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*LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER
OF INTERCOMMUNALISM
AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF
HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.*



B.



THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, HUEY P. NEWTON'S MESSAGE AT BOSTON COLLEGE - NOVEMBER 18, 1970



Power to the people, brothers and sisters. I would like to thank you for my presence here tonight because you are responsible. I would be in a maximum security penitentiary if it weren't for the power of the people. So you're responsible, and only you.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman, for Ericka Huggins for Angela Davis, for the New York 21 and the Soledad Brothers. For all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Free the people. The 28th and 29th of November we will have a People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come. Because, after all, the people are the makers of world history. The people are responsible for everything. So how can we have a convention if we have no people? Some people think that we can have a people's convention without the people being there. I think that, that was 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 in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program. We feel that we, 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, so, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten-Point Program is a survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words, it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy, with minds 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 community health programs.

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We have a bussing program. We call it the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners. Because we realize that the fascist regime who operate the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and the parents and friends to the prisons, they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So this too is a survival program.

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 if the people are not here, then, of course, revolution cannot be achieved because the people make revolution. The people make revolution and only the people. The theme of our People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At our convention, we will present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit, or perhaps the kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. And you'll need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few 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 see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. Matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality and murder of any kind. Matter of fact, 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 a reactionary set of conditions will cause his death. I repeat, if we do nothing we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing we are accepting the situation. The situation is a condition of reaction, so, therefore, a reaction will cause our 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

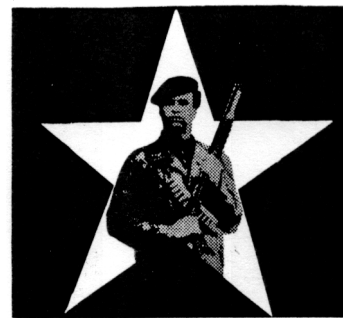
the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw.

Yes, because we feel that where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that we can change all of the conditions and that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary enthusiasm and it is 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 that says that if I am put down, if I am 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 am driven out, it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with the 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. Of course, our real desire is to live, but we will not be cowed, we will not be intimidated.

I would like to explain 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 was not was not. Now I am a man, things have changed a lot. Some things nearly so, others, not. It is a puzzlement". How do we solve this? We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on, really what is going on divorced from our attitudes and emotions that we usually project into a situation. In other words, 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 good use to serve our interests. So we will become subjective when we apply the knowledge that we received from the external world using the scientific method. But at that time, we will admit that we will be subjective,

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C.

because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrating theory with 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 revisionists, they call us hoodlums. They call us everything but the child of man. But tonight we will answer those people. And I would hope that all of them have a front seat because I would like to have a dialectical argument with them.

You know, in order to understand a group of forces operating at the same time, science developed what is called a discipline. One of the characteristics or properties of this discipline is, first, to be disinterested. Not to be disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem, but 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 even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with a belief because it is very important. And because it is very difficult to test your first premise. But after we agree or stipulate a first premise we then can have an intelligent argument because then we would just require each other to be consistent down to a valid conclusion. So tonight I would ask you to stipulate that an external world exists. An external world exists independently of us, in spite of whether we are around or not. In other words, the 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. After we agree to that, we can go on with our discussion.

You know, the scientific method relies heavily on a concept they call empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future, it only tells you about the past. In other words, it can only tell you about what you gained through observation and experience and that is 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 reason, because Kant's reasoning did not depend on the external world. It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon dealing with symbols in such a way where you manipulated them to come up with a conclusion based upon reason. For example, "If the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, I will 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 we do not have to depend upon the external world. With empiricism we 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 he came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after we integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking, not only are we in touch with that world outside us, but we can also explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of the phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict, attempting to reach some harmony.

