A critical analysis of mass political education and community organization as utilized by the Black Panther Party as a means for effecting social change.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MASS POLITICAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AS UTILIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS A MEANS FOR EFFECTING SOCIAL CHANGE

A Dissertation Presented
By
DANIEL JOSEPH WILLIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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September 1976

School of Education
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MASS POLITICAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AS UTILIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS A MEANS FOR EFFECTING SOCIAL CHANGE

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I feel fortunate to have been able to choose an area of concentration about which I have strong beliefs and a deep sense of commitment. I believe that research on various social intervention strategies is of primary importance to all those individuals who are involved, in any way, with the human liberation struggles being fought today. I would hope that the work embodied in this paper will be useful to all the concerned groups involved in that struggle.

In a very real sense, this dissertation could not have been undertaken without the assistance of many dedicated friends. I received substantial help in organizing my original ideas, completing the necessary research and writing the many drafts which this paper has required. Although they are too numerous for me to be able to remember individually here, they will be able to find here the results of the project on which they have worked. I offer them my most sincere gratitude.

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by the members of my dissertation committee. Over the many meetings of the past year, I received both technical support and organizational criticism, which has been very useful to me in the final draft of this paper.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Background for the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze and discuss the two social intervention strategies of political education and community organization as effective methods for change in the social status of the various disenfranchised groups of the United States. Social inequality has existed in the past, continues to exist today, and has created a need for social change. At the close of the American Revolution the Constitution of the United States of America and the Bill of Rights were drawn up in order to establish rules for governing this country as a free and independent nation, and to insure the basic and inalienable rights for citizens of this country. Since that time, the rights and privileges granted by the Bill of Rights have been consistently denied to a large segment of our population - those citizens who are members of minority and low income groups. Members of minority groups more frequently live in poverty, are more often unemployed, have in general a less than equal chance at quality education, and have a generally lower standard of health. They are disenfranchised, excluded from the mainstream of society, and all too often denied the most basic of their inalienable rights.
The United States Department of Commerce (1972) reported, for example, that in 1971 the median income for a family of four in the United States was $10,290. The median income for black families was $6,440, which was 60% of the median income for white families (No.83, p.1), and only $2,000 per year above the $4,137 poverty level for a family of four. The Department of Commerce further indicated that in 1971 one-tenth of all white persons were in the low income category and one-third of all black persons (No.82, p.1). A 1972 study of the health of low income persons done by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare showed that persons with incomes below $5,000 had a greater limitation of activity, more disability, and more hospital episodes than the total population. They had a much lower incidence of health insurance, less cash to pay their own medical expenses, and therefore far less access to the health care system and to quality care (No.74, p.2). In turn, these problems with the health care system contribute to the problems of the poor in acquiring and maintaining jobs.

Education, too, relates to employability. Although minority students are more likely to have a cafeteria, a free lunch program, and free text books, they have fewer educational opportunities. In a 1971 national survey done by the White House Conference on Children and Youth, black students were about two grade levels behind white students
in the sixth grade, and at the twelfth grade level they were four years behind. Minority groups were attending schools with more pupils per classroom, had less access to science and language laboratories, and had fewer books per pupil in school libraries (p. 20). In 1969, fifty-eight percent of minority people between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine had completed high school, as compared to seventy-seven percent of white persons of the same age (p. 18). Minority and poor people, with less education, a lower standard of health, less money, and generally fewer qualifications to recommend them for a job have far fewer opportunities to gain access to the rights and privileges of our democratic society. This includes minority citizens who, lacking a facility with the English language, are frequently denied the most basic of their human rights because they do not have the means for requesting or demanding what they need. This situation with too little education and money, no job, and poor health, puts them in a position to feel powerless, out of control of their lives, and unproductive in society.

The disenfranchised groups of our society, therefore, must utilize many levels of strategies to gain access to their share of the resources of this country, and most importantly, to make our systems accountable to them as people and as active participants in our society rather than as passive objects whose lives are defined by the
dominant social forces. Government attempts from Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty to the present have failed to eradicate poverty and grinding social inequality. Federal funds for "social" and poverty programs are being withdrawn and other alternatives for the disenfranchised must be examined. There are a number of social intervention strategies which have been utilized and described by those who have been interested in or actively involved in effecting social change. To date, however, there has been a minimal amount of research completed on social intervention strategies, limited documentation, and little or no organized attempt made to make these materials available in any significant way to the various disenfranchised groups for their attempts at future change efforts.

