

HN: Go ahead and if anyone revises that, he's a revisionist.

UM: Ah--I don't think I asked the right--ah--I'm gonna leave.

Unknown Female: OK. I just want to make a few comments. The first
(UF) thing, Huey, is that you are not my enemy. You see you don't--

HN: I love you sister.

UF: I love you, too, and I'm proud of the brother. You said a lot of beautiful things tonight, but I'm gonna--let me make a few comments and then you can comment. OK? Well, first of all, I appreciate greatly many beautiful things you said tonight, but I say this. You see, you don't come here to educate us, brother. We learn from

each other and you said a lot of things. You didn't have to start with Marx or Kant or any of those guys because the communism comes from Africa-- tribalism.

Unknown Voice: Right.

UF: We had the--we knew the first dialectics and we understood here. And you said a lot of big words. So, you see, my brother Malcolm X was a great prophet. He didn't have-- he didn't have to use all those words. He didn't have to come up with all those names, brother, and he reached the masses. He didn't have to talk about that. All this can mean is one damn thing. He's superior to anything-- I haven't finished yet, brother. (Audience makes noise) You see, I haven't finished yet--you see--you gotta reach those kids; and you gotta reach those educated folks; and you don't use a whole lot of big words on me, honey. Not to me, cause, see, you don't reach the little kids when you do that. You gotta reach all the people. You gotta tell 'em the truth. You see. You gotta tell 'em that so much comes from Africa. You don't talk about Russia, that big, radical Russia (audience noise drowns speaker out)

HN: Yeah--yeah.

UF: You understand. You see you--you see everything comes from Africa. Don't bother to mock me.

HN: I agree with you--

UF: (Unintelligible) no more.

HN: I agree with you.

UF: (Unintelligible) to educate me.

HN: You're right.

UF: We educate each other, brother.

HN: Applaud her. She's right.

UF: They're through with you. They're through with you, I I don't say it with hatred. I won't let the white man stand between us. You're a black man, and I love you too much. I just want you to keep telling the truth and I want you to reason with people, cause you're a beautiful brother who's got a lot of good things--(applause)

HN: Love you, sister.

UF: (Unintelligible) Don't think you control, brother. Don't think you control, honey. Don't think you rock with me. Sing with me. Shout with me. Cause, you see, all this--this talking--all this beautiful stuff comes from the power of the people, the deeds of the people--the great lovers, the great musicians, the great poets, the great people, the black people, the first man from Africa--the Party people. Just show us the power comes

from God, man. You praise God. The white man in Texas can't (unintelligible). You must christianize America now. You talking something like it was to people. Don't be afraid to tell the truth, brother. Don't leave the word "God" (unintelligible) and don't be afraid to talk, brother. Don't be afraid, brother. I know you've suffered a lot. You're suffering now through people. But you can't (unintelligible) won't let the white man tell you (unintelligible) because when a man loves he cannot commit adultery.

HN: If--

UF: Hold on--

HN: If you love me, you'll let me say something.

UF: Alright, brother.

HN: Alright.

UF: I'm going. Power to the people. Power to Huey. Power to the Panthers. Now say it. So long, brother.

HN: Thank you.

First point. I believe she said that socialism came from Africa. I agree with that because even Marx himself acknowledges that at a point in history before modern technology, before industry, that we had socialism in Africa because we had an economy for our collectivity. We had an economy based upon sharing. But this is not

and was not modern socialism. It wasn't modern by way of definition because I cannot say in 1100 the same in 1970. We have to make some distinction in order to understand the--ah--the nature and also understand the passage of time. We also can get confused; so all I'm saying is socialism actually did exist in the mother country south of Sahara before Marx ever was born; but the new kind or the kind that we're talking about today is based upon the fact it has to be European. It's based upon society that has a large base of black people working together under one law and in order to return--in order to return the wealth to the people, we have to have a technique; and Lenin instituted that technique. So, we apply the modern theory that Marx probably got from Timbuktu because I already acknowledged that dualism or the start of the dialectical method might have come from south of Sahara. So look, girl. You misunderstood me.

UF: (Unintelligible).

HN: Now, I would like to apologize if everyone here did not understand the words I used. It shows I'm not a teacher. It shows how uneducated--it shows I have such an inability to communicate and telling it is difficult for me to convey ideas. Now, words solely for the purpose to get the understanding so that my fellow man can

understand me. If you don't, then I've failed. So, I deserve the criticism that my sister gave me. But now, maybe she can teach me how to speak in a better way and a better way so--I think better--and I'll qualify it by saying a more effective way--so that I can communicate with my little brothers over there.

Now, the other thing is this --is that you said that God gives everything and I said that is correct but I say this--I did say without a man I can't see where you would have a tangible and if you think that God is spiritual or is he material. Is God a spiritual or can you touch God? Is God material or is he a concept. And I say this, sister, that in order for God to exist, you have to exist. So, therefore, you have to produce your God. You produce your God because you're producing something in you're own image and I say this--(applause) I say this--any spiritual thing, any spiritual thing that is produced would have to come from some material source. So the concept of God, the concept of God cannot exist independently of man. So, I believe in God--I believe in God because it is commonly accepted. It's commonly accepted that the cause is greater than the effect. If man caused God, then man is greater than God because he can create. He can create the spiritual world and I

can go further than that. I cannot explain the first existence of things or the first to exist. We do not know that yet; but we do know this. It is commonly accepted in the discipline of our anthropology that before man stood erect, that before man could really be called man he was something else. In other words, he was transformed by the passage of time. He was transformed because somehow he had a mind that enabled him to transform his body. According to Doctor Leakey, it is the cradle of man--the cradle of man is Africa south of Sahara; and the name of the missing link is probably Zinjanthropus. This is commonly agreed that all people probably had an African genesis. But, that is only a skimpy fact, if it is fact. Much of it is speculation because we don't know about it. But, after we know these things, do--what does it mean? Does it mean because man has African genesis that people should slaughter each other on the basis of color. No. I say this--I say when people harm each other it's a sin'against God because it's a sin against man; and I say this--and I say this with love. I say this with respect. I say this with guidance and respect for you. Matter of fact, supreme respect. I respect you more than I respect your God; and I say this, sister--I say this with love--you and your God can

kiss my behind because mine is mine (applause).
Now, after we finish that--after we finish that, we're not gonna run around being drunk on religion because we accept that religion is like a bad wine or like opium. Religion is like opium of the mind. They only accepted that because they can't get what they really need. So, I'm gonna give them what they really need. So, I'm gonna give to that person what she needs so she won't have to depend on the God in the sky because I don't trust him. But sister can trust me so long (unintelligible) you would not have to rely upon a spirit in order to give you salvation. The more you make of your God, the less you become. The more you become, the less your God becomes. Kill your God and you'll become a man--you'll become a strong man. You'll become a man that can create the new world that we will call communism--just as revolutionary intercommunalism. We can only do this with the confidence that we have in ourselves because some person's God might do what the white racist's God did for him. He just sealed up a note put in his pocket and told him he had the right to kill.

Female Voice: Right on.

HN: There's no way we can test that. There's no way we can deal with racism other than to deal with it objectively.

We have to deal with it. We have to deal with it rationally
We cannot deal with it and be affected so much by it
until we lose all of racial faces because if we do this,
then the ruling circle, which are by definition racists,
would get the final victory because as far as I'm concerned
there is no such thing as a black racist. Black people
are always victims of racism. (Shouts of "Right on.")
and because we're victims of racism that many times it
destroys us. But we refuse to be destroyed. In other
words, we would not go insane despite of the brutality
of racism. When this happens, it just puts us in a
position where we have to depend upon something--something
supernatural to solve our problem because we feel so much
victim to the white racists of America. But I say this--
we will restore sanity to an insane situation; and we
will restore love to the world because the reactionary
ruling circle has created an atmosphere of hate. We
will say, even when we have to defend ourselves--even
when we have to kill, we will weep for man. We will
weep because the death of any man diminishes us because
we're involved with mankind. We will not hesitate to
defend ourselves and this is why the Vietnamese people
when they shoot down the American planes, when the plane

crashes and the pilot is dead, they very carefully bury the pilot; put flowers on his grave every week. A reporter asked the Vietnamese people why they do this and they say first we're sorry that he was duped to come over here. He was duped by the ruling circle because we have the same history and we want to preserve his race so that his people can come and take him home again because we are a part of the people of America. We are a part of the African people. We're for all people but we're against the reactionary, racist, ruling circle and we refuse to be overcome by it.