You know also, that 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 environment, isolating it and putting it into a category, and not letting anyone know about the fact that once he took it out of its environment, once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words with a discipline such as sociology where we would 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 would 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 that they say that when atoms collide, that they divide into electrons, protons and neutrons, if I remember correctly. What happened

to the atom? It was transformed. In the social world the same thing happens, or a similar thing. We can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two cultures collide a process occurs or a condition occurs which I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of contact. Well Marx called the social forces, when the social forces collided, or classes, he called that a contradiction. In the physical world, when physical forces collide sometimes we call it just that, a collision. For example, 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 those two cars been turned back to back and sped off in opposite directions, they would not be having a contradiction, they would be contrary, covering different spaces at 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're having 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 we're having a contradiction when actually we're being contrary. When people argue, when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction, and we hope that if we argue long enough, provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope that we can have some kind of synthesis. And tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that the mistake is either that some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact, in spite of their claim to scholarly research and in spite of their claim that they 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'll explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party because we follow the dialectical method and we also integrate theory with practice. What we are not - We are not mechanical Marxists and we're not historical materialists. Some

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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 thoughts that edges upon dogma, and what we sometimes call, flunkkeyism.

Marx attempted to set up a framework. Just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain 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 things, or those principles. And you're not afraid of the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective. Because you realize the method that you're using, if you're using the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it the last time,

because then that's history. And if things are in a constant state of transformation, we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, words that we used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe events past then we might confuse people. They might think that things are static and therefore 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, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and it was called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party". In that work, Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletarians in this country at this time, or the industrial worker, does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpen-proletarians, carry that revolutionary potential and in fact would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society, and, therefore, will act as the vanguard. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor Party 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 a successful social revolution? I would agree that it is necessary for the people who carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people, I would agree to that. In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that the lumpen proletarians are actually the minority in this country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. It only goes to show that what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes we think a thing is really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So what we will do is tear this thing apart; we will analyze it. 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 proletarians. Lenin, using Marx's theory, saw the trends because he was not a historical materialist, 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 trends and the ever changing nature of things, see that while the lumpen proletarians are the minority and the proletarians, the majority, we also see that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we'll start with automation, go to cybernation, and then go from there probably into 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 would go on developing their technological machinery. They would go on developing their technological machinery because at the capitalist's hands and the ruling circle's hands, they're not interested in the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him

the logic that he's always followed. 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. At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because the trend is that technology is making leaps, (It made a leap all the way to the moon.) and if the ruling circle remains in power, the proletarian worker, the proletarian working class, will definitely be on the decline, because they will be unemployables and, therefore, swell the ranks of the Lumpens, who are 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 probably carry out the revolution and, in the near future, will be the popular class, the majority. Of course, I would not like to see all of my people unemployed or unemployables. But, being objective, because we're objective, because we're 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 a feudalistic class structure to a capitalistic 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 for a stipulation, that the slave class in the world has virtually been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force, and if we could agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear, but just be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the proletarian or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course the people would not disappear, they would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle would not need him, and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production, then he will be called an unemployable or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical, I think that's dialectical. I think it would be very strange to say only the slave class could disappear.

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You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said this. He said, "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 Party and others not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want.

After taking those things under consideration, we see that 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 is static. I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 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, working for your necessities, as somewhat of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory after he put Marx's analysis into practice, was geared to get rid of the proletarians. In other words, that by the proletarian class or the working class seizing the means of production, they would plan in such a way so that they would be free from toil. As a matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds to me like he saw a proletarian working class transformed so that they could have that free block of time, so that 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 that in spite of 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, the Black Panther Party says it's perfectly correct to organize the proletarians because after he's kicked out of the factory, because he'll be called unemployable or lumpen, doesn't stop or transform his interest which is to live, and in order to live he has to eat. So his best interest is to seize the machinery that he has produced so that he can produce the abundance so he and his brethren can live. Now, I'm saying, that we will not wait until the proletariat becomes the lumpenproletarian to educate him. Today we must lift the consciousness of the people 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.

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 can change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States, or North America, became an empire it changed the whole composition, and 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 imperialist, controls all other nations. Now some time ago in history there existed a phenomena we called, well I call, primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world. But in fact they 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 see 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 itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of the negation. Meaning, 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 socialist society to have 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.

First I will roughly give you some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. These are economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety.

