

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

BLACK PAPER

REVOLUTION IN THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY

AND

NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE BLACK COLONY

An analysis and assessment of the political
dynamics in the white mother country of America
and its black colony of Afro-America

by

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REVOLUTION IN THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY
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Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of the Showdown -- between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperialist Power Structure. This era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the Exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized Imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony. To achieve these ends we believe that political and military machinery that does not exist now and has never existed must be defeated. We need functional machinery that is able to deal with these two inter-related sets of political dynamics which, strictly speaking, make up the total political situation on the North American continent. Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by a revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time. We

OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

We propose that:

1. The Peace and Freedom Party run our proposed candidates
2. The Peace and Freedom Party support our call for the Black Plebscite
3. That the Peace and Freedom Party support our call for UN observers to be stationed in the major cities or in areas of concentrated black population to halt the AGGRESSION and the provocative tactics of the racist pig gestapo police who occupy our colony as foreign troops occupying conquered territory.
4. That the Peace and Freedom Party join with the Black Panther Party and the Stop the Draft Week organizers and participate in the Stop the Draft Week Demonstrations in April to focus attention and to supply pressure on the demands that the troops of the power structure be withdrawn from Vietnam AND FROM THE BLACK COLONY, AND FROM THE BLACK COLONY, AND FROM THE BLACK COLONY!
5. That the Peace and Freedom Party support the Black Community's demand that those who police the black communities must live in the black communities.

Final note: On Stokely

* The following statement which appears on page 3 of this paper refers to a historical condition which was true at the time the statement was composed, but which no longer exists, and the statement therefore has no present officiality.

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are here tonight because we believe that the Peace and Freedom Party is the beginning of the answer to one half of this equation and that the Black Panther Party is the beginning of the answer of the other half. We do not delude ourselves with the notion that we have found or that we represent or that anybody else has found or represents any final solutions to age old problems, but we do feel that the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party have made a significant breakthrough and have indisputably upped the ante.

THE COALITION

The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and has always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator, and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications. It is a fact that in a very short time these infant political facts have become forces with which the old, established forces must contend. We must recall that the Peace and Freedom Party has been on the ballot only a couple of months, it is less than a year old, and is still wearing the diaper of its liberal democratic parentage. The Black Panther Party is less than two years old and the coalition of which we speak is less than five months old. For new born children, we are already doing a man-size job. This is a source of great optimism and enthusiasm for us, because if in our infancy we are able to do a man-size job, we can dream that when we grow to maturity we can do the giant-size work that history has set out for us.

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black power. Our purpose in entering the political arena is to send the jackass back to the farm and the elephant back to the zoo. We want to put the Establishment up tight. We want to put the black lackeys and bootlickers of the Demo/REpublican Party out of business; some of them will be sent back to the farm, and others can also go to the zoo with the elephants. We want to pull people out of the Democratic Party, out of the Republican Party, and swell the ranks of the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party on the basis outlined above.

PROGRAM OF THE PANTHERS

1. We believe that every human being on the face of the planet earth has a right to live. Therefore, when it is necessary to work to live, every human being has a right to work in order that he may eat and provide himself with basic necessities. If he is physically incapable of work, then society has an obligation to support him for life, or for as long as his disability remains. We demand for every human being the highest standard of living that the present day level of technological development is capable of providing. This encompasses the traditional demand for decent housing, decent clothing, decent food, and decent schooling.

2. Withdraw the troops--replace the occupying army of the police with a public force of black men who live in the community to maintain order and harmony; also, station UN observers in the black colony to observe and halt the police - gestapo actions against black people--prevent genocide and racist extermination violating not only UN Charter of Human Rights but life and right to life and peace of black people.

3. Ten Point Program -- Ten Point Platform -- Ten Point Organizational Structure

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The coalition between our two fraternal parties is based upon Carmichael's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes. We think that this dictum is functional and proper and that it provides a basis for unlimited action with no strings attached. On the basis of this dictum, we think that ultimately we can develop a specific coalition for the specific purpose of destroying capitalistic exploitation and racism. We have freedom to move as far and with such speed as our understanding and imagination and commitment will allow us. We believe that cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and their counterpart in the black colony is absolutely and unequivocally desirable and necessary. We believe that it is suicidal and nonsensical for such potential allies to remain aloof and isolated from each other any longer. All that is needed is for those who fulfill the vanguard function to supply the form of this cooperation. We believe that henceforth the form of cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and those in the colony must be on a coalition basis. We believe that all black colonial subjects should be members of the Black Panther Party, and that all American citizens should be members of the Peace and Freedom Party. We invite other oppressed and colonized people in America to organize themselves and to join our coalition as equal partners. We feel that it is a political mistake of the first order to try and develop a multi-national, all-inclusive political party at this time; to do so would only compound existing confusion and erect new obstacles to the real work that can and must be done.* The Black Panther Party looks upon the black members of the Peace and Freedom Party as misguided political freaks who are trying to maintain in an incorrect manner a dual status; they have one foot in the mother country and the other foot in the colony, and their political manhood gets strangled on the border separating the two nations..

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members of the Peace and Freedom Party whom we will have strategically helped to elect could argue for our position within the Senate and House of Representatives, the State Legislatures, and the city councils.

For those who view the land question, that is, the absence of geographical boundaries of our dispersed colony, as an insurmountable obstacle to nationhood, we say that we will hold the land question in abeyance. We follow the dictum of Osaygefo Kwame Nkrumah, "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you." What the black man in Babylon needs is organized black power, and with that political power he can carve out his place in the sun-- and it won't be on a reservation or in the gas chambers, as certain madmen propose and certain other panic stricken people fear.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

We have offered our Leader, Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the Seventh Congressional District of Alameda County and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our Communications Secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 13th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free. By running Huey P. Newton for Congress we are uniting the revolutionary political arena with the conventional political arena, and thereby obliterating the distinctions between the two. We are able to focus attention in all our campaigns on a revolutionary leader with a revolutionary program within the conventional political context. In over-sophisticated and decadent "revolutionary" circles, this is called "heightening the consciousness of the masses." In practical terms, this kind of campaign becomes another tool for political organization for

THE DUAL STATUS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN BABYLON

Black people in North America have always been plagued by a dual status. We were both slave and Christian, we were both free and segregated, we are both integrated and colonized. In the past this duality has worked to our disadvantage, in the manner that we have turned our blackness from a disadvantage into a rallying point of advantage. Yesterday we were black and oppressed; today our blackness is a tool for our liberation. Our dual status gives us a mythical right of citizenship and the concrete reality of our situation has given us the national consciousness of an oppressed and colonized people. We intend to use them both wisely. The citizenship that we have on paper we will use through the mechanism of our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party. We will use our paper machine right to vote to help strengthen the Peace and Freedom Party and to help it attain its objectives within the framework of political realities in the mother country. Our major emphasis, or direction, and our perspective, however, are inward -- into the black heart of the colony. Our goal is to organize black people for national liberation. In this, our primary task, political reality in the white mother country can only have peripheral and supportive importance. The duality of our status dictates the duality of our strategy.

THE BLACK PLEBISCITE

As our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a Black Plebiscite, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to hold throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. In the past many people and organizations have stated what

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they believed the will of black people to be. The Black Panther Party believes that it is the right of black people to state for themselves the destiny that they desire. We feel that the burning question to which only such a plebiscite can supply the answer is: Whether the black people want to be integrated into Babylon, or whether they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own, with full status and rights with the other nations of the world, including UN membership and diplomatic recognition by the other nations of the world. Through our Minister of Foreign Affairs, James Forman, we have conducted a preliminary poll of certain key member nations of the UN and have learned to our utter satisfaction but not to our surprise, that they are receptive to the idea of the Black Plebiscite. In our perspective on our struggle for liberation, the Black Plebiscite would play a key function. In the colonial analogy, it would correspond to the role of the first or the key political campaign that happened in all countries emerging from colonial bondage. In Guinea the political focus was provided by the campaign against DeGualle's Constitution. In Ghana it was the national election that placed Kwame Nkrumah at the head of the government. The campaign leading to the Plebiscite would be the means of solidly organizing Afro-America along national lines.

Committees organized by people on both sides of the national question will spring up throughout the black colony. The issue will be hotly debated, and people will be organized around the issues involved. The entire political fabric of the mother country would be thrown into a crisis. The argument of those who oppose black national independence would be that blacks do not need it because they are citizens of white America. Our argument would be simply to point out the facts, the reality of the black man's status in white America. Here our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party will become functional because the