



AN INTRODUCTION TO

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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INTRODUCTION

The Black Panther Party began as a response to repeated instances of police violence in the black community. The party was inspired by the Black Panther Party of Lowndes County Alabama (The Lowndes County Freedom Organization) which organized black people in the South to obtain basic rights such as the right to vote. The symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was the Black Panther.

The black panther, as explained by Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, is an animal who will not attack. If attacked, the black panther backs up until he has no more room to back. Then, the black panther will strike out at his assailant and wipe him out. Newton says that the Black Panther Party will not attack unless pushed up against the wall -- where nothing else is possible but to attack its assailants -- in order to live. This principle of armed self-defense which is basic to the Black Panther Party, will be explained in a document below.

The Black Panther Party, started by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale while students at Merritt College in Oakland, set out originally to legally patrol the police. They carried weapons as provided by law and stayed the legal distance from the police whom they watched. The result of this surveillance was a decrease in brutality against members of the black community and increased harassment of the Black Panther Party by the police.

The leaders of the Black Panther Party (originally called the Black Panther Party for Self Defense) soon realized that the police did not make the ultimate decisions as to whom they attacked and why. The police acted as the law enforcement agency for those who made the political decisions. Thus, the Black Panther Party evolved a political program to deal with the type of political decisions which allowed the police to harass the black communities and which have resulted in the dreadful living conditions of black people in this country. (Details of this program may be found in a document below.)

Huey P. Newton has said that the Black Panther Party is the vanguard party of the mass of black people. The black community has not yet attained sufficiently high consciousness to verbalize its demands and to act upon them in a meaningful way. But because they know the nature of the oppression under which they suffer, they identify with the Black Panther Party as the spokesman which articulates their demands. The support for the Black Panther Party increases daily as the black community witnesses what happens to those who speak for them -- the intense brutality and harassment levied against the Black Panthers by the police -- and the refusal of the power structure even to heed the demands of the black community.

In addition to support for the Black Panther Party from the black community locally, groups have been set up all over the country. Internationally, support is evidenced by rallies in Tanzania, Africa, and statements supporting the Black Panthers made by African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure. Both these men have publically supported the demand that Huey Newton be set free.

As Minister of Communication, Kathleen Cleaver has said, since the murder of Black Panther Treasurer, Bobby Hutton, and the jailing of innumerable Panthers, including Eldridge Cleaver and, of course, leader Huey Newton, support and



membership in the Panther Party has increased geometrically. Numerous white groups such as SDS, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, the John Brown Society, Whites Against Racism, Whites for Huey, ministers, ministerial students, lawyers and other members of the white community have publically stated that they support the program of the Black Panther Party and want Huey Newton released from jail.

PROGRAM OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (WHAT WE WANT AND WHAT WE BELIEVE)

The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What we Believe."

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our own destiny.
2. We want full employment for our people.
We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community.
We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

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

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

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

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and Nature's God entitled them; a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

POLITICS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The Black Panther Party program and platform is a result of the analysis that the Party, and especially its leader, Huey Newton, has made of the nature of politics in America.

The way to political change is through power. This is the nature of the black power movement exemplified by Stokeley Carmichael in that term. What does this mean? Huey Newton has said that politics is war without bloodshed and that war is an extension of politics with bloodshed. The reason that the Reconstruction attempt to put blacks into office from the South failed was because the black legislators, intelligent, well-educated men, had no powerful constituency behind them. If you represent a powerless group in the legislature, then you wield no power. What is a powerful group? According to Minister of Defense, Newton, a powerful group is one which, if it doesn't get what it wants, can deliver a consequence. There are several ways in which this kind of power is obtained. One way is to own the land. This is feudal power. It is exercised by farmers who, when they do not get what they want, can let the crops rot in the field. This is the kind of consequence that rates attention and action. Ownership of a business is a second way of gaining economic power. In America the slaves were freed with the promise, by the Freedmen's Bureau, of forty acres and two mules. Had this promise been fulfilled, the black man would have had land power and the ability to inflict a consequence. The promise, of course, was never fulfilled.

To ask the blacks to redress their grievances by running for office does not pose a realistic solution. It is true that members of the Black Panther Party -- Huey Newton for Congress in the 7th Congressional District, Bobby Seale for Assembly in the 17th Assembly District in Alameda County, and Kathleen Cleaver for Assembly in the 18th Assembly District in San Francisco -- did run for office on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, but this was only to have a forum to articulate the grievances of the black community. Why? Because as stated above the black politician without a powerful constituency just wams a chair in the legislature.

If the black community cannot gain economic or land-power, how can they hope to have changes of their conditions?

Minister of Defense Huey Newton says that the only other source of power left is that of the ability to inflict destruction as a consequence. Thus, the black people must arm in a political fashion. The black people must be able to deal with the occupation police forces in their communities when they are attacked. The alternative is to have the police chosen by the black community, live in the black community, and serve the needs of the black community as that community sees them. This would mean that the police would no longer act merely to defend the interests of the white businessmen and landlord.

However, the blacks do not limit themselves to discussion of power from the gun. The Black Panther Party has a political program as stated above which it would like to see enacted for the benefit of black people.

What is the Status of the Black Man in America Today?

Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Minister of Information, has stated that the black man is a colonial subject and that black America is a colony within white America. The fact that the colonial subjects are dispersed throughout the country does not make their colonial subjugation any the less real. Cleaver has stated that:

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. It kept us running around in circles. Today we propose to turn it to our advantage, in the manner that we have turned our blackness from a disadvantage into a rallying point of advantage.

Huey Newton has said that the black man in America today is a man of confusion. He is of the lower socio-economic background. He has withdrawn from his hostile environment which he daily faces and denies his own ability. He has been taught that he is inferior and he blames himself. He tries to change this image through his style of life -- his desire for flashy material possessions. He is asked to respect a law which does not respect him. Those who believe in cultural nationalism try to answer his problem by turning him back to the time of the eleventh century in Africa. However, his freedom cannot come from such an identification. His freedom will come from identifying with the revolutionary struggles of people of color all over the world, including Africa today. The black man, according to Cleaver, has a common culture and a common history. All he lacks to be a nation is land.

The Europeans raped Africa economically and took the black men as slaves to America. The black man has, to this day, not been treated as an equal to the white man -- in any way. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation the black man was not given his economic and political rights. In fact, after Reconstruction, the Southern politicians convinced the Northern politicians that the black legislators (who had insignificant power anyway) should not maintain even that token status. And, as can be seen in the electoral struggles going on in black communities in the South today -- the politicians still won't even allow the token representation.

As James Baldwin said, "To be black and conscious in America is to be in a constant state of rage." The whites cannot know what it is like to live as a black man in America -- in white society. What we can know is the nature of the conditions that must be changed to give the black man his long overdue human rights:

WHY FREE HUEY NEWTON?

1. The Political Reasons. Basic to the understanding of why Huey Newton should be set free is the analysis that this country is divided. On the one hand there is the black colony. On the other there is the white mother country. Like any other colonial oppressor, the white mother country maintains an occupation army in its colony to preserve the interests of its ruling class. Acts of rebellion against the colonial oppressor's occupation forces (the police and, ultimately, the army) are therefore not acts of a riotous and destructive citizenry, but acts of patriotic courage in an effort to defend the colony from its oppressors.

Huey P. Newton is a political prisoner. He is in jail today, accused of killing an Oakland policeman, not because he committed this crime, which he did not, but because he is the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, the vanguard force in the effort to free the black colony. Since the inception of the Party the Oakland police, acting as the day-to-day arm of the occupation army, have tried to harass it out of existence. As the Party became stronger, the police tactics became more vicious. The police have long had the license numbers and descriptions of all the cars driven by members of the Black Panther Party.

The police have always, in the black community, claimed the right to exercise indiscriminate violence. It was for this reason that the Black Panther Party was originally formed. Before October 28th the Oakland police had harrassed Newton on numerous occasions and had threatened his life. On October 28 1967 Newton was arrested and shot in the stomach because he stood for change in the black community.

That night, Police Officer Frey stopped an automobile which he knew to be a car on the list of those driven by Black Panthers. He stopped the car for an alleged traffic violation, the nature of which has never been disclosed. In his testimony before the Grand Jury, Officer Heanes, the police officer who was summoned by Frey to come to his assistance after he stopped the Panther car, said that Newton did not have a gun. Attorney Charles Garry has indicated that the evidence points to the real possibility that both officers fired at each other and that Officer Heanes' bullets killed Officer Frey.

When Huey Newton later arrived at Kaiser Hospital he was in agony from the bullet in his stomach. It took the emergency room nurse FIFTEEN MINUTES before she would allow him to see a doctor. She wanted forms filled out. She did not believe he was really hurt. Finally, according to her testimony before the Grand Jury, Newton threw his blood-soaked shirt at her to convince her of his pain.

While Newton was doubled over in pain, and before she would let him see a doctor, the nurse called the police. When Newton was finally allowed to see a doctor, the police arrived and pulled his hands over his head -- an agonizing position for a man with a bullet in his stomach -- and handcuffed him to the gurney on which he was lying. They shoved him and kicked the gurney. When Newton was transferred to Highland Hospital, his police guards kicked his bed and shoved him around in the hopes that they could prevent his wound from healing.