In 1966, we called ourselves, that is, the Party, a Black nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black nationalists because we thought that 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 found 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 free--and this is what we really want, to be free--we thought the nation would make us free--we saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and, therefore, we had to unite with the peoples of the world, so we called ourselves Internationalists. We sought solidarity with the peoples 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 transformation and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, 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 trans-

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formed at the hands of the imperialist and the ruling circle in the interests of the imperialists. So we found that in order to be an internationalist, we had to be also a nationalist, or at least acknowledge nationhood. So all internationalists are also nationalists, because, if I understand that word, "inter" means some inter-relationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now if no nation is in existence and in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact we will try to shed light upon it, 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.

So tonight, the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim Internationalism and support Intercommunalism. We have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information that 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 the world into what we call reactionary intercommunalism. They laid siege upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by the institutions in their land. The Black Panther Party would like to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of Revolutionary Intercommunalism. This would be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world.

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

bique. 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 which serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation, because a community evolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state and the state has certain control over the community. 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 spoke earlier about the negation of the 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 cannot at this time exist any place in the world. Because socialism would require a socialist state, and if state does not exist how could socialism exist? So how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we describe certain progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? How do we define certain communities as North Vietnam and the Provisional Government in the South? How do we explain these communities, if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood. We say this: we say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied, just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground for preparation for the liberation of the world, seizing of the wealth 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.

I stated that in the United States 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 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 revolution and redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America when the ruling circle itself is guilty of trespass de bonas as per todas. That is, they've taken away the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America, and used them as their very own. That is a tort.

Now remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. Now, if you have to think in terms of planning an economy on a world wide level, on an Intercommunal level, that says something. That says that the people have been ripped off and it's very 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: we say reparation will not even serve because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, 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 is that we will have to acknowledge how the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that some time ago, nations could exist because technology had not advanced to the level it is now.

Some people will argue that nations still exist because of the cultural differences. By way of definition, just for practical argument, culture is a collection, or 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 can see the transformation. This was achieved through a long stay, but also through the high technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. We see that

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the ruling circle has also launched satellites in order to put the beam across the world to indoctrinate the world. We see that while there might be what we call cultural differences, the difference is not a qualitative difference but a quantitative difference. In other words, that if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are

going on 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.

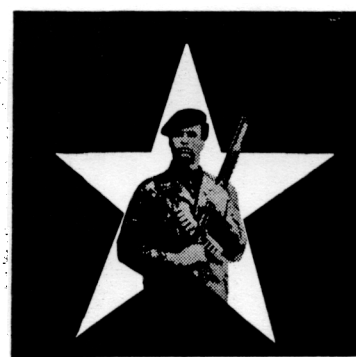
But again it's in the interest of the ruling circle. I don't believe that history can be backtracked, you see. So if the world is really that interconnected, then we would have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free, then they would control the institutions of their community and also have some form of representation in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States will have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, first return what they have stolen. So I don't see where we could talk about socialism when we're talking about world distribution. I think this is what Marx talked about when he talked 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 to 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 is 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 from San Francisco to here? It only takes 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 rioting. 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 seige, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid seige on that community and that house and they used the weapons, the same weapons they use in Vietnam, matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens. 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. We say that it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where the power is. We want the power for the people.

I said earlier, and I strayed away, that the theory of the negation of the 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 capitalist base, and finally go into 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 then move on him as a collective force.

You know, we've had 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 have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're 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 that you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as the African people 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. Because they have no superstructure. Or they do have a superstructure--the superstructure of the industrial base that they labor to produce was all put on Wall Street. And we would all agree that once a particular people, centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base, we won't find it in every single community, because every single community would not have the resources because it's already been centralized. This is a distorted form of collectivity. Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So after the things have been 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 capitalism 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 peoples of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars 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 transformation takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with Revolutionary Intercommunalism 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 that 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 human', that will serve the people instead of serve some god. You see, 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 develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. That will be necessary.

So tonight, I think I've covered some of what I had 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 petition you, to ask you to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. And also I would like to thank the peoples of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberated communities, in the liberated territory. So, they've actually set the example for us, we know we have to do in order to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities.

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