So, all I'm saying--I'm not saying racism doesn't exist. I think most white people in America are racists. I think all are affected by racism. I will say that I'm very very careful when I see a person who is himself victimized by racism and so they always talk in terms of black and white. Hate white and love black. He thinks he's talking opposites but really he's not talking opposites because love and hate grows from the same soil, that is involvement. The difference between love and hate is a difference and I say that the black who lives in America, he's gonna have a very difficult time to be objective, to step out of that realm of emotion, to step out of that realm of love and hate and get indifferent because the

white world has so much affect upon him. So, what he has to do is develop a strategy. He has to develop a tactic in order to seize the power. And when he seizes the power, because he loves, he will not necessarily look for revenge but will take the master off his high horse and make him equal and all war criminals will be punished but the people will decide that because as far as I'm concerned I will persuade you--I will persuade you only--to take what is yours and then let the man live. Take his power but don't take his life.

(Shouts of "Right on.")

Now (applause) we must understand the difference between the violence of the aggressors and self-defense of the victims. The Black Panther Party and the Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front, are all using self-defense because black peoples initiated--their aggression was initiated by the fascist police working for the ruling circle who live right here in North America. So, it is always of our rights to defend ourselves. Much of the time, aggression takes many forms--it takes many forms. It is not always--ah--by the violence of a service revolver. It is not always the type of violence that took the life of little Bobby Hutton (phonetic). It is not always the type of violence

that has been taking black people's lives for many years. According to Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), fifty million black people died of (unintelligible) alone. Violence is not direct by a weapon, is not always--it does not always come from a revolver or the bomb that killed many Japanese people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It sometimes comes in the form of depriving a man of his self-respect. It comes in the form of depriving a man of the work he needs in order to live, of the health care that he needs in order to live. This violence is treacherous and much of the time more difficult to bear than the sudden violence where your life can be ended in a minute. So, we feel that we have the right, we have the right to defend ourselves in the name of preserving man because if man--if man has an obligation to carry life on and it's the original obligation because if man had not lived and multiplied we would not have this life today. So, when we see a fascist fool attempting to murder the world we can deal with it any way we choose in order to guarantee the lawful rights of man. May man prevail forever (applause). Power to the people. Yeah--ah--I think I lost my half of the audience. So, are you ready to go home?

(Shouts of "No.")

HN: Alright. Questions?

Second Unknown
Male (SM):

Yes. I have a question here from a fellow operating a piece of equipment here. He says, "Needless to say, our society today is controlled by a system of cooperative capitalism (unintelligible) and an essay on liberation states that any revolution is to take place and, in fact, is successful, then there must be a total change in the nature of man himself. Did you agree or disagree? Explain if possible."

HN: I agree that man is changing all the time because if I were to stay static I would not be the cause of dialectical materialism. So, therefore, it is quite true.

(Noise from crowd)

The Socialist Workers Party? Ah--I think that sometimes-- I think that sometimes the Socialist Workers Party might seem to be somewhat historical in their approach. I think that sometimes they plan to theorize without thinking it necessary to develop a survival program; and this is why I believe they criticize us for developing what they call an (unintelligible) program. So, I would say that as far as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned we would like to get an understanding and work

together because purely we are not objective enemies. There must be some misunderstanding of the phenomena. So, maybe they could help us and we could help them because what we want to do is understand the world so that the people--so that the people can get what there is. I'm not here to shut anyone down. I'm not here to out argue anyone. I'm here to be educated and I'm sure that-- ah--we can become educated--we can become educated through some dialectical arguments and this is all. And I realize this--that I don't speak very well. So, it reminds me of what Fidel Castro told Jean Paul Sartre (unintelligible) only ninety miles from home shortly after the Cuban revolution. Sartre was out on the street with Fidel and people were constantly stopping to meet and the peasants there, they would stop, ask Fidel for this and for that and Fidel would write it down and talk to them a while and be gone. And then Sartre said, "Do you feel you must give them everything they ask for?" And Fidel said, "Yes." And Sartre said, "What if they ask you for the moon?" Fidel said, "I would attempt to give it to them; and if I can't, it will prove that I'm a poor administrator and I should not have my job because the people do not claim to be theoreticians, politicians, philosophers. They want to live, and if you

present yourself as a leader of theoreticians then you must give them what they want." So, he said this; and I say it tonight, people, that if I cannot communicate so that you can understand then it's because I am a bad theoretician and I will go home and I will study very hard so that I can communicate better. This is all I can do.

(Applause)

Third Unknown
Male (TM):

Yes. OK--you will have to have strategy and tactics; but let's not (unintelligible) Hack people. And, also, I question the methods about organizing the working class faction (unintelligible) Shouldn't we--shouldn't we develop our own ideology instead of adopting something from Marx and Lenin because Marxism and Leninism hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it hasn't worked in China and any place else it has not worked.

Unknown Voice:

Right.

TM:

So what are we doing regarding an original ideology. Why can't we produce our own? Don't we have the means and the resources to produce our own ideology and can't we build on something outside the dialectic because man is that narrow.

HN:

Do you have an ideology?

TM: Do I have an ideology?

HN: That's what I said.

TM: I'm developing one.

HN: I see. Alright. Well, after you develop that ideology, if it proves to serve the people and it proves a solution for the problem then I will adopt your ideology and drop my African ideology.

TM: That's the truth.

HN: Now, wait a minute. I let you talk, now you let me talk. I will drop my African ideology--and I emphasize African because I stated earlier, if I remember correctly, that I believe that the dialectical method probably started south of Sahara and I also stated further that not only did that philosophy or that theory start south of Sahara, I said that the genesis of man was probably south of Sahara according to Doctor Leakey and other reputable anthropologists. So, therefore, we're not talking about Marx. We're not talking about Lenin. But we're talking about understanding the phenomena of the world. Would everyone please sit down because--well, just sit on the sides so that people can see behind you. Alright. Please? OK.

TM: Now this--

HN: Wait a minute now.

TM: Alright.

HN: So, what I said is if the genesis of man was south of Sahara that means that everything after that had an African genesis. Now, perhaps my first presumption is wrong. I don't know. But whether it is or not is not, I can't see what difference it makes. I would agree with this, that man is a homo sapien or of the same species and because he's of the same species that means that he's very like a sissy. What we have to do is find out what is cowering us and what is lowering us and crush that because--

TM: I see.

HN: (Unintelligible) and this is what we need to do. But, I am not gonna stand here tonight--I am not gonna stand here tonight or any other time and say that if a theory happens to come from (unintelligible) if the theory happens to come from a man who happened to be born in Europe or a man who we will define as a Caucasian, that doesn't automatically invalidate that theory. As far as the white working class--I said that the proletarians do not have--do not have a potentiality to theoretically accept the revolution even if they had in Russia. I also said that if the Russian territory--if the Russian territory--might only be at the most what we call a

liberated territory. So, because a thing has not worked in the past, because a theory has not worked in the past, that does not mean it won't work in the future. In other words, perhaps it hasn't reached it's final climax. And that's what I claim. I claim that the only way that communism can still work--the only way that revolutionary intercommunalism can work in the interest of the people there is a prerequisite. We would have to down the ruling circle because a slave can never run away from a master. A slave cannot divorce himself from the master. In order to better the situation, then he has to transform the master. He has to take away the master's power, pull him down off his high horse, and make him equal because if he does not do that he will never be free. He will never be free because as long as the master exists--as long as the master exists he will be in danger. So, I say this, as long as reactionary, racist capitalism exists, the people of the world will be in danger. So, I will not accept a solution such as in schism (unintelligible), that is, let's separate. I say the same that we separate (unintelligible) of the United States when the ruling circle will not let the people ten thousand miles away--ten thousand miles away in South Africa separate. You follow this all

over the world. So, the biblical phrase is very appropriate. The biblical phrase is very, very appropriate. That is--that is: "I went to the mountain to hide my face. The mountain cried out, 'No hiding place.'" So, I'm not gonna run to Africa because I know the imperialist's presence is in Africa. I know that it is present in Latin America. I know that it is present in Asia. I know that it is present Europe and it is running amuck in America. So, in order to change the situation you cannot run away. So, you must attack and say that that would show not only a certain amount of courage, it would prove very difficult for the ruling circle to deal with because the people of the world are popular. The people of the world represent the majority; so, therefore, I'm very, very optimistic. It's called revolutionary optimism--I'm sure that we will down the circle, transform society, and--and also I'm sure that the vanguard group--that the vanguard group will be black people, not in Africa but black people here in America. Black people here in America because black people in America are probably the most progressive people in the world because of our history. Sociologists and anthropologists--sociologists have concluded that people with a long, unbroken history tend to be somewhat

chauvinistic because they are tied to the past and this is why the Chinese people destroy everything over seventeen years old because they said it was--ah-- it tied them to the past--the tradition, such as Chiang Kai-shek. So, therefore, they destroy most of their history. So, what I'm saying is this. I said earlier that everything has a dual character and everything has many sides; and, brother, that's dialectical but also African so that's what I meant by (unintelligible) Africanism. Cause the Africans always view a (unintelligible) as two sided. They didn't view it as absolute. But, brother, if you can view things as absolute if you say all white people are absolutely bad, then you're being very European because an African would say he's probably both bad and good at the same time and what I would try to do is figure out which policy overshadows the other and try to deal with that, so, what I'm really trying to say is you have to understand the totality of the world in order to get the real picture because if you understand a portion of it, you take a thing out of its context and you're acting like a psychologist and sociologist who claim because something is true after isolating certain variables and put it

on a possibility--wait a minute--I'm talking bullshit.

I can't communicate attempting to be too academic.

Power to the brothers and sisters

(Encl.)

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

D. OAKLAND TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
DECEMBER 14, 1970

On the afternoon of December 14, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Oakland Technical High School, Oakland, California. At approximately 8 pm, December 23, 1970, a recording of NEWTON's speech was broadcast over Radio Station KPFA-FM, Berkeley, California. Following is a transcript of a tape recording made from the radio broadcast of NEWTON's speech:

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Power to you Brothers and Sisters and fellow students. I'm very happy to be here today, and I would like to say that - now please, I'm very happy to be here, too. I say fellow students because you know this is my high school, too, you know. I was here in (unintelligible) so I'll always feel the fire.

I had another kind of lecture in mind today because I remember when I was at Technical High School that I didn't like to sit for a long time for instructors to tell me a lot of jibberish that was irrelevant as far as I was concerned. So I was going to have, maybe talk to you for about fifteen minutes or so, and then have a long question - answer period. But, after talking to some of the BSU members, they told me that a dialogue goes around the campus about the Black Panther Party and there is much misunderstanding. Such things are said as the Black Panther Party was all right until we gained a certain solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the people of China, the oppressed people of Africa - as a matter of fact Africa, Asia, and Latin America - all of the people who are suffering under the seige and the bondage of our Western aggression. And because of this, I think that I will ask you

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to bear with me and I will explain for you the way the Black Panther Party arrived at its position and I'll do more than that. If we can't gain anything else today I hope at least that we'll have some framework or some clear way of investigating phenomena or investigating anything and coming up with a rational and a reasonable conclusion. Not just a conclusion based upon our attitudes, our likes or dislikes, but really an opinion and a position based upon the facts in the external world. In order to do this I will have to go into and explain a little of the scientific methods and then some developments that was made on this scientific method.

Matter of fact, some people were very displeased at one point with the way information was gathered and they were displeased mainly because the information that people were getting and presenting as truths were only half-truths. So a process of thinking was developed and there are many processes of thinking. Most of us feel that there is only one way to gain information and that way is to use common sense. Much of the time the apparent is deceiving; the apparent is not representing fact all of the time.

So the first thing I would like for you to do, and from time to time I will ask for agreements from you, or

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sometimes its called stipulation, because if most conversation is an intelligent one it would have to be based on some first premise or some first agreement. And after that then we could see if we're consistent to a valid conclusion. Otherwise, when we argue we'll be talking nonsense and we won't get anything down because we'll be coming from different positions, talking about different things, and thinking we have a contradiction when all the time we're being contrary, going in different directions.

So I'll start first to explain to you how the Black Panther Party and how all Marxists and Leninists think.

The first thing is that we're scientists, and in science there is a way of gaining information that will attempt to eliminate mistakes and error and a way of gaining information that will really reflect the real world. So, first, I would like for you to agree or you to stipulate that there is a real world that exists independently of us. When I say independently, I mean we - that if we disappear or if we're not around, the world will be here anyway. So it's not dependent upon our existence, we do not project it, but the external world or the objects in that external world which we sometimes call facts, bombard our organisms, accessory perception

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system - our eyes, nose, mouth, and so forth, and ears. And by this, if the impression that it makes upon our organism, our brain, if that impression reflects the actual or the true nature of the thing that made the impression, we'll call it the object outside of us, then to that degree we will gain knowledge and truth, you see. Matter of fact, we'll gain knowledge because we'll realize the truth is only a statement about an external fact. In other words, we could have facts, conceivably we could have facts without the existence of man; but we cannot have truth because truth is only a word or a symbol articulated by a person about the external, you see. So, in other words, the fact will remain whether we say anything about it or not. If no one says anything then the truth does not exist because that's the word. And I'm going to ask you to bear with me today because I didn't mean to go into this because I realize that most of you haven't gained certain skills necessary to make a factual, non-biased investigation. And, of course, I criticize the schools for this and I criticize your school, my school, and I criticize all those schools by not giving us the essential things that's necessary to further our knowledge and, that is, the process

of thinking, that will probably deliver us true information so that we can manipulate the external world. That's what school should be all about.

When I was at Technical High School some years ago, that I had rather a stormy career, that I didn't learn very much, that in fact, when I left the school I believe I had the reading level of about the second or third grade and I was very unhappy about that. Matter of fact, I learned to read my senior year and because I wanted to go to Merritt College and I knew I couldn't do this if I didn't know how to read. So, as far as school is concerned, most of the things that you learn here, that I learned or that I didn't learn, was mischievious madness and it did not prepare me; and, even though, I will charge myself with a certain amount of neglect because I should have on my own, as I did later on, learned the basic skills so then I could go in and do the research necessary to manipulate the external world. So what we really want to do is have enough information in order for us to manipulate the external world so that our true interests will be served.

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Now from time to time I'll go on tangents and deviate from my first theme but I'll return to it.

I explained that it's necessary to know ways of gaining information, ways that would give us a real picture of the external world. Now I said that many people were disturbed at one point about certain endorsed processes of thinking. There is a man called Immanuel Kant and he felt the rational method of pure reason would give us the most reliable information. Now I'll tell you how the rational method works or the method of reason.

