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For You Will Not Abandon My Soul: Co-optation, Deradicalization and Renormalization of the Black Radical

Jalia Lashay Joseph
Hollins University, josephjl@hollins.edu

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Jalia Joseph

Hollins University

Sociology Senior Honor's Thesis

Table of Contents

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INTRODUCTION

> Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome[1].

> - Malcolm X

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

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[1] X, M. (1964, April 12). The Ballot or the Bullet. Speech presented at CORE Event in USA, Detroit.

December 9th, 1969 the Chicago police department along with the assistance of the

Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), raided

the Chicago branch of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. After the raid and the murder of

prominent members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the State Attorney of Chicago, Edward V.

Hanrahan placed officers who were involved in the conflict, into the media forefront to avoid the

"orgy of sensationalism" (Wiedrich & Robert, 1969). Furthering the belief that the department

had no fear of being in the media spotlight nor that they had any reason to hide from the public,

Hanrahan published the official police photographs of the incident. In the official photographs,

Hanrahan asserts the belief proved what he holds to be observable truth: the only reason the

deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark occurred is because they shot first.

 Hanrahan continues to play on the narrative used by whiteness that establishes Blackness

and Black people as deviants' worthy of harm because of how they challenge the state. Hanrahan

solidifies these ideals as facts that should not be argued with: to attack a cop (even when falsely

accused) is to be worthy of death and therefore something that hegemonic whiteness needs to

silence. COINTELPRO, played heavily into the normalizing of Black organizations as unsafe

and therefore necessary to engage in brutal, sadistic "reactionary" actions against them (Hoerl &

Ortiz, 2015, p. 594)

The FBI and other government agencies created and spread counterproductive narratives

both inside and outside the communities of radicals and organizations, implanted spies to obtain

information and dehumanized all aspects of their worth (Churchill, 1990, p. 91)

During the later years of the Civil Rights Movement (1964-1969) and into the Black

Power era (1968-1974), Black Americans in their commitment to deconstructing systemic

whiteness endured numerous forms of social sanctions where their agency as individuals and as a

community was not respected. From the Montgomery bus boycotts to atrocious attacks incited by police departments and the Klu Klux Klan (Churchill, 1990, p. 170) to microaggressions such as white society turning off their televisions as Black bodies were attacked; many Black Americans grew tired of the slow climb toward progress and decided to push society further.

Black organizations and radicals were worked extensively to figure out the correct path to liberate Black people from whiteness; for some the path came with using capitalism as a tool. In the 1960s into the 1970s, Nixon played on this notion uplifting those who prioritized Black capitalism instead of the continuance of the revolution (Weems Jr. & Lewis, 2001, p. 66)However, others recognized the desire to become capitalists as a white ideology influencing the Black community. To these Black radicals, to accept capitalism as the answer was to give up on Black agency. Fred Hampton, suggested in a 1969 speech that:

> "We got to face some facts. That the masses are poor, that the masses belong to what you call the lower class, and when I talk about the masses, I'm talking about the white masses, I'm talking about the black masses, and the brown masses, and the yellow masses, too. 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. We say you don't fight capitalism with no black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism." (Hampton)

For others, the path came through education: both the Black Panther Party as well as Stokley Carmichael encouraged the use of community as a mechanism for growth and a sense of pride or Black Power. They encouraged the necessity for Black youth who could attend colleges and universities to come back to the community and place that knowledge within the Black society as well as with individuals who may not have had the same chances in life as they had.

As Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, suggested during an interview in 1968:

> I say to black students and potential students that they should return with their hearts and their minds and their souls to the black community to relate to the brothers and sisters who have not had the opportunity that they've had. They should use their intelligence and their skills to help organize the black community for its survival. We are faced now with the prospects of oppression on an international level by a very racist and inhuman power structure which, as it winds up the war in Vietnam, turns to a second war, which is the war against black people right here in Babylon. I say to college students and to all people who want to see a new world and a better world that they should unite to form the type of power block that can defeat this racist power structure and put it in the garbage can of history where it belongs. (Cleaver E. , 1968)

Cleaver, while understanding the complexities of being a Black academic as equal to the complexities of existing under an oppressive power structure can place necessary emphasis on Black individuals bringing the knowledge that they learned to be used in the community. The Black Panther Party, mostly run by Black academics turned radical leaders, saw the importance and value in learning white logic, decolonizing the narrative, and providing the narrative to the people.

These Black radicals envisioned a radical restructuring of society, arguing that there was no liberation under a society in which one could pull themselves out of the lower class only to disenfranchised their neighbor. They aimed to redirect the power that Black people believed they did not have and create a world in which they saw how strong, capable, and necessary survival as a community was.

In 1966, the Black Panther Party created their Ten-Point program[2] to establish the fundamental principles in which they wanted their organization to run. As Hampton suggested, they began to fight capitalism with socialism. Hampton referred to the Breakfast for Children program as a "socialist program, a communist program" (Hampton) that gave power to those that believed they did not have any. The Ten-Point program focused on ways to rebuild the community and contribute to the overall success of Black society. The Black Panthers pushed for existing in a Black owned, Black run and Black protected society. This declaration challenged not only a white majority but it also challenged how Black people viewed themselves. The call to Black power was a recognition of Black worth and a greater development for cultural identity.

Black radicals and Black social movement organizations shifted the narrative focusing on the ways in which they could actively disrupt the white patriarchal capitalist system while working to create a system of their own in which the Black community could thrive. They began to focus on grassroots localization efforts such as community policing, childcare services and healthcare programs that would directly benefit their communities to address local concerns (Tyner, 2006, p. 110) These organizations began to press for Black liberation by playing on whites' fear of Black bodies. Many like the Black Panther Party, marched with loaded on the California state capitol building as well as created a uniformed look to show police who patrolled the neighborhoods that there was a collective and unified force shadowing their movements in the community (Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2001, p. 161).

Forced to deal with the devastatingly violent and hostile actions from the state, Black radicals pushed for individuals not only to willingly protect themselves from police and other state institutions but from anything and anyone that meant to do them harm. Their tactics

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[2] The Ten- Point program can be found at the end of this thesis in the additional information section.

included encouraging practical educational practices taught through the community with self-defense strategies incorporated. The Black Panther Party developed the Oakland Community School to teach children the history of Black people in America. Black artists and intellectuals also aided the revolution by redefining art to create Black cultural narratives also referred to as the Black Aesthetic (Ongiri, 2009, p. 31).

<div align="center">♦♦</div>

Research Question

        I use the murder of Fred Hampton and the violence imposed on the Black Panther Party as well as the actions taken by the party as an entry point into this thesis: the exploration of state sanctioned violence against Black radicals and radical Black organizations and the essentialism of cooptation, deradicalization and renormalization as a fundamental part of white racism. The thesis further explores the ways in which Black radicals and Black social movement organizations from the height of the Black civil rights movement (1964-1969) were de-radicalized and stripped of their intellectual and social property by the effects of power exhibited by the state. Concurrently, I also argue that these same radicals and organizations would later have many of their "radical" practices, culturally co-opted / appropriated by the white legal structure. I explore what Foucault writes as the state's attempt to reanimate what is useful and what Bell describes as white and Black "interest convergence". Both theoretical viewpoints though traditionally not used together, complement one another. Foucault gives us why the state is attempting to create docile bodies, where Bell explores who is affected because of the state's co-option of ideas for the greater white state.

        The first chapter explores the Black Panthers and the foundation of their organization. It describes what their community survival programs were and how what they created a directly

went against a cultural narrative, the idea that Black individuals could take care of themselves without government handouts and assistance. This thesis explores how these programs were the firsts of their kinds and stepped outside of the white capitalist structure and therefore were a threat that eventually needed to take out or shaped to benefit the already existing structure through recuperation. It also focuses on the legal protection that was created to Black radicals and communities back into the white capitalist structure. It shows that laws created in direct opposition to Black radicals to get "society" back in order. It analyzes how radicals were targeted and manipulated; while organizations were co-opted and manipulated to rid society of these organizations and re-establish the dominant narrative.