The black community knows that Huey Newton and the Panthers have raised a crucial issue -- control of black communities by black people. They recognize that it is the police who perpetrate violence on a daily basis in order to maintain their illegitimate control over black ghettos. They recognize that the actions of the Panthers constitute legitimate self defense against a police force more interested in political repression and "keeping the niggers in their place" than in catching criminals. And they recognize that indictment of Huey Newton as an attempt not only to wipe out an heroic black resistance leader, but to also intimidate and crush the movement for self-determination for all black people. If black political leaders are not actually assassinated, as were Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King -- then the government finds ways of confining and neutralizing them, as in the cases of H. Rap Brown and LeRoi Jones. This is why the black community stands behind the concept FREE HUEY. They mean that Huey Newton was harrassed and threatened and finally shot because he is a black political leader; that he was arrested and thrown in jail because he is a black political leader, and that he faces a long prison term and possible assassination because he is a black political leader. These are important points for the white as well as the black community. The same type of harrassment has taken place against whites who have opposed this government: the case of the Oakland 7 arrested on conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor: a felony. It has happened to those who very peacefully tried to protest the policies represented by Dean Rusk, when he appeared at the Fairmount Hotel -- demonstrators who were kicked, beaten and MACED by the San Francisco police while they were RUNNING AWAY -- trying to follow orders to disperse. The list could go on endlessly. Oppose the government -- and risk your physical safety; that is the message to whites and blacks alike.

2. The Legal Reasons. Huey Newton was indicted by the Alameda County Grand Jury -- a jury chosen by the 20 judges on the Alameda County Superior Court, arbitrarily. Judge Dieden, and others, have admitted that this system results in judges choosing their friends, or political campaign contributors to serve on this "honorary" position. Three volumes of hearings taken by the California Assembly Committee on Governmental Efficiency in 1967 have pages of testimony to this effect. The persons chosen to serve are, overwhelmingly, white, over 50, retired, or still-active business and professional men and their wives.

This method of selection is clearly contrary to many cases decided by the United States Supreme Court, in which they indicated that a jury of one's peers had to consist of a CROSS-SECTION of the community and could not SYSTEMATICALLY EXCLUDE black people from serving.



Free Huey

The Grand Jury violated both of these fundamental principles. However, when Newton's attorneys presented this evidence to the courts of California, through the California Supreme Court, they were denied redress -- WITHOUT EVEN SO MUCH AS A WRITTEN OPINION explaining why.

Furthermore, the method of indictment denied Newton fundamental rights which the California Supreme Court has held are required in criminal cases and which are given in the Preliminary Hearing.

A district attorney in California may proceed in a felony case either by indictment or by information. Indictment is a procedure whereby the D.A. asks the county grand jury to return an indictment on evidence presented to them by the D.A. The D.A. may present whatever evidence he chooses at his sole discretion. The grand jury may summon witnesses, but it only does so very rarely. The defendant is not present except if he testified -- and this is usually undesirable because he waives his 5th Amendment rights in doing so. Furthermore, the defendant's attorney is not allowed to be present at the proceedings. The proceedings are secret. There is no right for the defense at all in a grand jury proceeding.

A preliminary hearing is a hearing before a municipal court judge who must decide whether or not to turn the case over to the superior court for trial. The defendant may have an attorney at this proceeding, and usually does. The attorney may challenge the judge for bias; may cross-examine the prosecution witnesses; may call his own witnesses; may have discovery of the prosecution's evidence; may question the defendant, and so forth.

The way of proceeding -- through the grand jury, or by way of preliminary hearing -- is at the sole and arbitrary discretion of the district attorney. There are no guidelines set down either in the California Constitution or in the Penal Code to guide his choice.

The district attorney of Alameda County has used the grand jury very rarely. He used it only in a little over 1% of the cases in 1966. He testified before the Assembly Governmental Efficiency Committee that he liked to use it in complicated cases such as those involving assessor frauds or in cases involving child molestation. Neither was true in the Newton case. Others at that hearing testified that the grand jury was often used where the district attorney had a poor case or didn't have enough facts to withstand exposure to the preliminary hearing. This was true in the Newton case. To this date (June 1968) the prosecution has released no information as to its version of the Newton events. This runs counter to its usual procedure of seeking maximum publicity to prejudice the defense case in a serious criminal matter (cf. the Hutton case). The reason? They haven't made up their story yet. They are hoping that the defense attorneys will let slip their version of the case so that the D.A. can then fit his version to counter that one.

The Grand Jury for the last five or more years has NOT ONCE refused an indictment sought by the District Attorney. How can any defendant in a set-up like that have any chance?

The Grand Jury indictment also serves to prejudice the later jury because they have the aura of upstanding citizens. If they felt the defendant was probably guilty, what will the petit jury have to think?

Racist Compromise On September 8, 1969, after eight weeks of trial, the verdict came in on the Huey Newton trial. The prosecution's case had been obviously flimsy. The defense had gone all out to bring out the essentially political nature of the trial. Still, the jury made a racist compromise and convicted Huey Newton on the least severe of three possible charges, voluntary manslaughter. Pressure from the racist power structure overpowered the pressure of the "Free Huey!" campaign during the four days of jury deliberations.

What does the verdict mean? It means that Huey was found guilty and not guilty at the same time; guilty of shooting Officer Frey "in the heat of passion" under such provocation that any "reasonable man would have been provoked," but not guilty of first or second degree murder or kidnapping -- all charges the D.A. had sought to pin on him.

It is likely that some members of the jury, believing in Huey's innocence, opted for the lesser charge because a hung jury would have probably brought a retrial and one could not be sure of the composition of the next jury. Furthermore, the case will be appealed to a higher court where the only decision will be between acquittal or manslaughter.

The verdict is in, but the trial has just begun. For the trial is not only that of Huey Newton, but symbolically of racism in America -- actually another test of the confrontation between black militants and the occupying forces.

HUEY NEWTON AND THE ORIGINS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was born on February 17, 1942 in Louisiana. He came to California in 1945 and resided in Oakland on Brush Street. He attended the Sante Fe and Lafayette elementary schools in Oakland. He went to Woodrow Wilson Jr. High School and then attended Oakland Technical High. His childhood was the same as that of most black youths. He was never given the opportunity to do skilled work but worked very diligently as a seasonal cannery worker from his graduation from high school onward.

Huey Newton learned to read well at the age of 16. This was when his high school counselors told him he was not college material. He set out to show them that no white man could tell him what he was capable of doing.

Huey went to Merritt College and got an AA degree with an excellent gradepoint average. He spent one and one-half years in San Francisco Law School. He left law school to organize full-time for black liberation.

While Huey and Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, were at Merritt College they formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. They patrolled the black community to keep the police from brutalizing the black people. Newton and Seale taught the blacks on the black their legal rights. They felt that the Panther program had to be implemented practically. This meant starting with Point No. 7 of the Black Panther Party program to work toward "an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people."

Shortly thereafter young Bobby Hutton inquired about what Bobby and Huey were doing. They explained the idea of the Black Panther Party and its operations to Bobby Hutton, who then became the first black youth to join the Party. He was appointed Party Treasurer. He served the black community faithfully until his murder at the hands of the Oakland police on April 6, 1968.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BIOGRAPHY

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party was born in 1935 in Little Rock, Arkansas. He came to California as a young child and lived in black and brown communities in Los Angeles. As Cleaver himself says: "My first 15 years were given to learning how to cope with the world and developing my approach to life. I blundered in my choices and set off down a road that was a dead end." Like Malcolm X, Eldridge became involved with crime in his early youth -- a story not at all untypical of black youth in this country. From his 16th year, Eldridge spent the next 15 years in and out of prison, the last time being an unbroken stay of 9 years.

Cleaver's book, Soul on Ice, gives much insight into why he lived this kind of life and how he came to see its pointlessness. In prison, Cleaver read voraciously and became a writer. When he was paroled, he had a book purchased by McGraw-Hill for publication, and a job as a staff writer for Ramparts Magazine. He also realized the necessity for the liberation of black people and his need to play a meaningful part in achieving this liberation.

The parole authorities have tried consistently to limit Cleaver's political freedom. He was told that people in Sacramento wanted his parole revoked because of his position on working for black liberation. When Cleaver spoke at the April 15, 1967 rally at Kezar Stadium in opposition to the United States' role in the war in Vietnam he was told by the parole authorities to "cool it" or he would lose his parole. Cleaver decided not to heed such warnings but to continue his role in the struggle for black liberation.

Two weeks after the April 15 warning, Cleaver was arrested when he visited Sacramento on a reporting assignment for Ramparts -- because he was with the Black Panthers who were also arrested at that time. (See the section on the Sacramento incident below for further details.) Cleaver told the police that he had a valid press badge and was not armed. Nevertheless he was held without bail because the adult authority had placed a "hold" on him -- meaning that he might have his parole revoked and should therefore not be released under any circumstances. Even after the authorities verified that Cleaver not only had press credentials and was not armed, but that he had obtained permission from his parole agent to attend the Sacramento session, Cleaver was not released. Finally, the judge in court released Cleaver on his own recognizance, citing the fact that the police had made a "mistake" in arresting him. At that point the parole authority lifted its "hold".

On his return from Sacramento Cleaver was told that people in Sacramento had stayed up all night viewing film footage

on that incident trying to see if Cleaver had a gun -- thereby making him eligible for parole revocation. Having no luck at this, they decided to restrict his parole to prevent his engaging in any meaningful political activity. He was told that he could not go outside a seven mile area -- and could not cross the Bay Bridge. This tactic is one used more and more by the government to restrict political activists -- compare H. Rap Brown's confinement to New York City -- the tactic is very similar to that of house arrest used frequently by the South African government against those who even mildly oppose their racist apartheid practices. Further restrictions on Cleaver included: keeping his name out of the news for six months -- he was especially not to appear on television; he was to make no more speeches; he was to write nothing critical of the California Department of Corrections nor any California politician. As Cleaver put it: "In short, I was to play dead, or I would be sent back to prison."

After a couple of months of playing it cool, the travel ban was lifted, but the other restrictions remained. Then on October 28, 1967, as Cleaver says: "Huey Newton, Minister of Defense and leader of our Party, was shot down in the streets by an Oakland Cop and was arrested and charged with the murder of one Oakland cop and the wounding of another." At that time Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Party, was in jail serving a six month sentence for the Sacramento Incident. Cleaver was the only other experienced public speaker the Black Panthers had at that time. Thus, Cleaver decided he could no longer play it cool for his own safety. He launched a campaign to prevent Newton's railroading to the gas chamber.