The first thing, the rational method does not depend upon the existence of the external world that we already stipulated or agreed existed outside of us. The rational method depends upon symbols, it depends upon going from a premise, any premise, and arriving at a conclusion that is consistent with your premise. It does not depend upon existence of anything outside of our mind. Sometimes it's called idealism. This method surely brings, gives us some truth; but, as I said before, if we believe there is an external world it doesn't serve us really to manipulate that world. This is the way the rational method works and this is

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a very simple example. As a matter of fact, I'm oversimplifying. But this is a very valid conclusion. Let's say that if the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, if there's nothing blocking, I will see the sky and if the sky is above my head. That's a perfectly valid statement but it does not depend upon the existence of the sky or anything else. It only, because it is stipulated if the sky is above my head and there's nothing in between then when I tilt my head upward I see the sky. That's perfectly valid and rational. So the rational method was based upon dealing with symbols in such a way where we would reach our mathematical conclusions but yet it did not help us with the external world. Not purer reasons, as Kant called it himself, it did not give us much information about the real world.

During the same time there was another method used. Sometimes it was called empiricism. Empiricism, an empirical knowledge, is gained through observation and experience. Much of the information that we gain in school, much of our ways of approaching things in school is really related to this method more than pure reason. In other words, that with empiricism or sometimes called pragmatism, William James called it pragmatism, that we gain knowledge and information

through experience and observing things in the world outside of us. In other words, that we first make the presumption that the world outside of us and independently of us, is independent of us, exists. So that's the first belief. And the reason I say that's the first belief is because it's very difficult to test this first premise. Matter of fact, most first beliefs are very difficult to test because we lack the tools with which to test them. But after the first belief, it's pretty easy, if we're careful, to test if we're thinking clearly and if we're following a valid, logical process. And this again, the way we'll measure it to see if we're consistent with the first premise or the first belief.

So this method was called pragmatism by some and others called it historical materialism. In other words, most history or historical materialists draw heavily upon empiricism or pragmatism, you see. And they use a method of investigation that seems to be shared by most scientists and, that is, they observe and they experience. But this method would not give the kind of information necessary for us to function and really understand the true nature of things. In other words, while the rational method only gives us an intangible kind of

conceptual picture of things and the things most of us stay within our minds, you see, while the historical or the empirical method gives us a static view of things. In other words, it won't help us with the future situation.

Number one, if you have to observe and experience everything before we come up with information about it first, the things will be passed and we know that past history doesn't repeat itself and past history doesn't give us any information by itself about the future. The reason this is so is because past history only gives information about a thing that has already happened, and it doesn't necessarily mean that thing will happen the next day. For example, and ah, for example the sun; the sun has been coming up day after day for many years and from that we could attempt to predict that it will come up tomorrow. But past history might not repeat itself so we have no real evidence that the sun will come up tomorrow, do we? We only know that it did come up many, many times before, you see. So really the empirical method and historical materialism is not giving us the kind of information that would help us deal with things in the future, not that alone, you see. Many people feel with the study of history and I

would like to warn my friends, my comrades in the BSU, that we cannot rely too heavily upon historical information because, as you very well know, history has caused very many problems and the problems that history has caused and even some of the solutions that history has given us might not necessarily be a solution for the future.

So what we will do here is, first, understand we just examined two ways of thinking. We called it empiricism or the historical method and we talked about the rational method. Empiricism, you could get more information out of it by reading William James, "Historical Materialism", Hegel, and, of course, for the rational method, Kant. But, as we see that both processes of thinking fall short of glory, they don't give us the kind of information that we would like to have because one gives us only an idea about something; it doesn't even guarantee that that thing has anything to do with the external. And the other, while relying heavily upon the external world, doesn't give us the ability to predict nor does it tell us the nature of things. And I say that it doesn't tell us the nature of things because of static. And a man called Karl Marx was unhappy about the kind of knowledge

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and the so-called truths that was delivered by these two methods. So in order to perfect the investigation process that he decided that he would attempt to integrate the two.

First, that he would use history or the empirical method in order to understand the outside world. In other words, he started with the belief that the outside world existed. Now, secondly, that he was dissatisfied with Kant but he thought that something that Kant did was very good and later on we'll talk about the dual nature of things. Everything is both good and bad at the same time and right and wrong at the same time and everything that builds itself is also eliminating itself in one way or another. So he saw that there was something good about the rational method because it tended to give us a position where we could not only know how things change but also we could predict or speculate about the future. So he took reason or the rational method and combined this with the empirical method and came up with a philosophy or process or formula that he called dialectical materialism.

Dialectical materialism opposed the rational method or idealism and also opposed the empirical or historical materialism and it was the two methods of thinking integrated.

So what happened was this. That he collected everything by observation experience and then he used reason to say that while historical things might not be future things at the same time that I can analyze all those conditions surrounding them and then speculate about the future by using reason. So, in other words, that the sun has come up many thousand times, many million times for many, many years, so what I will do is analyze all the conditions surrounding the sun, all of them that I can, and then I will try to predict the future because I can use reason and then say that if these conditions continue that this will probably exist in the future. So then this gave us more of a full scope and also told us something about the world.

Another stipulation I would like for you to make or agreement and that is that everything is in a constant state of transformation. In other words, everything is being changed to something else. But we don't like to use the word change because that sounds like it loses all of the properties that it once had and gained complete new properties. But we say it's transformed. The characteristics are transformed and something else is created.

The sun is very hot and gives much light and it comes up everyday; probably, speculation, probably from the very start it is also eliminating itself. It is also snuffing itself out and burning itself up. And that's why we would have to take everything in consideration about speculating about the rise of the sun tomorrow.

So this would be reason united with the empirical or the historical method. So this method I'm using now is called dialectical materialism; some people call it Marxism, And the Black Panther Party uses this method of reasoning so therefore, we call ourselves Marxists.

And there was another man called Lenin and Lenin was somewhat action orientated and Lenin used the method and the process of thinking of Marx and also put this into practice. In other words, Marx was somewhat an armchair philosopher, and while he was a great theoretician that, as far as the practice was concerned, it was wanting in many areas. What Lenin did was, simply, he was a student of Marx and he attempted to use the information and the philosophy of Marx and use it in a very practical manner. In other words, a manner in such a way that would aid him in not only analyzing

and understanding the world around him but also he would attempt to transform that world by harnessing certain forces and changing them in the desired manner.

Now I spoke earlier about things being in a constant state of change and I will try to give you some examples of things changing and how things are transformed. Number one, that I said everything is in a constant state of transformation and because of the dialectical method of Marxism, it attempts to understand the total universe. And I say the total universe because we believe that if you only understand a part or if you isolate phenomena you've taken it out of its environment and you've made changes yourself. Therefore, you cannot understand the totality even of the part because the part was also affected by the whole. So in order to understand any part of anything, you have to understand all the things surrounding it; and if we can agree that most things are inter-related in this universe in some kind of way, that there is an integration - even those things that seem opposite - because they seem to be attached and related to each other in some way. So I'll give you a few examples of things changing

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and how the social world and the physical world and even the spiritual world are very inter-related. Number one, that in physics we see that when we attempt to analyze the physical world we see that there are atoms, neons and protons, you see.

The (long pause with several "ahhs") first, I'm somewhat confused because I was given a note that people are getting somewhat bored with what I'm saying. All right brothers and sisters, well, look, I'll try, I'll attempt to make what I'm saying exciting to you and if it's not exciting it's just a shortcoming on my part because I'm not very articulate. But I hope that we gain something here today and I'm going to be here for a while and you'll be able to ask any questions you want. And if I'm lucky, maybe I can answer it. If I'm not, I'll tell you so and I'll tell you I can't answer it and we'll try to find the answer by going to the volumes and if we can't find it there we'll just try to reason it out and just ponder it until we can. So I'm going to go on even though I appreciate your great patience.