The second chapter explores the demonizing of protest specifically against the Black Panther party using Foucault's six obstacle signs. Through discourse analysis, the shows how media influence and the language that white American media outlets used equated protesters as "thugs and criminals", through the language gathered through newspaper articles. Then I critically analyze the content and the implicit meaning behind the word choice. The word choice utilized by these agencies expresses the racist behaviors and ideologies as well as the desire to protect their social standing in whiteness. Furthermore, I discuss how this creates behaviors engaged in by members of the Black Panther Party non-normative and how society constructs a deviant Black Panther Party identity. Through discourse analysis, I demonstrate the ways in which the overarching legal structure begins to criminalize aspects of Black radicalism, by demonizing cultural aspects of Blackness as well as what whites believed to be deviant. I analyze laws such as the Mulford Act, which placed heavy penalties on open carry in California after the Black Panthers marched on the California Capitol building.

The third chapter explores how critical race theory analyzes the results of Black people finding agency. Specifically, it will analyze the questions that Foucault does not answer, what are the racialized effects of challenging the white state. I show the necessity for whites to protect whiteness by taking aspects of marginalized cultures and redefining them to benefit whiteness. This chapter serves as an analysis of see what all was taken from the Black Panther because they like many Black individuals who participate in Black radical thought are ostracized, demonized and ridiculed.

The conclusion of the thesis brings together a concrete understanding of all the theoretical outlooks explored in the thesis as in accordance with critical race theory, the final chapter steps outside of the realm of academic elitism but instead focuses on the usage of learning through a chronicle. In this chronicle, it outlines the importance of community support as well full illustrates the dangers of Black liberation. The conclusion will serve as a parable, much in the style of critical race theorists, I aim to compress theory into an understandable material but create a warning that the state will kill you and steal from you especially when you are Black.

Theoretical Components

<u>Critical Race Theory</u>

"Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a broad theoretical framework created by synthesizing the main themes of scholars who have challenged dominant contemporary understandings of race and the law (Bracey II, 2015). Critical race theory has been built on a variety of scholars and is most often credited to Derrick Bell expanding from the Black academics of critical legal studies but has since been expanded upon by numerous individuals since it's theoretical founding. In Kimberlé Crenshaw's, Crenshaw writes that critical race theory:

"aims to the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American

consciousness, and to recover and revitalize the radical tradition of race consciousness

among African Americans and other people of color – a tradition that was discarded with

integration, assimilation and the idea of colorblindness became the official norms of

racial enlightenment. (Crenshaw, 1996)"

Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic explain critical race theory as:

"transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. The movement considers

many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take

up, but places them in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context,

group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious. Unlike traditional civil

rights, which embraces incrementalism and step-by-step progress, critical race theory

questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal

reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law

(Delgado & Stefancic, Critical Race Theory: An Introduction, 2001)

Delgado and Stefancic also identify the tenets essential to critical race theory: (1) Racism is

ordinary not aberrational, (2) white over color ascendency serves both, psychological and

material benefits to the dominant group through colorblindness and interest convergence, (3) the

social construction thesis: races and races are all products of social thoughts and social relations

and (4) the voices-of-color thesis: people of color have access to aspects of racism that their

white counterparts due to lived experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, Critical Race Theory: An

Introduction, 2001)

Other theorists like Cheryl Harris establish the theory of whiteness as property in which

she states to be white is to protect your assets as well as the personal investments of whiteness

(Harris, 1993). In whiteness being property, Harris asserts that whites have access certain privileges: to the right to disposition, right to enjoyment and use, right to the reputation that holding property brings, and the right to exclude people from these aspects of whiteness (Harris, 1993).

Harris demonstrates the claim of whiteness as property using DuBois's Black Reconstruction in America where DuBois illustrates the relationship of the white working class and how they have been swayed into fitting in with the white bourgeois rather than the working Black class to collect the increased rewards of whiteness and of white privilege.

"Moreover, even when the white working class did not collect increased pay as part of white privilege, there were real advantages not paid in direct income: whiteness still yielded what Du Bois termed a "public and psychological wage" vital to white workers (Harris, 1993)."

Both DuBois and Harris express that while all whites especially whites in the lower class do not benefit directly from the material aspects of whiteness, they do receive the perk of thinking that they are better than other racial groups because of their white skin. They see the reflection of who they are in society as DuBois writes as a public deference (Bois, 1935).

"They [whites] were given public deference because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people, to 146 The courts adopted this standard even as they critiqued the legitimacy of such rules and definitions. The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent on their votes, treated them with leniency. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect on their personal treatment. White schoolhouses were the

best in the community, and conspicuously placed, and they cost anywhere from twice to

ten times as much per capita as the colored schools (Bois, 1935)."

Harris expands on this idea of public deference afforded to whiteness as a means for white

workers to view themselves as better than someone else, to eradicate forms of conscious class

conflict. To protect white rights like happiness and joy, the white bourgeois created and

continues to create a public and violent separation from anything that is perceived to harm

whiteness and lessen white access to power and privilege. Whiteness in this sense in tandem with

critical race thought will be based upon the racial classification as well as the material and

societal benefits that are obtained.

Along with the social construction of whiteness, the benefits of whiteness are protected

by the laws, rules, and regulations that govern American society asserting that whiteness is

created, constructed and maintained through law (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Whiteness becomes

entangled with the law and therefore while it may seem as if the intent of laws that go against

radicals are for the betterment of all society they are only for the benefit of one specific group.

Empathic fallacy later coined by Delgado counters the belief that empathy will be enough to save

people of color from racism (Delgado, Rodrigo 's Eleventh Chronicle: Empathy and False

Empathy, 1996). I use the language of empathic fallacy to show that the that Black radicals were

using recognized that fallacy of appealing to the empathetic nature of white society because of a

Fanonian concept often expressed by rarely spoken allowed:

> "For he knows that he is not an animal; and it is precisely at the moment he realizes his
>
> humanity that he begins to sharpen the weapons with which he will secure its victory
>
> (Fanon, 1963)."

Interest convergence theory also coined by Bell speaks of racial justice occurring only when whites believe that they benefit from it. Bell defines interest convergence with two rules:

> "Rule 1. The interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when that interest converges with the interests of whites in policy-making positions. This convergence is far more important for gaining relief than the degree of harm suffered by blacks or the character of proof offered to prove that harm.
>
> Rule 2. Even when interest-convergence results in an effective racial remedy, that remedy will be abrogated at the point that policymakers fear the remedial policy is threatening the superior societal status of whites, particularly those in the middle and upper classes (Bell, 2005)."

Bell also asserts that often through "unofficial understandings that sacrifice Black interest and rights today" or silent covenants often cause Black people to be exposed to the results after white people have already decided what they are going to do (Bell, 2005). Whites often create the compromise in this matters in a very public setting but formulate and level the specifics in the background asserting their foundation in upholding whiteness (Bell, 2005).

For a variety of scholars who study and practice critical race theory the goal is to analyze how the law preserves white supremacy is over time and how, if possible individuals can escape racism in any facet of their lives.

Normalization and Power

In addition to critical race theory, I am utilizing Michel Foucault's writings on normalization and power, particularly his work on normative practices and structures within institutions. For Foucault, these normative structures exist as a disciplinary tactic to keep the individual suppressed. However, these disciplinary actions often come with parameters and must

follow a specific structure for it to teach other individuals not to repeat the same action thus creating docile bodies (Foucault, 1995). Per Foucault, docile bodies are: "one that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved. and that this docile body can only be achieved through strict regimen of disciplinary acts (Foucault, 1995)". In this thesis, I aim to explore this aspect of Foucault's work, how the state demonizes Blackness through a constant recreation and redefining of docility. Forced to exist and participate in a system that is working against the very facet of their identities and how the Black Panther Party created fear in institutions and the state by challenging that docility as well as the power.