Cleaver's success in making people understand the position of the Black Panther Party and the nature of racism in the white community -- his ability to work with both whites and blacks -- his role in the Peace and Freedom Party convention, where he helped form the compromise that allowed the black and brown caucus to work with the whites in the Party -- all made him an anathema to those in government who do not wish an end to racism but who prefer an end to black people. Cleaver was destined, therefore, either for death or imprisonment -- the fate of Malcolm X, of Emmett Till, of Medgar Evers, of Martin Luther King, Jr. On April 6, 1968, the Oakland police tried to kill Eldridge Cleaver, but failed. They succeeded in killing 17 year-old Bobby Hutton. Cleaver says: "I am convinced that I was marked for death that night, and the only reason I was not killed was that there were too many beautiful black people crowded around demanding that the cops not shoot me, too many witnesses for even the brazen, contemptuous and contemptible Oakland Pigs."

In the early hours of the morning of April 7th, 1968, Cleaver's parole was arbitrarily revoked by the Adult Authority and he was returned to jail although he was never even tried for any crime resulting from the April incident. Two months later a Solano County, California judge ordered Cleaver's parole reinstated, saying it had been revoked for political reasons. The Adult Authority appealed the decision, and on September 27, the California Court of Appeals reversed the lower court's decision, ordering Cleaver back to jail in 60 days. Cleaver, as he had promised beforehand, did not turn himself in on November 27th. Instead he disappeared and has carried on the struggle "underground."

SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party had advocated that everyone in the black community have a gun to defend himself. It should be made very clear that this does NOT mean that black people should have guns in order to come into the white community and "shoot it up." In fact there are NO reported incidents of Black Panthers coming into ANY community and using their weapons other than to defend their own lives.

The police forces in the black community are composed of men who live in white communities. They are hired as occupation forces to patrol the black community to protect white business and land interests. This is brought home very clearly by the fact that policemen in the ghetto try to stay away from incidents in which only blacks are involved. For example, if two black gangs are rumored to be planning a rumble, the police refuse to act to stop it. If black kids are fighting among themselves, the police stay away. If a black woman complains to the police that her husband has threatened violence against her, the police tell her to call a lawyer. When the lawyer tries to intervene, the police say they do not like to get involved in domestic disputes. The list goes on endlessly. Furthermore, the police are often involved in the local rackets -- the numbers games, rake-offs from dope and prostitution and so forth. However, should a black man fight a white man the police come in immediately. At schools where black and white children fight in the schoolyards the black children are taken off to spend days in Juvenile Hall while the white children are, at most, given a citation to take home to their parents. Often, black people are picket up at random for alleged traffic violations. If a black man or boy is seen running away from a place where the police believe a crime has been committed (usually a property crime), they shoot first and ask questions later. The incidents of this in Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco are numerous. In fact it is incidents such as these that have been the trigger in almost all the so-called "riots" that have occurred in this country since Watts.

The position of the Black Panther Party was graphically illustrated when after Martin Luther King's assassination, Bobby Seale, chairman of the Party, went around Oakland in a sound truck urging black people to stay home and not become involved in violence. Why? Not because there was no reason for revolt, but because the Black Panthers know that such spontaneous rebellion results in death for black people and no changes in their conditions of life. Such violence is sporadic, short-lived, and costly. However, it is also very clear that non-violent tactics have resulted in no change either. In fact, before his death, Martin Luther King indicated that the Poor Peoples' March on Washington was his FINAL attempt to use non-violent tactics to get what his people have been denied for 400 years. After that, Dr. King indicated, all he could see was fascism. And he could not urge people to remain non-violent in the face of that.

Why do the Panthers Believe the Black Community Will be Annihilated?

The white community is prepared for genocide. Whites all over this nation are arming themselves to protect their community from an invasion of blacks. This is so even though not one white community has yet been invaded or even threatened with such invasion. This is true even though whites claim that even if there were an invasion of blacks they would be beaten almost immediately. Why are they armed? Fear. Fear that stems from a lack of understanding of the Watts incidents, fear that stems from a lack of understanding of what it is like to be black in this country. Fear of militancy that asks for change NOW. In part the fear comes because the whites know that they themselves are powerless to get change that would appease the militancy of the blacks. They have no more control over their government than do black people. They do not choose who will run for office -- that is a back-room political decision. They know that campaign speeches are not honest. They know that when they vote for a candidate they must rely not on knowledge of his position, but on faith that he will govern well. So when they are afraid they do not rely on their government -- they buy guns.

Not only the white man as an individual is armed. Police departments all over this nation are stockpiling weapons which, in their horror, are matched only by those used by the army in Vietnam. Why the stockpile? For the Second Civil War. This is the way Esquire Magazine saw it in their March 1968 issue, in an article of that title by Garry Wills. Reporter Wills visited police chiefs all over the country to find out what they were planning with regard to possible violence in the black communities. Remember when you read this that the black people are arming for self-defense with guns.

A listing of the weapons being stockpiled included: tanks, armored personnel carriers, jeeps with gun mounts, command armored cars built for Vietnam use, gas of all kinds including MACE, now felt by the federal drug administration to be far more dangerous than tear gas, bared bayonets, M-1 rifles, helicopters, tear gas grenades, shotguns, police dogs, shock batons, machine guns, assault guns which shoot through walls. The list could go on and on. Some of the more unusual weapons included "non-lethal" flame throwers, sound devices which cause people to release their bowels, or lose their equilibrium, adhesives which cause parts of the body to stick together which if moved cause large areas of flesh to be torn away, foam, invisible gases, odors detectible by dogs, plastic confetti, tranquilizers, electric sluices, hoses, gagging gases, and on and on.

This list of weapons is far too lengthy and horrifying to be a mere reaction to black peoples' desire to defend their homes and lives. This listing of weapons is such as to wipe out entire areas of a population, such as is being done in Vietnam. One cannot use tanks and machine guns, sound devices, and flame throwers, selectively against snipers. These weapons either wipe out large areas of people or they aren't used at all.

During all the past riots the National Guard and the local police shot indiscriminately at black people. Innocent women and children were injured as well as people only suspected of looting. Capital punishment was extended to those who appeared at the wrong place at the wrong time. No crime at all was necessary. Further riot contingency plans included the request in Detroit for \$9,000,000 for riot equipment. Where snipers are suspected, the article indicated that entire buildings were razed to the ground. These dead, the article went on, are not among those listed as casualties.

The psychology of the police interviewed by Wills was that potential riots must be crushed. This means that police patrol the ghetto and look for "suspicious" activities. Who could blame the police for using violence to squelch a potential riot? Only those who might question the nature of such activity in the first place and who might question the right of an individual man with a gun to pass judgment on another man without benefit of trial. In Los Angeles in July of 1967, a Black Muslim temple was pock-marked with machine guns. The police claimed that they suspected that the Temple was the hiding place for guns. Naturally, they shot first and asked questions later. The result? No guns found. In this case, because of widespread publicity, Mayor Yorty was forced to apologize publicly for the outrageous

conduct of the police. However, such raids continue regularly in the black community by the police. The police are getting "tough". To quote Cook County Sheriff Wood (Chicago): "When we had our Maywood riot, I went around telling my men on the bullhorn, so all those on the street could hear, that any rioter who raised his hands above his head would be guilty of aggravated assault, and should be fired on. I also told my men to shoot carefully -- we didn't have extra men to take wounded off to hospitals." Compare this with what happened to Denzil Dowell and Bobby Hutton (see below). A further interesting comparison was a statement made by Herr Goring, who issued these "shoot first" orders: ". . . for failure to act is a graver fault than errors made in action."

When the Berkeley police broke into the home of Panther Chairman Bobby Seale at 3:30 A.M. on phoney charges of conspiracy to commit murder -- charges that the police could never substantiate enough even to press -- Huey P. Newton issued Mandate No. 3:

Because of the St. Valentine Day massacre of February 14, 1929, in which outlaws donned the uniforms of Policemen, posed as such, and thereby gained entrance to locked doors controlled by rival outlaws with whom they were contending for control of the bootlegging industry in Chicago; and because these gangsters, gaining entry through their disguise as Policemen, proceeded to exterminate their rivals with machinegun fire, we believe that prudence would dictate that one should be alert when opening one's door to strangers, late at night, in the wee hours of the morning -- even when these strangers wear the uniform of policemen. History teaches us that the man in the uniform may or may not be a policeman authorized to enter the homes of the people.

AND

Taking notice of the fact that (1) on January 16, 1968, at 3:30 A.M., members of the San Francisco Police Department kicked down the door and made an illegal entry, and search of the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information. These Pigs had no search warrant, no arrest warrant, and were therefore not authorized to enter. They were not invited in. Permission for them to enter was explicitly denied by the Minister of Information. Present were Sister Kathleen Cleaver, our Communications Secretary and wife to our Minister of Information, and Brother Emory Douglas, our Revolutionary Artist.

Taking further notice of the fact that (2) on February 25, 1968, several uniformed gestapos of the Berkeley Pig Department, accompanied by several other white men in plainclothes, bearing an assortment of shotguns, rifles, and service revolvers, made a forceful, unlawful entry and search of the home of Bobby Seale, Chairman of our Party, and his wife, Sister Artie Seale. These Pigs had no warrant either to search or to arrest. When asked by Chairman Bobby to produce a warrant, they arrogantly stated that they did not need one. They had no authority to enter -- what they did have was the power of the gun. Thus we are confronted with a critical situation. Our organization has received serious threats from certain racist elements of White America, including the Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco Pig Departments. Threats to take our lives, to exterminate us. We cannot determine when any of these elements, or a combination of them, may move to implement these threats. We must be alert to the danger at all times. We will not fall victim to a St. Valentine's Massacre. Therefore those who approach our doors in the manner of outlaws, who seek to enter our homes illegally, unlawfully and in a rowdy fashion, those who kick our doors down with no authority and seek to ransack our homes in violation of our HUMAN RIGHTS, will henceforth be treated as outlaws, as gangsters, as evildoers. We have no way of determining that a man in uniform involved in a forced outlaw entry into our home is in fact a Guardian of the Law. He is acting like a lawbreaker and we must make an appropriate response.

We draw the line at the threshold of our doors. It is therefore mandated as a general order to all members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense that all members must acquire the technical equipment to defend their homes and their dependents and shall do so. Any member of the Party having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold shall be expelled from the Party for life.

It can be seen from this Mandate and from the speeches of members of the Party that the Black Panthers are engaged in SELF DEFENSE. Anyone who gives any thought to what has happened in the black community all over the country in terms of police brutality, and anyone who reads the newspapers can see what is happening especially to the Black Panther Party, must conclude that the very least that black people must do to continue living in this country is to protect their persons from attack. As the Black Panthers have said, it is the man behind the gun who is dangerous. Black

Panthers do not accidentally shoot each other or anyone else. If they use weapons it is when they are personally attacked. If whites have already declared war on the black people and are forming huge million-dollar arsenals, what kind of response do they expect from the black community? As Stokeley Carmichael has said, the blacks are not going to die the way the Jews in Europe died. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will be the example to follow -- not the quiet exodus to the furnaces.

Many people object to the notion of the gun saying that there are other ways to stop violence -- that the blacks should gain political and economic power. However, as will be shown below, it takes power to get power. If violence is to be prevented, the whites have the immediate obligation to stop the police from using their array of weapons against the blacks. To ask the blacks to turn the other cheek and get killed is a plea that is immoral and foolish.

Because the Black Panther Party has exercised its constitutional right to bear arms, California Assemblyman Mulford decided that this right would have to be curbed. He introduced a bill "prohibiting instruction in the use of firearms for the purpose of rioting, and prohibiting the carrying of loaded firearms on public streets and in public places by all except peace officers, guards, and members of the armed forces." (S. F. Chronicle story, 5/3/67). As most people know, the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution says that "A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The purpose of this amendment was to prevent the very thing that Mulford's bill tries to set up: the regulation of the people's right to be free. What is the nature of this right? Huey Newton stated it very clearly when he said that if the people are armed, and if the government has a regular police force and a military force, the people are slaves to the government or are subject to slavery at any time. Newton's conclusion: so long as the police are armed, the black people should be armed. As Newton said: "Ninety percent of the reason we carried guns in the first place was educational. We set the example. We made black people aware that they have the right to carry guns."

THE SACRAMENTO INCIDENT

On April 1, 1967, a young black man named Denzil Dowell, aged 22 years, was killed by a member of the Contra Costa Sheriff's department. Denzil Dowell was killed with his hands raised over his head. His family was denied the right to photograph his body and the right to have his clothes returned to them. Denzil Dowell was unarmed. Furthermore the sheriffs knew that he was suffering from an injured hip which would prevent him from escaping from the scene of the crime. WHY WAS HE KILLED? As with the killing of Panther Bobby Hutton (see below) there is no reason -- other than that he was black.

On April 18, 1967, the Black Panther representatives, bearing arms, went to see District Attorney Nejedly of Contra Costa County to ask for an investigation of Denzil Dowell's death. The District Attorney said that he would hold such an investigation and would recommend that the sheriff who shot Dowell be removed from duty pending the investigation.

On April 19, 1967, representatives of the Black Panthers and some other interested persons met with the sheriff. He refused to allow the Panthers to enter his office carrying guns. Because Panther leader Huey Newton felt the conference was so important, he and the other Panthers gave up their right to wear a gun and removed the guns before talking to the sheriff. The sheriff refused to remove the man who shot Dowell pending the investigation. Further, he refused to instruct his men not to kill suspects in crimes involving only property. (The situation in the Dowell killing). The undersheriff instructed the Panthers that if they wished changes made, they should go to Sacramento and speak to the Legislature. This same undersheriff Ramsey went to the Assembly and spoke in favor of the Mulford Bill -- and in doing so referred specifically to the need for the bill to deal with the Black Panthers.

In response to this conference and to the Mulford Bill itself, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense calls upon the American people in general and the black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War Two are being

renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense believes that the time has come for black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people 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.

The Black Panthers, carrying guns legally, then went to the Assembly observation section led by a crew of television men and reporters. When they were directed to the observer box, the Assembly members requested that the guards remove the television cameras, not the guns. The legislators didn't want people, especially black people, to be made aware of their right to carry arms. The capitol police were, at all times, aware of the fact that the Black Panthers were armed. Had the Panthers entered the Assembly with guns to do any shooting, they had ample opportunity. However, this was not their purpose. They came to protest the Mulford Bill, which was explicitly directed against them, and to deliver the above-quoted statement of Huey Newton on the genocidal nature of the American government.

Because the Panthers were legally carrying guns, they could not be arrested while at the capitol. However, as they were leaving Sacramento, the police dug up an old Fish and Game law that dealt with loaded weapons in a vehicle. The law was enacted to prevent accidents when hunters carried guns. The Panthers were having their cars serviced at a gas station when the police arrested 23 of them for violation of the Fish and Game code. The Panthers did not resist arrest, even though they were armed and were numerous. After being arrested, the Panthers were thrown into the drunk tank of the jail with neither beds nor blankets. They were treated just like the animals for the killing of which regulations were made in the Fish and Game Law.

As Huey Newton predicted, the press response to the incident was to distort what happened and to raise the spectre of violence. The press called the Panthers thugs and indicated that they came to Sacramento only to disrupt the proceedings of the Assembly. However, as Newton pointed out, the young black people on the block at home have been called hoodlums and thugs all their lives. Thus, when they heard what the papers called the Panthers, they wanted to know what these "hoodlums" were up to, carrying guns. Thus, the Panther message was spread in the black community almost because of the press distortions.

As to press accounts calling the Panthers militantly anti-white, these were false charges. As Chairman of the Black Panther Party Bobby Seale has stated on innumerable occasions, racism is the bag of the white man -- of the Ku Klux Klan -- not of the Black Panther Party. It takes too much time and energy to hate a person for the color of his skin and it is racist to do so. What the black man hates is OPPRESSION. It is the actions of the white man which the Black Panthers are interested in. The man who is the enemy is the man who sees the racism, the oppression, and who acts to continue it or who refuses to act and thereby allows it to continue; and the enemy is the white power structure with all its racist institutions and its racist organizations.

The white power structure wants to divide white and black radicals -- to keep them from working together to end racism and oppression. The Black Panther Party feels that it will form coalitions with white groups who wish to solve the problems of racism and oppression and who support the program of the Black Panther Party.

The Mulford Bill was enacted into law as a special bill and, predictably, has been used since then to harass members

of the Black Panther Party. Attorneys feel that the bill is clearly unconstitutional. However, as will be shown below, lack of funds, as well as the nature of the court system, prevent the unconstitutionality from being adequately tested. Eight members of the Black Panther Party served jail sentences on the phoney charge. The rest did not serve time because the district attorney indicated that if eight would serve he would not press charges against the rest. It should be noted that this type of justice is not limited to the Black Panthers. Every day black people are arrested on charges which are false or unsubstantiated. Because of lack of funds many of them serve jail sentences. Many of those who can afford attorneys are found guilty by all-white juries and judges. Since Sacramento, the Panthers have been constantly harassed.

THE MURDER OF BOBBY HUTTON AND THE ARREST OF THE PANTHER 8

On Sunday April 7, 1968, the Black Panther Party had planned a picnic barbecue to raise money for the defense of Huey P. Newton. Saturday night Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Hutton, and a number of other Panthers were driving around Oakland to collect food that the sisters had prepared. Their mission was interrupted when several squad cars of Oakland police intercepted and ambushed the Panthers in their own community. Today, Bobby Hutton is dead -- murdered by the Oakland pigs when he tried to surrender from the gas-filled house. Eldredge Cleaver was thrown behind bars and would be there today except for the fact that he refused to return to prison and went underground after a brief parole, knowing that returning to prison meant that he would be murdered. Seven other Panthers plus Cleaver face Grand Jury indictments for attempted murder, indictments based on false information provided by the pigs and extorted confessions from the imprisoned Panthers.



The following information came out in an interview a San Francisco Chronicle reporter had with Cleaver in jail:

Bobby Hutton, aged 17, was killed by police bullets -- he was told to run for a squad car and, while his hands were raised and he was unarmed, officers shot him down.

With one or two exceptions, the arsenal of guns the police claim was taken from the scene of the shoot-out was actually taken from a parked Panther's car's locked trunk, miles away, and hours later.

Following the police ambush of the Panthers, cops made no attempt to immediately allow Cleaver and Hutton out of the house they were holed up in. Instead they poured a fusillade of bullets in through its walls.

Eldridge Cleaver was not carrying a gun. "I was never armed," he said, "because Huey P. Newton had laid down orders that, as a parolee, I should not be armed."

Although the pigs and the racist press repeatedly tried to call the ambush a Panther set-up, within two minutes after the police had stopped and pulled their weapons at 2905 Union Street, an entire two-block area was blocked . . . and dozens of Emeryville and Oakland police officers had (supposedly answering a call for reinforcements) appeared on the scene, thoroughly equipped with riot helmets, OVERKILL weapons, tear gas bombs. . . .

Cleaver's account of the incident indicated that the trouble began around 9:30 P.M. when a squad car pulled alongside three Panther cars parked on 28th Street. Cleaver saw a cop get out of a squad car, which had suddenly pulled up, "heard some loud talk" from a cop "and suddenly a gun exploded right in my face." Cleaver said he and Bobby "lit out" through an alleyway and through a side door into the basement of a house that had no connection with the Panthers. "We laid down on our backs and the cops started firing. I could see their bullets coming in through a verboard partition about a foot above my face."

A concrete foundation of the building partially protected them and it was probably a ricochet that later wounded Cleaver. A tear gas cannister also hit him in the chest. "The gas was thick now and Bobby took off my clothing to see where I was hit. I was bleeding from my foot and coughing."

Finally a tear gas cartridge or something else fired by the police set fire to the basement and the side of the house. "We couldn't stand it anymore and I yelled, 'We're coming out.'" Cleaver limped out of the house, with Bobby holding his arm to support him. Out in the alleyway, ". . . we both fell down when they [the cops] told us to and cops from the street [perhaps 15 yards away] approached us. They kicked us and cursed us for about five minutes -- while we were lying on the ground." At this time Cleaver was wearing only his socks, all his other clothing having been stripped off by Bobby in a search for wounds. "Then the cops told us to get up and start running for the squad car." Cleaver was unable to because of the leg wound, and he fell. "Bobby started running -- he ran about 10 yards -- and they started shooting him. I heard 12 shots; it was hard to tell for sure. He had his hands high in the air until he died."

Cleaver was taken to Highland Hospital emergency room, then rushed off to San Quentin, and then, as soon as his lawyer arrived, was whisked off to Vacaville -- supposedly for "medical attention," although San Quentin has some of the best medical facilities in the State prison system. At Vacaville, Cleaver was kept in total isolation "maximum security" with his wife and lawyers given only curtailed visits, and no other visitors allowed. It was only the power of the Establishment Press which finally got the Chronicle reporter an interview with him.

Exorbitantly high bail was set for all the arrested Panthers -- \$63,000 for Cleaver (which is irrelevant since his parole was revoked thus automatically confining him for the next four years) and \$40,000 each for the other seven. Cleaver's parole was revoked at 3 A.M. the night of April 7 and there was no hearing.

The Grand Jury testimony against the nine Panthers who were arrested that night, at the scene of the shoot-out, in homes nearby, or in their cars, includes alleged "confessions" by them that they had been out "looking to do some shooting" and other statements. All such statements are difficult or impossible to believe would have been voluntarily given by any Black Panther arrested for shooting at cops. As in the Newton case, the Grand Jury was blatantly employed to deny the defendants their right to a preliminary hearing (see above).

Attorney Charles R. Garry filed affidavits of the Panthers arrested in a suit against the City of Oakland, the Chief of Police and the Mayor of Oakland, seeking to enjoin the DA from any further prosecutions of the Panthers. The affidavits charged brutalization of the Panthers by the police, intimidation and lying. Some Panthers did make brief statements to a man they were told was their lawyer, who had been brought in "because Garry and other Panther attorneys had no interest in the case" (a complete fabrication). The "lawyer" turned out later to be a cop. Another Panther was beaten on the soles of his feet until he made a statement. A third Panther said he had never made any statement to the police at all, and that it was pure lies on their part when they attributed statements to him. The complete statements in the affidavits indicate that the cop harassment and brutalization were designed to (1) "confuse and deceive each of the brothers and turn them against each other and on Eldridge Cleaver by blatantly lying to them; (2) to get statements from them which would build up as much evidence against Eldridge Cleaver as possible."

The actions of the police in attempting to extort these confessions makes it quite clear that their target was the leadership of the Panthers -- in this case, Eldridge Cleaver. Like most elements of the power structure they are working on the assumption that if you can destroy the leadership you can cripple the movement. As usual, they failed to see the extent to which the struggle in the black community grows out of the needs of that entire community. Oppression in the black community is not going to be gone or forgotten when the leaders of the Black Panther Party are jailed or shot. The people are not going to stop fighting.

POLICE HARASSMENT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

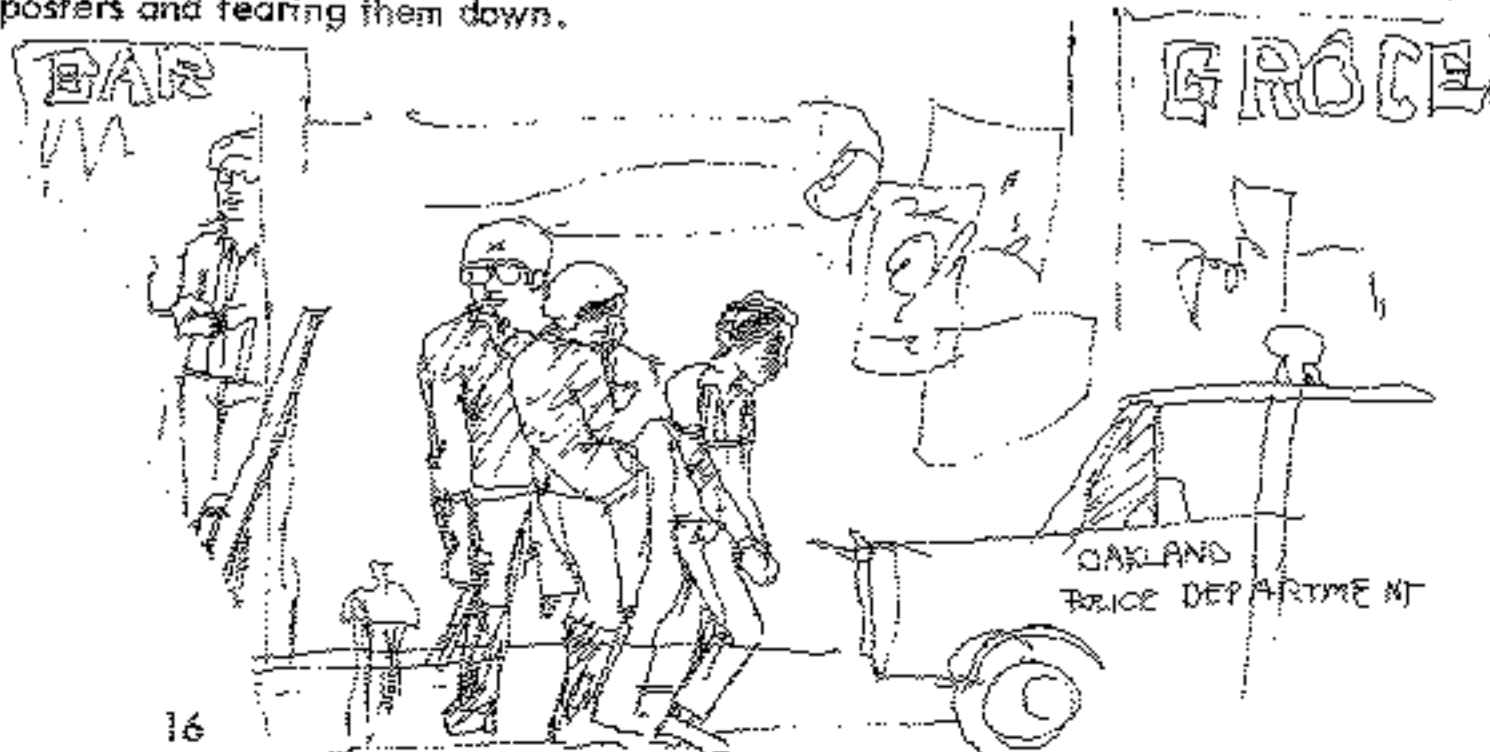
A Sample of Incidents

1. From October 1966 to October 1967, Huey Newton had been harassed by the Oakland police -- had been stopped on innumerable occasions without reasonable cause.
2. Spring and Summer 1967. This was the most intense period of harassment for the Panthers up to that point. It took place after a demonstration by Panthers carrying rifles at the California State Legislature in Sacramento during Assembly debate on a bill which would restrict a citizen's right to bear arms. During this period, Panthers were repeatedly stopped in cars and on the street; many were arrested; homes were entered illegally by police.

3. May 22, 1967. Bobby Seale went to the Oakland County Courthouse to bail Huey Newton out of jail. He was leaning against a retaining wall outside the courthouse carrying a "legal" shotgun. He was arrested and charged with an obscure law, dating back to the 1800's, which makes it a crime to smuggle guns into a jail, or to possess a gun adjacent to a jail.
4. June 2, 1967. Warren Tucker was arrested by the Berkeley police. He was accused of fighting with a white boy. He was not allowed the two phone calls that any prisoner is required by law to have. He was separated from the other inmates. He was tried, convicted and sent to Santa Rita where he was told not to engage in any political discussion. He was forced to work on the farm section and to cut his "Afro" hair style. He pointed out that the Berkeley police have pictures of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale which are captioned "Approach with Caution."
5. October 28, 1967. Huey Newton wounded and arrested in a shooting incident in Oakland in which Oakland Officer Frey was killed and Officer Heanes wounded.
6. January 15, 1968. National Captain David Hilliard arrested while passing out leaflets at Oakland Tech.
7. January 16, 1968. At 3:30 A.M. San Francisco policemen broke down the door of Eldridge Cleaver's apartment at 850 Oak Street, San Francisco, and searched the apartment -- without a warrant. Eldridge, his wife Kathleen, and Panther Revolutionary Artist Emory Douglas were present.
8. February 5, 1968. At 1:00 A.M. a Panther and his girlfriend were arrested for "disturbing the peace," after a rally at which Dr. Spock and James Forman spoke. They were beaten in jail.
9. February 24, 1968. Panther Jimmy Charley approached a policeman who was in the act of assaulting a black person, and questioned the officer. He was promptly arrested and charged with "resisting arrest."
10. February 25, 1968. At 3:30 A.M. police broke down the door of Bobby Seale's home, where Bobby and his wife, Artie, were in bed asleep. There was no warrant. Police said they were acting on a complaint implicating Bobby in a vague "conspiracy to commit murder" charge, which was promptly dropped for lack of evidence. Shotgun-toting police confiscated weapons and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Seale. Four other Panthers, in a car nearby, were also arrested a short time later, and charged with misdemeanors. Mr. and Mrs. Seale face trial on charges of possessing illegal weapons, including possession of guns with serial numbers filed off. Seale contends that the police filed off the serial numbers after the arrest. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, before forming the Black Panther Party carefully studied and analyzed the law pertaining to carrying guns and taught these laws to new members of the Black Panther Party -- they were anything but unaware of the law and followed the law in all respects.
11. Third and fourth weeks of February 1968. A rash of arrests of black men either in the Panthers or identified with them. One of the incidents took place in front of the Natural Shop of San Pablo Street in Oakland. This incident happened when police stopped the car of a black youth on an alleged traffic violation in front of the shop. Policemen pulled the youth from the car, threw him against the car door and beat him brutally. About ten Panthers and their associates gathered around to protest and were arrested. This rash of arrests coincided with the visit of Stokeley Carmichael to the Bay Area.
12. April 3, 1968. Police entered Father Neil's church in Oakland where the Panthers were holding a meeting. A black youth associated with the Panthers (but not authorized by them to possess a gun) was, according to police, drunk and waving a gun outside the church. Police surrounded the church and entered it, about twelve of them, with 12 gauge shotguns held in front of them in a threatening manner. They were accompanied, inexplicably, by a white Catholic priest and a black clergyman, both from Oakland. David Hilliard came out of the sanctuary and refused to allow police to enter the sanctuary. Upon seeing Hilliard, police lowered their guns and cast their eyes about, looking for someone else. The Panthers are convinced they were looking for Bobby Seale.
13. April 5, 1968. San Diego police crashed down the door of Ken Denman, PFP leader and Panther organizer in San Diego. They had no warrant.
14. April 6, 1968. Several Panthers in cars in west Oakland on Saturday night, April 6, were approached by two policemen and menaced with guns. When the Panthers tried to defend themselves, shooting began, and the Panthers ran into a nearby house. After about 90 minutes of shooting by some 50 members of the Oakland P.D. who set fire to the house and filled it with tear gas, the Panthers were forced to surrender. With floodlights covering the house, Bobby Hutten walked out with his hands up. Someone yelled that he had a gun, and he was shot. He was

not armed; no gun was found anywhere near his body. Eldridge Cleaver, wounded in the leg, and eyes badly burned by tear gas, came out. In total, nine persons were arrested, including Panther National Captain David Hilliard. Two policemen were wounded slightly.

15. April 9, 1968. Two Black Panther women were going about Oakland in a car putting up posters announcing the candidacy of Huey Newton for Congress and Bobby Seale for Assembly on the Peace and Freedom ticket. Twelve policemen with shotguns stopped their car and searched it -- without probable cause. Throughout the day, patrol cars circled the Newton-Seale campaign headquarters. Sam Napier and other Panthers were physically stopped by police from putting up campaign posters. Police have been spotted by Oakland residents tearing down Newton-Seale posters.
16. April 13, 1968. Four members of the Black Panther Party were returning from Bobby Hutton's funeral when they were arrested on suspicion of robbery. Since it was Friday, they were to be kept over the weekend before they could be arraigned. This is a typical police procedure -- it means three days detention instead of overnight before a court appearance. The robbery took place on Monday. Furthermore the robbery car was driven by one person with one passenger. Four people were arrested Friday. The car was in the shop being repaired at the time of the alleged robbery. On Sunday, after a weekend of work by Attorney Alex Hoffmann, the "suspects" were released -- they couldn't be identified as having even a remote connection with the alleged robbery. When arrested they were maced; they were taken in with drawn guns.
17. May 1, 1968. A sixteen year old girl was arrested for extortion for selling Huey buttons.
18. 1968 - 1969. During the last half of 1968 and the first months of 1969, a concerted conspiracy on the part of the ruling class to crush the Black Panthers emerged and was escalated to new heights. From coast to coast indictments were handed down against the Panthers. When arrests were made, bail was set for astronomical amounts. During December and January alone indictments against Panther leaders were handed down in Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Seattle, Jersey City, Des Moines, Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. During the last week of March, 19 Panthers in Chicago were arrested on a variety of charges and 21 New York Panthers were indicted on the incredible charge that they conspired to blow up several department stores. The New York 21 were held on \$100,000 bond each. The forces of repression are clearly making a frantic effort to crush the Panther ...
19. General. Police harassment of the Black Panther Party has fallen into definite patterns, indicating a systematic attempt to intimidate and destroy the Party and liquidate or jail its leadership. We note:
 - A) The pattern of forcible and unlawful entry, without warrants, of Panther homes.
 - B) Total disregard of the constitutionally protected right to possess and bear arms where black people, and specifically Black Panthers, are concerned. Millions of white Americans possess and bear arms. When a black person does so, particularly a black political leader, his rights are wantonly violated.
 - C) Repeated attempts to threaten the death of Panther leaders and provoke them into defending themselves. This has shown itself in the attempted street executions of Huey Newton, and most recently, of David Hilliard and Eldridge Cleaver. It showed itself in the murder of Bobby Hutton.
 - D) Exorbitant bail exacted of Panthers when arrested.
 - E) Interference with the electoral process by police -- interfering with the posting of Panther campaign posters and tearing them down.



WHY BLACK MEN SHOULD BE FREED FROM JAILS

Many white people do not understand why the Black Panther Party program has as point no. 8 the demand that black people be freed from jails. The simple answer is that black people have never received a fair trial in this country.

What is a fair trial? For one thing, a fair trial is one wherein your peers judge your actions. As the Black Panther Program has stated, a peer is a person who is from your community -- a person who has the same socio-economic status as you do -- a person who may know you -- and if he does not know you, who can understand the way you think. No white man in America understands the way a black man thinks -- he would have to have lived as a black person in a racist society to understand that. Thus, no white man can be a black man's peer. Furthermore, a peer is one who shares your socio-economic status. No social scientist could seriously quarrel with the notion that one's class status affects the way he thinks, the way he reacts to a given set of circumstances. The rich man cannot really understand the man who steals for his hungry family. The white middle-class person cannot understand why black children fight among themselves. One should read black psychiatrist Franz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth to understand violence in the black community -- or Malcolm X's Autobiography.

The black man is most likely to be arrested, most likely to be convicted, most likely to spend long years in jail. Why? Not because black men commit more crimes. Too many courts and commissions have long recognized that justice for the poor is not the same as justice for the monied. The poor cannot afford lawyers. The poor are forced to "cop a plea" rather than fight their case. The black man is tried by white judges, white juries. Arrested by white police who are often brutal and who will fabricate charges that he cannot disprove.

The black man cannot afford bail -- and many white judges feel that it does a person good to be in jail a few days rather than be bailed out -- thus destroying our heralded "presumption of innocence." For the black man there is a "presumption of guilt."

GROWTH OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Since the above was originally compiled and written in the summer of 1968, the Black Panther Party has moved unquestionably into the vanguard of the black liberation struggle in the United States. Not surprisingly, their continued growth and leadership has been met with frantic acts of repression by the racist power structure. The ruling class obviously recognizes the genuine threat the Black Panther Party poses to their exploitive interests. In one week alone in the early spring of 1969, 21 New York Panthers were busted and charged with a conspiracy plot to bomb downtown department stores during the Easter rush; an obvious fabrication in the face of continuous acts and statements by the Panthers demonstrating their dedication to serving the people -- not killing them.

The 21 were held on \$100,000 bond each. During the same week, 19 Panthers were arrested in Chicago on a variety of charges. Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was one of eight charged with conspiracy and using interstate traffic to incite a riot, in connection with the disorders at the Democratic Party National Convention even though Seale was only in Chicago very briefly that week to speak at a rally in Lincoln Park in support of Chicago's striking bus drivers. The political nature of the indictment against Chairman Seale is clearly apparent. The power structure, having imprisoned Huey Newton and driven Eldridge Cleaver underground is obviously anxious to dispose of Bobby Seale as well.

One recent act of repressive violence against the Black Panther Party is of particular significance to the development of the black liberation movement. On January 17, 1969, two members of the Los Angeles chapter of the Panthers, Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter and John Huggins, were shot to death at a meeting of the UCLA BSU. Members of Ron Karenga's black cultural nationalist organization, US, have been apprehended in connection with the murders. This has inspired considerable hostility between the Panthers and US and a thorough critique of cultural nationalism by the Panthers. The Panthers' position on cultural nationalism had been made abundantly clear earlier by Huey Newton in an interview which he granted to The Movement while in prison. When asked his views on the differences between cultural and revolutionary nationalism, Huey said:

There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the peo-

ple in power. Therefore to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He's against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

After the assassinations, Bobby Seale was even more emphatic in his condemnation of cultural nationalism. Following are sections from an interview with Bobby Seale which appeared in The Movement, March 1969:

MOVEMENT: Recently in Los Angeles the Black Panther was attacked by groups other than the official police in the form of assassination of two key leaders, John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information of Southern California; and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense of Southern California. Would you comment on these assassinations?

BOBBY: The political assassinations are, of course, directly related to this atrocious, murderous system. As Brother Maasia, one of the new leaders of the chapter in L.A. says, "There's a hog (demagogic politicians), there's a pig (racist police forces), and there's a boar (avaracious businessmen). Those who committed the assassinations in Los Angeles are pork chops and the pork chops are in fact the same as the pig. Now we know for a fact that the pork chops, the cultural nationalists in this country, are easily swayed and used by pig power structure. In Los Angeles it was the pork chops of the organization, US, led by Ron Karenga that are responsible for the political assassinations of two of our main leaders, John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter.

MOVEMENT: What do you think there is about cultural nationalism, aside from the agents within their groups, that makes them the enemy of revolutionaries?

BOBBY: Well, I understand cultural nationalism this way. They come primarily from the middle class bourgeoisie. They have a tendency to practice a form of black racism, initially through rhetoric. Franz Fanon, who wrote the book, Wretched of the Earth, states that many times our black brothers who are in these colleges and who relate to the bourgeois class have their intellectual possessions still in pawn to the Man's system so much that they begin to hate a white person simply because of the color of their skin. That's really practicing the same racism that exists in the system that we are trying to destroy. This is trying to fight fire with fire. This is not a functional thing to do because every practical person in the black community knows that if a fire starts in their house they don't go running to get some fire to put it out, they get some water to put the fire out because everybody knows that you put fire out with water.

The Black Panther Party gets this analysis and this understanding from having a broader perspective of what the class system is about. We think the cultural nationalist's ideology is very limited. The first thing they start talking about is their culture. They're trying to identify, they're the ones who've been lost, that have been most disconnected with the culture of Africa or what have you or whatever they think they might need to sustain themselves. They are more easily used by the pig power structure than the masses -- the field niggers. A field nigger is literally robbed by the pig power structure and he figures out a way to go forth and take back some of that stuff that was robbed from him -- as an individual without being able to articulate it himself.

Now this cultural nationalist is supposed to be able to articulate and he does, but he does so in such a fashion that projects this same racist capitalist system. That's very important because the capitalist system is a class system. The Black Panther Party is dealing more with killing and getting rid of the class system. We're talking about socialism. The cultural nationalists say that socialism won't do anything for us. There's the contradiction between the old and the new. Black people have no time to practice black racism and the masses of black people do not hate white people just because of the color of their skin. What the masses of black people actually hate (and this is something I have said time and time again; Huey has said it time and time again) is what is being done to us and the system that creates what is being done to us.

The masses of black people understand there's a few John Browns around somewhere who are going to be helping to get rid of those racist, capitalistic exploiters in this country. So we're not going to go out foolishly and say there is no possibility of aligning with some righteous white revolutionaries, or other poor and oppressed peoples in this country who might come to see the light about the fact that it's the capitalist system that they must get rid of.

A cultural nationalist is a fool. The white racist power structure will holler "black capitalism" and just because the word black is on the front of capitalism he relates to it. But the Black Panther Party is smarter than that because we ask the question what about Jewish capitalism? What about Irish capitalism? What about Anglo-Saxon capitalism? The only thing they've ever done for us, if you look back in history, especially Anglo-Saxon and Irish capitalism, was to perpetuate the exploitation. The Anglo-Saxon capitalist kept black people in slavery, stole the land away from the Indians, oppressed Mexican-Americans, oppressed Chinese-Americans. So capitalism can't be any good for us and this is what these cultural nationalists don't understand. They don't know how to deal with that. So they come up and tell us things like, "I'm tricking the man out of some of this money." Well the man is the biggest trickster in the damn world. He has tricked people out of whole countries, out of whole continents and here is this fool, this ignorant ass coming down telling us he's tricking the man out of something. So we say that once we understand what class is all about we are going to have to show these fools that they're going to have to get some broader ideology.

MOVEMENT: If we could delve into this a little further. As long as 6 or 9 months ago Eldridge predicted that there would be these kinds of assassinations by cultural nationalist groups working with the Man. We have always felt that one of the key points of strain between cultural nationalists and the revolutionary nationalists, led by the Black Panther Party, was over some of the ideological questions you have just raised. Specifically the Panther ideology, mainly expressed by Huey as the need for revolutionary nationalism coupled with the need for revolution in the white mother country. (See Huey Newton talks to the MOVEMENT, August, 1968. Also available as a pamphlet from the MOVEMENT PRESS, 330 Grove St., S.F. California 94102 or SDS, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612 - 15¢) Would you like to comment on this aspect.

BOBBY: ... Eldridge talked about the necessity for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country. I'd like to explain it more on a practical level. What's happening here is that it's impossible, as Huey says, for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community we're saying its also going to have to exist in the white community. We're saying that the white community, the mother country, is the father of racist, exploitative capitalism and it exploits black people in the black community. When Nixon begins to spread the idea of black capitalism all he's doing is strengthening the capitalistic system which is the very system that put us in slavery.



The cultural nationalists have a large tendency to relate to black capitalism. We say that's wrong. We're talking about socialism as a whole and not just black socialism. It would be absurd to go to Cuba and start talking about black socialism. The cultural nationalists talk about the third world. We talk about the colored peoples of the world but at the same time there are still going to be many many white people who are going to want to change the system because they are part and parcel of the development of mankind. If the third world and the majority of the poor oppressed people happen to be colored and they make a profound impact upon large numbers of white people about a new and better system where mankind doesn't exploit mankind then in fact this is positive, not negative.

The cultural nationalists don't understand that when the Black Panther Party has alliances or coalitions with white people it is with those white people who are basically opposed to the racist, capitalistic system. The cultural nationalists don't have enough sense to see this. These same cultural nationalists want to work downtown with the capitalists. They want jobs there in the poverty programs. They claim they are tricking the Man. They are working with the REAL AVARICIOUS PIGS who have been oppressing them for 400 years. We are trying to make a profound impact on a lot of white people in this country and especially those liberals, leftists and radicals in the white community trying to understand what we're really saying.

The whites will have to go back and shoot their mothers and fathers who are across this country and around the world. That's exactly what's going to have to happen and we don't pull any bones on our end. If we see a black cop riding down the street murdering a black man or brutalizing him, it's not the color of his skin, it's the actions and the things he's doing that we're opposed to, so we're going to have to kill him too. It doesn't make any difference what color the person's skin is, it's what the person is doing to the people.

Basically cultural nationalists turn into Papa Docs. Papa Doc rules Haiti and oppresses the people. We can't have no cultural nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chickenshit chump change. And if they think they're bad, well they ain't seen nothing yet. end of quotation

Besides spurring the Panthers to increased open opposition to cultural nationalism on strategic grounds, the murder of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins has also caused repercussions within the Party itself. Party members who have broken Party discipline or failed to devote their efforts to the service of the black community as well as those shown to be representing the philosophy of cultural nationalism have been disciplined by the Party and in some cases have been expelled from it. This need for tight discipline within the Black Panther Party becomes clearly apparent when one realizes that the black community is in a fight for its own survival and that repression in the black community and especially that directed toward the Panthers is reaching unprecedented heights. In the face of this repression, the Panthers stopped accepting new members for a three to six month period in order to concentrate on political education within their ranks and put forth the following rules for Party members:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS -- all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Minister of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

Bobby Seale commented on this problem in an interview with The Movement (March, 1969):

MOVEMENT: Have there been other aspects of the purges, such as an intensification of political education?

BOBBY: We have had an intensification of political education at this time. Many of the brothers who come off the block are not hip to reading sometimes, but we found that brothers begin to relate a lot more when they read the Red Book, or when they begin to read the Essays of the Minister of Defense. Then they begin to relate to what the Party really is. They get an understanding of the Party functioning for the people.

This intensive political education is very necessary for them to learn, for them to know the theories, the revolutionary theory. They must have the theory down and the theory tells them how to place it into practice and by placing it into practice they learn many, many things. This is very necessary for us to do.

Presently the Party isn't taking in any more new members. For the next three to six months we will be concentrating on raising the political understanding within the Party to a very high level. At the same time we will be going forth with out community programs. . . .

MOVEMENT: Would you comment on the growth of the organization nationally and some of the problems this has caused.

BOBBY: The attacks that have come down against us have had some positive results, so to speak. We gave the whole year of 1968 to the pigs and thank them for organizing our organization. Of course these attacks have also caused losses and considerable problems. In Seattle, three brothers have been killed, but there have been two pigs killed and nine wounded. In Denver they raided our office and in Newark they bombed the office. In New York there has been a lot of trouble, with the pigs jumping on the brothers.

They have tried to intimidate us. Each chapter has had the same problems that the central headquarters has had. But we've stood up against them and the organization is still growing. One of the key problems has been keeping the chapters supplied with our organ, **THE BLACK PANTHER**, the Black Community News Service. This is key because we know from studying revolutionary principles that the organ is a real organizing tool in terms of directly contacting the masses and relating to building their consciousness.

To some extent also we have had problems with a few new members who are very opportunistic, at first. Every time we are attacked we get hundreds of new members just flushing in. The people don't like us being attacked. Once in a while we get cultural nationalists as new members. We try to teach them that the only culture is a revolutionary culture. To get them to understand this in a very broad sense. We want brothers who are black nationalists and at the same time internationalists. They have to understand that they must be internationalists because this is a people's struggle as a whole. And black people just happen to be a moving vanguard force within the confines of racist America, putting forth this revolutionary struggle and aiding and contributing to the world wide struggle.

Since the attacks by the pigs all through 1968 did so much to build our organization the power structure is using another technique and that is to try to use cultural nationalists to try to destroy our organization so they can make it look like they aren't the ones. But the Party knows and we understand that it's really the puppeteer, the pig power structure itself, from the FBI and Nixon all the way down to the local mayor and the local pigs who are using the cultural nationalists. So we're going to get rid of the cultural nationalists and that's all part and parcel of changing the system as a whole.

Recently the Panthers have broadened their organizing tactics in order to reach new constituencies in schools and on the job. They have developed a working relationship with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, primarily located in Detroit, and initiated their own organizing projects among black workers. They have also attempted to develop relations with black student groups and have formulated the following Ten Point Program for Black Student Unions:

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society.
We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give 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.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL. We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY. We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS. We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and

their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY. We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS. We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES. We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED. We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the school's authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL. We believe that the student court should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE AND PEACE. As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

Following the belief that a revolutionary organization must constantly strive to serve the people, the Panthers have begun several new programs in the black community. The breakfast program for school children probably best exemplifies these new efforts. Bobby Seale discussed the ideas behind this program in his interview in The Movement (March, 1969):

MOVEMENT: Which community programs are you concentrating on now?

BOBBY: The four key programs we are trying to implement are: the breakfast for children which is going on now; the petition campaign for the community control of the police; free health clinics in the black

community; and black liberation schools in the black community. Some people are going to call these programs reformist but we're revolutionaries and what they call a reformist program is one thing when the capitalists put it up and it's another thing when the revolutionary camp puts it up.

Revolutionaries must always go forth to answer the momentary desires and needs of the people, the poor and oppressed people, while waging the revolutionary struggle. It's very important because it strengthens the people's revolutionary camp while it weakens the camp of the capitalist power structure. . . .

MOVEMENT: Will you talk concretely about how a breakfast for children program weakens the pig power structure?

BOBBY: Yes. First let me explain what the program is. We have Black Panther Party members who get up at 6:30 in the morning to be down at the churches in the black community by 7 o'clock to prepare food to serve to the school kids by 7:30.

This weakens the power structure because the businessmen in the black community are the ones who have to donate to this program. We hope to get this going around the country -- that of every dollar that a racist capitalist (or any kind of businessman, be he black or white) a penny of it is going to have to come back to the community. The very businessman who exploits the community must begin to give at least a penny back. And it's organized in such a way that those pennies accumulate a hell of a lot of food for every dollar and that food goes into the stomachs of the children in the black community.

This is a socialistic program. We take it away from the big businessman. The politicians, if they were really honest, would have instituted this a long time ago as a means of strengthening his camp and he might still try to co-opt this program and he will probably use some cultural nationalists to help him. But we're going to leave it in the camp of the people. . . .

BLACK PANTHER



The first businessman who says he ain't gonna donate, we're gonna tell the people in the black community "Don't buy from him." Why? Because he won't donate one penny of every dollar for some breakfast for some children before they go to school in the morning. It's a socialistic program. We're educating the people through a practical functioning operation of a socialistic program. Once the people see a socialistic program is valuable to them, they won't throw it away. By practicing socialism they learn it better.

A revolutionary organization has to maintain and righteously serve the people and not just give them. And when the people see that we're not giving they're going to relate to that. Because it's their program. We're giving every penny we get to them. It's theirs -- we say it's the people's money.

As Huey has said, "We are only like oxen to be ridden by the people. A strong detachment that the people can always use to serve them or when crisis comes forth. The Party tries to help solve their problems, to aid and assist the people and see that their basic political desires are answered."

These are the programs that we are working on. Free health clinics in the black community when we get those going. We are going to institute free health clinics. FREE health clinics. The word "free." They talk about freedom in every abstract, superficial rhetoric. FREE breakfast for children. Now we got some freedom

working. Free health clinic, see what I mean -- that's freedom. There's something materially valuable there, something for the survival of our people. Free to live. Like Huey P. Newton says, "every man on the face of this earth has a right to live, therefore he has a right to work." That's basic.

That's why free health clinics, community control of the police, free breakfast for the children. This is what freedom really is -- and much, much more in the future. It's got to be materially valuable; it's got to be constructed and organized and it's got to relate to the political needs and desire of the people.



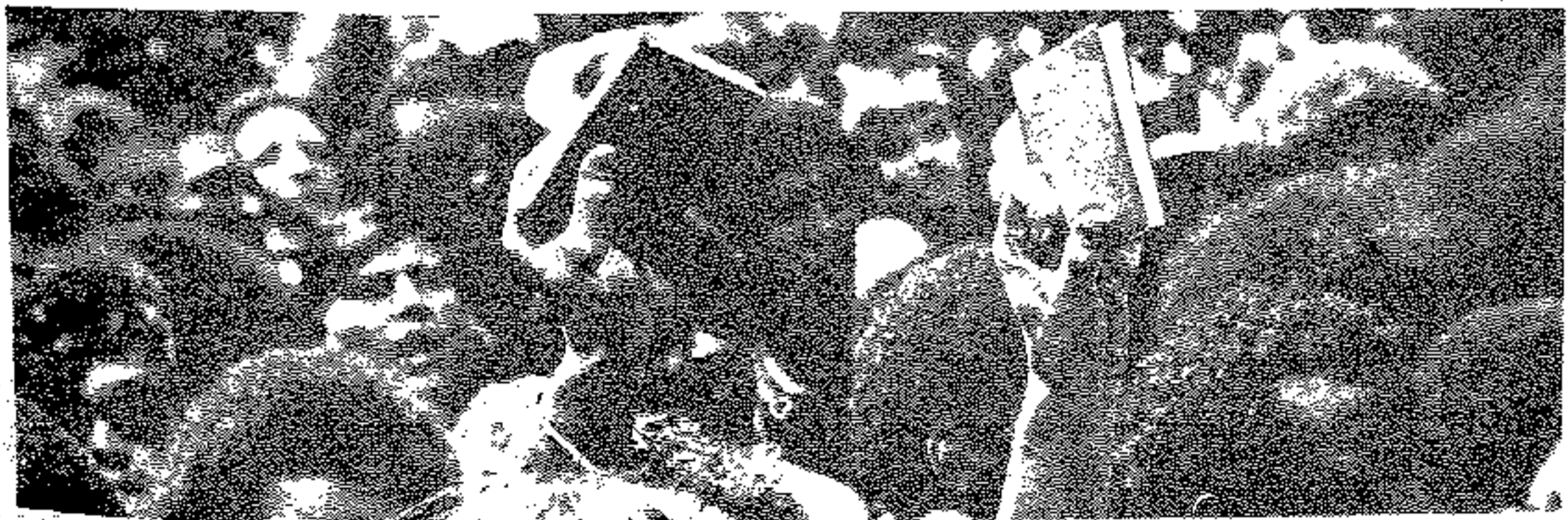
Black Panthers are revolutionary nationalists in alliance with other oppressed third world people seeking national liberation. They realize that in the struggle for national liberation victory comes only to those who successfully throw off American imperialism. For the black colony in America this means the destruction of capitalism in the mother country. As Huey P. Newton has stated, "To be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist." Therefore, the Black Panther Party is at once revolutionary nationalist and socialist internationalist. The Black Panther mode of operation is to "serve the people." The objective is "power to the people." The following excerpts from an article by Cec Levinson in the Black Panther newspaper describes how the Panthers base their power in the people:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the monetary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." - Marx, Engels in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

...there has never been an organization in the U.S., to my knowledge, including the one founded on the theory of the above decree, that has been able to carry forth this dual-principled program. Each one has either lost sight of its revolutionary perspective and fallen into the pit of reformism or has been verbally revolutionary only, not caring to deal with the daily demands of the people, thereby isolating themselves from the people.

I believe that the Panthers can fulfill that double role; indeed, they have proven it in several ways since their inception a scant 3 years ago. When Huey and Bobby carried on their armed patrols; when the Panthers marched into the State Legislature, armed, they showed the people not only their willingness to practice their theory, but they shot the old divine-right-of-government theory full of holes. (No pun intended. But there it is.) ...

When the Panthers knocked on doors talking to people about the political candidacies of Huey, Bobby, Eldridge and Kathleen, they were carrying out the first, the most important organizing tenet: talk with the people, know the people and their needs and discuss what action is necessary to satisfy these needs. When Panthers spoke of the electoral struggle, they referred constantly -- and applied it to the Panther Program. The Panther Program IS the demands of the people; a written expression of both the immediate and long-range needs while recognizing, as stated clearly in Point #7 that all of these cannot be satisfied under the present system of economic exploitation. If full employment cannot be guaranteed -- and



it most definitely cannot if super profits are to be maintained -- then the people must take over the basic means of production and run the businesses and industries by themselves, for themselves. Self-determination for the Black Colony will never be given by the colonial rulers; it will have to be taken. Here is a perfect example of fulfilling the 2 basic components -- reform and revolution; We want freedom. There are lots of daily freedoms that are partially attainable under capitalism: more jobs, better housing, less taxation, more representation, even community control of police and schools are possibilities; freedoms that will cost the profit-mongers less to give than to withhold -- with the proper threats and perhaps a little PHYSICAL pressure. But the ultimate freedom, self-determination is unthinkable without revolt. ...

Whatever the Panthers have done has been done in a revolutionary manner; in all areas of struggle they have maintained and verbalized their understanding of the necessity to qualitatively alter this decaying, most corrupt of all economic systems.

What is the probability of the BPP falling into the reformist trap or being left out on the purely revolutionary limb? I cannot envision the present leadership leading us into the boiling pot of reformism. Reformism is a result of either the inability or unwillingness to recognize the primary enemy -- Monopoly Capitalism, or to compromise that knowledge. The Panthers KNOW the Enemy and with their total commitment to the people, cannot compromise at this time. The danger lies in the possibility of the struggle going on indefinitely with the present leadership forced into inactivity by imprisonment or physical harm (Reason #1 why they must be protected) and the younger, not yet politically mature being sucked into the system via the Poverty Program or some other lying promise. Neither can I foresee an isolationist revolutionary demise of the Party -- for 3 reasons: a) The community activities being carried on today are an evident attempt to meet the immediate demands of the Black Community; successfully -- judging from the Breakfast Program; educationally, in terms of the political campaigns. b) There is an enormous revolutionary potential within the Black working class which will intensify, thereby bringing the people ever-closer to the Party and c) The Panthers, having come from the poor, identify with the people more than with pedantic theory. Isolation is the result of intellectual rather than emotional involvement.

That is why I'm convinced that the Black Panther Party has the program that will not only heal the wounds and fractures in the Colony, but will ultimately lead us all out of the horror that is capitalism into the promise that is Socialism.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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