As well as spiritual world is dependent upon the physical. As I go along I warn you that I'll ask certain stipulations and you can challenge me on it or ask questions about it in the question - answer period. But there's another

belief that we Marxists - Leninists go from and that we start from positions that everything comes from the material. That's why we call the method of reasoning dialectical materialism. Everything comes from material, in other words the genesis and the foundation of everything comes from a material source. And we say that even spiritual comes from material because we can't understand and we can't see that there would be a spiritual or an intangible or an idea without the mechanism of the brain or the man who is made of flesh and blood. So, therefore, we say the man would not exist and the world seems to be made of material things. So phenomena seems to be, to have the genesis in the material. Now we say that things that are constantly changing and things are transformed and they're transformed much of the time by clashing together. I said earlier about the existence of atoms, or electrons, atoms, neons, and protons. And that we know that when atoms clash they subdivide and I believe they go into protons, if I remember my physics correctly, but anyway, they're transformed into something else.

So in the physical world when things clash we call it the, well in simple terms in the physical world when things clash - we call it a collision. And we call it that because

when, say that when you see two cars clash in the street, when two objects try to occupy the same space at the same time, that both are transformed; you see, they become different. And this is the same way that atoms act, you see. When they clash into each other they subdivide again when they clash, you see. In the dialectical terms, in the dialectical argument, we call this a contradiction, you see, when two people clash in language. In other words, if one person says a certain wall is ten feet tall and the other says it's five feet tall and they're talking about the same object, the same wall, we say they're having a contradiction. Now contradictions can be resolved if, first, that the two people agreed upon a basic premise that's common to both of them that's acceptable. So if they both say that a certain measuring stick will give them the true height they can first give the first premise for believing that the wall was ten feet or five feet high and they can investigate that.

And they hope through dialectical arguments where one offers a thesis, the thesis saying the wall is ten feet tall and the other offers what we call a counter-thesis and who says that the wall is five feet tall and they hope by the end of the argument, by the investigation, they will come up with

a synthesis or they will integrate those two things and they will come up with a new thing. Maybe they'll find out the wall was actually seven feet tall. So, but at any rate, things in the physical world, as well as things in the spiritual world, as well as things in the social world, are constantly in a state of transformation and constant conflict. So we see that most people, when they get together, they begin to make certain stipulations and they'll talk about two different things and they'll think they're having a contradiction and really they're just being contrary. In other words, when two cars back up to each other back to back and speed off in two different directions covering other grounds, this is, the cars are being contrary, you see. But when people get together and they argue all day and all night and both are talking about different parts of the same wall and both could be correct. For instance, if one person says the wall is actually ten feet tall and the other says the wall is brown and they argue all day about that, they both could be correct, they're being contrary. But first we have to know what we're talking about, you see, and I give you this foundation because this is the only way I know how to go about

explaining why the Black Panther Party has come to the conclusion that I know that it has.

I know that you think that's far fetched, but its far fetched as far as relating what I'm saying to the Black Panther Party's position but just bear with me and I'll try at the end to explain the whole thing and make your patience worthwhile.

Now, so in that world that we're talking about that exists independently of us, first that that world is in a constant state of transformation and that even in the physical world the whole universe is constantly changing and forces are clashing and modifying themselves and transforming themselves. Now we talked about an argument, we called it dialectical argument, we taled a little about physics and how the physical world is in a constant state of change.

Now, let's talk a little about the social world because remember that with the dialectical method we attempt to understand the whole universe and not take it out of context. In other words, we're not going to say that it sure is bad that everyone is going around, say dropping reds, and isolate this from the other phenomena that caused them to drop.

the reds. See what I mean? So that's an example of taking things out of context. Some scholars do it all the time - the sociologists, the psychologists, the historians - they take things out of context if they do not use the dialectical method because they don't explain the whole phenomena. When you isolate any variables or any force you change that force from its original form and you're not getting the true nature of that particular thing, you see. So it is necessary to use the method of dialectical materialism and I'm explaining why. So we have two things here. We know that the external world exists outside of us; we also know it's in a constant state of change and we know how it changes through conflicts, through clashing, together and we saw how we do this in argument and we saw how it happened in the physical world and now we'll talk about the social world.

In the social world, really there's little difference in sociology that the sociologists say that when two social groups meet or cultures meet and a culture is a learned pattern of behavior, when these two cultures meet that might differ like the Western culture and say the African culture or the Western culture and say the American Indian culture. Say that when these cultures meet, when they get together or when they

clash, that both are modified, you see, they call it acculturation in Sociology. They're both modified by the contact and by the conflict, and so something has developed, is transformed. So to understand anything we'll have to understand that constant state of change. If we understand it just in a static sense then we would not understand it at all because we're not understanding what's its becoming. We're not understanding that it's never static so therefore, if we tell someone such and such exists as this we will be telling them not even a half-truth; we will be telling them a whole lie if we didn't say that it is also becoming something else. So, I say all of this because it's very important especially for young students who have to do much investigation and I warn you against first the historical method that I believe is taught most in the school because you know most of the instructors don't want us to reason, the school is anti-orientated and not reason orientated. So I don't have to warn you too much about the reason because they'll make sure that you don't reason anyway.

So what we talk about here is that the Black Panther Party has adapted a Marxist-Leninist stance so we're really

social scientists. We're scientists really in the true sense of the word and that we're not only Marxist - Leninist scientists but we're Marxist-Leninist Panther scientists. We say this because we feel that the Black Panther Party has added something new, not to the formula of Marx, but we have applied this formula in a creative way to new phenomena that didn't exist in the past when Marx was here because, remember things are constantly changing. So we say that the Black Panther Party becomes the dynamic party because we use a way of thinking, a way that we can defend, a way that we say that the only thing we could do, the only contradiction that we can reach with the person is really a matter of having information or not having it.

(There was a break in the tape here but an unknown male voice said he would fill in with he had said: "he began to talk about the idea upon which the Black Panther Party was originally founded and he said in 1966 we formed the Party and at first it was the Black Nationalist Party").

We felt black nationalism answered the problem or would give us the solution to our problem here in America. We felt that if we followed the course that all other oppressed ethnic groups and cultures followed by creating our own nation

then we would deliver ourselves from the suffering and we would arrive at a position equal to other ethnic groups and other cultures in the world. And this is why that we were Black Nationalist in 1966. But after that time, shortly after that time, we saw that if we only related to oppressed people and black people exclusively here in America that we would automatically be a minority and that we would not only be a minority but a weak minority. We didn't have the necessary tools, we didn't have the necessary condition to change our situation so we were transformed, we changed in our position, our philosophy to what we call revolutionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism was really a form of internationalism, which I'll go into in a very short time.

Revolutionary Nationalism meant that not only were we nationalists and not only did we want a nation, we also wanted solidarity with all oppressed people in the world and oppressed people in this country and that while we wanted a nation that we also saw that there was another evil that was affecting not only us but everyone in the world. And that was bureaucratic capitalism and the greed of a small ruling circle. That's called super rich or the capitalist class. And this is

the class that only controls the means of production according to Johnson's report on civil disorder this class represents or controls the 76 companies that control the United States economy and industry and also the industry of the world. Because the United States is an empire, you see. So we felt that we needed solidarity with all of these people you see who are also oppressed. These people were mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but after we learned more we saw that there were Europeans also who are oppressed, on a relative basis, but nevertheless, they're oppressed, in this country and out of this country. So we have sought this solidarity and we thought hard enough that we could create a nation like everyone else, we could gain the respect and the dignity like other people have that they seemed to have gained through their nation.

Something else happened. We saw that other countries in the world were fighting against colonialism and fighting against the aggression of the United States Armed Forces, who was attempting to occupy their country and draw their national resources out and control their territory. We saw that these countries were Internationalists and they didn't talk too much

about Revolutionary Nationalism. They talked about an international hook-up of all oppressed people. So we thought this would be a good idea because this would increase our strength and increase our number. Where there's number with unity there's strength. We saw then that if we became internationalists we would be able to choke the ruling circle's forces. The same ruling circle that was responsible for our slavery in 1619, the same ones who oppress now the Vietnamese people, the same ones who indirectly or I would say directly, oppress the Africans in Mozambique and Angola because the Portuguese who are direct masters there are also members of NATO, which is the international body of Armed Forces that deploys military weapons such as rockets and planes to satellite countries. So the United States supplies the Portuguese with the weapons to murder the Africans in Angola and Mozambique and it is also the United States ruling circle that also makes it possible for the people, the black people in Africa, South Africa, to be oppressed by the racist government there because there is a Standard Oil in South Africa and Rockefeller is there and there's much American investment in South Africa, therefore strengthening the African Government that's oppressing poor people there.

People have a right to live and people have a right to control their land. So we saw it necessary to become internationalists. After this we found something else and this wasn't to the surprise of our friends the world over, the oppressed people again, the oppressed people in Latin America; but first, it surprised our friends all over the world and many of our comrades here in America. And that is a short time ago we not only offered our services to oppressed brothers in Vietnam but we also went a step farther. We, also at this same time, we denounced internationalism and embraced what we called intercommunalism. Intercommunalism is a higher stage of development; it is the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism because it says this. It says that in order for, first, in order to create a nation, the nation would have to have a set of conditions to exist. First thing that with internationalism it means an inter-relationship of nations. Inter means inter-relationship of things; nationalism or nation means, if I have a clear understanding of the word, an inter-relationship of nations. So, in order to have internationalism, first you have to have nationalism or nationhood. But, after using the formula of

thinking and the dialectical method, we found that there are no nations in the whole world. No nations exist any longer - there are no nations any longer. The nations have been transformed and they do not exist. The United States, most people recognize it not as a nation but they say the imperialists live in the United States ruling circle and they send their imperial truths to various lands. Nations to control that land space, and to oppress the people there for profit motives.

Now imperialism, a root word would be empire, the imperialists live in an empire and an empire is a nation transformed. An empire perhaps a nation that existed at one time but as soon as the United States became empire that it did something else. Because, remember when we said earlier in our conversation that when one part of a thing is changed or transformed it also changes everything else. Everything else is transformed.

In other words, you can't transform a part of a whole without changing the whole part. So we say that the day the United States or America became empire; and, if you would agree with me that imperialism exists and the imperialists is the American force, then you have to also agree that America

is an empire. It would be contradiction to say that America is a nation also because it cannot be a nation and an empire at the same time, because then we would stop being precise and we would stop being scientists. In other words, why have two words mean exactly the same thing. We say perhaps at one time the United States was a nation but it is not anymore; it is an empire when it starts controlling not only its land space but all other land spaces in the world. And there were stages, it didn't do this overnight.

At one time you had colonialism and then the scholars started saying, "Well, colonialism doesn't exist in Latin America and it doesn't exist in Vietnam; we'll call it something else, we'll call it neo-colonialism." Then they argued back and forth because at that time it was very vague, what do you mean. So we say that at one point the neo-colonialism was the bridge stage between the elimination of nationhood. So, therefore, at one time you had colonialism that meant that people from the mother country went to other countries and they controlled their government. They were in a minority, they would draw out raw materials. The natives were always in the majority and many of the natives were not even affected

by the presence of the settlers, you see. But something else happened. The settler, in most cases went back home. He either just left his army or he left a puppet government made up of natives, you see. And something else happened. The total economy of all of these countries, it was so integrated into the American empire until we can't even make a distinction between that other land space and this land space. So I think that just for precision we would have to identify new phenomena. We would have to say things have been transformed to the point where nations do not exist and they stopped existing when the United States became empire the rest of the world was transformed into something. And we'll discuss that in a little bit. But first that we must recognize that with the philosophy of dialectical materialism there's nothing that will stay the same so this is stipulation.

Now the Black Panther Party has been called many things because at one time we followed somewhat, I don't know what you would call it, you might call it orthodoxed Marxist stand, you see. When I say orthodox, we tried to, I don't know, we didn't really try, we went along with, reluctantly, many people who were really historical Marxists, you see.

In other words, they thought that the things that happened in 1917 in Russia would happen all over again and because of their historical approach, they failed in their analysis and came up with truths or knowledge that was short of reflecting the true nature of things. In other words, we cannot expect the same things to happen here or in the world that happened in 1917 and in Russia, which is now called the Soviet Union. And I'm going to interject this because it becomes very important at the end of our conversation because in 1917, as you very well know, a revolution occurred there under the leadership of Marx and Lenin, under the leadership of Lenin using the thought of Marx. That revolution was carried out by the proletarians. By proletarians we mean factory workers. The proletarians at that time in Russia represented the class that carried the potential to create the new society to a higher level. The proletarians were the industrial workers but Russia, at that time, was basically an agricultural society and the peasantry was in the majority. The peasantry was in the majority but they did not carry the revolutionary potential and, in fact, they did not carry because of the conditions at that time, the total conditions they were not able to make revolution or change the society.

The proletarians were a minority. They represented a very small class at that time. The proletarians worked in the factories while the bourgeois class owned the means of production. The say that came about is that things seemed, remember I said and I didn't explain that every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination, that means I talked about the sun, while the sun seems to build itself, let's say at some point it probably builds its heat and its momentum and circulating the universe. It also is doing something else. It is also cancelling itself out and this is true of everything else. While it's building itself up, it's also cancelling itself out. Now this also happened with the peasantry in Russia because of the total condition. Now, mainly because of the development of technology and the exploitation of the bourgeois, which were the Capitalists at that time. In other words, the peasants, because of their division and because they were attached to the land, had a tendency to control all of the things that they grew and all the labor was consumed by the family or else very little was used for trade and so forth. Because this was a fact, they had a tendency to stay at one level of development as far as

technology was concerned and as far as creating such institutions that might lighten the burden of toil that would eventually free man from labor. So the bourgeoisie, because of its treachery and because of its greed, expropriated some of the work by buying up land, being feudal lords, and so forth; and they bought this up and they called what the workers did, they paid the peasants a small price and what happened was they would only pay them X amount and would never really be the whole amount it was owed to them because he could not afford to pay them for all their labor. If he paid them for all their labor it would do him no good to be a capitalist because he wouldn't make anything out of it. So, therefore, he exploited them because of his greed, because he wanted more than he could consume, and it wasn't because of the kindness of his heart or it wasn't because he wanted to advance the society he wanted more. So he expropriated and he accumulated what was called profit and he used this wealth that he had stolen through his thievery to pay off the workers, but he would never pay them as much as their labor was worth. By doing this he accumulated so much until eventually he could create, build machines so he could cut down on the number of hours necessary for the people to work and therefore, he could

get more profit.

While he was doing this and it wasn't a good thing if we look at it from the sides of the peasants or the majority, but he thought it was good because it was creating wealth for himself and while it didn't reduce the labor of most of the peasants, it reduced his labor so he was becoming somewhat free. While he was doing this he was doing it at the expense of the peasant, you see. So he was building also an industrial base, because as he got one machine he would build another and another and another and finally he had a pretty big industry and he had workers then who were not attached to the soil and did not own their tools and did not ever hope to own their land. They just labored for that man so that he could pay them enough money so they could eat. This created what we call a surplus or a potential for surplus and also created the proletarian class that in 1917 was the minority class in Russia.

Now, while the capitalist was doing this he was also eliminating himself because he was creating such conditions that would make possible for what we call an equal distribution of wealth. It also created industrial base as

we already investigated something that the peasants probably wouldn't have got for themselves that they had created, and I say that what they wouldn't have got for themselves, but really they did do it. Of course, they wouldn't exploit themselves. So in that way they wouldn't have took the process to save it because why, you see. They weren't greedy but I would like to show you the dual nature of things. While he created the industrial base he also created the necessary conditions for what the Russians shortly after that called socialism. In other words, it would free the people from the soil, it would give them more leisure so they could engage in creative productivity so they could be free to do the things that would make them happy instead of doing the things that would provide for himself and for his master, who was a capitalist.

So while the capitalist gave raise to his own strength he also eliminated his strength and he eliminated the strength by paying less and less, creating the conditions so the people could eventually expropriate because of anger, because they became more and more aware of what he had done to them, and it created a situation where in 1917, Lenin was able to organize a force of workers and create a socialist

society. We'll hold socialist because of a lack of a better term. We'll say he advanced society. He advanced it because after the revolution that what was once owned by a small ruling circle was owned by all of the people of Russia, now called the Soviet Union. There's no private ownership in Russia even to this day. And there's no private ownership because the people in Russia fought a revolution in order to share equally the wealth in that country, and the equality is not absolute even at this time. And we'll explain that towards the end of this conversation. But any rate, a society was changed and at this time Russia is a major industrial society and while the capitalists in the country and the bourgeoisie built wealth for itself, he also eliminated himself.

Now, I had to go on that long thing to explain determination and limitation, how everything has a dual character. Now, as far as the United States is concerned, or the American empire, that I say that it's changed and transformed the whole world and I also said that the Black Panther Party has deviated from what we call the orthodoxed thinking of so-called Marxists, because we're not historical Marxists, we're creative Marxists and that we're not flunkies for anyone and we're dialectical materialists and we're not historical materialists. So what we're saying is that if you're a

dialectical materialist, you realize that everything is changing all the time. We also challenge some of the scholars in Marxism because they say that you must depend upon the proletarians to carry the banner of revolution because they always have carried it. We would say that's evidenced of this person being a historian and a follower of Hegel instead of Marx and Engel because they're saying that because it happened in the past it will remain static in the future and this is non-dialectical. We will say it will be anything but what it was in the past. So we say that, at this time, that there is many similarities between the way things seem to change, but they're not the same. In other words, that the Black Panther Party says the proletarian class or the workers here in the United States, the workers under the same conditions that we have today, do not carry the potential for revolution. They do not carry the potential to change society into a place where people will be able to live happily together in unity and sharing.

We said they do not carry that we say the Lumpen proletarians carry it and we say the Lumpen proletarians are the unemployables. We say that we would also agree with some of the scholars that it takes a popular revolution to

change society into a socialist or communist society. It's never done by a class that does not have the potentiality for majority or being the majority or in fact, is not the majority. But it at least has to have the potentiality to be a majority. And all of the conditions would have to be such to indicate that this class will be the majority in the future. For being the majority to lead the revolution. But we say that following the lumpen proletariat we admit again, and I say this not to be redundant, for emphasis added, that we are minority and the lumpen proletariat means the Left Wing of the proletariat class or the unemployables who once were workers or maybe they never even made that status, you see. But at any rate, they are not workers at this point, or maybe they're seasonal, they're only employed in seasons and we say the conditions in the country at this time would indicate this, that we do carry the potentiality of being the majority because, if according to some experts, if the ruling circle remains in power for the next ten years, that the industry in this country will only need 10,000 men or proletarians to deal with that.

In other words, there will be only 10,000 proletarians. And everything would be mechanized to the point where it would be a push button operation so those people running the

industries, we wouldn't even call them proletarians any more, we would call them what some people say are technocrats. The age of technocracy would be the order of the day and we see because things are always changing, technology does not stay in the same place, that it's changing all the time. I could start, we could start at automation, and we could go from there to cybernation and now at the present day we're going through the age of technocracy. Technocrat is a man who is so skilled to the point where a few people could stand at buttons, calculating machines, IBM, electric brains and turn out automobiles and anything necessary, you see. So we say that while the lumpen proletarian class at this time is in the minority that we have a future majority, we have the necessary alienation from the production because it does not serve us. And because we don't even work at it to want to and need to create the new society.

The proletarian class at this time is on the decline, it's eliminating, the capitalist is eliminating itself while the lumpen proletarian class or the unemployables are on the upsurge. Just as the peasantry in Russia in 1917 was on the decline while the proletarian class was on the upsurge. So,

therefore, using the dialectical method, we see that things are constantly eliminating themselves and every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination.

Therefore, we are sure if the trends of technology and if the revolution doesn't happen in a couple of years that the lumpen, proletarian class, will lead that. We'll be the vanguard class that holds potentiality to create the new world. So we say this, we say what shall we do? Shall we stop relating to the proletarian class? No! Because, remember we said things do not change, they're transformed. Those same people who are now proletarians are getting very afraid and even some of the proletarians are attacking people who are not working because they are afraid they might not have a job in the next few years. Instead of blaming their master, and the super rich, or all other means of production, they blame a person who does not have a job who might be the lumpen. So this is not from unconsciousness. But everyone would agree that what is happening today is that people are becoming unemployed and unemployable, and we say that while the proletarian will become lumpen, they'll do just that. So we wouldn't mind going into the factories organizing there because the same man who has a job today will not have the job tomorrow. So why wait

until tomorrow to start educating him to the necessities of revolution, why not start today? So we would do this.

Now I say that we've been criticized because many people say well they're not really Marxists because all Marxists know the proletarians will lead the revolution. And we say not so, the lumpen proletarians will do so. And I said this in order to make this point: That along with the transformation of all things that we have some new phenomena. We have the lumpen proletarians, we have the world being one community now. We have the world being one community and there's an action for nations. The United States is not even a nation, because we call that empire. In history, empires could exist and they did exist along with other nations. We'll agree to this, and we said that the Romans had an empire, but while they had an empire there were some nations in existence that the Romans didn't even know about. So we call the Roman Empire the primitive empire. The Romans ruled all the known world. But this is why they called themselves imperialists. They had an empire because they ruled all the known world. Today I think we could reach an agreement that the fascist forces in the small ruling circle who controls them,

the bosses, they know all of the world, and control all of it. So therefore, the modern empire doesn't make allowances for any other nation being in existence. And I say that the difference from colonialism where a country's economy and culture and political institutions are only partially controlled because we're saying that the ruling circle, the 76 companies, and some experts say 20 companies have integrated the economy, the culture, the political institutions into one body, and that's the ruling circle who operates out of Manhattan or Wall Street. They not only have taken the wealth from everyone, they also took people, they took people, they took the Africans from Africa in 1619 to Jamestown and they started to use the labor of black Africans for their own advancement. Then they took the Chinese - they shanghaied the Chinese and they worked the Chinese on the railroad. And then they took wealth from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. They centralized it. They centralized it. One of the means to have a socialist society is to have centralization. That's why the capitalists in Russia in 1917 served a positive purpose as well as a negative one and after the economy and I say that first its not enough to say everything has been centralized, let's investigate that.

The first thing, what is a nation. A functional definition, a very functional definition - a nation first usually is a land space, a geography that separates it from other people, from other land space, from other culture by either land or partition or water, or some division, and this group of people who live on this particular land space will control, they control their political institutions, their cultures, and they have control of their territorial integrity. In other words, that no one can violate the territory without a fight, and matter of fact, they have enough control where they could be pretty sure that they will not suffer the wrath of another people from another land space and another culture. Also, they control the political institution and their economy. Now, as this particular, as these people in this other geographical location lose these qualities, we start to doubt their nationhood for whatever reasons. Now if they lose enough of them, we say that the country has been colonized. If their political institutions control, if their economy is controlled to a certain degree, but yet they still have the wealth and the ground for potentialities to pull out of that and control their thinking at a later date, let's call that

colonialism.

Let's add another characteristic that people from a mother country are present there as settlers, and controlling the major political institutions. And then after colonialism becomes somewhat sophisticated, the settler draws out, and still he controls some of the economy, usually a single crop, or a single part, and he attempts to inflict his culture in order to maintain his support. After he controls the political institution, the economic institution, the cultural institution, and after he violates the land, the territorial boundary lines whenever he wants to, then we would say that the country's not a nation, and then if he takes all of this, and integrates it into one centralized control, then we would say a nation who does not exist at all. We would say more or less it's like a community. It's like a community under siege. It's like a community where an occupying army and also a small group of people who don't even live there and taking the wealth, whether it's human labor, whether it's materials on the ground, and taking that and centralizing some place else. Matter of fact, we would say that it fits the community that we would call a community, not only under siege, but a community in possession by someone else.

