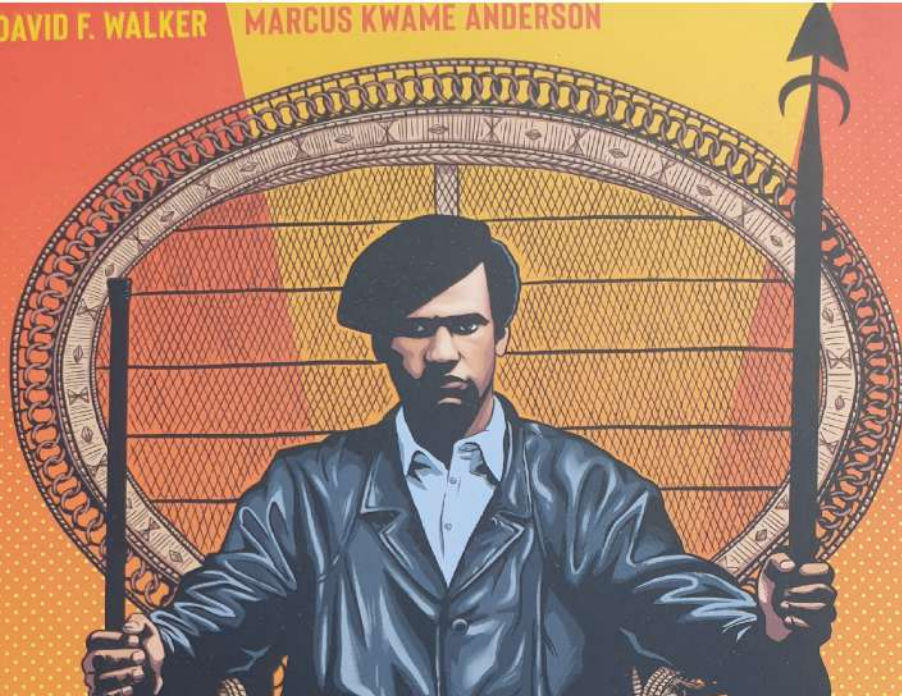


DAVID F. WALKER MARCUS KWAME ANDERSON



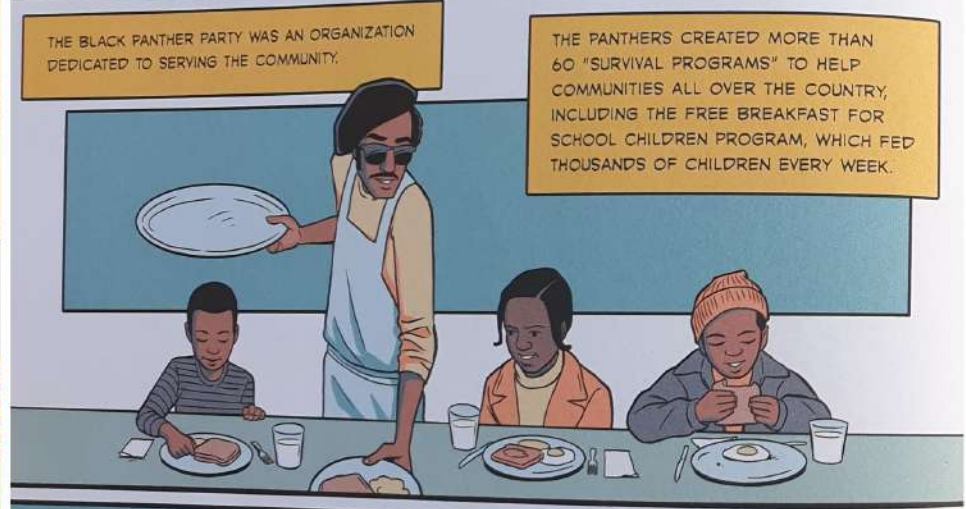
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A GRAPHIC NOVEL HISTORY



THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IS ONE LACED WITH VIOLENCE--IT IS ONE OF THE MOST ENDURING PARTS OF THE MYTH OF THE PANTHERS.

BUT VIOLENCE IS ONLY PART OF THE PANTHERS' STORY.



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WAS AN ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO SERVING THE COMMUNITY.

THE PANTHERS CREATED MORE THAN 60 "SURVIVAL PROGRAMS" TO HELP COMMUNITIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE FREE BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN PROGRAM, WHICH FED THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN EVERY WEEK.



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WAS A COMPLEX ORGANIZATION THAT HAD AN EQUALLY COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNITIES IT WAS DEDICATED TO SERVING.

**“WE’VE GOT TO FACE THE FACT
THAT SOME PEOPLE SAY YOU
FIGHT FIRE BEST WITH FIRE,
BUT WE SAY YOU PUT
FIRE OUT BEST WITH WATER.**

**WE SAY YOU DON’T FIGHT
RACISM WITH RACISM.**

**WE’RE GONNA FIGHT RACISM
WITH SOLIDARITY.”**

—FRED HAMPTON

**TO THE RANK AND FILE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY—
THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO COOKED MEALS
FOR THE FREE BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM,
DELIVERED NEWSPAPERS, AND WHO LIVED AND DIED
FOR THE PEOPLE. YOU WERE THE HEART AND SOUL
OF THE PARTY, AND THIS BOOK IS FOR YOU.**

THE WATTS UPRISING OF 1965 PROVED TO BE THE PRECURSOR FOR WHAT WAS TO COME IN 1966. MORE THAN TEN CITIES ERUPTED IN VIOLENCE--ALL IN RESPONSE TO POLICE ACTIONS.



ON JUNE 5, 1966, CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST JAMES MEREDITH SET OUT ON WHAT HE CALLED THE MARCH AGAINST FEAR--A 220-MILE MARCH FROM MEMPHIS, TN, TO JACKSON, MS.

MEREDITH PLANNED TO MARCH ALONE AS AN ACT OF PROTEST AGAINST RACISM, AND TO ENCOURAGE VOTER REGISTRATION.

DURING HIS SECOND DAY ON THE ROAD, MEREDITH WAS SHOT BY A SNIPER.



WITH MEREDITH IN THE HOSPITAL, OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS CARRIED ON WITH HIS CAUSE, INCLUDING SNCC AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

ON JUNE 16, 1966, CARMICHAEL GAVE A POWERFUL SPEECH TO A LARGE CROWD IN GREENWOOD, MS.

WE BEEN SAYING "FREEDOM" FOR SIX YEARS NOW, AND WE AIN'T GOT NOTHING!

WHAT WE GOT TO START SAYING NOW IS "BLACK POWER"!

WE WANT BLACK POWER!

IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT CARMICHAEL FORMALLY DISTANCED HIMSELF AND SNCC FROM THE NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT, AND THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT WAS BORN.

THREE — 1966: Birth of the Panthers

AMID THE PROTESTING, MARCHING, AND VIOLENCE, BLACK PEOPLE ALL ACROSS AMERICA LOOKED FOR A WAY TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

IN OAKLAND, CA, BOBBY SEALE AND HUEY P. NEWTON FOUNDED THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE IN OCTOBER 1966.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE




LOCATED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY, ACROSS THE BAY FROM SAN FRANCISCO, OAKLAND SAW A SIGNIFICANT INFLUX OF BLACK AMERICANS DURING THE GREAT MIGRATION, BROUGHT BY THE PROMISE OF JOBS IN FACTORIES AND SHIPYARDS, AND OF THE ESCAPE FROM JIM CROW.

