IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

July 3, 1967

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called Black leaders within the political arena. The oppresssors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them the luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leadersservethe oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive - non-violent.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color Black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

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

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

The oppressor, the endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive withing the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away., The implacables view both theoppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsec leaders than he has for the oppressor himslef, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining breif moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their dispair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act -- murder, imprisonment, or exileby Huey P. Newton

to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the

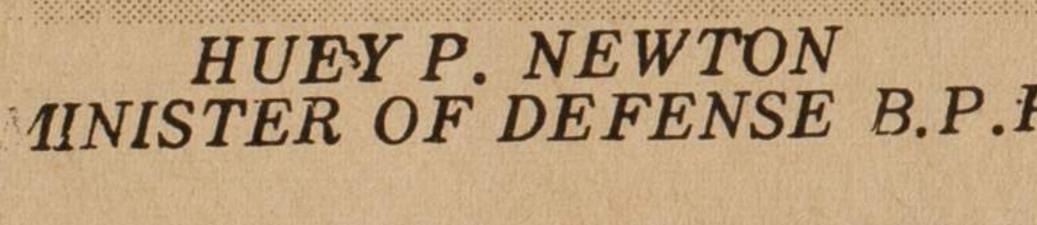
The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs -- food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure have attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to sit near White people in a restaurant (while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to ...e absurd and erroneous, decitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodded Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grassroots -- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads endorsed by the power structure, the people have not had the academic or administra-

tive knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen that could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshhold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the Black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The hires of Malcolm have picked up the gun and, taking first things first, are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the hires of Malcolm to the edorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely MINISTER OF DEFENSE B.P.F_{execution} for treason and being too wrong for too long.



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE BELIEVES THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ARM THEM-SELVES AGAINST THIS TERROR BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. A PEO-PLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED SO MUCH FOR SO LONG AT THE HANDS OF A RACIST SOCIETY, MUST DRAW THE LINE SOMEWHERE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA MUST RISE UP AS ONE MAN TO HALT THE PROGRESSION OF A TREND THAT LEADS INEVITABLY TO THEIR TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

> HUEY P. NEWTON MINISTER OF DEFENSE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

FREE HUEY! FREE BOBBY! FREE ERIKA! FREE LANDON AND RORY! FREE BURSEY!

FREE THE

FREETHE CONN. 14! FREETHE L.A. 18!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

By Randy Furst

For 22 million black Americans in the United States, the daily struggle for survival is particularly acute. They are oppressed as blacks and as workers-and in capitalist America, they come out last, economically, politically and of course, as a race.

What follows are statistics outlining that oppression, derived from government reports except where otherwise noted:

Infant mortality rate: Out of every 100 babies who die in infancy, 75% are black babies, the National Urban League said in its 1968 annual report.... The infant mortality rate in 1968 was 24.8 per thousand for non-white infants, less than one month old. The rate for whites was 15.6... The infant death rate for one month to a year was 14 per thousand for non-whites. The rate for whites was five per thousand. (There are about 22 million blacks, constituting 11% of the population of the U.S. The term non-white is often used by the Census Bureau. Of the total non-white population, 92% is black.)

Life expectancy: For blacks in the U.S., the Urban League reports that life expectancy was 63.6 years in 1968 while for white Americans, it was 70:19 years.

Income and poverty: Despite the rhetoric of the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, corporate profits remained far more important than people's incomes and black Americans remained the most oppressed. Based on the government's definition of poverty, there were 25.5 million poor people in the U.S. in 1968 and three out of 10 were black and non-white, the Department of Labor reports... In 1968 the income of black families was only 60% of the median incomes of whites

.... The median family income of a black family in the U.S. was \$5359 in 1968. The median income for a white family according to the U.S. Dept. of Commerce was \$8936. . . . In 1968 23% of black families had median incomes of less than \$3000. Nine per cent of white families in the U.S. earned less than \$3000. . . . The Commerce Department reports that one-third of all families that were black or non-white earned \$8000 or more. However, inflation has taken its toll on increased incomes. An \$8000 income in 1968 was equivalent to the purchasing power of \$5100 in 1947... Black women workers face the most severe wage discrimination. The income of a black woman is about \$1800 less than a black male. The median income of a full-time black male worker who took home wages or salary in 1968 was \$5370. For a black woman it was \$3561.... In 1968, about one half of all blacks who lived in urban areas, lived in poverty areas. Some 55% of blacks lived in central cities.