While explaining how docile bodies are created in a neo-liberal state of surveillance, signs and actions called obstacle signs show how punishment is acted on in society from the state. Foucault develops six signs that must be followed, for the punishment to be effective: (1) minimum quantity, (2) sufficient ideality, (3) lateral effects concern the centrifugalization of the effects of punishment, (4) perfect certainty, (5) common truth and (6) optimal specification (Genosko, 2013). Each of these obstacles signs are agents and tools used by the state to ensure that when an individual does something that is outside of normalcy that they are effectively punished but punished in a way that discourages those interested in pursuing / engaging in the same (Genosko, 2013). Within his work, Foucault details discipline as a regulatory practice and control mechanism to regulate the praxis of society using surveillance as a means of normalizing those who step outside of the dominant culture. Foucault states in Discipline and Punish:

> "The carceral network, in its compact or disseminated forms, with its systems of insertion, distribution, surveillance, observation, has been its greatest support, in modern society, of the normalizing of power (Foucault, 1995)"

This theory will be used to show in tandem with critical race scholarship how the state creates docile bodies out of radicals to steal their work and oppress them within a neoliberal capitalist institution while plotting to sabotage, humiliate, psychologically torture and kill them. This thesis focuses on the structure that white society has constructed around Black radicals and organizations and the result of challenging the normative power structure, showing the ways in which tactics implored by the dominant structure of whiteness are implemented to create forced normalization. Through this forced normalization of whiteness communities as well as the organizations themselves began to experience a sense of powerlessness, a docile existence.

It analyzes the basis of what happens when a group who is not in power steps outside of the prescribed role (Foucault 780). How does the way, which the normative is broken challenge the state to not only to punish the radicals and communities but also to ensure that it never happens again or at least never happens again without white capitalist influence?

Literature Review

Previous scholarship on whiteness and radicalism functions as a liaison to understanding the de-radicalizing nature of cooptation that is imposed on Black radicals and social organizations. Whiteness, radicalism and cooptation are quintessential to understanding the way in which de-radicalization is formed as a tool to not only limit what radicals and organizations can do but the impact that they may have as well.

The Legal Construction and Positioning of Whiteness

Critical race theory, continues to provide an avenue to understanding whiteness is protected and routinely normalized for the sake of preserving white identity. In Ian Haney Lopez's White by Law, he focuses on two dominating characteristics that have shaped the overall structure of race and law: scientific evidence and common knowledge (Haney-Lopez,

2006). Using these two rationales he explores the racial classification cases also known as the prerequisite cases to illustrate how scientific evidence and common knowledge have functioned to protect and preserve whiteness and why they often parallel each other (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Both scientific evidence and common knowledge often glorify the same conclusion of racial difference because they are often based on the same type of analysis and empirical beliefs as measurable, though they are often positioned as two different concepts (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Lopez finds that the court system operated at first with the use of both common knowledge and scientific evidence but it eventually became too hard to separate the distinction between what was evidence and what was knowledge due to "changes in immigrant demographics and in anthropological thinking (Harris, 1993)."

Lopez also points out the ways in which whiteness was constructed through two ways: changing on a case by case basis and degrading other racial groups (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Through court cases like Ozawa vs US and Thind vs US and the deciding on a case by case narrative, the United States formed a lose based understanding of what it meant to be white (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Ozawa vs US used the popular knowledge and scientific method in tandem because the Court decided that Ozawa was not white because he was not from the Caucasus mountains nor was he what was popularly to be considered white by Americans (Haney-Lopez, 2006)."However, in Thind vs US reaffirmed the common knowledge belief that to be white was to be "what the well-informed American knew to be white (Haney-Lopez, 2006), though Thind was from the Caucasus mountains he could not be white because it was not what was white.

The second way degrading other races, Lopez promotes the belief that the "construction of whiteness contributes to the more directly to the content of white character (20). Again, in the

court cases what was produced by the Court was not just a accreditation to whiteness but also relied on the tearing down of the newly established race in the process (Lopez 20). In Thind vs US in the court disposition, the Court wrote: it is of such character and extent that the great body of our people instinctively recognize it and reject the thought of assimilation (Lopez 20). The state not only rejected the racial classification of Thind but made sure to affirm that there was a racial difference between whites and people of color through an "us vs. them" dichotomy.

Both ideas are inherent to the definition of whiteness because they are two of the ways in which whiteness must operate. Whiteness is inherently defined by what it is not so the racial classification court cases allowed for a constant stream and flow of opportunity for whites to decide what they wanted to be and what did not count. It allowed to use of the common knowledge rational when the Supreme Court was unable to make faulty and eugenic science stick. In this instance the racial classification cases, not only does whiteness need to be inherently different than that of any other racial group, it needs to be superior. This allows for the creation of numerous stereotypes ascribed to other racial groups that are not white, such as Black people being lazy and needing numerous government programs to survive. Lopez uses the work of Richard Ford to contextualize this principle in which Ford states, "for the concept of a white race to exist, there must be a Black race which is everything the white race is not (Haney-Lopez, 2006). However, what Lopez does not explain is why white society does this and what is to be gained through constructing a white race.

The answer to that can be found in the work of Cheryl Harris's Whiteness as Property in which she not only points of the material and social benefits of whiteness but why establishing the narrative in the first place is important. Harris credits this to whiteness equating their racial identity being a form of property and therefore a necessary aspect of life that may be protected.

Harris examines what the definition of property is starting with the forefathers and their own personal definitions (Harris, 1993). James Madison believed that" property is everything that a man attaches a value and have a right (Harris, 1993). The summation of these ideals can be expressed coherently where Harris states "owning white identity as property affirmed the self-identity and liberty of Blacks (Harris, 1993)" Harris demonstrates that will whiteness may not be viewed as something that many individuals wanted to ascribe to them was an "economic coercion on white supremacy (1993)." This is detailed by the decision of Black individuals who decided to "pass" into white society. Harris demonstrates that if there was not material benefit to whiteness that came with the claim to hold onto it, Black individuals would not have wanted to shed their racial identity for another. The social realities of Blackness because of the negation constantly affirmed by whiteness made it impossible to exist in a state of liberation while wanting everything that was given to whiteness. Whiteness as property is meant to be a benefit to whites but it is supposed to be a calling card to other racial groups to assimilate and become closer to whiteness that way they may receive some of the perks or just the fundamental American rights of life, liberty and justice.

Radicalism and Government Action

To better understand radicalism and the way in which governments respond to activism and in term the activists who engage them, this thesis uses the works of Kurt Schock's Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Non-Democracies. The usage of a non-democratic society to expose what is happening into America is to expose that while there may be various and ways in which to run a country, the attitude that the government takes with these individuals is the exist exact same. As defined by Schock and Zunes, an unarmed insurrection is a popular

challenge to government authority that depend primarily on methods of nonviolent action rather than on armed methods (Schock (XVI).

Though it is to be understood that unarmed insurrections are not always completely nonviolent; they are also tools used to fight against violent oppression. However, there is a possibility for violence to often than not people that are involved in unarmed insurrections respond to certain levels of violence with non-lethal violent actions by throwing objects such as rocks, stones and more threatening Molotov cocktails (Schock, 2004). An important part to mention is that unarmed insurrections include practical rather than a principled form of non-violence. This violence is placed into categories by the level commitment to nonviolent methods and the effectiveness that they have.

Schock places huge influence on the radicalism of nonviolent action and while it is viewed as an inactive form of social engagement or not radical enough, it involves a large amount of commitment and organizational structure for it to grow (Schock 64-66). Non-violent action is specifically actions that involves risks while establishing that it may be dangerous to engage in the actions that are happening. Non-violent action and opposition can result from following the law in the strictest ways possible or banning together while completely ignoring.

Schock also explains starts by breaking down democratic or the process of democratizing a country into four distinctive sections: modernization, world policy, transition and structural approach (2004) . Within the modernization approach, the focus is on the relationship between formal institutions within a country and the economic and social aspects of that country. The world policy approach focuses on the assumption that nations become more westernized or more like other countries is to avoid ostracized. Countries tend to agree along the same things such as

human rights and political liberties of people in their country and people within the world. The third, the transition approach explains the change from one power dynamic to another.

Based on the transition approach there are three necessary conditions that must be met to fulfill the goals of the transition approach. One, there must be an agreement met between reformers and moderates within the regime. Two, the reformers must be able to either contest or neutralize conservative hard liners. And lastly, the moderates must be able to control progressive mass-based elements, isolate the radicals, and prevent all forms of protest within the country.

All the literature through-out this section, expresses very key elements that needed to be expanded upon from my theory section. These works prioritize the importance of the actions of the state while also showing that the behavior by the state whether it be a democratic one or not treats radicals the same. The way that the US treats radicals especially those of the 1960s and 1970s mirrors the action taken against people who protest in non-democratic spaces. The review does what a lot of the subsequent material intends to do: show that democracy is limited to certain people and when the narrative no longer fits, the state protects itself while waging both a private and public war on radicals.

CHAPTER 1: SAY IT LOUD I'M BLACK AND I'M PROUD: MOVING TOWARDS A BLACK AESTHETIC

"The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world. Without this oil the machine cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in the machinery, that once we become dislocated that the functioning of the machinery breaks down."

-Huey Newton

The late 1960s for many Black radicals was an opportunistic time. Black radicals continued their fight from the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement and pushed for the creation of an expanded Black identity. They also caused a necessary shift towards a more self-sustaining and liberated Black identity outside of the realm of whiteness. In this chapter, I discuss the formation of the Black Panther Party based on the particularities of how the organization ran itself to the aesthetic choices of the Black Panther Party in creating a communal identity. From there I analyze how media perceptions were detrimental to the party's message and thus caused a reaction from whites to demonize the Party's behavior using law as an agent. This chapter also alludes to The Black Panther Party challenges of combating whiteness via Black radical and critical race thought.

Images are also used to exemplify what words cannot do. There are only so many words that I as an academic can write about state sanctioned violence using the Black Panther Party, but pictures reach an emotional level that words sometimes are not able to. Tamara Kay writes that sociologists tend to write to whom their audience is, other sociologists (2011). I push further and state that as an academic I have been taught to create work that is meant for people who have access to academia. I hope to exhibit aspects of the Black Panther Party's foundational morals in my own writing, pushing the validity of understanding complex materials and yet still presenting them in a way that is accessible to all people regardless of class or racial boundaries.

Historical Overview

Entering the Black Power era, the spirit of the nation changed. Black bodies were tired of existing in a realm of whiteness where they could not be themselves and if they conformed were beaten by police for participating in the normative behaviors established by society were we ever not tired of that. Many people were tired and angry; they were watching Black leaders get slain on television and were actively seeing that no matter how much they were non-violence that did not believe the system would be nonviolent towards them.

Moon-Kie Jung, Costa Vargas and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva in the State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance and the United States out of three claims assert that the United States exists in a constant white supremacy state. In the analysis of understanding racialized deconstruction of power but the importance of developing power and personal understand outside of whiteness one needs   to understand the developmental aspects of the racialized experience that often-challenged Black radicals. As mentioned within the theoretical orientation of critical race theory, whiteness inherently comes with perks and privileges. The privileges of whiteness as well as the construction of what whiteness is outside of who people of color has

created a threatening nature to ideologies, groups and beliefs that threaten to challenge the privileges. Omi and Wanat argue in the Racial Formation of the United States that the U.S. state is "inherently racial and "from its very inception has been concerned with the politics of race, while race always being center to the American experience (Omi and Wanat 81-92). Jung, Vargas and Bonilla-Silva expanded on this belief by explaining that the US is unified but exists in a constant state of uniting and dividing due to its assertion of maintaining white supremacy (11).

An introspection of the Black community began where vast majorities began to look at Black liberation as a practical solution. Black bodies saw the idealism of Black liberation where they could take care of the communities they existed in as well as create an identity constructed outside of the realm of whiteness. Black people began to redefine their collective group consciousness. However, black radical thought does have a longstanding tradition from slave rebellions, outspoken abolitionists like David Walker, Martin Delany, to the Nation of Islam proclaiming Black ideologies (and pro-Blackness) on a national scale. Consciousness through Black Power while often seen as the most influential is not the only formation of Black radical though and the emergence of the Black Power era shows the continuation of the legacy. Black people have always fought towards existing on their own terms.

Ogbar (2004) suggests that this movement towards a liberated Black identity exist because of two key liberatory tactics: Black pride and Black self-determination. I like previous scholars define Black pride as a key liberatory tactic because it called for a celebration of societally subservient Black culture. To exist a Black and prideful individual begins to express aspects of the subservient culture that have been looked down on by the dominant culture of whiteness and thus results in oppression of the other.

This caused many individuals to show off their natural hairstyles, participate heavily in Black community organization, and even change their style of dress to be more reflective of an Afrocentric focus (Ogbar 2004; Ongiri 2010). As Kathleen Cleaver stated in the film Black Panther

> "This brother here, myself and all of us here were born with our hair like this and we just wear it like this because it's natural. The reason for it, you might say, is like a new awareness among black people that their own natural appearance, physical appearance, is beautiful and it's pleasing to them" (1968). Existing with a sense of Black pride became more than knowing what it meant to be Black on an intellectual level but manifested into a tangible reality."

I define Black self-determination as a will for Black people to reject the previously established connections between white culture and Black culture (the parts of life where their interest converge) and create a reflective society that benefits Black community (Bell 1980). Acknowledging the Black Panther Party and another Black

liberatory movements choosing to operate outside of the realm where Black interest and white interest merge is essential because it is the aspect that makes their actions

truly

radical.

Figure 1: Picture 1: Kathleen Cleaver and fellow Black Panthers Sporting Afros. Oakland. 1968
© Stephen Shame

With Black Panthers choosing to put themselves first, they are not only creating their own autonomy but as quoted by Audre Lorde recognize that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house (1983). Rather they are creating a space to normalize the behaviors that society has deemed as deviant. The more that they were viewed horrible militant individuals, they pushed back challenging and critiquing what normal was. The Black Panthers completely stopped trying to appease anyone besides individuals who exist in their communities and who did not have the best interest of their communities at heart.

The Black Panther Party was a reflective organization that incorporated these two liberatory tactics firmly in the organizational setup of the party. In showing Black pride, the Black Panther Party had specific cultural norms and expectations established in being an active part of the organization. Both Huey Newton and Bobby Seale who were active in local California activism prior to starting the Black Panther Party, wanted to reach out into the community (Seale 1970; Newton 1973). They both shared a common belief that those who felt the most excluded by the Civil Rights Movement's respectability and elitism would feel that they had a home in connecting with other Black marginalized community members.

However, it is to be stated that this is from the perspective of educated Black men and former women who were in the Black Panther Party have stated issues dealing with the intersections of sexism and racism, often causing the feelings of disconnect between their racial and gender identity group. Black women have often regarded the blatant sexism of the Black Panther Party as a Black patriarchal heterosexual limitation but also a direct effect of Black women not being represented in the mainstream ideal of what it meant to be a feminist (Brown 1994; Berg 2009; Lawson 2015). However, the Panthers did believe there was an inherent

commitment from the organization needed to protect Black elders, children and environmental aspects of the community.

The Black Panther Party established their tenets from a variety of organizations previous scholars who they believed were essential in creating a Black liberatory identity like the Nation of Islam, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Afro-American Association, Frantz Fanon, the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC) and Malcolm X (Cleaver 1969; Seale 1970; Ogbar 2004). When developing the foundational tenets of the organization, Newton and Seale observed the principles of these organizations/individuals and developed strategies that would not limit their communities but would also help them grow as people.

> "There's an order of leadership at the national level, and this same order is replicated in each of the Party's local branches. There are ministers, as you already know, at the national level, and all local chapters have ministers as well. The ministers at the national level are organized into a Central Committee that governs the organization. All local ministers, of course, are subordinate to the Central Committee. (Pharr 2014)"

Members were responsible for learning the twenty-six rules of the Black Panther Party as well as the eight points of attention and the three main points of discipline. This was to create a new norm within the organization [yes; and blackness writ large?], an additional element that allowed anyone who wanted to be a panther exist on the same level as one another no matter where they existed in the hegemonic power imbalance of whiteness.

It is essential to differentiate the Black Panther Party's organizational structure and their mission from other Black liberatory groups. In Black communities, their role was never to overthrow the white power structure and offer another form of social control but rather to inform the masses of the ways in which they were being controlled by capitalists and whiteness alike

while offering some form of collective liberation. They did not believe that they were the holders of information or better than anyone else, but that they unlike many people in their communities had been given a privilege and a luxury to learn more. They believed that as best stated by Foner that "the main purpose of the vanguard group is to raise consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities that the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. (1995)"

Black Aestheticism

Another way the Black Panther Party focused on redefining Black identity was based on aestheticism. For many men, they were immersed in the aesthetics of the party and the hyper masculine identity asserted in society based purely on how they looked. To be a Black Panther was not just about having the knowledge or the information needed to defeat white supremacist standards, it was about being a visual representative of the people: a member of the vanguard. Newton and Seale both recognized the importance of making the Panthers cool but also saw it as a tool that could be used to gather the masses, who were accustomed to the hyper realistic coolness of the Black man in urban society (Ogbar, 64). They created a uniform: the beret, Black leather jacket, and gun to help establish the Panther legend (Rubin 1970).

Figure 2Picture 2: Black Panthers in DeFremery Park Oakland. Stephen Shames

They created a visual representation of what it meant to be a Panther but also made sure that people who saw the Panthers understood the importance of the image. When people saw the uniform, they knew that the Panthers were members of the community that they could trust. They were established bodies that wanted to serve and protect the people, but also had the means to do it. Furthermore, this helped the Black Panther Party continued their overall goal of showing the police in communities and the overall scope of whiteness in general was not untouchable. There were actions that could be taken by the everyday person that would not only insight fear in whiteness but help to establish a presence of prideful Black self. This is not an aspect of Black liberation that is new but rather a cultural distinction that dates back centuries. What Black bodies wear especially in times of political unrest and is a form of "self-assertion against the majority ethnic rejection" (Downing, 2001) as well as a form of political protest it itself.

Concurrently, in creating a Black aesthetic one does not just need to change the institution, ones need to create spaces and atmosphere where the people can see themselves in the work. The Black Panther Party for this reason placed huge importance on creativity and art.

This paved way for a challenge of the culture with the Black Arts movement, a resurgence of Black plays, music, literature as well as other mediums taken into the Black communities. The goal of these radical-artist was not just to stand strong in their identities as Black people but to create a legacy in the minds of the people. This not only helped to create a way for the most ostracized members of the community to participate but it created a variety of pathways for Black liberation to exist within the Black Panther Party.

One of the biggest reasons that the Black Panther Party was a threat to overarching whiteness and furthermore to capitalism was solely because they chose to give information to the people but because they were offering programs to the community. The Black Panthers started numerous community welfare programs in nearly every city where they had a chapter. They were focused on revolutionizing the ghetto, which meant that in every facet of their lives they had to insert Blackness as well as a critique of the intertwined capitalistic whiteness within their societies. They had a range of programs from day care services, self-defense classes, drug awareness and rehabilitation services, preventative services, medical services including dental, optometry, gynecology and geriatric services, community schools, after school activities and programs for teens in urban environments, nutrition programs and environmental rehabilitation services, disability and senior services, and community policing. These are only a few of the programs offered by the Black Panthers but the effects that they had on the communities was revolutionary. They were not just changing the way that these communities thought about themselves but offering physical and tangible results of what happens when ones builds up the area and the people around them.

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTING DEVIANCE: THE DEFIANCE OF THE BLACK PANTHER

PARTY

So why does any of this matter? Why does the Panthers' signature look, their

organizational structure, and their community survival programs affect the way in which they

were viewed in whiteness and ultimately what lead to their ideas being stolen and modernized? It

matters, it is essential because all the reasons that we appreciate the Black Panthers and all the

work that they did in their communities and for the entirety of the Black community is almost

impossible to replicate. This is not meant to be pessimistic nor is it meant to place blame on the

Black community for not rebuilding after the Panthers fell apart but rather expose the method

that the government used to eradicate the Panthers and to go further destroy any chance of a

revolution existing in the same capacity.

In Discipline and Punish, Foucault states that the state creates examples out of bodies to

retain control over people they believe are susceptible to engaging in behavior that is a threat to

normalized society (Foucault, 1995) . The state does not only seek to punish the person but rather

the community. But how does the state do this? Is there an observable pattern but rather are there

modes and methods in which radicals who go against the state can be prepared for? The answer

to both questions is yes. Foucault gives us six observable obstacle signs that can be juxtaposed

with the Black Panther Party's actions and the state's response. In this section, I define all the

obstacle signs and what they correlated to in the state vs the Black Panther Party.

Minimum Quantity

The first obstacle sign given is minimum quantity. It is the belief that the criminal has

more vested time in avoiding the crime due to the penalty that the crime holds (Foucault 92).

"For punishment to produce the effect that must be expected it, it is enough that the harm that it

causes exceed the good that the criminal has derived from the crime (Beccaria 89). This is the

time where the state moves to remove the allure that a crime may hold, sometimes creating

outlandish punishments for that crime. However, any Black person who is deemed as a criminal

has the added burden of the racism heavily affecting their penalty both societally and criminally.

How is being black always already a crime?

On April 25th, 1967, the first issue of the Black Panther Community News Service paper

was published by the Black Panther Party. On the front cover was a simple quote from the

mother of Denzil Dowell, "I believe the police murdered my son."

Figure 3: Excerpt From the Black Community News Service Volume 1 Number 1

Denzil Dowell was shot and killed by an officer of the Contra Costa County police department for a suspected burglary or as Huey Newton details in an interview in 1989, "for tampering with a lock." Newton, goes on to express that in California there was a law that allowed police officers to use any form of force to detain a perceived criminal. The officer in this case choose to shoot Dowell in the back six times with a shotgun. For Black bodies, this is the minimum quantity allowed: death or violence from a legal representative of the state. Blackness regardless of gender is dangerous because all Black bodies are viewed as hyper-masculine. Explore this point more and link it to your larger themes.

However, this is just the beginning of minimum quantity for the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party, while being one of many social movement organizations, was different
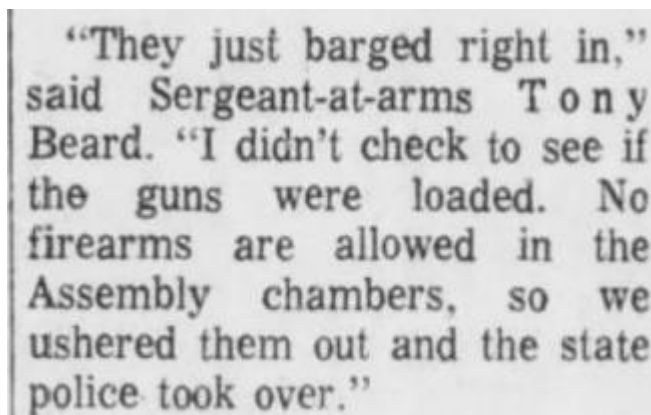
"They just barged right in," said Sergeant-at-arms T o n y Beard. "I didn't check to see if the guns were loaded. No firearms are allowed in the Assembly chambers, so we ushered them out and the state police took over."

Figure 4: Excerpt from the Daily Independent Journal May 03, 1967

because of the way they approached the state. Instead of the traditional narrative that existed for Black people when someone was unjustly murdered by the police, the Black Panther Party took the fight directly to the people they perceived to be in charge: the California legislature. They made their presence known on the steps of the Sacramento capitol building but went further, bursting into the assembly chamber while in session. In a local California newspaper, the Daily Independent Journal, the panic of the state is represented by numerous comments given by security officials, legislators, and the current governor Ronald Reagan.

Though one of the most important moments to come from the Black Panther's using their legal right to carry loaded weapons in public spaces if they were not concealed was the creation of the Mulford Act. The Mulford Act established that it was illegal for anyone aside from "peace" officers to carry a loaded firearm in public spaces regardless of whether they are concealed. It goes further to deem that to see if a firearm is loaded it must be surrendered to a peace officer when asked for so it may be inspected, failure to follow through with this results in the justifiable arrest of the person carrying the weapon. Adding onto the belief that all people regardless of race or class willingly work with the law when they have done nothing wrong.

> "A person is guilty of carrying a loaded firearm when the person carries a loaded firearm on the person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in an incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory.
>
> To determine whether a firearm is loaded for enforcing this section, peace officers are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on the person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in an incorporated city or prohibited area of an unincorporated territory. Refusal to allow a peace officer to inspect a firearm pursuant to this section constitutes probable cause for arrest for violation of this section." California.
>
> Penal Code § 25850

The Mulford Act goes further, detailing how someone can receive a felony offense for carrying a gun in public place and if any of the following are met they are eligible to receive the felony consequence instead of that of a misdemeanor. The one of which I choose to focus the most on because they are what targeted the Black Panther Party the most:

"(3) Where the person is an active participant in a criminal street gang, as defined in subdivision (a) of Section 186.22, under the Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act (Chapter 11 (commencing with Section 186.20) of Title 7 of Part 1), as a felony." California Penal Code § 25850

I focus specifically on the relationship to the Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act (STEP) and the Mulford act because the STEP act has supplemental material that makes it next to near impossible for someone who is an active participant in the Black Panther Party to not be considered an active member "criminal street gang,", therefore escaping the minimum quantity as a Black radical perceived as a "militant gang member" does not exist.

" Any person who is convicted of a public offense punishable as a felony or a misdemeanor, which is committed for the benefit of, at the direction of, or in association with any criminal street gang, with the specific intent to promote, further, or assist in any criminal conduct by gang members, shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed one year, or by imprisonment in the state prison for one, two, or three years, provided that any person sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail shall be imprisoned for a period not to exceed one year, but not less than 180 days, and shall not be eligible for release upon completion of sentence, parole, or any other basis, until he or she has served 180 days.

(f) As used in this chapter, "criminal street gang" means any ongoing organization, association, or group of three or more persons, whether formal or informal, having as one of its primary activities the commission of one or more of the criminal acts enumerated in

paragraphs (1) to (25), inclusive, or (31) to (33)[3], inclusive, of subdivision." - California.

Penal Code § 186.22

The STEP act goes further by identifying members of a "criminal street gang" as sharing

commonalities in clothing as well as other shared symbols such as greetings.

> "(e), having a common name or common identifying sign or symbol, and whose members
>
> individually or collectively engage in or have engaged in a pattern of criminal gang
>
> activity." California. Penal Code § 186.22

As previously mentioned, the Black Panther Party was notorious for not only their clothing but

their name carried meaning in the community as well as to the cops and legislative leaders. They

also addressed each other with sentiments of Black power or other phrases such as "all power to

the people." In every aspect of who the Black Panther Party was they could not be anything

positive to the state even though they constantly helped members of their communities because

the state advanced the creation of its laws by demonizing these actions and making it know that

anyone who would want to engage in these actions at all would follow the same form of

punishment from the government, ranging from death to jail for no less than 180 days purely in

the state of California.

Sufficient Ideality

The second sign, sufficient ideality is the belief that the punishment must be a

representation of the crime committed, but does not affect the bodies of those it aims to target

(Foucault 94). The easiest way to simplify this statement, is to say that the goal of the state was

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[3] (31) Prohibited possession of a firearm in violation of Section 12021, (32) Carrying a concealed firearm in violation of Section 12025, (33) Carrying a loaded firearm in violation of Section 12031.

to make the punishment for the crime, not worth committing the crime. That means not only actually making the crime punishable but by going further and creating examples out of people who choose to make this law by breaking their spirits. One of the best examples of this is creation of the COINTELPRO program created by J. Edgar Hoover. The goal of the COINTELPRO program was to target resources, individuals, and organizations and specifically in regards to the Black Panther Party was to "to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for (Hoover 1969). Within the COINTELPRO program, the government allowed for the infiltration of in the official COINTELPRO papers as well as numerous other government documents, the Black Panther Party is labelled as an extremist hate group. The national representation of the punishments that the Black Panther Party faced is extremely important because the way that the government and officials talked about these organizations made violence against them an expectation.

In the creation of the COINTELPRO program, there is the understanding that it is not just about eradicating the Black Panther Party, but eliminating all people who dared to climb the rankings of the party. One of the best example is the infiltration done by Black agents into the

Black Panther Party causing disorientation but also allowing for the government to receive
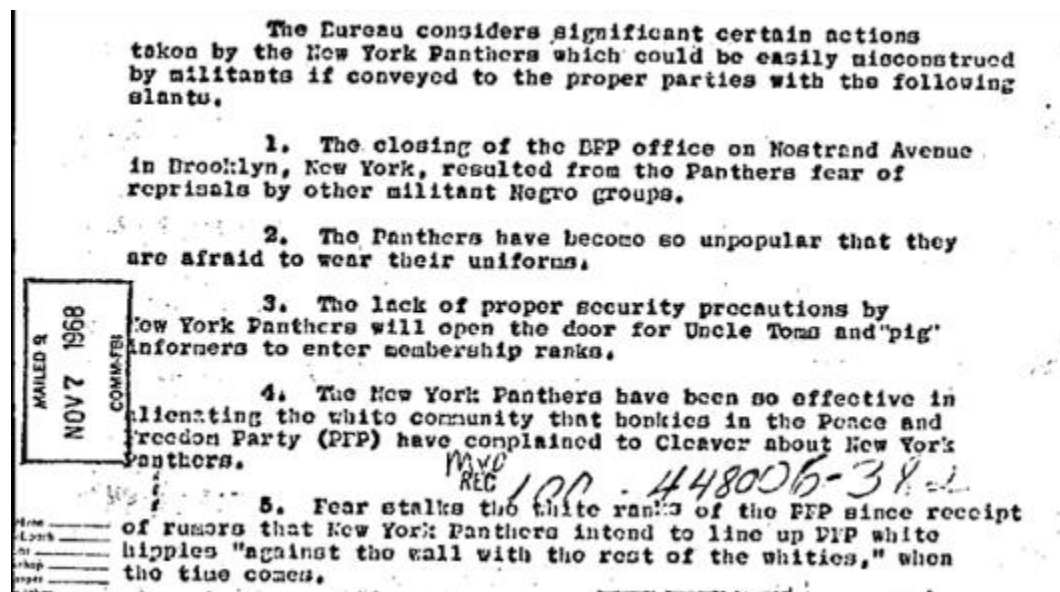

Figure 5: Excerpt from COINTELPRO Black Extremist Part 08 of 23

insider information as well as create a panic amongst the party members by developing the roles

of "uncle Toms and pig informers." It is not enough to say that this panic was just a simple and

swift moment of being infiltrated, but it was an aspect of psychological warfare. In the FBI's

covert action plan to destroy the Black Panther Party[4], FBI infiltrates would spread

misinformation, rumors, negative rumors about members of the party. One of the best examples

of this is the FBI letter to Illinois chairman Fred Hampton attempting to convince him that

people were trying to kill him.

> Brother Hampton:
>
> Just a word of warning. A Stone friend tells [name deleted] wants and is
>
> looking for somebody to get you out of the way. Brother Jeff is supposed to be

---

[4] Book III: Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans

interested. I am just a black man looking for blacks working together, not more of this gang banging. (Memorandum from the FBI Headquarters to Chicago Field office 4/8/1969)

This caused Fred Hampton as well as many others in the Black Panther Party to feel threatened and caused them acquire body guards. An FBI informant who climbed up the ranks of the Black Panther Party, William O'Neal became the guard for Hampton. In being in such proximity to Hampton, he was not only to create such a close bond with Hampton, he could leak plans, information and give false information while causing harm to the local organizational structure of the Black Panther Party. The notion of harming the organization with psychological warfare proved to be one of the most dangerous elements about joining the Black Panther Party. The paranoia continued to affect the party in numerous cities forcing them to look inward to their ranks, interrogate as well as torture members of their own party thus doing the work of whiteness.

Lateral Effects Concern The Centrifugalization Of The Effects Of Punishment

This is one of the most important areas of Foucault's works and what can directly be applied to whiteness putting unfair constraints on Black bodies. It is the understanding that the punishment "must have the most unfair effects on those who have not committed the crime; to carry the argument to its limit, if one could be sure that the criminal could not repeat the crime, it would be enough to make others believe that he had been punished. (Foucault 95)." The specifics of this in regards to Blackness can be seen spanning not only the Black Power era but through generations of Black bodies. How was this able to happen? Through the FBI's use of the media show the public punishments that happened for those who were active in the Black Panther Party and establishing in public memory what happened when one dared to go against the government.

Again, the lived experience of Fred Hampton as an Illinois Black Panther Party chairman. As an article originally printed in the Chicago tribune blamed the gunfight on the Panthers stating the reasons that shots were fired to begin with were because the Black Panther Party initiated the event by sending a shotgun shell through the door at the officers with the warrant. The article expresses the police's view that they never had any information that Hampton and Clark were in the building before they fired in self-defense but rather they found of the identities of the two after the fighting stopped. The article also paints the police officers in a heroic type of light, they are praised for choosing a time that would not disrupt multiple people in the community (as if a police raid is not a disruptive action). It also refers to the police as law abiding citizens who did not just want to charge into the house but rather wanted to uphold the legality of the law and show the members in the house that was shown. This is especially hard to believe that they did not have any ill intent because in the article the police officers refer to the situation as having to deal with "dangerous individuals (Lee and Wiedrich, 1969)." However, the reasons given by the police for the Black Panther Party in Chicago being dangerous was not because of what the Black Panther Party was doing but it was because of the influence that they had in the city amongst the Black community. Furthermore, counter evidence from an FBI files, shows that there been informants placed within the Black Panther Party of Chicago and that the FBI agents were charged to do any and everything within their power to cause disruption and the eventual destruction of the chapter. The article even goes so far as to mention that the informants of the police department warned of a cache of weapons. Now this article is extremely important to reflect on because it does everything in its power to show the humanity of the police department and officers in this situation. They are good god fearing individuals who want to

uphold the law and stand in their truth. While the words of the article state one thing, the

reflection and the actions of the police department show another.

However, one of the worst things about making sure that everyone understood that the punishment was for them is in the same newspaper article there are visual images that show exactly what happened but it also shows how complicit the Chicago Tribune was in spreading FBI propaganda. In the original article, there is a photo, showing the Panthers fired on police officers' numerous times, however, after the report of the prosecutors it was shown the Black

Panther Party members in the house only shot one bullet whereas police shot over 80 times. To go further, in the COINTELPRO papers detailed and made public they include numerous photos of Fred Hampton's lifeless body as well as what the FBI informant William O'Neal did to ensure that neither Hampton nor Clark would be able to fight back. O'Neal drugged Hampton and Clark, making sure that the police officers and FBI informants who were entering the house

knew this information and that both suspects would be easily murder-able. So not only did they

not care about the way in which they killed Hampton and Clark, they had no issue making sure

that the greater punishment knew that they killed him and how they did it too I assert this belief

because in the published papers, there is more than enough evidence of the government deleting

names, evidence, specific phrases. Only keeping in certain areas of information that they

perceived to be enough, but these pictures of Fred Hampton and the words about the intent to kill

him are apparent. His death and the imagery of his death is meant to be a warning not just for the

current Black Panther Party members, but for radicals who are interested in the life of activism

as an inspiration point in their life and for it to deter them by focusing on wanting to stay alive.

Figure 6: From the documentary, The Murder of Fred Hampton 1971

Figure 7: Mattress Fred Hampton Was Murdered On

Perfect Certainty

Perfect certainty is the belief that there must be an unquestionable link between the crime committed and the punishment of that crime. Foucault goes on to describe that the way that the government does this is by creating undeniable laws and making sure that all people have access to those legal codes (Foucault 94). However, along the lines of race this theory breaks down which is why it is essential to bring in work from race scholars. Black bodies, are not confused about the punishment or the amount of time or the result. Huey Newton goes on to explain this

disconnect in the ideology as what causes the Black radicals to accept the role that they may hold.

> "Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and dignity that existence without them is impossible .... Above all, it demands that the revolutionary see his death and life as one piece."

Therefore, the state establishes certainty in a different route when race becomes an area of interplay. The state needs to let everyone know that even if there is a minimum amount of time in the legal sense, in a community / social obligation sense, there is crime that has been done is one that must follow around the criminal for the remainder of their life. This is the case when we think of what happened to the Black Panthers, especially the ones that are living currently. A large majority of the Black Panthers that were not murdered, are spending their lives in prison, have become professors or have joined a political party.

Common Truth

Verification of the crime must obey accepted principles of truth in the arguments, proofs and judgements that support it. This requires a transition from ritual acts to common instruments (Foucault 96). This is the belief that there must not be evidence that can go against the guilt of a person whether it be through the erasure of evidence or silencing of bodies, when entering upon a legal state the court must not be able to be tested.

This was how the state could imprison so many members of the Black Panther Party. Whiteness constructed societal perfection around the ideal around police officers being the upholders of justice and furthermore being the ones when all else fails will not let the law of the land fall apart. A lot of the instances between the Black Panther Party also involved incidents

with local police officials and FBI agents. It became a giant game of "he said she said" resulting in numerous Black Panthers being thrown in jail, because it is one thing to go against the legal system and call out a police officer for their behavior but there is the added pressure of not being believed because of Blackness.

Optimal Specification

The way the Black Panther Party operated fundamentally was a challenge to the state which caused a panic. Political leaders such as the California governor Ronald Reagan saw the Panthers as a threat to public safety and therefore a threat to white normality. In the Panthers choosing to disregard the established punishments or even operate on the fear previously established by the state sanctioned for Blackness or Black bodies, they created a deviance that the state was not prepared to deal with. This specific aspect of Foucault's six rules shows the racialized realities of the Black Panther Party. While the Black Panthers often participated in actions that were legal and within their constitutional rights, the law serves to privilege whiteness. In the privileging of being white when laws or just general behaviors begin to make white people uncomfortable they fall back on the idea of needing to be protected. The protection of whiteness comes through the silent covenants that they often create with one another and in their creation, leave people of color and in this case the Black Panther Party labelled as deadly.

CHAPTER 3: THE END! WHY DOES IT MATTER: GIVING FUCKS IN THE REVOLUTION

"Passion is never enough; neither is skill. But try. For our sake and yours forget your name in the street; tell us what the world has been to you in the dark places and in the light. Don't tell us what to believe, what to fear. Show us belief's wide skirt and the stitch that unravels fear's caul.

- Toni Morrison

The goal of this thesis was not to assert fear nor was it to impose beliefs onto anyone else. The central goal was to be honest about the realities for so many people in this country. Racialized state sanctioned violence keeps so many people of color in this country awake at night from fears of police coming into our homes and killing us to existing in the public sphere and forced to endure the psychological trauma whiteness. We work hard for our communities and in choosing to participate in the behavior the state finds ways to incite fear in our bodies and cause us to disengage from a reality that we deserve. This thesis is a radical reminder that while someone may try and kill us, erase our memories and destroy all the good that we do in the world, there are people who need us. The voices that we share and the narratives that we have been so afraid to tell, have a place and are needed to create a new generation of change makers, thinkers, and radicals.

We have the tools, we have the generations of work left behind that by Black radical thinkers, to aid in own advance and the advancement of our own communities.
I have come to realize through the development of this thesis that it is okay to be completely afraid, but what matters is that we feel our feelings and use them to encourage our day to day

actions. The revelation lives on within us and to make sure that we can rectify the situation for our ancestors we need to be consciously aware of what happened in the past, relating those memories to our present, and committing ourselves to action in the future.