THE BLACK POPULATION IN ALAMEDA COUNTY EXPLODED, FROM 19,759 IN THE 1940 CENSUS TO 238,754 IN THE 1960 CENSUS, WITH MANY BLACK PEOPLE LIVING IN OAKLAND.




Entering
Oakland

AND WHILE LIFE WAS BETTER THAN IT HAD BEEN IN THE SOUTH IN SOME WAYS, BLACK FOLKS STILL FACED HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, FORCED HOUSING SEGREGATION, AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE CITIES OF THE NORTH, MIDWEST, AND WEST.



THIS WAS ESPECIALLY TRUE IN OAKLAND. MOST OF THE SHIPYARD AND FACTORY JOBS HAD GONE AWAY AFTER WWII, AND POVERTY DEVASTATED THE BLACK COMMUNITY.



MAKING MATTERS WORSE, OAKLAND HAD A BAD REPUTATION FOR POLICE BRUTALITY AND CORRUPTION. MANY OF THE POLICE OFFICERS WERE WHITE MEN WHO HAD BEEN RECRUITED FROM THE SOUTH OR WHOSE FAMILIES HAD RELOCATED FROM SOUTHERN STATES DURING WWII.

THE OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT WAS 96% WHITE IN 1966, WHILE THE CITY ITSELF WAS NEARLY 50% NONWHITE.

Mark Comfort

THERE WERE MANY INFLUENCES IN THE CREATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE, BUT PERHAPS NONE MORE CRUCIAL THAN MARK COMFORT, A COMMUNITY ACTIVIST AND VIETNAM WAR VETERAN FROM OAKLAND.

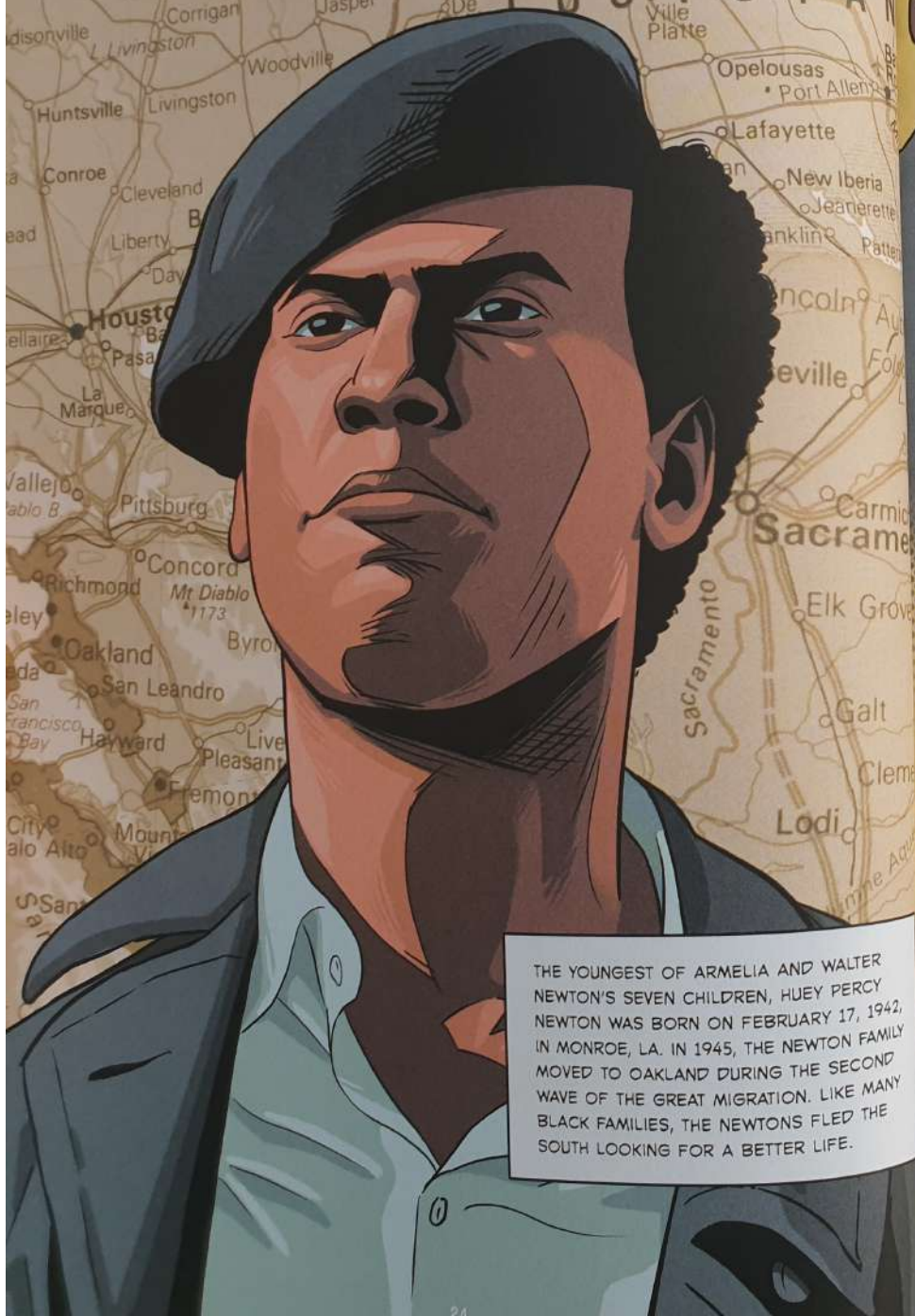
COMFORT HAD SPENT TIME WORKING SECURITY IN LOWNDES COUNTY WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC, AND THE LCFO. INSPIRED BY WHAT HE HAD SEEN IN LOWNDES, COMFORT RETURNED TO CALIFORNIA IN 1965 TO FOUND THE OAKLAND DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE (ODAC), AN ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO SERVING THE NEEDS OF POOR PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY.

BY EARLY 1966, COMFORT AND MEMBERS OF ODAC WERE PATROLLING THE STREETS OF OAKLAND TO PROTECT THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM POLICE BRUTALITY. FOR A TIME, COMFORT WOULD FOLLOW POLICE AFTER THEY TOOK A SUSPECT INTO CUSTODY, AND THEN POST BAIL FOR THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED.

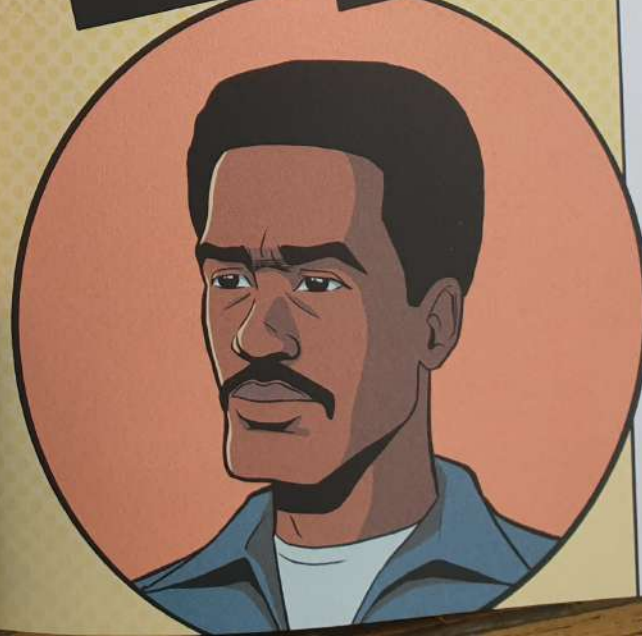
COMFORT WAS THE DIRECT LINK BETWEEN THE LOWNDES COUNTY BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE PANTHERS THAT WOULD FORM IN OAKLAND. ALTHOUGH HE NEVER OFFICIALLY JOINED THE GROUP, COMFORT'S ORGANIZATION, ODAC, WAS A DIRECT INSPIRATION FOR WHAT WOULD BECOME THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE.