Well, I'm very hung-up now. I just received a note that we only have ten minutes, because school is going to be out, but really I've only laid the foundation to try to gain some truth, and that it would take me a couple of more hours, but I would like to say this, I'll try to accelerate my language which I find difficult doing, and I say this, today, what exists is reactionary intercommunalism. Reactionary intercommunalism exists when the people of the world, the communities of the world are under siege to the point where the ruling circle forces are actually in that country, controlling that country, and when the whole world's apparatus of economy and culture through the advancement of technology and the mass-media, is also under change. In other words, black people in this country once had a culture, of our own, but yet we were transformed by the mass-media here and the small group of the ruling circle is in control of that. And, in other words, that we've been almost completely transformed and now it takes about five hours to get to New York, this again advancement of transportation, takes about five hours to fly to New York, and it takes about ten hours to get to Algiers, Algeria, where our Minister of Information is, Eldridge Cleaver,

who incidentally wants to come back home, and you can prepare a place for him. But we only have a little time and I'll try to speed up. That it takes ten hours to get to Vietnam, it takes just about eleven hours to get to any point in the world from any place, you see. And if you couple this with the fire power of the ruling circle, if you couple this with the wealth that's been ripped off and centralized, you'll see that the world is one community and black people in this country are dispersed collection of communities, you know a community in Watts, a community in Oakland, a community in Harlem.

We see the same thing with the Chinese in San Francisco. You have a community of Chinese in Chinatown. You also have a community of Chinese in Hong Kong and also in the People's Republic. A community under siege, a community that anything they organize, they have to take under consideration of force of the United States, they have to take under consideration the existence of the United States to plan their own lives, and that means their lives are really controlled, So we say the people of the world represents not a nation, but a collection of institutions, they're supposed to serve the

the people who live around them, and conceivably you can live your whole life without getting most of the desired things, and most of the reinforcements and gradifications out of living in that one community, so the difference from the nation because usually they're a collection of communities revolving around one super structure, and now the world is always revolving around the ruling circle of the United States, and we say that the occupying army has many faces but they act the same way. The same army that has the people's community of Vietnam under siege is the same community that has the Black Panther Party house and the black community and the university community under siege here. All of the forces never live in the community, always live outside of it. It's the same with the Vietnamese people. So we say that what we want is really not reactionary intercommunalism, but revolutionary intercommunalism, where all communities in the world unite and down the racist reactionary exploited, and then give the power to the people where the people will control their own communities. So we say the Vietnamese people and the African people in Angola and Mozambique want the same thing. All the people in Latin America want the same thing. They want the racists, fascists

troops to withdraw from their community, stop the murder of their people so they can control their institutions there and then so the people of the world will not unite and for awhile we will have what we call revolutionary intercommunalism, because the people of the communities of the world would then have a revolutionary inter-relationship instead of the reactionary kind. The reactionary kind that was brought on by the fascists.

One more point, remember we said every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination. This also proves what is happening now. So therefore, the ruling circle can eliminate itself by centralizing some of the wealth and make the world one so the people of the world will be truly united as we are now but only in the reactionary fascists. So what has happened is this. That we will have one world, in fact we do have one world as far as culture is concerned, that the world is so small now that all of our cultures be modified, but we want it to be modified in a revolutionary way, and we don't want that small ruling circle to control that transformation. We want all the people together to control it and in order to control it we have to

to take control of the means of production and also the mass-media that most culture. We know that we can't hold onto even our old African culture, that our culture's going to change anyway, because everything is under change, but we don't like the way it has changed. We don't want the kind of values that's been established by the ruling circle, but we will acknowledge the change, but what we say is this, that at the point of the capitalists, the ruling circle, ripping off everything, that we say here in the United States even if we had a revolution, it could never be a socialist revolution. The reason it could never be a socialist revolution is because a socialist revolution relies upon statehood. Marx said that society has a tendency to develop from, say, slave society, which virtually doesn't exist anymore, and to weigh slaves from there they call a capitalist developed. From there, capitalist state, from capitalist state to socialist state, and then to non state, but we, as Marx said at one time, the people will become, would be the power of the people would bring on this age where statehood and state will wither away, but we find after a correct analysis that the state has already been withered away by the reactionary. That's why we

have now reactionary in the communalism. So what has happened is this. While the capitalists centralized the wealth in Russia in 1917 or off that land space, they could have a socialist revolution, and we would already laid out whether they did or not, and at this time the United States could not have a socialist revolution because if we had a revolution here with the people in this geographic location, were to take over means of production, and we did not have a redistribution of wealth on a world level, there would not be a revolution, because a socialist revolution also says that the people must share equality in their wealth and the possession that the people must be returned.

But what if you get in a situation where a small group of people hold possession of the world goods? So this would mean in order for them to have truly a socialist revolution, and I like the word because it's not a social, in order for them to have honest, good revolution, a revolution that's fair, they would have to have a redistribution of wealth on a world level, and this is what communism is about. Because it's a world planning of the economy, it's a world interchange of cultures, it's a world interchange of people because territorial

lines will not exist only within the revolutionary way, but we cannot go into this right away, because the Communist ideology is also a spiritual thing or cultural thing, and I say that when we have our revolution, it will be the age of, revolutionary intercommunalism will exist..

Because my mouth is too dry. Let me see, I'm trying to hurry.

Look, we cannot hide a, after the state has withered away we cannot have a complete change all at once, so revolutionary intercommunalism will linger and this is why. In sociology we learn that there's a structural change, there's also a cultural lag. In other words, after you change. The means of production or after you change an institution or organize a certain level of society, the values of the people will lag behind the change, and this is why that we will not go directly into an age of communism because while the people receive the structure, which is the means of production, it will take a time to get rid of racist thought, bourgeois thought, and reactionary thinking. So we have a structural change, but yet it will take a time for the people to deal with the mass-media in order to create a culture that's essentially human, and this is the culture when there was the most, the best in

man, and also it would be the time where the people will siege the means of production, where the proletariats will still not exist, because one of themselves said that at some point where after the people received the means of production, then they would develop it to such an extent where a few men would be able to stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains, because, in fact, that Marx was a pretty lazy person, and he wanted to free man from toil.

So we say the proletarian class is not even a static class because it's not static. As a matter of fact, it should not be, because we want to get away from the toil by the sweat of our brow, and we will do it by developing our technology so that we can then engage in productive creativity and with the people of the world, minds will be changed so we will see that we are all very similar and not so different after all, that we have more similarities, as a matter of fact, because we're all homosapiens or of the same species, and there will be no need for the ruling circle to create a racist society, a society because the bridges were not united, and the people will prevail, and the people who truly have power, and the people who then will go from one country or one land

space to another, just as now you go from your home to this school. And we'll share, and this seems to be the trend, and if I'm wrong, it's not because my thinking is wrong, it's simply because, perhaps, the application is wrong, and perhaps you will be able to give us something. But as long as it is the case that the Black Panther Party will struggle with people in the world.

Power to the people. Free Bobby, free Bobby Seale. Free Angela, and free the Soledad Brothers, and we have to free all political prisoners. And I'm sorry that I bored you. We don't even have time for a question and answer period. I'll come back sometime. Thank You.

SF 157-1203

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON, and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement IJ (RYM II) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticommunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, pro-black nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

APPENDIX

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SF 157-1203

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 7, 1970, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

SF 157-1203

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968-1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

SF 157-1203

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966-1967, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States and all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting a riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

A third source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffeehouse" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an Agrarian Reform Program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

WEATHERMAN

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," ("New Left Notes," June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and CASTRO's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300-350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 percent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NO.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173-A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers' struggle."

APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

April 29, 1971

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER
PARTY; TREASON

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above,
at San Francisco, California.

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b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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