The idea that we may go through the world living our lives as the best versions of ourselves and for our communities and recognizing that our work may be stolen, and we become ostracized for ever having the nerve to speak.

CREATIVE WORKS:

(Tell why this is here)

The Chronicle of the Lights

......

 The first time the Lights visited the country no one believe that it happened. It was 1966 and many Black people in the country felt lost. They were unsure if the path to civil rights was the right issue to be focusing on or whether they should just stop fighting all together. The Lights appeared in the summer, at the March Against Fear. As Stokley Carmichael stepped off the podium and as the crowd chanted:

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

A piercing light came from the sky. The crowd became more intense:

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!

And as the light began to begin to bounce around from one point of the crowd to another, four orbs appeared, each a different color. Red, Blue, White, Black.

The Red Ord spoke first, "I am the Orb of the Blood. The deaths of your ancestors, has not gone unnoticed. Each soul that has left this Earth is reflected within me."

The Blue Ord stated, "I am the Orb of Intelligence. For all the answers that you have been looking for flow within me."

The White Orb said, "I am the Orb of Vigilance. You as a people have been strong for years and it is my job to take oppression from your shoulders and protect you.

The Black Orb declared, "I am the Orb of Purity. For I am the essence that has kept you going and kept you fighting."

In unison, they spoke "For years, we have watched. We have watched how whiteness has treated you, as subservient not worthy of humanity, as personal fixers for centuries of oppression that you did not inflict on yourself. We are tired and angry; of the oppression, you face. We are here for all of you."

A woman from the crowd shouted, "But what do you want, what are you going to do that we haven't tried?"

Again, the Lights spoke, "You have tried and you have done well but what you fail to realize is that this is not an issue you created for yourself. For Black Americans, the actions you have tried from integration to separation have only caused more harm on you. Your perseverance is one to be admired but you cannot do this alone."

As the last words were spoken, a pamphlet appeared into each member of the audience called the Tenets. The Tenets had three bullet points for the followers of the Lights:

1.   Violence is an action that is acceptable. You must defend yourself and your communities by any means. While everyone will not engage in this action, there must be people who are willing to stand up and do the necessary work.

2.   When dealing with Whiteness, you are no longer required to limit emotional responses. If there is a fire in your soul, let it reflect in every action you do. Emotional Reponses in tandem with your Black identities have been repressed for

so long to oppress you further. We encourage the use unfiltered language and rejected westernized standards on

3.   This country is now your home. Create a legacy and tell your narratives so that history will discount you again. While all of you did not ask to be here this is where you are. The people who will live in this land when you leave this Earth will inherit your ways. Make it a worthy one.

……

We were walking home from Mt. Ezekiel Baptist Church. While we were not Christians, my mother liked the repetition, she loved hearing the trials and tribulations expressed in the preacher's words. We followed the crowd making sure to blend as well as we could when we stepped outside of the Dome. Not because we believed that we were better but rather followers of the Lights.

Every child my age grew up with the stories of the Lights, how the first time the Black folks at the Gathering, they brought with them the Tenets. We learned early on that the Lights came to be protectors for us. Mama said so many people at first were scared. That there was mass panic in the streets and a lot of Black people left the country.

That's when the Lights transported Black people who believed in the Tenets to the Dome. Mama said she was a kid when it happened but she remembers how one day she was in class and the next she was surrounded around other confused Black people.

 There they stood puzzled not understanding what was going on until the light beam appeared and out of it, the orbs one by one floated out.

Blue orb spoke, "For you are the ones who believed in yourselves and practiced our tenets. You have been chosen to live here and practice our beliefs."

White orb flashed in agreement, "The ones outside of this dome are about to exist in grave danger. They are on the brink of a war."

"This dome will come under attack but in this space, you will have all of what you need. For the water never runs dry and the food is always plentiful, believe in the Tenets and you will always have   what   you   need."

<div align="center">♦ ♦</div>

Buddy's Elegy

1.
Auntie named you Joseph
Because of the meaning,
God, will increase.
Increase your serenity, your safety,
Increase your fortune, your love.

2.
Auntie said
Grandpa was the first to call you Buddy.
Not because you were sweeter than honeysuckle.
Sharing sour pickles from candy lady's stoop with strangers.
But because of the way you loved
Buddy Bolden's Blues.
Humming the melodic tune
In syncopated rhythms.
Like an old man filled with wisdom.

3.
When the phone rang
3a.m. November 18, 2009,
There was no love
For that sweet little brown boy.

They told my Momma
That somebody shot you.

Bullet passing through your face
Leaving brain splattered against
Street like road kill

♦ ♦

Newscasters

When I was a small child Mama would sit me down in front of the T.V. to absorb. Tonight, at 6

faintly blending in with the chatter of my younger siblings playing. The smell of the nightly meal

entering my mouth while Mama cooked I fell in love. Love so confusing but pure, the bliss of

spending time where our days stood still and created a network of inside jokes filled with praise.

We were not perfect white picket fence with 2.5 kids living in some suburb. We mimicked the

culture of our streets, falling asleep almost daily to the mixture of bullets and crickets. Our

ancestral language laid out by Mama and her Mama a sketched-out pathway of finna, couldas

and wouldas.

Mama would sit me down in front of the T.V. telling me to recite what I had learned. I focused

on the words of these people so precise telling Mama of public policy changes, too young for me

to understand. "Mama, I shrieked " The news man said that we was finna get a new pool on this

side of town." Mama corrected me,

"Say it how they said it." Making me disregard the language of my home to the language of the newscasters.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Below are rules and regulations of the Black Panther Program discussed within this chapter.

Rules Of The Black Panther Party

Every member of the Black Panther Party throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. Central Committee members, Central Staffs, and Local Staffs, including all captains subordinated to either national, state, and local leadership of the Black Panther Party will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the Black Panther Party were violated. Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the Black Panther Party. The rules are:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.

2. Any part member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.

3. No party member can be drunk while doing daily party work.

4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the Black Panther Party, and meetings of the Black Panther Party anywhere.

5. No party member will use, point, or fire a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.

6. No party member can join any other army force, other than the Black Liberation Army.

7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed.

8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or black people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

9. When arrested Black Panther members will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.

10. The Ten-Point Program and platform of the Black Panther Party must be known and understood by each Party member.

11. Party Communications must be National and Local.

12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and understood by all members.

13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.

15. Each Sub-Section Leaders, Section Leaders, and Lieutenants,

Captains must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.

17. All Leaders who expel a member must submit this information to the

Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will

be known by all chapters and branches.

18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.

19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should

be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the

community, including Captain, Section Leaders, etc.

20. Communications--all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing

to the National Headquarters.

21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.

22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the Black Panther Party

must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and

the Central Committee.

23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours

per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.

24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or

any other aid from any government agency without contacting the

National Headquarters.

25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by

the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party.

26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their

respective Chapters

8 Points of Attention

1. Speak politely.

2. Pay fairly for what you buy.

3. Return everything you borrow.

4. Pay for anything you damage.

5. Do not hit or swear at people.

6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.

7. Do not take liberties with women.

8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 Main Rules of Discipline

1. Obey orders in all your actions.

2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the poor and

oppressed masses.

3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

The Ten-Point Program

1. We Want Freedom. We Want Power To Determine The Destiny Of Our
   Black Community.

    a. 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.

    a. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to
       give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that
       if the White American businessmen will not give full employment,
       then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen
       and placed in the community so that the people of the community can
       organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of
       living.

3. We Want An End To The Robbery By The Capitalists Of Our Black
   Community.

    a. 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 were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave
       labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment
       in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The
       Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the
       Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The
       American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million

Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We Want Decent Housing Fit For The Shelter Of Human Beings.

   a. 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.

   a. 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.

   a. 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.

a. We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self- defense.

8. We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held In Federal, State, County And City Prisons And Jails.

    a. 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

    a. We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being, tried by all-White juries that have

no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community.

10. We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace.

    a. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands 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 of the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the 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 the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown 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.

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