Huey P. Newton



THE YOUNGEST OF ARMELIA AND WALTER NEWTON'S SEVEN CHILDREN, HUEY PERCY NEWTON WAS BORN ON FEBRUARY 17, 1942, IN MONROE, LA. IN 1945, THE NEWTON FAMILY MOVED TO OAKLAND DURING THE SECOND WAVE OF THE GREAT MIGRATION. LIKE MANY BLACK FAMILIES, THE NEWTONS FLED THE SOUTH LOOKING FOR A BETTER LIFE.



HUEY NEWTON STRUGGLED IN SCHOOL, AND BY THE TIME HE WAS IN HIGH SCHOOL, HE STILL COULD NOT READ OR WRITE. MUCH OF HIS TIME WAS SPENT ON THE STREETS, FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF TWO OF HIS OLDER BROTHERS, WHO WERE PETTY CRIMINALS. WHILE IN HIGH SCHOOL, A COUNSELOR TOLD NEWTON THAT HE WAS NOT MEANT FOR COLLEGE AND WOULD DO NOTHING OF IMPORTANCE WITH HIS LIFE. NEWTON DECIDED TO PROVE HIM WRONG.

NEWTON LEARNED TO READ AND WRITE, GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL IN 1959, AND BEGAN ATTENDING MERRITT COLLEGE IN OAKLAND. HE EXPANDED HIS MIND BY READING THE WORKS OF W. E. B. DU BOIS AND FRANTZ FANON, AS WELL AS BOOKS LIKE RALPH ELLISON'S *INVISIBLE MAN* AND JAMES BALDWIN'S *THE FIRE NEXT TIME*.

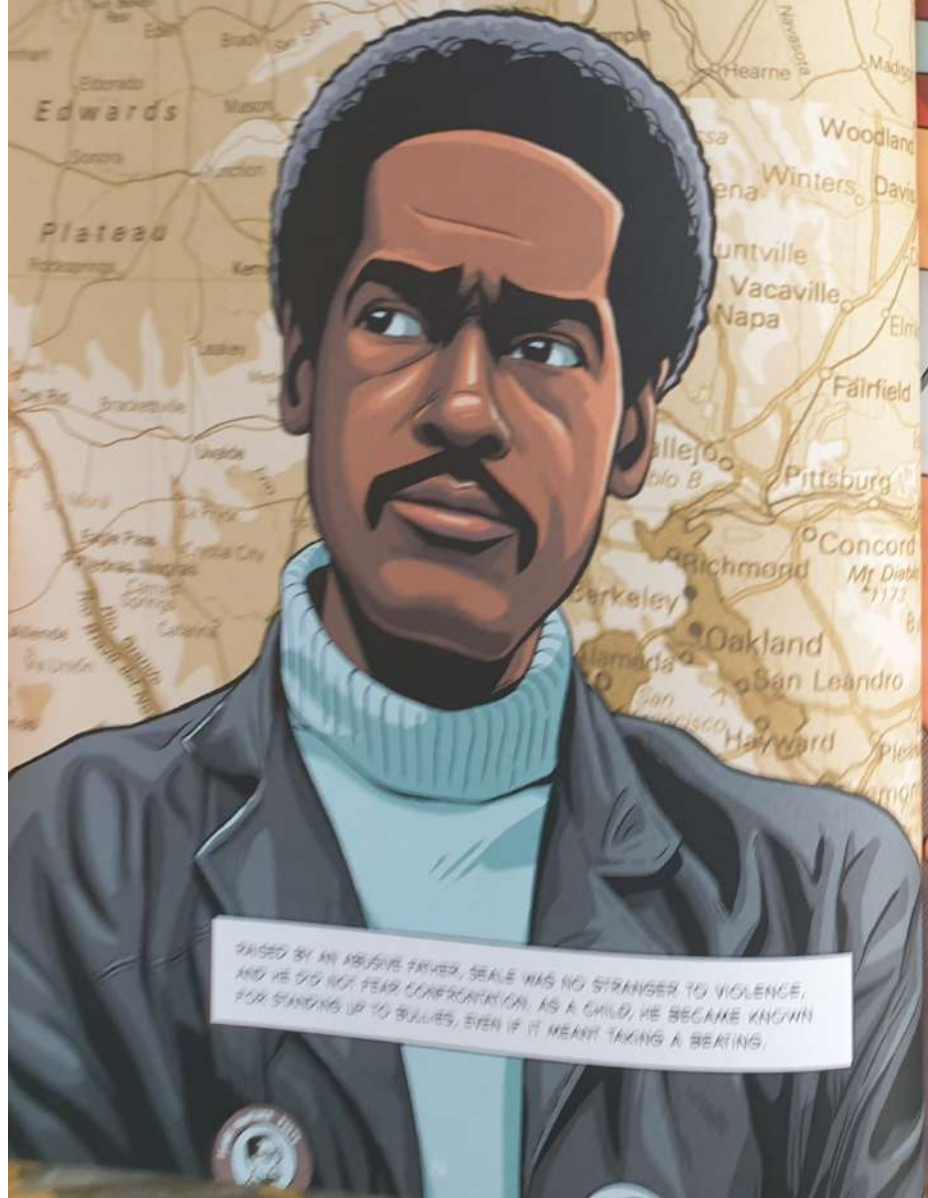
AT MERRITT, NEWTON MET ACTIVIST DONALD WARDEN, BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE COLLEGE'S AFRO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION. NEWTON COULD OFTEN BE FOUND DEBATING ON AND AROUND CAMPUS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS LEADING SOMETHING OF A DOUBLE LIFE.

WHILE STUDYING LAW BY DAY, NEWTON LED THE LIFE OF A SMALL-TIME CRIMINAL AT NIGHT. IN HIS OWN WORDS, "I STUDIED LAW TO BECOME A BETTER BURGLAR."

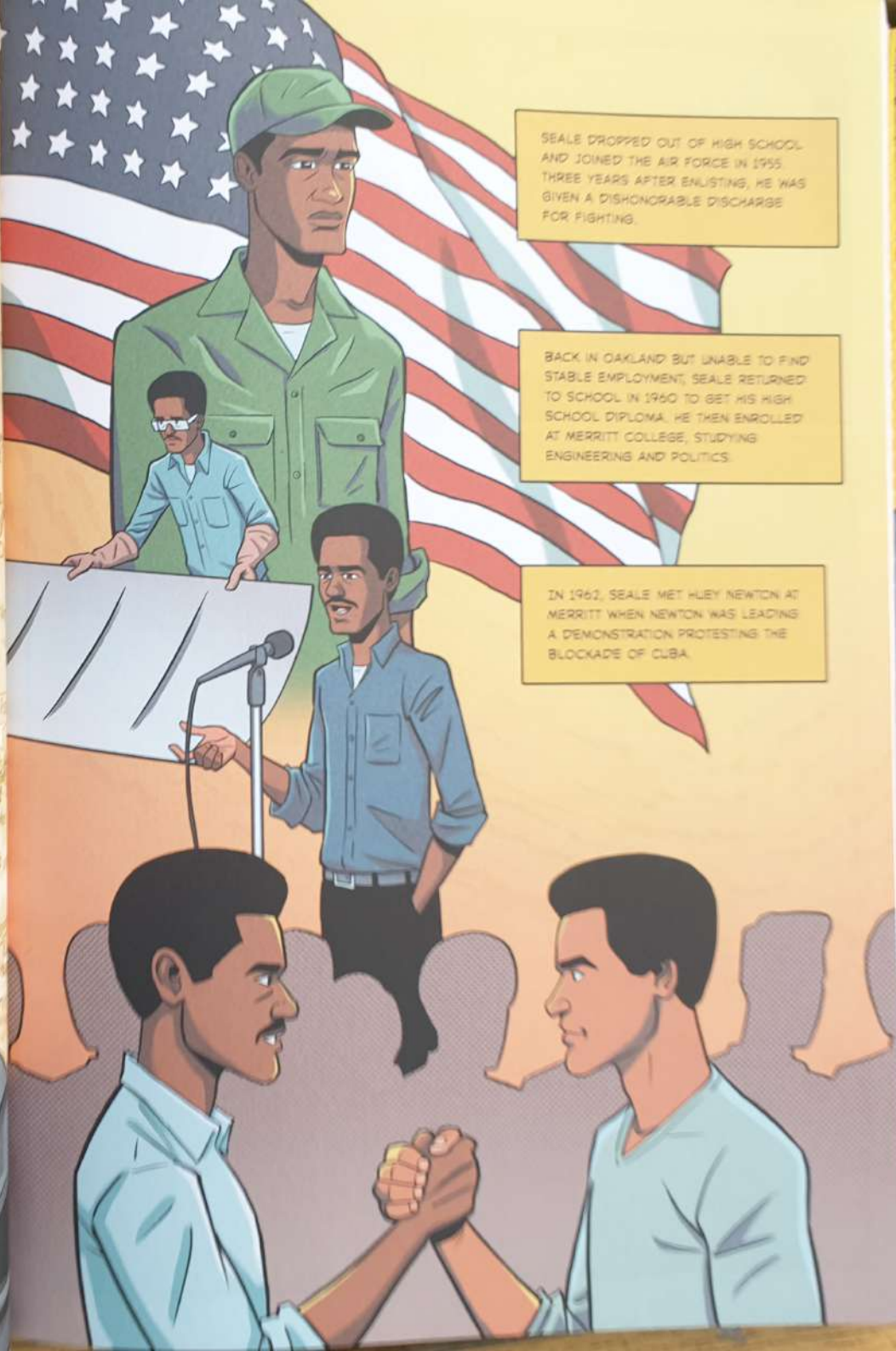
IT WAS AT MERRITT COLLEGE THAT NEWTON MET BOBBY SEALE.

Bobby Seale

THE OLDEST OF GEORGE AND THELMA SEALE'S THREE CHILDREN, BOBBY SEALE WAS BORN ON OCTOBER 22, 1936, IN LIBERTY, TX. THE SEALE FAMILY RELOCATED FROM TEXAS TO CALIFORNIA IN 1944.



RAISED BY AN ABUSIVE FATHER, SEALE WAS NO STRANGER TO VIOLENCE, AND HE DID NOT FEAR CONFRONTATION. AS A CHILD, HE BECAME KNOWN FOR STANDING UP TO BULLIES, EVEN IF IT MEANT TAKING A BEATING.



SEALE DROPPED OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL AND JOINED THE AIR FORCE IN 1955. THREE YEARS AFTER ENLISTING, HE WAS GIVEN A DISHONORABLE DISCHARGE FOR FIGHTING.

BACK IN OAKLAND BUT UNABLE TO FIND STABLE EMPLOYMENT, SEALE RETURNED TO SCHOOL IN 1960 TO GET HIS HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA. HE THEN ENROLLED AT MERRITT COLLEGE, STUDYING ENGINEERING AND POLITICS.

IN 1962, SEALE MET HUEY NEWTON AT MERRITT WHEN NEWTON WAS LEADING A DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA.



THOUGH THEY HAD HIT IT OFF, SEALE AND NEWTON WERE LEADING VERY DIFFERENT LIVES.



SEALE CONTINUED TO WORK AND GO TO SCHOOL WHILE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO FIGHT THE RACIAL INJUSTICES FACED BY BLACK FOLKS IN AMERICA.



BY 1964, HE HAD BECOME MORE POLITICALLY INVOLVED WITH ORGANIZATIONS LIKE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM), AN ORGANIZATION ROOTED IN BLACK NATIONALISM.



MEANWHILE, NEWTON WAS IN JAIL, SERVING A SIX-MONTH SENTENCE FOR ASSAULT.

SPENDING A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT, NEWTON STRUGGLED TO KEEP FROM LOSING HIS MIND, AND IN THE PROCESS FOUND AN INNER STRENGTH THAT ALLOWED HIM TO ENDURE.

ON FEBRUARY 21, 1965, MALCOLM X WAS ASSASSINATED



MALCOLM X WAS A PERSONAL HERO OF SEALE'S, AND HIS MURDER FILLED SEALE WITH RAGE.

OVERCOME WITH ANGER AND GRIEF AND NOT KNOWING WHAT ELSE TO DO, SEALE STOOD ON A STREET CORNER, THROWING BRICKS AT PASSING CARS.



BEFORE HE COULD GET INTO SERIOUS TROUBLE, SEALE'S COMPANIONS FROM RAM CAME TO FIND HIM AND TRY TO CALM HIM DOWN.

BUT SEALE DIDN'T WANT TO BE CALM. HE WANTED TO FIGHT--SOMETHING THE MEMBERS OF RAM WERE NOT INTERESTED IN DOING. FOR A GROUP CALLED REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT, THE TERM "REVOLUTIONARY" WAS LARGELY INTELLECTUAL.



AROUND THIS TIME, NEWTON WAS BACK ON THE STREET, WHERE HE RECONNECTED WITH SEALE.



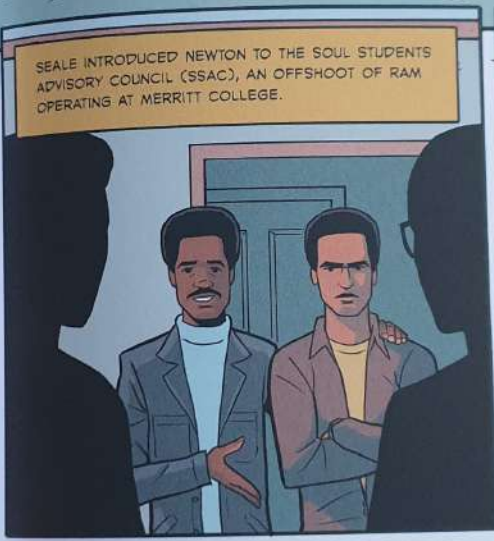
HUEY, MAN, IT'S GOOD TO SEE YOU WHERE YOU BEEN?

I WAS IN JAIL. WHAT'VE YOU BEEN UP TO?

BEEN RUNNING WITH THESE CATS CALLED SOUL STUDENTS ADVISORY COUNCIL OVER AT MERRITT. YOU SHOULD MEET THEM.



SEALE INTRODUCED NEWTON TO THE SOUL STUDENTS ADVISORY COUNCIL (SSAC), AN OFFSHOOT OF RAM OPERATING AT MERRITT COLLEGE.

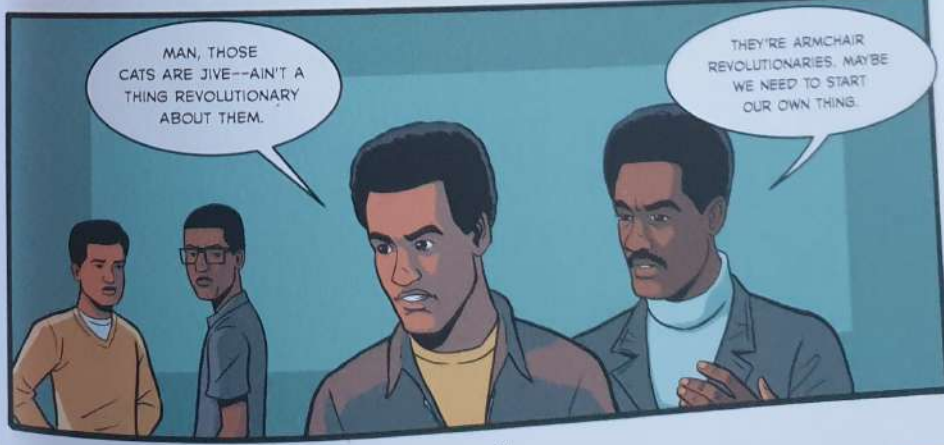


THE INTRODUCTION DID NOT GO WELL.



MAN, THOSE CATS ARE JIVE--AIN'T A THING REVOLUTIONARY ABOUT THEM.

THEY'RE ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARIES, MAYBE WE NEED TO START OUR OWN THING.





NEWTON AND SEALE BEGAN SPENDING MORE TIME TOGETHER, TALKING ABOUT WHAT THEY BELIEVED AND WHAT THEY WANTED TO DO.

AT THIS TIME, THEY WEREN'T DOING MUCH MORE THAN TALKING—NOT TOO DIFFERENT FROM THE ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARIES THEY DISLIKED.



WHILE IN COLLEGE, SEALE HAD EARNED MONEY AS A STAND-UP COMEDIAN AND ACTOR, EARNING A REPUTATION AS A PERFORMER. ON MARCH 17, 1966, WHILE HANGING OUT WITH NEWTON IN BERKELEY, CA, SEALE BEGAN TO RECITE AN ANTI-WAR POEM.



THE POLICE ARRIVED, CLAIMING THAT SEALE WAS DISTURBING THE PEACE, AND ARRESTED BOTH SEALE AND NEWTON.



STUCK IN JAIL WITH NO MONEY, NEWTON AND SEALE HAD TO CALL THE SSAC TO BAIL THEM OUT.

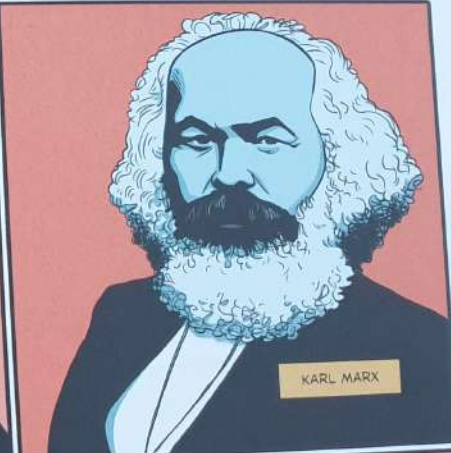
INSPIRED BY THE GROWING BLACK POWER MOVEMENT, AND FRUSTRATED WITH MOST OF THE BLACK ACTIVISTS IN OAKLAND, NEWTON AND SEALE STARTED TALKING ABOUT FORMING THEIR OWN ORGANIZATION. THEY CAREFULLY STUDIED THE WRITINGS OF VARIOUS PHILOSOPHERS, LEADERS, AND ACTIVISTS, WHICH WOULD BECOME THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR NEW GROUP.



FRANTZ FANON



MALCOLM X



KARL MARX



MAO ZEDONG



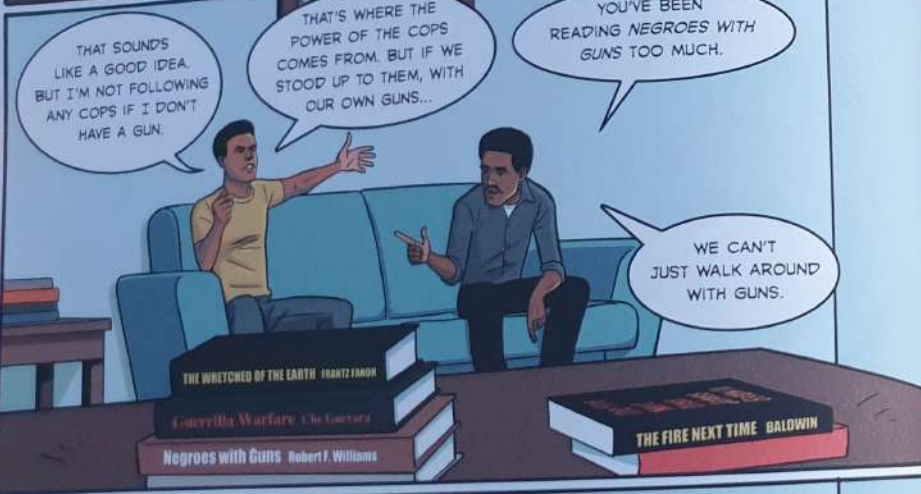
CHE GUEVARA



WE NEED TO DO MORE THAN SIT AROUND AND TALK--THAT'S ALL ANYONE DOES.

MARK COMFORT STARTED A GROUP THAT FOLLOWS THE POLICE AROUND, MAKING SURE THEY DON'T START NO TROUBLE.

AND I HEARD ABOUT THESE CATS DOWN IN LOS ANGELES DOING THE SAME THING--FOLLOWING THE POLICE AROUND.

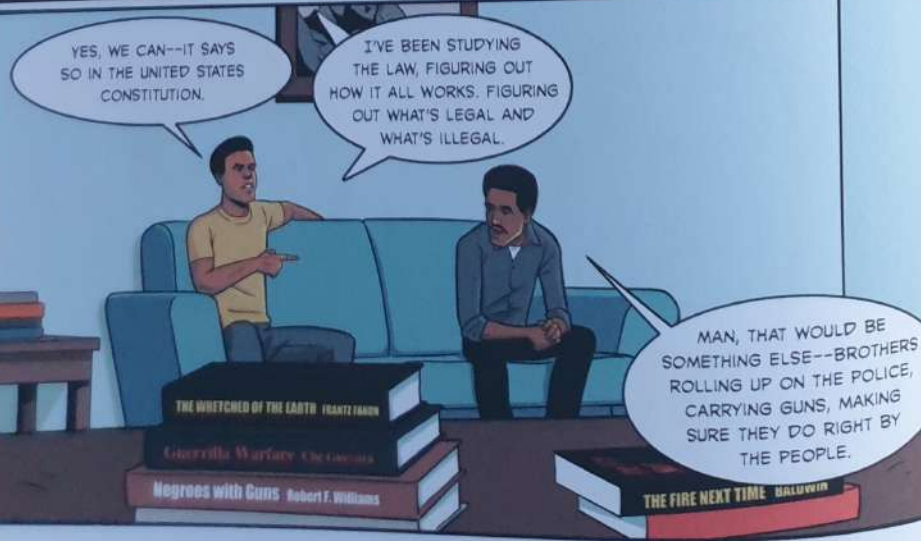


THAT SOUNDS LIKE A GOOD IDEA. BUT I'M NOT FOLLOWING ANY COPS IF I DON'T HAVE A GUN.

THAT'S WHERE THE POWER OF THE COPS COMES FROM. BUT IF WE STOOD UP TO THEM, WITH OUR OWN GUNS...

YOU'VE BEEN READING NEGROES WITH GUNS TOO MUCH.

WE CAN'T JUST WALK AROUND WITH GUNS.



YES, WE CAN--IT SAYS SO IN THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

I'VE BEEN STUDYING THE LAW, FIGURING OUT HOW IT ALL WORKS. FIGURING OUT WHAT'S LEGAL AND WHAT'S ILLEGAL.

MAN, THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING ELSE--BROTHERS ROLLING UP ON THE POLICE, CARRYING GUNS, MAKING SURE THEY DO RIGHT BY THE PEOPLE.

ON SEPTEMBER 27, 1966, MATTHEW "PEANUT" JOHNSON WAS KILLED BY POLICE IN HUNTERS POINT, A POOR NEIGHBORHOOD IN EASTERN SAN FRANCISCO.

THE 16-YEAR-OLD JOHNSON WAS SHOT IN THE BACK, SETTING OFF THE HUNTERS POINT UPRISING.



BOTH THE CALIFORNIA HIGHWAY PATROL AND THE NATIONAL GUARD WERE DEPLOYED AS MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED BY GOVERNOR PAT BROWN. CIVIL UNREST LASTED FOR FIVE DAYS.

THE FOLLOWING MONTH, THE UC BERKELEY CHAPTER OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY HELD A CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER. ONE OF THE MAIN SPEAKERS WAS STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

WE ARE OPPRESSED AS A GROUP BECAUSE WE ARE BLACK, NOT BECAUSE WE ARE LAZY, NOT BECAUSE WE'RE APATHETIC, NOT BECAUSE WE'RE STUPID, NOT BECAUSE WE SMELL, NOT BECAUSE WE EAT WATERMELON AND HAVE GOOD RHYTHM. WE ARE OPPRESSED BECAUSE WE ARE BLACK.



THE CONFERENCE AT BERKELEY BROUGHT INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND IDEAS AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT TO THE BAY AREA. THIS PROVED CRUCIAL FOR NEWTON AND SEALE, WHO WERE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1966, SEALE STARTED RUNNING A YOUTH WORK PROGRAM AT THE NORTH OAKLAND NEIGHBORHOOD ANTI-POVERTY CENTER.

FOLLOWING THE BLACK POWER CONFERENCE IN BERKELEY, SEALE AND NEWTON BEGAN MEETING MORE REGULARLY TRYING TO COME UP WITH A PLAN OF ACTION.

North Oakland Neighborhood Anti-Poverty Center

WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT THIS ORGANIZATION FOR A WHILE NOW...

...BUT THAT'S ALL WE'VE BEEN DOING. IT'S TIME TO STOP TALKING AND START ORGANIZING.

OKAY. WHAT HAVE YOU GOT IN MIND?

I GOT THIS IN THE MAIL THE OTHER DAY. THEY STARTED THIS ORGANIZATION IN ALABAMA, AND THEY USE A BLACK PANTHER AS THEIR SYMBOL.

THE PANTHER IS A FIERCE ANIMAL, BUT IT WON'T ATTACK UNTIL IT'S BACKED INTO A CORNER.

A BLACK PANTHER?

I LIKE IT.

WORKS FOR ME. BUT WE NEED MORE THAN JUST A NAME.

YEAH, I FIGURE WE CAN CALL OURSELVES THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

WE NEED A PROGRAM--SOMETHING THAT RELATES TO THE PEOPLE. SOMETHING THEY CAN UNDERSTAND.

THIS HAS TO BE FOR THE PEOPLE ON THE STREETS. THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS STRUGGLING TO GET BY.

THIS PROGRAM... IT HAS TO BE SOMETHING PEOPLE CAN READ AND KNOW THAT IT IS FOR THEM.

I'M READY.

IT HAS TO BE ABOUT BOTH THEIR NEEDS AND THEIR DESIRES. AND IT'S GOTTA BE HONEST.

WRITE THIS DOWN: "WHAT WE WANT."

WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

GOT IT.

WHAT ELSE, BROTHER?

OVER THE COURSE OF SEVERAL DAYS IN OCTOBER 1966, WHILE WORKING OUT OF THE NORTH OAKLAND NEIGHBORHOOD ANTI-POVERTY CENTER, NEWTON AND SEALE DRAFTED THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM--THE GUIDING DOCUMENT FOR THE ORGANIZATION THEY WERE FORMING.

WHAT WE BELIEVE...

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR OWN DESTINY.

Ten Point Program: What We Want/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 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 business men will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the business men 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 retribution 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 6,000,000 Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50,000,000 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 of the Constitution of the United States gives us the 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.

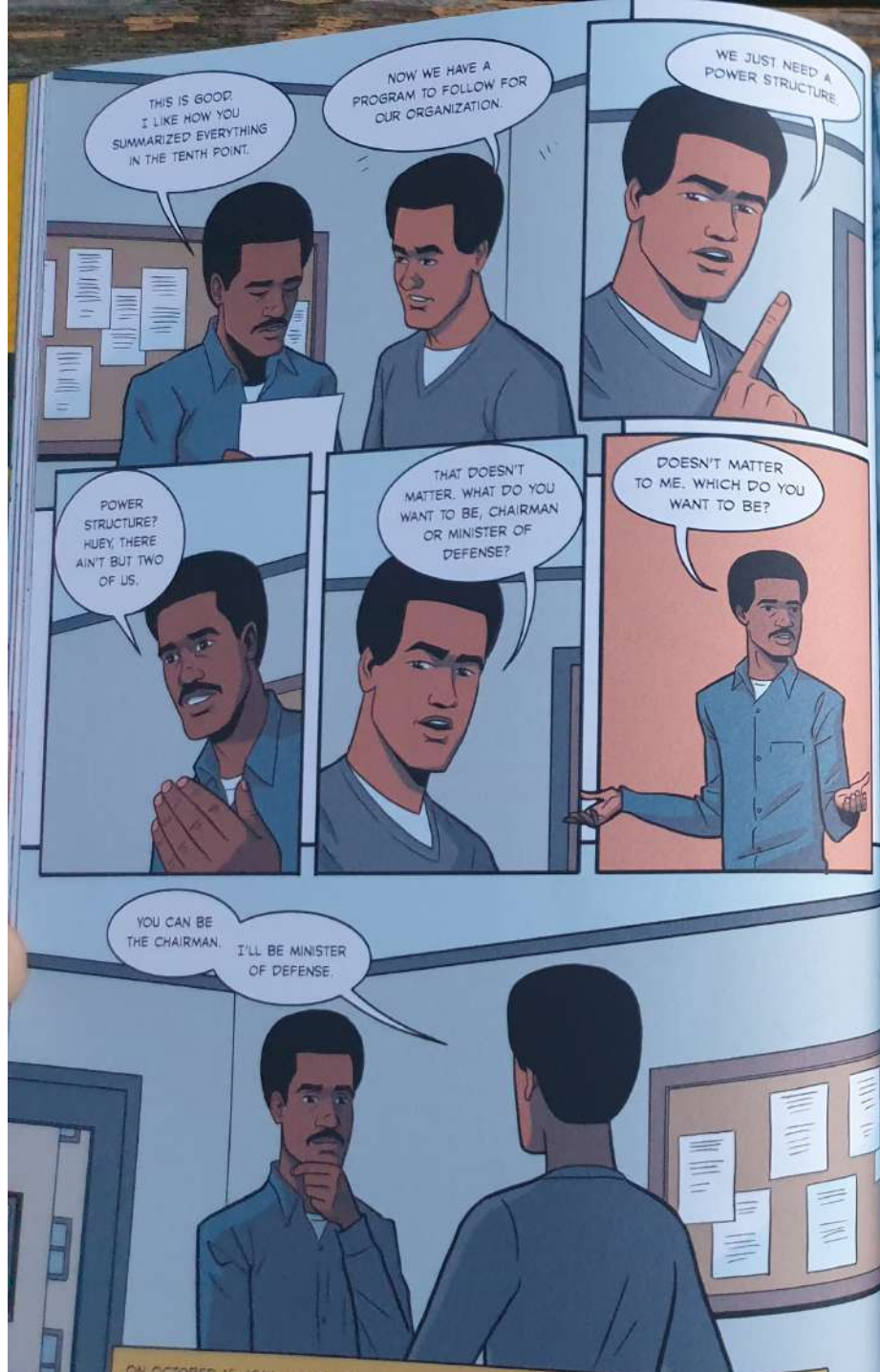
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the constitution of the United States. We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peers. 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. 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 entitle 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 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 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 usurpations, 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 government, and to provide new guards for their future security.





THIS IS GOOD. I LIKE HOW YOU SUMMARIZED EVERYTHING IN THE TENTH POINT.

NOW WE HAVE A PROGRAM TO FOLLOW FOR OUR ORGANIZATION.

WE JUST NEED A POWER STRUCTURE.

POWER STRUCTURE? HUEY THERE AIN'T BUT TWO OF US.

THAT DOESN'T MATTER. WHAT DO YOU WANT TO BE, CHAIRMAN OR MINISTER OF DEFENSE?

DOESN'T MATTER TO ME. WHICH DO YOU WANT TO BE?

YOU CAN BE THE CHAIRMAN. I'LL BE MINISTER OF DEFENSE.

ON OCTOBER 15, 1966, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE WAS OFFICIALLY BORN.

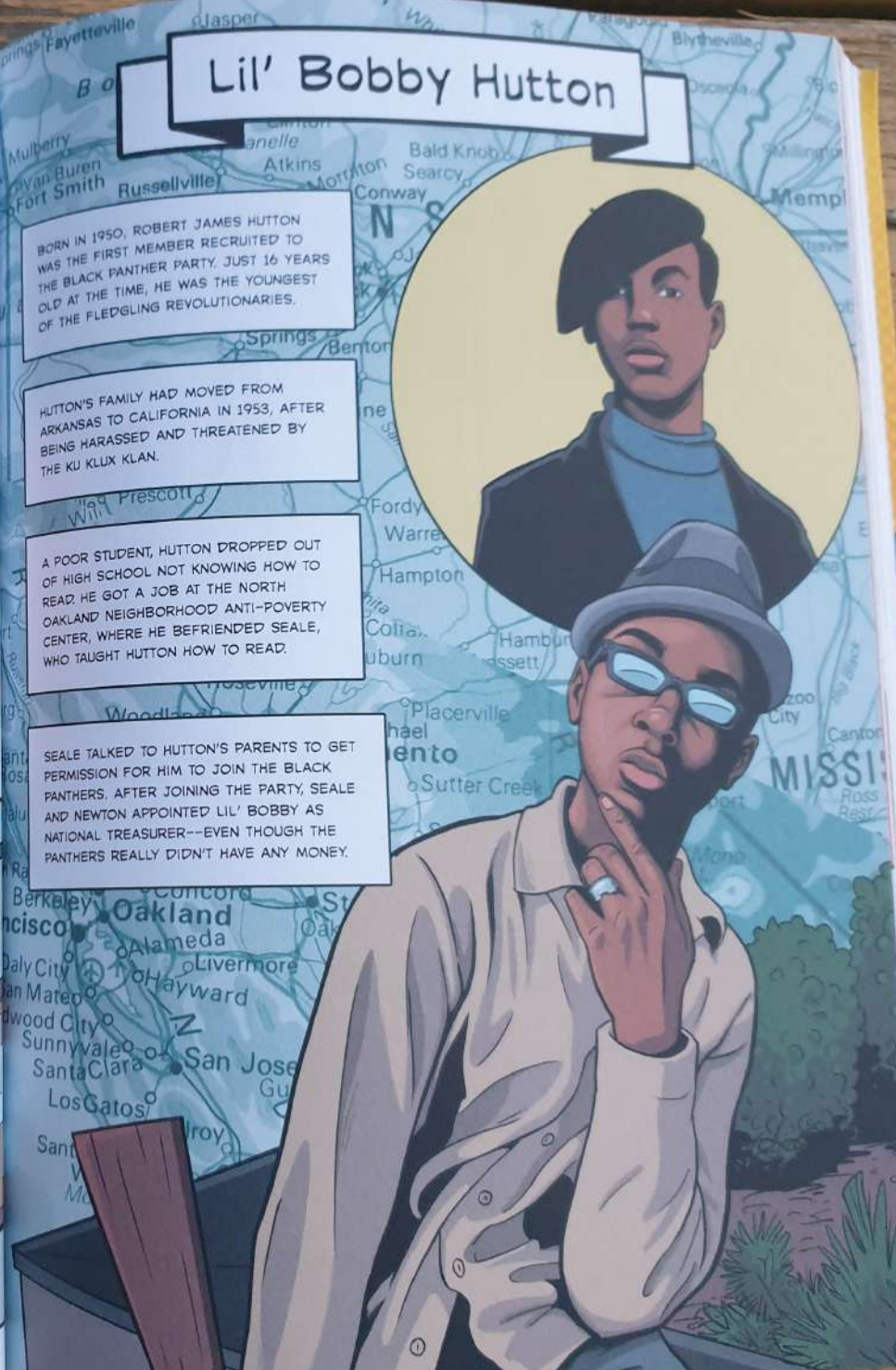
Lil' Bobby Hutton

BORN IN 1950, ROBERT JAMES HUTTON WAS THE FIRST MEMBER RECRUITED TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. JUST 16 YEARS OLD AT THE TIME, HE WAS THE YOUNGEST OF THE FLEDGLING REVOLUTIONARIES.

HUTTON'S FAMILY HAD MOVED FROM ARKANSAS TO CALIFORNIA IN 1953, AFTER BEING HARASSED AND THREATENED BY THE KU KLUX KLAN.

A POOR STUDENT, HUTTON DROPPED OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL NOT KNOWING HOW TO READ. HE GOT A JOB AT THE NORTH OAKLAND NEIGHBORHOOD ANTI-POVERTY CENTER, WHERE HE BEFRIENDED SEALE, WHO TAUGHT HUTTON HOW TO READ.

SEALE TALKED TO HUTTON'S PARENTS TO GET PERMISSION FOR HIM TO JOIN THE BLACK PANTHERS. AFTER JOINING THE PARTY, SEALE AND NEWTON APPOINTED LIL' BOBBY AS NATIONAL TREASURER--EVEN THOUGH THE PANTHERS REALLY DIDN'T HAVE ANY MONEY.





TWO GUNS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT GOING TO BE ENOUGH.



THE FIRST GUNS CARRIED BY THE NEWLY FORMED BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE CAME FROM SEALE'S PERSONAL COLLECTION.



RICHARD AOKI, A LOCAL RADICAL IN THE OAKLAND SCENE, DONATED GUNS TO THE PANTHERS. AOKI WAS AN ARMY VETERAN WHO SPENT PART OF HIS CHILDHOOD IN A JAPANESE INTERNMENT CAMP.

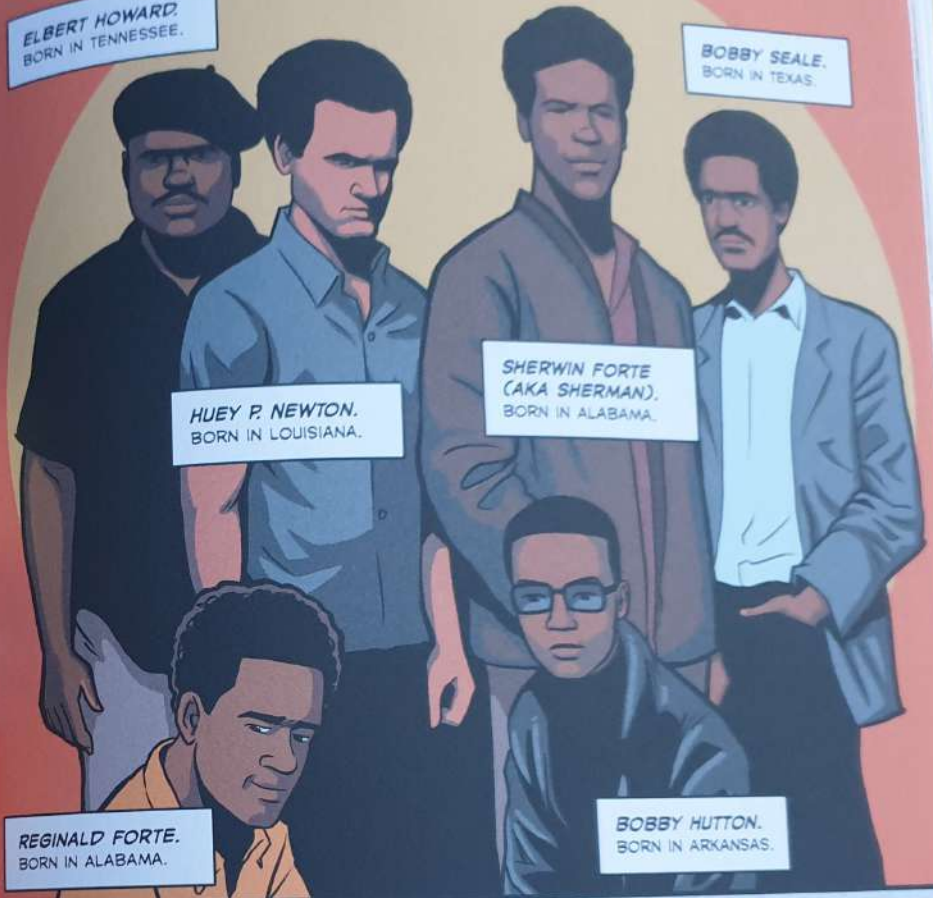
AOKI WAS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE PANTHERS IN THE GROUP'S EARLY DAYS. IN 2007, DOCUMENTS WERE UNCOVERED THAT IMPLICATED HIM AS AN INFORMANT FOR THE FBI.

AOKI DENIED THE CHARGES. TWO YEARS LATER, IN 2009, HE COMMITTED SUICIDE. SEVERAL YEARS LATER, MORE DOCUMENTS WERE DISCOVERED THAT DETAILED HIS WORK AS AN ALLEGED FBI INFORMANT.



ELBERT HOWARD.
BORN IN TENNESSEE.

BOBBY SEALE.
BORN IN TEXAS.



HUEY P. NEWTON.
BORN IN LOUISIANA.

SHERWIN FORTE
(AKA SHERMAN).
BORN IN ALABAMA.

REGINALD FORTE.
BORN IN ALABAMA.

BOBBY HUTTON.
BORN IN ARKANSAS.

LESS THAN A MONTH AFTER FORMING THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE, SEALE AND NEWTON HAD RECRUITED THEIR FIRST FOUR MEMBERS. ALL SIX OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS WERE BORN IN THE SOUTH.

FIVE OF THE ORIGINAL SIX HAD RELOCATED TO CALIFORNIA AS PART OF THE GREAT MIGRATION WHEN THEY WERE CHILDREN; ELBERT "BIG MAN" HOWARD WAS THE ONLY ORIGINAL MEMBER TO COME TO CALIFORNIA FROM THE SOUTH AS AN ADULT.

THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS WERE FROM A YOUNGER GENERATION THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE IT BETTER THAN THEIR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS. UNFORTUNATELY, THEIR PREDECESSORS' BELIEF THAT A BETTER LIFE AWAITED IN NORTHERN CITIES HAD PROVEN FALSE. UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY, RACISM, AND POLICE BRUTALITY PLAGUED THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH AS WELL AS THE SOUTH.

UNLIKE THEIR PARENTS WHO HAD FLED THE SOUTH, THESE YOUNG MEN HAD NOWHERE ELSE TO GO. THEIR ONLY CHOICE WAS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS OF OPPRESSION.



HUEY, WE NEED MORE GUNS, MAN, BUT I DON'T KNOW WHERE TO GET THE CASH.



I KNOW HOW WE CAN MAKE SOME CASH TO BUY GUNS.

HOW?



THE LITTLE RED BOOK BY CHAIRMAN MAO. THIS THING IS HOT--EVERYONE IS TALKING ABOUT IT.



WE COULD SELL THESE THINGS ON CAMPUS OVER AT BERKELEY. THEM RADICALS WILL GO CRAZY OVER THIS THING.

RIGHT ON.

I'VE JUST GOT ONE QUESTION...



...WHERE WE GONNA GET COPIES OF THE RED BOOK TO SELL?

I KNOW A PLACE OVER IN SAN FRANCISCO.