Unemployment: The unemployment rate among blacks was 6.5% according to Labor Department figures that carry through January 1969, a figure that runs twice that of whites. At the same fime, the unemployment rate for black teenagers was 24.4%, compared to 10.8% for white teenagers.

Employment: About 40% of black and other non-whites

were in service, laborer or farm occupations, more than twice the proportion of whites who must do such work.... In 1890, a reported seven of eight black workers were field workers or servants. Twenty per cent of black or non-white women workers (more than 800,000) are private household workers.... Some 45% of all black and non-white workers with children under six

were employed. For white women faced with the same situation, the figure was 28%.

Capitalists: Nixon's promise of creating black capitalists in the U.S. is a myth. It can't happen here. The American ruling class is virtually all white and most black-owned business depends on loans from white-controlled banks, and the white power structure control. . . . As one illustration, there were some 1000 blackoriented radio stations in the U.S. in 1967 which reportedly brought in \$28 million. All but five of those stations were owned by whites, according to History of the Negro in America (1969).

Welfare: Black Americans are disproportionately on welfare. Some 3.8 million black and non-whites received welfare allowances in 1968. An estimated 5.6 million whites received

The law: According to the statistical Abstract of the United States for 1969, more than one-third of individuals in prison, reformatories, jails or work owers were black in 1960. There were 216,049 whites in "correctional" institutions and 133,249 blacks. . . . Between 1930 and 1964 some 1751 whites were executed for alleged crimes. During the same period, 2066 blacks were executed by civil authorities.

Education: On May 17, 1954, in Brown vs. the Board of Education" the supreme court ruled selfool segregation was unconstitutional since "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbade discrimination in public accommodations and employment, rights guaranteed by Constitutional amendments-but discrimination remains a blatant reality... For example, according to the government definition of racial imbalance, 99% of the schools in Los Angeles are segregated... On Sept. 13, Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health Education and Welfare said that 3327 of 4476 school districts in 17 Southern and border states had been totally desegregated. The Civil Rights Commission has charged that more than 1000 of HEW's "completely desegregated" districts have no black students at all... Black students continue to finish high school at the lowest rates, although the government says the number graduating is increasing. Eighteen per cent of whites and 42% of blacks 20 and 21 years old had not completed high school in 1968... Some 4.3% of the black and non-white population completed college in 1960. In 1969, 6.6% of blacks and nonwhites had finished four years of college or more. In 1969, 16.2% of whites had finished four years of college or more... An estimated 3% of medical students in the U.S. are black.

Housing: The Bureau of the Census says that housing which lacks basic plumbing facilities or is dilapidated does not meet specified criteria. A full 24% of black and other non-white households fail to meet this specific criteria. For whites, 6% of the households fell below this minimum standard.

The war in Vietnam: After all this, black Americans must fight in Vietnam against a people struggling for selfdetermination. In 1966 and 1967, 269,000 black Americans were called for pre-induction examinations by Selective Service. During those two years alone, some 93,000 blacks were drafted. . . . As of March 31, 1969, 67,000 blacks had served in Southeast Asia, and 4000 blacks had died, according to the Defense Department.



Black Panther Party Platform and Program



Following is the 10-point program of the Black Panther party, adopted in October 1966. 1. We want freedom. We want power to

determine the destiny of our black community. We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny. 2. We want full employment for our peo-

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

3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our black community. We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of 40 acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The Amer-

ican racist has taken part in the slaughter over 50 million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings. We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

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

7.We want an immediate end to police

brutality and murder of black people. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails. We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

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

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nationssupervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny