Chapter Fourteen

Lumpenization: A Critical Error of The Black Panther Party

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The Black Panther Party (BPP) in its ascendant phase embodied the highest aspirations of a generation of radical African American youth. At the peak of the organization's national influence, spanning the years 1969 to 1970, the BPP attracted a broad swath of African Americans to its ranks, leading many to conclude that the Party was indeed the "vanguard" of the Black liberation movement. While there were many countervailing forces within the BPP, college students, working- and upper-middle class members, and the lumpen element dominated Party dynamics, particularly during the zenith of the organization. This essay analyzes the Black Panther Party from its birth in Oakland, California in 1966 to its demise as a national political force in 1971. An examination of the development of the Black Panther ideology reveals an early decision to focus recruitment, role modeling, and orientation in the African American lumpen proletariat. The following analysis maintains that the decision to mold the Black Panther Party from the Black lumpen placed the organization on a course of instability. It is further contended that the emphasis on the lumpen was a decisive factor in the BPP's eventual decline as a national political force.

The Black Panther Party's political programs, stressing long-standing social, economic, and cultural needs of African Americans, inspired thousands to combat racial oppression. Many of these young adults were committed not only to the liberation of Black people in the United States, but also to that of downtrodden people throughout the world. According to the ideological doctrine of the BPP, the African American lumpen proletariat was to spearhead the revolution against capitalist and racist exploitation. Contrary to conventional Marxist thought, Panther theoreticians saw the lumpen as the potential leading revolutionary force within the African American community. Immediately prior to the actual formation of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale indicated that he and Huey Newton gave considerable thought to the political qualities of the Black *lumpen* class:

> We would argue with and somewhat change our friends' Marxist
> views that the lumpen never did anything but pillage and/or ignore the

revolutionary cause altogether. We downed that view when it came to applying it to the black American ghetto-dweller because we were off the block too, Stagolees.[1]

To be sure, the Party's conception of the lumpen was much broader than that identified by traditional Marxists. Seale explains that "we are saying that our lumpen proletariat, even though they get into illegitimate activity, okay, it was also the Black mother who had to scrub Miss Anne's kitchen floors, right?"[2] Panther strategists envisioned a Fanon-like transformation of the "forgotten" African American into a world actor.

The primary thesis of this essay is that the criminal element within the lumpen developed a modus operandi that created a sociocultural milieu inimicable to a stable political organization. The modus operandi of the lumpen (or lumpenism) entailed the adoption of values and behavior of the hustler/criminal element of society which included misogyny, undisciplined and illegal behavior, weak political loyalties, and a proclivity toward intimidation and violence. To a large extent, this phenomenon was evident in the organizational dynamics of the Black Panther Party. Clearly other factors—political repression, tactical disagreements, and authoritarianism—all contributed to the ultimate demise of the Party. However, in order to draw important lessons from the Panther experience, it is crucial to ascertain the role that lumpenism played in the Party's fall from national prominence.

Origin of the Black Panther Party

Huey Percy Newton was born February 17, 1942, in Oak Grove, Louisiana, and named after the very popular Louisiana politician Huey P. Long. Newton's family moved to Oakland after his second birthday. His father worked at the Naval Supply Depot as a laborer and also served as a part-time Baptist minister, while his mother was a full-time housewife. Early in life Newton grew to know the hostility of the local police: "[T]he police were very brutal to us even at that age. There would be a policeman in the movie house, and if there was any disturbance, we would get kicked out and the police would call us niggers."[3]

While he was at Merritt College, Huey Newton searched for an organizational vehicle that would lead the struggle for Black liberation. He became involved in the Afro-American Association, an organization he initially believed could lead a mass movement. Just as for many others of his generation, this period was one of debate and discussion of a variety of ideologies, strategies, and tactics. Newton quickly acquired a reputation on campus as a skillful debater who documented his rhetoric with facts. This allowed him to "shoot down" his opponent, further enhancing his reputation. Newton had a healthy respect for research, study, and logical thinking that was followed by action. This intellectual characteristic was infused into the initial thrust of the Black Panther movement.[4]

At Merritt College, Newton met Bobby Seale, who was five years older than Newton. At this point, Seale had considerably more experience on the street and in the workforce than Newton. During his youth, Seale moved to Los Angeles and worked while attending high school. During a Harlem Globetrotters basketball game, according to Seale, he and a friend "found" a purse and went into the men's restroom to search it and discovered twenty-seven dollars. They returned to watch the remainder of the basketball game, but while leaving a guard stopped them at a woman's request. After a brief discussion, Seale and his friend were arrested for stealing the woman's purse. In court, Seale was let off with a warning, since he did not have a criminal record, and instructed by the judge to join the Air Force. He did join the Air Force, but was subsequently discharged after spending a stint in the military jail. Later, Seale found employment as a sheet-metal mechanic on the Gemini missile project, gambled, played drums, and attended college part-time during his off hours. Seale recalled that during this period, he fell "into the trap of projecting an air of having some cool, well-kept hustle. It wasn't really me, but it allowed me to feel more relaxed around other working-class hustlers."[5]

The initial friendship of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale proved quite productive. Seale initiated a drive to organize the African American students on campus. Skeptical, Newton believed that it was necessary to balance the "do-nothing activity of the blacks on campus" with that of the "brothers off the block."[6] The new organization, the Soul Students Advisory Council, soon became split between those who favored campus cultural enrichment programs and other members who advocated community mobilization. According to Seale, "Huey said to all these cats on the central committee of the SSAC that we are going to have to show the brothers on the block that we have an organization that represents the community and we're going to have to show it in a real strong fashion."[7] Newton argued that African Americans must arm themselves.

This disagreement eventually led to Seale's and Newton's resignation from the campus organization. The impetus for their departure was a crisis which ensued following the unapproved spending of monies from the organization's treasury on the bail for Newton and Seale. After several heated verbal exchanges which nearly erupted into a physical altercation, Newton and Seale declared, "We resign. We're going to the black community and we intend to organize in the black community and organize an organization to lead the black liberation struggle."[8]

Both Seale and Newton expressed contempt for the "cowards" who were "scared" and opposed the idea of armed self-defense. Seale accused these "cultural nationalists" of "trying to act bad on campus like they were bad dudes off the block." According to Seale, Newton remarked,

"If they think they're bad, we're going to get our shit." So he called up his boys—the pimps, thugs off the block (people always call them thugs)—and he called up his nephew, who, like the brothers on the block, just liked to fight.[9]

Seale declared that they "were going to kick ass that day." Fortunately, no serious violence took place. Eventually, Newton and Seale left the Soul Students Advisory Council; they declared it hopelessly riddled with futile ideas of "reforming" the system.[10] Newton and Seale decided to form an organization that would patrol the police and safeguard the rights of African American citizens. "A law book, a tape recorder, and a gun," Huey said, "that's all we would need. It would let those brutalizing racist bastards know that we mean business."[11] They agreed to accept arrests nonviolently and keep their guns in plain view when they patrolled the police in order to comply with the law. Seale and Newton vowed to "do battle only at the point when a fool policeman drew his gun unjustly."[12]

According to Seale, the 10-point Panther program was drawn up very quickly. Late one evening in October 1966, Huey Newton dictated the future organization's program to Seale who wrote Newton's words down verbatim. The name of the organization was derived from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization of Alabama that featured a black panther as its campaign symbol. At this early stage, it was evident that the Panthers adopted a unique position toward the role of violence and weapons in their political practice. In one incident, Panthers, Seale and Newton included among them, took their guns to a birthday party because they wanted to patrol the police on the way there. After they entered the house, a wave of panic ensued. Newton told the hostess that the guns symbolized the goals of a new Black organization. Seale remembered that the hostess then told Newton that she did not want weapons in her house. Newton failed in his attempt to calm the people, so the hostess then asked him and the other Panthers to put the guns into a closet. Twenty minutes later, the police appeared and asked the Panthers if they were carrying guns. The Panthers finally agreed to leave and angrily denounced the hostess as "a nigger bourgeois bitch" for calling the "white swine racists on us."[13]

By New Year's Day 1967, the Black Panthers moved into their first storefront office. Shortly thereafter, twenty-five people turned up for a meeting at the new office, and the organization began to attract new members. Weeks later Panthers began to sell *The Red Book*, Mao Tse-Tung's *Quotations from Chairman Mao,* in order to raise money for the organization. Amid the radical political climate of Berkeley and the University of California campus, this proved to be an effective fund-raising method.

With the largest Black rebellions in recent history bolstering their recruitment efforts, the Black Panther Party rode a wave of militancy and attracted young Black men and women en masse to its ranks. The compelling anger of the increasingly politically aware masses made it possible for an African

American militant organization to utilize less than optimal strategies and still experience rapid growth. The Party's membership grew to an estimated five thousand members with thirty-two branches spread over fifteen states.[14] The organization attracted many members directly after their release from jail.[15] However, unlike the Nation of Islam, which reoriented and reformed its recruits, the Panthers did not attempt to thoroughly reshape these individuals. Newton explained his approach:

> Instead of trying to eliminate these activities—numbers, hot goods, drugs—I attempted to channel them into significant community actions. . . . Many brothers who were burglarizing and participating in similar pursuits began to contribute weapons and material to community defense.[16]

The Panthers did try, however inconsistently and unevenly, to rehabilitate the purely antisocial tendencies of its criminalized members.[17] In addition, the Party also recruited on campuses as well as in all other sectors of the community, which helped to mitigate the impact of lumpen behavior.[18]

Rise of the Black Panther Party

The growth and development of the Black Panther Party was hardly smooth, gradual, or well calibrated. Quite to the contrary, the Panthers' rise to national prominence was marked by at least six key events that enhanced the organization's prestige, publicized its existence and objectives, and sharpened the hostility of the American establishment against it. The first of these key events involved providing security for the widow of Malcolm X, the late Betty Shabazz. The Black Panther Party and competing Bay Area militant organizations challenged each other for the responsibility of protecting Shabazz during her visit. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, the group's earlier name, went all out to impress both the public and their rivals with its degree of organization, determination, and discipline. When the date of Betty Shabazz's arrival came, the Panthers, twenty strong, marched with her into the *Ramparts* magazine office and caused an immediate panic among the staff. An armed confrontation soon developed after the police confronted the Panthers outside the building. As earlier planned, Shabazz was whisked away. Angered by the reception of the police, Newton reportedly taunted one "big fat racist pig" to draw his gun. Newton faced him down with the challenge: "Draw it, you cowardly dog!" The officer backed down with Newton laughing in his face. Aided by the media, this incident quickly became part of the rapidly growing legend of the Panthers.[19]

A second spurt in the membership of the Black Panther Party came following the April 1, 1967, slaying of Denzil Dowell, a twenty-two-year-old African American youth of Richmond, California. Neighborhood residents were thoroughly convinced that Dowell was a victim of police murder, and his brother contacted the Panthers to assist in an investigation of the incident. Finding discrepancies in the police account of the incident, the Panthers decided to sponsor a community rally. The aim of this rally was to

educate the residents on the necessity of self-defense. The Panthers' investigation led them to the conclusion that Dowell's murder was not an isolated event. Rather, they concluded that there was a pattern of police shootings of Black youth by Richmond police officers.[20] Approximately one hundred and fifty people attended the Panthers' community rally in North Richmond. Seale and Newton made speeches, while twenty other members handled security tasks. Soon afterwards, the Panthers held a second rally and began recruiting prospective members from the community. The brother of Denzil Dowell, George Dowell, was one of these new recruits. Dowell noted that the Panthers made him "feel like they were really interested in the people, and they knew what they were doing."[21] Later, in the same community, the Panthers accompanied a group of Richmond parents on a visit to a junior high school where a teacher had reportedly "beat up and slapped down a couple of black kids in school. "[22]

Chance was also a significant factor in the expansion of the Party. An early key event, which constitutes the third factor in the growth of the BPP, was the recruitment of former prisoner and acclaimed author Eldridge Cleaver. His lengthy involvement with the criminal justice system, level of politicization, and unique personality proved to be a significant influence on the still-developing politics of the Black Panther Party. As an adolescent and young adult, Cleaver was involved in petty theft, drugs, and felonies, including rape and assault. In prison, Cleaver became a Black Muslim, a follower of Malcolm X. He left prison as the famous author of *Soul on Ice,* which instantly gave Cleaver celebrity status. The addition of Cleaver to the Panther organization during its formative stage bolstered the Party's prestige.[23] Cleaver's membership also lent the impression of a Panther monopoly on the Black revolutionary leadership of the period. This perception grew in June 1967, when the Panthers boldly and successfully "drafted" Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Ture) as their prime minister. H. Rap Brown and James Forman would later join the Party's ranks. The announcement of a "merger" with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and of joint activities with the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) further cemented the impression that the African American revolutionary left was uniting under the banner of the Black Panther Party.[24]

However, John Watson, a former leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and editor of its organ *The Inner City Voice,* indicated that his organization was always conscious of its differences with the Panthers. The League's focus on the potential and key role of the African American working class clashed with the Panthers' emphasis on the lumpen. Watson indicated that the League took steps to prevent the emergence of a strong Panther branch in Detroit by organizing the initial local Panther branch themselves. Geschwender writes in his study on the League that "the degree to which the League was successful in this attempt may be seen in the April

24, 1969 statement by Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard that the majority of DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and FRUM (Ford Revolutionary Union Movement) members were Panthers."[25] The early Black Panther chapter in Detroit was involved in supporting the activities of these factory-based organizations. The succeeding Black Panther organization in Detroit subsequently clashed with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers over a range of different issues.[26] Eventually, these heated confrontations put an end to the cooperation and joint activities of the two organizations.

A fourth catalyst in the growth of the Black Panther Party was the May 2, 1967, Panther "invasion" of the California State Assembly during the debate on the Mulford bill, pending legislation that banned the carrying of loaded firearms in incorporated areas of the state. An armed delegation of Panther "lobbyists" descended on the state capital to protest the pending legislation. The publicity from this event gave the Black Panther Party international exposure.[27] The shoot-out involving Huey Newton and two Oakland police officers on October 28, 1967 constitutes the fifth formative event in the rapid growth and development of the BPP. Newton was stopped by officer John Frey, who carried a list of license plate numbers of Panther-owned vehicles. Newton and officer Herbert Heanes were seriously wounded, while Frey was slain. Although Newton was found innocent of assault charges related to the Heanes shooting, he was convicted on charges of voluntary manslaughter for the death of officer Frey.[28] A news photo showing a seriously wounded Huey Newton stretched over a hospital cot once again gave the Black Panthers national publicity.[29] The significance of this incident stems largely from the importance the Panthers placed on securing Newton's release from jail. This objective immediately forced the organization to make pivotal decisions: to ally with the White liberal Peace and Freedom Party, to hire Charles Garry, and to build broad coalitions with less radical Black political formations. Through the Free Huey campaign, the Panthers became a national organization. Free Huey rallies were held in all parts of the country. Even internationally, the existence of the Black Panther Party became known. Free Huey rallies were held in France, Germany, Sweden, as well as in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.[30] The Panthers pushed this process at every opportunity. On July 24, 1968, they delivered a portfolio of information on the case to the Cuban mission and vowed to inform all United Nations members about the status of Huey Newton's trial. The Panthers also inquired about the possibility of obtaining non-governmental status in the world body.[31]

National publicity about the Black Panther Party stimulated new interest in the organization. Almost independent of the leadership's capacity for effective outreach, the organization grew nationally by leaps and bounds. Driven by a hunger on the part of hundreds of thousands of young African Americans to contribute to an uncompromising organization committed to

social justice, hundreds of individuals flocked to the Party. Organizational growth was in tandem with the enhanced administrative skills of the Party's leadership. For example, during this period Hilliard's responsibilities grew to include reviewing the weekly reports of some thirty branches, offering advice to national Party units when necessary, overseeing relations with the media, and supervising the production of the Party's newspaper, *The Black Panther*. In addition, Hilliard regularly directed political education classes and other Panther events. In short, his busy schedule bore a great resemblance to that of a CEO of an emerging national firm.[32]

Another critical incident in the Panthers' rise was the April 6, 1968, shoot-out between Party members and the Oakland police. Two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., a struggle over tactics emerged between Eldridge Cleaver and David Hilliard. Cleaver was determined to register an armed Panther response to the murder of Dr. King. This would set an example for the whole of Black America as well as demonstrate the Panthers' vanguard role in the revolution. According to Hilliard, Cleaver's plan was to carry a cache of arms from one side of town to the other and, on the way, ambush some police officers. While searching for a police car to assault, Cleaver reportedly felt an irresistible urge to urinate. After he had stepped away from the convoy of Panther cars and into the bushes, a police car spotted Cleaver. A gun battle ensued between the Panthers and the police, which forced Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton to take shelter in a basement of a home. After Cleaver and Hutton were finally forced to surrender, the police ordered them to run to a squad car. Cleaver could not comply with this order because of a wounded leg, but Hutton was gunned down after following the police request. According to Cleaver, his life was spared only because of the intervention of a crowd of community residents.[33] The publicity generated by this event, notably major articles in *Ramparts* and lesser-known leftist publications, heightened the Panthers' prestige and support nationally. Of course, in between these six key events were countless, daily organizing efforts by members of the Party.

Panther Conception of the Black Community

> When people got a problem they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good. Because like Mao says, we are supposed to be ridden down the path of the social revolution and that's for the people.[34]
> — Fred Hampton

The Black Panther Party officially targeted three "levels of oppressors": the "greedy, exploiting, rich, avaricious businessman" who exploited the Black community; "the misleading, lying, tricky, demagogic politician" who played upon the community's woes; and "the atrocious, murdering, brutalizing, intimidating, fascist, pig cops."[35] The Black community that confronted these enemies was perceived as deeply divided into a prosperous Black middle class and an impoverished working class and lumpen proletariat. The latter population was, in Eldridge Cleaver's view, a blend of

working class and lumpen individuals. In "On Lumpen Ideology," Cleaver wrote that when "workers become permanently unemployed, displaced by the streamlining of production, they revert back to their basic lumpen condition."[36] From its inception, the Panthers championed the interests of the least prosperous section of the community, and, at times, evinced an hostility toward the Black middle class.

Panther officials saw the role of the African American lumpen proletariat as the vanguard of the more docile working class. Eldridge Cleaver, the most eloquent spokesperson for this view, maintained that Newton provided the "ideology and the methodology for organizing the Black urban lumpen proletariat."[37] No longer would they be "the forgotten people," lying on the bottom but would instead be the "vanguard of the proletariat."[38] The Black Panther Party's definition of the lumpen proletariat, while different from that of the then established Communist and left-wing parties, shares many common elements. While Marx distinguished the lumpen from the poor who received relief from the state, there is, nonetheless, conformity with the other elements of Cleaver's definition:

> The Lumpen proletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of a capitalist society. That part of the "Industrial Reserve army" held perpetually in reserve, who have never worked and never will, who can't find a job; who are unskilled and unfit; who have been displaced by machines, automation, and cybernation, and were never retrained or invested with new skills; all those on Welfare or receiving State Aid.

> Also the so-called "Criminal Element," those who live by their wits, existing off that which they rip off, who stick guns in the faces of businessmen and say "stick em up" or "give it up!" Those who don't even want to work and can't relate to punching some pig's time clock, who would rather punch a pig in the mouth and rob him than punch that same pig's time clock and work for him, those whom Huey P. Newton calls "the illegitimate capitalists." In short, all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their rightful social heritage.[39]

Kathleen Cleaver concurs that the lumpen have an unstable relationship to the labor market with jobs that are "irregular and usually lowly paid—with the exception of criminal activities."[40] Contrary to much of orthodox Marxist theory, the Black Panther Party theoreticians viewed the line separating the Black proletariat from the class of the Black lumpen proletariat as a tenuous and fragile one that often resulted in a blending of the two classes.

Notwithstanding disagreements over the precise location of the Black lumpen in the context of the United States class system, Panther strategists followed the lead of Huey P. Newton who saw the Black lumpen as the potential leading revolutionary force within the African American community. The fearlessness exhibited by the "brothers off the block" made them

attractive recruits for the Panther style of revolutionary politics. Newton reasoned that if the courageous brothers off the block were politically organized around revolutionary principles then the Black lumpen could play an invaluable role in the liberation struggle. According to Seale,

> Huey wanted brothers off the block—brothers who had been out there robbing banks, brothers who had been pimping, brothers who had been peddling dope, brothers who ain't gonna take nothing, brothers who had been fighting pigs—because he knew that once they get themselves together in the area of political education (and it doesn't take much because the political education is the ten-point platform and program), Huey P. Newton knew that once you organize the brothers he ran with, he fought with, he fought against, who he fought harder than they fought him, once you organize those brothers, you get niggers, you get black men, you get revolutionaries who are too much.[41]

On the other hand, scholars and activists alike have been pessimistic about the revolutionary potential of the lumpen class. Specifically, they argue that individuals of the lumpen class are unsuitable for the rigors of revolutionary action because this sector not only tends to lack loyalty and discipline, but is also prone to the use of intimidation and violence when resolving disputes.[42] Epstein, for example, finds "grounds for caution, if not, pessimism, about the potential of the urban 'non-working class.'"[43] Nevertheless, the Party's theoreticians did not heed this warning. Instead, Panther leaders emphasized the revolutionary potential of the Black lumpen as a whole without giving adequate attention to the dangerous tendencies of various sectors within this class. This crucial oversight would prove detrimental for Party fortunes.

Panther Power: From the Barrel of the Gun

Central to the goal of achieving political power was the Black Panther insistence that millions of African Americans take up arms. Huey P. Newton's call for African Americans to "pick up the gun" had its immediate roots in the ideology of Malcolm X, pervasive nationwide police brutality, the experience of the Southern Civil Rights movement, and worldwide decolonization movements. The key role of the doctrine of self-defense was stressed by Newton in the Party's first position paper "In Defense of Self-Defense Executive Mandate Number One":

> 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 ghettoes 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 the terror before it is too late.[44]

In response to a rash of police raids on Panther dwellings, an imprisoned Huey Newton issued "Executive Mandate No. 3" on March 1, 1968. This mandate was an internal Panther directive that reinforced the Party's commitment to armed self-defense:

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.[45]

The penalty for violating this mandate was expulsion from the organization.

Early in 1969 in his essay the "Functional Definition of Politics," Newton described the Panthers' view of politics as "war without bloodshed" and war as "politics with bloodshed." For the masses of impoverished and struggling African Americans Newton maintained that armed self-defense was critical to the empowerment of Black people. Newton wrote, "Black people can develop self-defense power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation."[46] As in many aspects of Black Panther ideology, the examples of protracted conflicts with underdeveloped nations figured heavily in the molding of its position. This particular concept would appear to have drawn inspiration from the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Chinese militia, and the Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). On more than one occasion Newton argued that there "is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police."[47] The Party's firm demand that the "racist dog policeman must withdraw from our communities or face the wrath of an armed people" is analogous with "the NLF's and North Vietnamese demands for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from their nation."[48]

In his *Sechaba* interview, Newton indicated the Panthers' ideological debt to Third World revolutionary movements:

I think that not only Fidel and Ché, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim IL Sung but also all the guerrilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Palestinian guerrillas who are fighting for a socialist world. I think they all have been a great inspiration for the Black Panther Party.[49]

The Cuban revolution, as interpreted by Ché Guevara and Regis Debray's influential *Revolution in the Revolution?*, was an important influence on the Panthers. In an interview with a New Left paper, *The Movement,* Newton described the guerrilla fighter as "a very unique man," thus contrasting his views with those of "Marxist-Leninist orthodox theories." Echoing Debray, Newton maintained that the political Party should be in control of the mili-

tary arm of the organization. In other words, the guerrilla combined political and military roles. "Debray says 'poor the pen without the guns, poor the gun without the pen,'" asserted Newton. The ideal Panther was to be a "guerrilla" who "is the military commander and the political theoretician all in one."[50]

The Black Panther Party stressed the sacrifice of one's life for the future of the Black masses. Newton's unusual concept of "revolutionary suicide" is a marriage of a sense of dignity and need to sacrifice for the common good. Shortly after Newton's release from prison in 1970 in a speech at Boston College, he elaborated upon this concept. Reflecting upon the perpetual state of siege inflicted by the federal government's relentless attacks, Newton tied the concept of revolutionary suicide to the question of organizational self-defense. Declaring that the Black Panther Party would not tolerate the destruction of Black people, Newton saw it as tantamount to "reactionary suicide" if the Panthers remained passive in the face of fascist attacks upon the Party. He declared, "[W]e will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw" and "where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that they could emerge victorious."[51] Revolutionary suicide meant that the Panthers would not be repressed easily. One *Black Panther* article authored by New York State prisoners of the Jonathan P. Jackson Commune lauded those qualities that make the new man, the revolutionary guerrilla fighter: "love, devotion, and dedication to the people and the ideals of revolution."[52]

One important reason for Panther endorsement of armed struggle was the contention that the United States was on the brink of transformation into a fascist society. The Party made the following prediction:

> As the struggle intensifies, and reaches toward higher levels, the power structure responds with increased levels of repression; insanely murderous violence, and terror, in futile attempts to intimidate or destroy all opposition to its inhuman system. As each day passes, we must cope with more killings and frame ups; more maniacs with license to kill us at will; more pigs, more busts, more laws—a slow, but sure and purposeful trend toward the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship led by the Nixons, Agnews, Mitchells and Hoovers, and avidly encouraged by the avaricious, power-mad, super-rich hogs of Babylon—Rockefeller, DuPonts, Hunts, Gettys, Mellons, Kennedys, and Company.[53]

George Jackson maintained in his "Tribute to Three Slain Brothers" that the United States "brought fascism to its highest arrangement." He contends that the sophistication of the United States' brand of fascism is based on its subtlety. It already existed as reflected in an "immediate and violent response to all truly revolutionary threats" involving scores of distinct police agencies.[54]Yet, those advocating picking up the gun, as the BPP did, put

themselves at risk when the membership is prone to undisciplined behavior. Bobby Seale complained,

> In the early days of the Party, we had to try a number of times to show brothers that they were breaking rules, and eventually tell them that they were no longer members of the Party and that they didn't represent the Party anymore.[55]

This discipline problem was compounded when ". . .brothers identified only with the gun."[56] Seale identified this element of the Party as "jackanapes." According to Seale, the jackanape "centers things only around himself; he's still selfish. He thinks his pot and wine are above the Party. He thinks his gun is something that he can use at will to rip off stuff for himself."[57] Individuals from the street element of the lumpen stratum demonstrated a greater likelihood to engage is such behavior. For example, William Brent, a prison associate of Eldridge Cleaver, robbed a gas station in broad daylight while traveling in the Party's newspaper van and was expelled from the Party.[58]

Alliances of the Black Panther Party

The Marxist–Leninist-tinted lenses of the Black Panther Party led it to support revolutionary alliances with progressive and working-class Whites, non-White ethnic groups, radical women, and others who would follow their leadership as the vanguard party. The Black Panther Party's official position on Whites, as a race, differed profoundly, in theory, from their cultural nationalist rivals. Without minimizing the extent of racism in American society, the Party did not view the White community, unlike their Black power counterparts, as a monolith of hard-core racism. This analysis of the fabric of racism allowed the Panthers more strategic and tactical flexibility regarding building alliances and coalitions with Whites. While recognizing that impoverished Whites often displayed the most extreme racial prejudices, the Party felt secure enough to plan alliances with poor Whites in American cities and in regions such as Appalachia. In Chicago, they encouraged the growth of the Young Patriots Party, a Panther-inspired organization of second-generation, displaced Appalachian youth. Overall, they were optimistic that White racism could be eradicated under socialist conditions. Consistent with their Marxist outlook, the Panthers argued that the White bourgeoisie had a material interest in the perpetuation of racism, but that the White working class had a self-interest in combating it. Newton once said, "We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor. And if the oppressor happens to be white then we hate him."[59]

This sense of solidarity, consistent with Marxist–Leninist internationalism, was extended to the young "white revolutionaries who are sincere in attempting to realign themselves with mankind, and to make a reality out of the high moral standards that their fathers and forefathers only expressed."[60] In an essay from prison, Black Panther Ericka Huggins illustrated the universalism of Panther rhetoric: "Change, destroy and rebuild. It is time

for us to build a world free of selfishness, racism, narrow nationalism and the desire of any group of people to claim this world as their own. The universe belongs to the people—to live to create—for each other."[61] Consequently, as a Black revolutionary organization, the Black Panther Party was the most notable militant and revolutionary Black organization that actively sought alliances with White allies. The Panthers were officially optimistic with regard to the eventual elimination of White racism and believed in racial equality. However, the lumpen modus operandi often adversely impacted the Panthers' relationships with its White allies. Clearly, the personal and organizational behavior of the White organizations contributed to such conflict, yet, even by the Panthers' own admission, the Party was not always truly willing to cooperate on an equal basis with their White allies. Moreover, these functional coalitions were often undergirded by a heavy-handed intimidating style characteristic of the lumpen sector.

The most important early biracial alliance of the Black Panther Party was with the Peace and Freedom Party. The Panther motive for seeking the alliance was a burning thirst for resources, both to build the organization and to defend Huey P. Newton. On one occasion, Bobby Seale frankly recalled the heavy-handed tactic the Panthers used to obtain money from the Peace and Freedom Party. He remembered that members of the Peace and Freedom Party initially refused and claimed that they did not have any money. Cleaver and Seale called them "liars" at that point, and later asked them, "Are you cats going to be racists and jiving around and go back on your word, or are you cats going to be able to go out and hustle that money?"[62] Seale admits that he used anger and rejection of White liberals as a tactic, one that Cleaver also utilized to receive the money.[63]

Other examples of intimidation, characteristic of lumpen behavior, include the aftermath of a conference in Montreal, at which the Panthers boldly asserted that they had "dominated" the event.[64] Also, during a late-1968 Young Socialist Alliance national conference, a Panther representative abruptly denounced the group and called an African American leader of the organization a "clown" for requesting that the Panther wind down his speech.[65] Finally, at the Black Panther-sponsored United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland on July 18–20, 1969, the Weathermen faction of the Students for a Democratic Society disagreed with the Panther demand for community control of the police in White areas on grounds that it would "undermine the fight against White supremacy."[66] This mild disagreement infuriated the Panthers who denounced the group:

> SDS had better get their politics straight because the Black Panther Party is drawing some very clear lines between friends and enemies. And that we're gonna make it very clear that we're not going to be attacked from any of those motherfu—kers . . . We'll beat those little sissies, those little schoolboys' ass if they don't straighten up their politics. So we want to make it known to SDS and the first person

motherf—ker that gets out of order better stand in line for some kind of disciplinary actions from the Black Panther Party.[67]

As Kirkpatrick Sale observed, this "was not exactly the kind of fraternalism SDS thought it had been establishing with the Panthers."[68] Julius Lester, a well-known African American intellectual activist of the period who was also a past recipient of Panther verbal abuse remarked, "The contempt shown SDS in this instance cannot be said to exemplify the conduct and attitudes one has a right to expect (and demand) from anyone claiming to be revolutionary."[69]

The Party's most notable effort to forge a racial alliance was with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Despite the fact that the Panthers were able to work with individual SNCC leaders for a period, including H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and James Forman, the two organizational structures never formally merged. Other SNCC members also achieved prominence as Panther leaders, including the charismatic Don Cox or "DC" and Carver "Chico" Neblett, who were both field marshals in rank.[70] Many factors accounted for Panther–SNCC difficulties—radically different organizational histories, demographically contrasting constituencies, divergent ideological perspectives, and different leadership styles—all undoubtedly contributed to the conflict between the two groups. For example, Lester reports that following a June 1968 SNCC meeting, the organization "reaffirmed its independence from the Black Panther Party by voting not to adopt the Panther ten-point program as its own;" they saw it as "reformist" not revolutionary."[71] Moreover, the intimidation tendency akin to the lumpen modus operandi played a significant role. Although James Forman denied that he was tortured by the Panthers, as several accounts allege, he did state that he refused to work "in an organization where I felt my personal security and safety were threatened by internal elements."[72] Stokely Carmichael, who was drafted into the Black Panther Party in June 1967, resigned from the Panther organization by letter in August 1968. His letter read, "I cannot support the present tactics and methods which the Party is using to coerce and force everyone to submit to its authority."[73] Intimidation replaced a principled basis of a relationship founded on mutual respect within these alliances. Inevitably, the effect was negative and corrosive for both parties. For some Whites, it led to "flunkeyist" attitudes and, no doubt, their ultimate disillusionment as activists sympathetic to the African American cause of social justice. For African Americans, the Panther "gorilla" tactics at times precluded the united front necessary to wage effective opposition to racial oppression.

"The Other Half": Women and the Black Panther Party

Consistent with socialist tradition, the Black Panther Party theoretically upheld the equality of women in all spheres of life. Yet the evidence indicates that this philosophical principle was also adversely impacted by lumpen behavior. Formally, the Black Panther Party position contrasted sharply

with that of their ideological opponents—the cultural nationalists—who held that women were unfit for overall leadership and should be restricted to supportive and subordinate roles. The Black Panthers were vehement in their rejection of the cultural nationalists' conservative position on women. Fred Hampton once described their differences with the Los Angeles-based Us on this question:

> You think we scared of a few karangatangs, a few chumps, a few male chauvinists? They tell their women, "Walk behind me." The only reason a woman should walk behind a faggot like that is so she can put a foot knee-deep in his ass.[74]

Although the experiences of female comrades and the practice of gender equality in the Party were uneven and varied, the Black Panther Party surpassed the tepid commitment to gender-neutral organization exhibited by the other radical and mainstream (Black and White) organizations of the period. Women such as Elaine Brown, Ericka Huggins, Kathleen Cleaver, and Joan Bird were all prominent members of the Black Panther Party. Indeed, Elaine Brown was the leader of the Party from 1974–77 following its demise as a national political formation. Members of the Black Panther Party sought to eradicate gender-based roles and leadership rank. Seale explains,

> So we have to progress to a level of socialism to solve these problems. We have to *live* socialism. So where there's a Panther house, we try to live it. When there's cooking to be done, both brothers and sisters cook. Both wash the dishes. The sisters don't just serve and wait on the brothers. A lot of black nationalist organizations have the idea of regulating women to the role of serving their men, and they relate this to black manhood. But a real manhood is based on humanism, and it's not based on *any* form of oppression.[75]

Nevertheless, the Party, for the most part, fell short of this goal. A contributing factor to its failure to establish a gender-neutral organization was the prominence of values and behavior more closely aligned with the hustler element of the lumpen class. The issue of gender equality within the organization was an ongoing struggle throughout the existence of the Party. For example, Roberta Alexander's speech at the Panther-sponsored United Front Against Fascism Conference noted the controversy over women's role in the organization. She said that the battles within the Party over women's equality had run "the whole gamut" of possible problems, the issues involving whether women could use arms as well as men, whether they were confined to office work, and whether men deserve sex because of their revolutionary activity. Unequivocally, Alexander declared that African American women are "oppressed by black men and that's got to go."[76] Kathleen Cleaver also felt that suggestions from women received less consideration despite the key logistical role undertaken by women since the early days of the Party.[77]

June Culberson's May 1969 essay, "The Role of the Revolutionary Woman" stresses that Panther women rejected the "Pantherettes" designation and demanded to be called Panthers like their male comrades.[78] Yet, ironically, the essay, uncompromising in its demand for equal rights for women within the organization, cites Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, which includes the author's account of raping Black women to prepare for the eventual rape of White women, as support for her position. Culberson wrote that many of the male Panthers "still haven't had an understanding" of Cleaver's book because "they are still trying to hang the women up by their own feelings of inferiority."[79]

Also instructive is an article which appeared in *The Black Panther* celebrating a lumpen lifestyle based on the exploitation of women. Al Carroll's article, "On Illegitimate Capitalist [sic] 'The Game'" praises the attributes and contributions of "pimps and whores" to the African American freedom movement. This endorsement of a purely lumpen lifestyle demonstrated the unstable, mutually contradictory political practice of the Panthers. Carroll wrote,

> Historically speaking pimps played a major role in the colony during a depression. . . .Here is a person (some might disagree, mainly the sisters) . . . that had what a lot of people didn't have. Pimps and whores have always been of some constructive help or use in the colony. I've known them to buy groceries for mothers and their children.[80]

Carroll regarded pimping as a necessary means of survival for African Americans. He explains that when a "sister dug on a brother," if "that particular sister wanted to continue her relationship with this brother," certain acts followed:

> In other words she had to get this blood's particular type of theory so she could start implementing it or putting it into practice. This process is called "Turning-out"...a change from the old to the new way of survival...If that was the way Black men had to do it to survive and be recognized [as] men then I would say that was a good thing and not a bad thing.[81]

While this article is quite unusual in its blatant sexism and explicit justification for exploitative practices, the reality of its inclusion in *The Black Panther* indicates the range of tolerance for the practices and lifestyles of the Black lumpen class.

This tolerance was also exemplified by the infamous pussy power slogan popularized by Party members. In a speech at Stanford, Cleaver, in remarks specifically directed to "the ladies," reminded the women of the seriousness of the situation and then called for "pussy power." Apologizing to "the Victorians who have had their morals ruffled," he posits both a "revolutionary" and a "counterrevolutionary" form of sex. Advising women to tell their male mates "that they're going to have to become part of the solution or don't call

you up on the telephone anymore...Tell them to go away...You can put them under more pressure than I can with speeches. You can cut off their sugar"[82]

Male–female relationships in the lumpen culture are undergirded by a lack of respect. The significance of the reality and legend of the Black pimp, for instance, is a good example of the material factor anchoring sexism within the male-dominated lumpen sociocultural milieu. Unfortunately, lumpen values impacted gender dynamics in the Party, particularly during its formative years.

Lumpenism and Political Repression

Lumpen behavior also made the organization susceptible to government repression. The Black Panther attitude and practice with respect to violence stand out in their uniqueness from all preceding organizations in African American history. On the one hand, the Panthers announced that they opposed spontaneous violence, including rioting, and called for disciplined tactical use of violence within the framework of a long-term strategy. However, in reality, as evidenced by their own documents, the Black Panther Party, generally indirectly, encouraged spontaneous violence against representatives of the government, especially the police.

Imprisoned Panther George Jackson held that "any serious organizing of people must carry with it from the start a potential threat of revolutionary violence."[83] The assumption that a massive and sustained armed uprising on the part of African Americans would be necessary to realize their deeply rooted desires was taken seriously. For example, in *The Black Panther*, Field Marshall Don Cox occasionally contributed a column on guerrilla strategy and tactics. In one issue, he discussed the problems associated with the spontaneous formation of guerrilla units. Pointing out common errors, Cox wrote that all too often "much attention is given to a plan up to the point of execution without giving the same attention to evasion and escape."[84]

The Party's newspaper also occasionally printed instructions on how to make homemade weapons and bombs. In January 1971, the paper reprinted Scanlan's "Guerrilla Acts of Sabotage and Terrorism in the United States, 1965–1970," which blurred the lines between political violence and sheer acts of vandalism.[85] Eldridge Cleaver once gave an example of the type of information revolutionaries need to know: "Simple little things like the fact that all the lights should be broken out in Babylon [Cleaver's term for the United States]."[86] On many other occasions, throughout their existence as an organization, the Panthers seemed to reduce politics entirely to a question of military action. Shortly before his assassination, Fred Hampton of the Chicago branch, said in reference to the police, "If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction."[87]

The early decision to target the lumpen for both recruitment and as a model for behavior set the stage for the later problems the Black Panther

Party experienced with maintaining organizational discipline. Black Panther leaders openly acknowledged that there was a problem with Party discipline—more so in some chapters than others. David Hilliard, for instance, noted "one of Los Angeles's problems is discipline."[88] John Seale recalled "A lot of people came into the Party brought a lot of violence with them."[89]

On repeated occasions, the Panthers found themselves embroiled in armed conflict with the police because of the spontaneous actions of their members. Long-time Panther leader David Hilliard notes several incidents when Panthers initiated violence on a whim. Once Hilliard himself recalls an incident on New Year's Eve when, after guzzling a large amount of alcohol at his sister B.B.'s house, Hilliard decided to "carry out a guerrilla action" by firing on a police car with his pistol. The incident startled Bobby Seale, who stood next to Hilliard. Since it occurred so quickly, Seale did not have a chance to discourage Hilliard from committing the act. While Hilliard's shot missed, incidents such as this presented the government ample opportunities to exploit the Panthers in the effort to dismantle their Panther organization.[90]

While the Party adopted a formal structure of rules and internal regulations consisting of twenty-six rules, eight "points of attention," and three main rules of discipline to combat such problems. However, with its rapid rush to national fame characterized by the spontaneous formation of chapters across the nation, the BPP rules were often ignored.[91] Consequently, the Panthers relied on physical coercion to ensure discipline among the membership. The daily practice of chapters reflected great attention to "discipline," which tended to entail some form of violence. Rice's description of the Chicago Black Panther Party illustrated this observation:

> Discipline was applied democratically. Every member shared work and responsibilities...Being late for a meeting meant a slap in your face or a kick in the ass, depending on your sex. The Minister of Labor...got slapped once for being late, and according to her it worked. A slap in the face, or a kick in the ass made the Illinois Party the most effective, most dependable organization she has ever worked for before or since.[92]

During the formative years, the BPP also instituted a tactic called mudholing—"putting the victim in the center and stomping him down" to ensure discipline.[93] The lumpen model of behavior contributed to a persistent problem of the inflammatory and exaggerated rhetoric of the Panthers. Such rhetoric needlessly alienated people from the Party and left it dangerously vulnerable to attack from the government. While it is true this malady afflicted many left-wing and Black power organizations during this period, it reached new levels with the Black Panther Party. David Hilliard, for example, unraveled during perhaps the most important speech of his political life. During the height of the FBI–police collusion to destroy the Black Panther Party, Hilliard had an opportunity to favorably influence the huge crowd

assembled at the San Francisco Moratorium demonstration against the war in Vietnam. After assailing the presence of so many American flags in the crowd and praising Ho Chi Minh, Hilliard concluded his brief presentation by saying,

> We say down with the American fascist society. Later for Richard Milhous Nixon, the motherf—er. Later for all the pigs of the power structure. Later for all the people out here that don't want to hear me curse because that's all I know how to do. That's all that I'm going to do. I'm not ever going to stop cursing, not only are we going to curse, we're going to put it into practice some of the shit that we talk about. Because Richard Nixon is an evil man.[94]

Denouncing President Nixon for sending federal agents to destroy the Black Panther Party Breakfast for Children Program, Hilliard's anger at the president builds to the point where he finally says, "F—k that motherf—king man. We will kill Richard Nixon. We will kill any motherf—er that stands in the way of our freedom."[95] Not only was an opportunity to gain valuable political support to ward off repression from the government squandered, the Panthers' adversaries used this statement to launch new attacks upon the Party. Shortly after the speech, Hilliard was indicted by a federal grand jury for threatening to kill the President of the United States.

Eldridge Cleaver was largely responsible for lending credibility to the notion of a lumpen political party in Black America. His ability to engage in counterproductive and wild political rhetoric was on a world-class level. During one interview, Cleaver was asked why he used the term *Babylon*. After explaining that it signified a decadent society and that the term originated in the Bible, he suddenly blurted out, "F—k the Bible."[96] On another occasion, Cleaver said that had he been elected president in 1968, he would not have "entered the White House but I would have burned it down and turned it into a museum of a monument to the decadence of the past."[97] Despite the popularity of such rhetoric among sections of the left, it alienated many African Americans.

In 1969, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover deemed the Black Panther Party the chief security threat to the security of the nation. After the Party was declared a threat to "national security," it marked a turning point in the government's effort to destroy the Panthers. Thereafter, the government allowed the more extensive use of wiretaps and bugging without court approval. Special units and squads were established in cities where the Panthers operated. FBI offices across the country were instructed to disrupt and neutralize the Black Panther Party.[98] Undoubtedly, the undisciplined behavior of various lumpen members enhanced the FBI's ability to disrupt Party activities. FBI actions inflicted considerable damage to the already unstable infrastructure of the BPP.

Conclusions: The Lumpen and the Decline of the Party

The population of African American lumpen has dramatically expanded since the Reagan-era cutbacks of social programs, the economic recession of the early 1980s, the progressive deterioration of Rust Belt industries, and the increase in crack cocaine abuse. Given the continued social, economic, and political frustrations of African Americans, the temptation of movement organizers and activists to look to the lumpen as a source of power and resources will continue to be attractive. However, the experience of the Black Panther Party strongly suggests that its survival, development, and institutionalization were undermined by the ascendancy of the criminal element of the lumpen in the Party. The reckless, erratic, and often violent behavior associated with this sector served to alienate many people from the organization, chronically destabilize it, and render it more vulnerable to the FBI–police onslaught.

To be sure, the Black Panther Party was nothing like the type of criminal or quasi-criminal organization that some have depicted. Rather, the Panthers' legacy is that of a Black political group that relied on recruiting a social element that existed on the fringes of legality for its daily existence. The lumpen element was, however, part of a broad segment of African Americans attracted to the BPP. Indeed, college students, persons from middle-class backgrounds, working people, and individuals from marginal working and lumpen backgrounds all flocked to the Party's banner of serving and defending the Black community.

Nevertheless, the influence of that segment closely aligned with the criminal element created a crisis, one that would contribute to the demise of the organization. One important lesson gleaned from the experience of the Black Panther Party is that organizations that seek to focus their recruitment on the lumpen should have effective mechanisms to reform new members. The Nation of Islam, for example, recruits heavily from prisons, but stresses personal transformation with much apparent success. By promoting the personalities and lifestyles of the lumpen, the Black Panther Party contributed to its own demise. Clearly, one of the basic functions of the military and police apparatus of the state is to thwart challenges to the existing economic and political order. In the case of the Black Panther Party, the task of the state was eased by the organization's endemic instability. At times not only did the underlying lack of discipline undermine the morale of the organization, but it also made the calculated disruptive efforts of informers and undercover agents more effective.

Abandoning its lumpen emphasis would have been necessary for the organization to resume its initial development and growth. Instead, the Black Panther Party, declined as a national political formation by mid-1971. While the Black Panther Party emerged as an important political force in Oakland for a period (1974–1977) before degenerating into a semi-political criminal organization, it would never again attain its past glory. For a brief

period, the Black Panther Party offered hope to a generation of youth who realized that, unless fundamentally altered, the American political, economic, and social arrangement would not allow for the full participation of African Americans in the foreseeable future.

The shortcomings and failures of the Black Panthers should not be allowed to overshadow its significant achievements. The heady idealism of the Party's dedication and genuine empowerment of thousands of African Americans should all be remembered. The love of Panthers for their people materialized in survival programs, such as the Breakfast for Children Program and Free Health Clinics, whose success created embarrassment and consternation in establishment circles. Furthermore, any assessment of the achievements of the Black Panther Party is compounded by the difficult task of calculating the indirect impact of the BPP. An incalculable number of agreements to expand Black enrollment, employment, or representation were indirectly facilitated by the actions of the Black Panther Party. Indeed, there is little doubt that the Party raised the level of struggle for African American equality. Ignoring the impact of the Black Panther Party and other Black militant organizations distorts our understanding of radical African American social movements. At its peak, the Panthers' slogan, "All Power to the People," resounded across the globe as a defiant echo of the African American determination to win a meaningful freedom and achieve genuine democracy. Future generations will inevitably build on this sentiment, and hopefully avoid the mistakes of the Black Panther Party.

NOTES

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2. Bobby Seale, interview by Ronald Stephens, Philadelphia, 1989, 14.

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4. Ibid., 27.

5. Seale, *A Lonely Rage*, 110–111.

6. Ibid., 145.

7. Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1991), 30.

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9. Ibid., 32.

10. Ibid, 33.

11. Seale, *A Lonely Rage*, 153.

12. Ibid, 154.

13. Ibid., 155; Seale, *Seize the Time*, 74.

14. *The Black Panther*, 1 November 1969, 20.

15. Seale, *Seize the Time*, 65.

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17. See "Rules of the Black Panther Party" in early issues of *The Black Panther* and Appendix C of this volume.

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19. Eldridge Cleaver, *Post-Prison Writings and Speeches* (New York: Ramparts Books, 1969), 35.

20. Marine, *The Black Panthers*, 57–60.

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30. Edward M. Keating, *Free Huey* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970); Marine, *The Black Panthers*, 185.

31. Marine, *The Black Panthers*, 185.

32. Hilliard and Cole, *This Side of Glory*, 220.

33. Eldridge Cleaver, *Post-Prison Writings*, 89–93.

34. Fred Hampton, "You Can Murder a Liberator, But You Can't Murder Liberation," in *The Black Panthers Speak*, ed. Philip S. Foner (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1970), 138–144.

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53. "To All Brothers of Misfortune," *The Black Panther*, 16 January 1970, 6.

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58. See William Lee Brent, *Long Time Gone: A Black Panther's True-Life Story of His Hijacking and Twenty-Five Years in Cuba* (New York: Times Books, 1996).

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65. An incident personally observed by the author.

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98. See Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Charles E. Jones, "The Political Repression of the Black Panther Party, 1966–1971: The Case of the Oakland Bay Area," *Journal of Black Studies* 18 (June 1988), 415–434; and Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: The Free Press, 1989).