Purpose of the Study

This study will document the use of two social intervention strategies - those of political education and community organization and will analyze and describe their implementation by a representative change agent group - the Black Panther Party. The use of these two strategies in the implementation of a variety of community programs by the Black Panthers will be analyzed and discussed in terms of their effectiveness and ineffectiveness, in an attempt to document successful and effective social inter-
vention strategies for use in future social change efforts.

**Change Strategies**

In examining the varied strategies for each level of change (or risk), they appear to run a gamut of activities from personal effort, to peaceful demonstration, to armed conflict. Individual groups and organizational development change efforts, as they are commonly practiced today, are considered safe and not usually interfered with by the government. Efforts dealing with mass political education, community organization, and some non-violent strategies, however, seem to be viewed as a threat to the status quo. Frequently, therefore, when a minority group opts to utilize a strategy which will include them in the mainstream of society, they are considered a threat and often accused of illegitimacy, first by our judicial system and then by our law enforcement agencies. In such a case, the usefulness and effectiveness of the social intervention strategy is limited by stronger forces in our society.

In the case of the Black Panther Party, the success of their attempts to organize, educate, and defend their black communities were often limited by clashes with the law. There are many cases of black leaders and organizers jailed for the methods in which they chose to attempt social change. This factor consistently affected their ability to effect
social change. The options for oppressed people, however, are somewhat limited, and the methods of political education and community organization, although in some cases their implementation have placed the change agents in opposition with the law, have been effective.

Strategies for change are listed in standard behavioral science periodicals and texts, as well as in several alternative sources as, for example, the work of various current Latin American authors and those practitioners in our country today who are utilizing effective change strategies. Hornstein and Bunker (1971) list the following general groupings of social intervention strategies and tactics as:

1. individual change
2. technological structural
3. data based
4. organizational development
5. violence and coercion
6. non-violence and direct action (p. 4).

Political education, as a strategy, allows people the time and foresight to view themselves in a more significant and active role. The input of each individual is valuable regardless of his status. There is a stress on people actively listening, carrying on a dialogue, and learning from each other and then translating suggestions into meaningful action.
Michael Lipsky and Margaret Levi describe community organization (1972):

Community organization is a method which uses groups of community members which are deliberately designed collectives of individuals with relatively patterned stable relationships and modes of behavior. These organizations draw membership from communities of standard interests and perspectives, often, but not exclusively determined by geographic considerations (i.e. neighborhoods). Community organization as a social intervention method helps relatively powerless groups improve their political bargaining positions by increasing the stability, persistence, and standing of the group (p. 175).

There is no all encompassing social intervention strategy. At various points diverse groups have utilized a number of strategies to acquire specific or generic objectives. In attempting to choose strategies in order to attain a goal, there are many variables to consider: the goal itself, the cost of the strategy, the reality of the goal, the effect upon the security of other groups, the citizenship rights of the group relative to the goal, the size and the power of the group, the resources of the group, the perception of the group by those in power, the history of the group, the actual commitment level of the group and their willingness to take a risk, the divergence of the goal from the status quo, and the perception of a third party of the goal of the group.

Considering the political and economic atmosphere in our country today, as well as the level of risk which disenfranchised groups must be willing to take in order to effect
social change, some social intervention strategies are more viable than others for poor and minority citizens. At present there appears to be a swing toward conservatism in our country for, as the jobs are few, prices are high, and basic utilities such as heat for homes and gasoline for cars are moving into the luxury category. Funds for "community programs" and money for welfare are being cut. Perhaps due to "post Watergate paranoia" there seems to be a trend toward isolation within our country, as each protects his or her own.

Political Education and Community Organization

Political education and community organization are, in a sense, revolutionary strategies because they attempt to raise the level of consciousness of whole groups of people so that they are able to view themselves and their situations with a new perspective, and individualism and isolation are reduced through collective efforts at social change. These two tactics include a wide range of activities to help people free themselves and others through collective dialogue and shared experience. Through this they are allowed the opportunity to grow and strengthen to the point of demanding from the social system a voice in the decisions which affect and often alter their lives.

The practice of a community organizing and educating
itself at the grass roots level is an act of liberation. Community members, perhaps for the first time, begin to assume responsibility for the institutions which affect their lives and their livelihoods. Political education and community organization are the foundations for people to view themselves in new roles. When large groups actually engage in dialogue, common concerns and problems emerge, and they often realize the need for new solutions. Through a growing political awareness they become less likely to accept decisions which affect their communities and their lives with no input into those decisions. It is essential to these strategies that people from different communities realize at a very basic level that the same social system which oppresses and frustrates them is responsible for promulgating and continuing racial strife in our country, for creating the "fuel shortage", and for the high prices in supermarkets. One of the first steps in the organization of community residents involves helping them to define their problem and to recognize who and what their opponents actually are. The two steps of educating and organizing follow, hand in hand, to create a mushroom effect, enabling many people - sometimes from divergent groups - to grow and to think and to work together toward social change.
The Black Panther Party

In order to analyze these methods for change used in helping members of various communities to realize their common humanity, the Black Panther Party has been chosen as a representative change agent group. Instituted in Oakland, California, in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, the Black Panther Party used the strategies of political education and community organization to create a wide range of community based programs aimed at helping community members to effect a new attitude of self-control and a desire for the transfer of power to their own community.

The Black Panther Party attempted to educate and unite their communities around issues which would place them in their new roles as "subjects" who determined their own lives, rather than passive objects who drifted with the forces which governed their lives. The party was created by black people in an attempt to institute meaningful change which would grant social equality to all black members of all black communities in the United States. The Panthers articulated the feelings of many people trapped in the ghettos, and allowed many people unfamiliar with the situations of minority and deprived citizens to gain an insight into their deep-set anger.

Because they were able to articulate these feelings of frustration and rage so well, and because they demonstrated
a willingness to serve the people on other levels (such as free breakfast programs for children, free health clinics, liberation schools, and petition campaigns for community control of police), they gained considerable credibility with black and other minority citizens, and their members increased nationwide. As Philip Foner (1970) describes, in a poll taken by Market Dynamics Incorporated, black Americans living in New York, San Francisco, Detroit, Baltimore, and Birmingham stated that the Black Panther Party was the third most effective group behind the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) over the past two years. They also predicted that the Panthers would be the only black organization which would be effective in the future. The survey reveals that sixty-two percent of the people admired what the Black Panthers were doing. Black Americans were openly acknowledging that an admittedly revolutionary group had won support in the leading black communities of this country.

In 1966, with the Vietnam "conflict" externally and urban unrest internally, the political climate of our country was tense, and the Black Panther Party had a dynamic effect in attempting to change our country. Conditions were ripe for change in the black communities, where black people were beginning to demand the right to determine their own
future. The Black Panther Party projected many varied images from the one reported by Lipsky et al. (1972) of "hoodlum-type revolutionaries who stockpile weapons, espouse Marxist-Leninist doctrines, and terrorize black communities" (p. 175) to a responsible organization working effectively in the black communities. They affected many groups in the United States—both black and white—and they often used their effect in gaining support for their efforts at social change.

Methods and Procedures

The basic methodological approach used in this paper is that of a case study and systematic analysis using the theories of Paulo Friere and John Rothman. Specifically, the paper will analyze the effectiveness of the social intervention strategies of political education and community organization as they have been utilized by the Black Panther Party in their efforts to realize social change.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study the definition of political education and community organization will be found on pp. 6-7.
Organization of the Remainder of the Dissertation

In this study the author will present and analyze the efforts toward social change of the Black Panther Party from its inception in 1966 to the present. The study will focus on the social intervention strategies of political education and community organization as they were implemented by the Black Panther Party in the institution of community survival programs. In Chapter Two the author describes the developing awareness of the need for social intervention strategies to accomplish social change. He examines, in greater detail, various strategies for social change and presents a rationale for his choice of two particular social intervention strategies as being effective for disenfranchised people.

In Chapter Three he will outline in detail the method used to collect and analyze the data which formed the basis for this study.

In Chapter Four he will review the growth of the Black Panther Party historically and describe the community survival programs as examples of the implementation of the strategies of political education and community organization.

Chapter Five will consist of a critical analysis of the implementation of the strategies for social intervention in the Black Panther community survival programs, a
discussion of why and where the Party succeeded and failed, and a discussion of these efforts for the benefit of future social change efforts.

In the final chapter, the author will discuss the implications of the conclusions drawn in this paper as they apply to future efforts at social change for disenfranchised people. Hopefully, future liberation struggles will be aided through the systematic analysis and documentation of one dynamic social change effort.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter, the author will first examine the need for developing social intervention strategies to effect social change for minority and disenfranchised people. Through an examination of the history of the black struggle, the need for and the importance of discovering viable social intervention strategies will be established.

Second, the author will outline a variety of social intervention strategies as possible tools for effecting social change.

Third, the author will choose two social intervention strategies for detailed analysis within the framework of this paper and explain why these particular strategies were chosen for analysis.

History of the Black Struggle

Historically, many authors have written about the condition of black and minority people and their struggles to win freedom, whether personal or racial freedom. In 1846, Frederick Douglas spoke about slavery in the United States in a speech entitled "What is Slavery?" (Adoff, 1968) in
which he charged that:

Slavery in the United States is the granting of that power by which one man exercises and enforces a right of property in the body and soul of another... His own good, his conscience, his intellect, his affections, are all set aside by the master... He is deprived of education. God has given him an intellect; the slaveholder declares it shall not be cultivated (p. 7).

Douglas made the important point that black people were pieces of property, owned and controlled by other people who then determined their lives. Black people not only lost the right to a life of their own, a decent education, and individual family life; they were treated as people who were incapable of determining their own lives. Black people were not expected or encouraged to be self-reliant, thoughtful, curious, or independent. Born and raised in this condition, black people often acquired a "slave mentality" inculcated by the slave owners. Certainly it was to the economic advantage of slave owners to have compliant, dependable, good-natured slaves who believed that this was the best they could expect of life.

W. E. B. Dubois in Souls of Black Folks (1903) presents an analysis of the condition of the southern slave states, following the Civil War. He explains that the contact of men, as well as their relations to each other, fall in a few main lines of action and communication: the physical proximity of homes and dwelling places, economic relations, political relations (such as social control and group
government), intellectual relations, social relations, and religious life (p. 123).

In his descriptive analysis of two important bases for relations - economic and politics - he reveals how the master-slave relationship between white and black people laid the basis for many expectations and assumptions on both sides, and seriously affected relationships between blacks and whites, long after the Emancipation Proclamation. It is possible, that the "master mentality" on the part of white people, and the "slave mentality" on the part of black people, still operate and influence the way the two races relate to each other today.

In describing the economic situation of black people, he explains, that after the Civil War, many freed slaves were left on their own without capital, without skills, without land, and without economic organization. They were put into a highly competitive economic system and it was necessary for them to find some means to survive (p. 126). Certainly, their chances for survival would have been greater had all black persons, in their individual lives, had the opportunity to develop marketable skills, to realize a sense of their own worth, and to develop a means for determining their own lives. Unfortunately, this was not the condition, and many black persons were unable to acquire the means for supporting themselves. After
the social and economic upheaval created by the Emancipation Proclamation there was a rise in crime and in the number of criminals, in both the black and white communities, due to the severe competition in the labor market. There came into being a new differentiation of social grades and some black people, with few skills, no education, and no land, were forced into crime as a means of survival.

Dubois describes the southern system of justice as having its roots in slavery. The police system was primarily designed to control slaves. The police forces were made up of white men who considered other white people as members of the police, and were therefore more lenient with them. Black people were still considered a force to be controlled, and the courts were often used as a means to re-enslave them. This was unfortunate, for it often made martyrs out of black people who encountered the judicial system, and the courts were looked upon as instruments of injustice and oppression by negroes. As was all too often the case, black people came to believe that all blacks were exploited by the courts. As a result, crime rose further because the one effective deterrent - the public opinion of one's own peers - was lost (pp. 132-134).

Although these ideas were written by Dubois in 1903, much of what he sensed and felt, much of what he analyzed and described, is applicable today. Black people are still
not well educated, and they are frequently unemployed or underemployed, and black and minority people still make up the vast majority of those who are imprisoned. The social and economic conditions of our country have changed, for we are a richer and more technologically advanced society; but many of the conditions described by Dubois still exist. Perhaps the attitudes and expectations of both black and white people, founded in a slave system, continue to affect the way in which people of this society relate, and the ways in which they see themselves and others.

In addressing himself to the problem of gaining the right to vote for black people, Dubois stressed the need that black people have to control their own destinies:

...To leave the Negro helpless and without ballot today is to leave him, not with the guidance of the best, but rather to the exploitation and debauchment of the worst; that this is no truer of the South than of the North, of the North than of Europe: in any land, in any free country under modern free competition, to lay any class of weak and despised people, be they white, black, or blue, at the political mercy of their stronger, richer, and more resourceful fellows, is a temptation which human nature seldom has withstood and seldom will withstand... In every state the best arbiters of their own welfare are the persons directly affected (pp. 124-132).

In the passage just quoted, Dubois also recognized that oppression and poverty exist in other countries and with persons of other races. Franz Fanon, in *Wretched of the Earth* (1963) exposed the international problems of colonialism, oppression and poverty. Fanon delineated the
Colonialism of Africa and the need for black Africans to liberate themselves. Colonialism, he felt, creates a certain mentality, both in the colonizers and in the colonized people. Those who colonize often assume that the natives of that country are backward and barbaric, and that they, as colonizers, are saving the natives from themselves. They assume the absence of culture and a rich cultural heritage (p. 211).

Again the dialectic is set up: oppressor and oppressed, master and slave. Again a way of relating is set up in which a whole group of people become disenfranchised. Fanon spoke of the development of a national culture as a way to rehabilitate a nation, change the self-image of natives, and free all people of the nation (p. 210). Colonialized people are often culturally estranged, for robbing them of their cultural heritage also robs them of much of their deep sense of themselves and their worth, and encourages their dependence on the colonizing country.

The building of a national culture would bring people together to fight for the liberation of their country, and in this way the negro could come to a new understanding of himself and of the rest of the world (p. 243). This new understanding of himself and the forces of the rest of the world which shape his destiny is what political education and community organization attempt to attain, and it is
essential for working toward a change in his place in society.

Huey P. Newton, involved black activist and co-founder of the Black Panther Party, in Revolutionary Suicide (1973) wrote about the despair of black people in American cities today, and expressed his feelings for what must be done. In a reference to a study on suicide among black people in major American cities he pointed out that the suicide rate among black men between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five has doubled in the past ten to fifteen years, surpassing the rate for white people in the same age range. In his book he describes reactionary suicide as the reaction of a man who takes his own life in response to social conditions which overwhelm him and condemn him to helplessness. The young black men in his study had been deprived of human dignity, crushed by oppressive forces and denied their right to live as proud and free human beings.

Connected with reactionary suicide and even more painful and degrading, is a spiritual death which has been the experience of millions of black people in the United States. This death is everywhere in the black communities. The common attitude has long been, "What's the use? If a man fights against a power as great as the United States, he will not survive." Believing this, many blacks have been driven to a death of the spirit, rather than of the flesh, slipping into lives of quiet desperation (pp. 2-3).
Perhaps this attitude of helplessness and desperation has its basis in the original slave position in society, with a view of themselves as dependent persons who are out of control of their own destinies.

Newton feels, however, that within the heart of every black there is the hope that life will somehow change in the future. He speaks about the war which must be waged in order to bring about this change. Revolutionary suicide, to him, is the willingness to die in the effort to free all black people from oppression and poverty.

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 human dignity that existence without them is impossible (pp. 2-3).

In Revolutionary Suicide, Newton spoke to the need for all oppressed people to organize and fight for their liberation, and thus bring about a change in society. He put these beliefs into practice in the ideals, the organization, and the methods used by the Black Panther Party through the community survival programs. Through the programs of the Black Panther Party he hoped to release black people from oppression, from enslavement of their souls, from economic dependence, from disenfranchisement of their own cultural heritage. He and the Black Panther members hoped to help their people view the world in a new way - as subjects and not as objects.
To summarize, the author feels that the information presented here on the history of the black struggle demonstrates a history characterized by oppression, poverty, and disenfranchisement. Further, it has been established that these problems are not problems of the past, but problems of the present, problems which very urgently need to be solved now.

Hence the author feels that the need for and the importance of discovering viable social intervention strategies to accomplish social change has been established.

**Social Intervention Strategies**

In examining the various strategies for social intervention which are available to oppressed people today, the author referred, in Chapter I, to *Social Intervention*, written by Hornstein, Bunker, Burke, Ginds and Lewicki (1971). These authors list social intervention strategies in six general categories, previously listed in Chapter I.

1. individual change
2. technological structural
3. data based
4. organizational development
5. violence and coercion
6. non-violence and direct action (p. 4).

In *Social Intervention* each of the strategies was
carefully differentiated and described. "Individual change" refers to change within individuals who are part of an organization, as a stepping stone to change within the organization. This strategy focuses on the personality of the individual from four theoretical frameworks: analytical model, social-psychological model, behaviorist model, and socratic-rational model.

The "technological structural" strategy assumes that the formal structure of an organization is affected by both technology and environment. The goal of this strategy is to select the most efficient method for effecting change within the organization, and the strategies may be divided into two groups:

1. Methods which are directed at changing the organizational structure in order to provide a greater similarity between the technological and environmental demands upon the organization, and the actual structure of the organization.

2. Methods which attempt to alter the technological or environmental conditions, rather than the organizational structure, in order to achieve this similarity (p. 4).

The "data based" change strategies are, in general, used by both affiliated and unaffiliated change agents. Affiliated change agents are either actually members of the system which
they are attempting to change, or they may have entered into a mutually agreed upon contractual agreement with the system. Unaffiliated change agents operate outside the system without a contractual agreement and often, because they are not connected with the system, their aims are political. In general, affiliated change agents use four technologies: diagnostic surveys, survey feedbacks, evaluative research, and action research. The data gained from their research is used either to initiate problem solving discussions among systems members or to provide policy makers with a rational scientific basis for decision making and problem solving.

The "organizational development" strategy is based upon the premise that the social norms of modern organization are based upon value systems which are inconsistent with the full use of modern technology. Therefore, change strategists attempt to create a culture which supports the institutionalization and use of social technologies which facilitate the diagnosis and change of interpersonal, group and intergroup behavior, especially the behaviors related to organizational decision making, planning and communication. The three steps used in this strategy are: entry to the organization to create a felt need for change, exposure of large numbers of system members to new norms, and moving organizational development advocates to positions with
sufficient flexibility, prestige, and protection, so that they are able to promote organizational development projects (pp. 4-5).

The strategies of "violence and coercion" and "non-violence and direct action" both represent attempts to change the attitudes and/or behavior of a target person or group. Violence uses force and might, and non-violence operates on the assumption that a non-violent approach will evoke a non-violent response from the object or objects of the change strategy. The four variables involved in violence and coercion are:

1. Individual and personality variables (such as biology, personality and socialization) which might lead to aggressive behavior.

2. Variables such as economic and political conditions which might lead to social violence.

3. Cultural influences such as social class and nationality.

4. Social-psychological variables such as power, social deviance and interpersonal or intergroup conflict.

Non-violence uses both direct and indirect methods in attempting to effect social change. The indirect approach, by using non-violent methods hopes to disprove the assumptions of the object of change by using peaceful techniques, and
hopes to arouse the social conscience of attackers or third parties. Direct action, without assuming that the target initially feels a need for change, directly challenges the power of the other, and attempts to alter his attitude and/or behavior (pp.5-6).

Although there is intrinsic value to each of the strategies listed above, none to date have been successfully employed to significantly alter the status of the disenfranchised citizens of this country. Individual change strategies attempt to effect change within the individuals within a given organizational system. Given the sheer numbers of disenfranchised citizens, as well as those who make decisions which affect their lives, this strategy is impractical because of the length of time needed to actually make a change. Certainly changes of attitudes and perceptions within individuals are needed in order to change the status of a large segment of our population, but to rely on this method alone would severely limit the effect of the attempt toward change.

In evaluating the possible effectiveness of the technological structural development strategies as viable or non-viable methods for poor people, we must remember that the organization which is the object for change is our society, and the social position of a large segment of that society. These two strategies would involve major changes
in value systems, organizational structure, or technological and environmental conditions. Considering the size of the organization, the complexity of its technology, and the diversity of the values of the individuals within the organization, social change employing one of these strategies would indeed be a long range project.

Data based strategies have been previously used with somewhat limited success. There is an abundance of data available which elucidates the condition of poor people, and such government programs as the "War on Poverty" have been based on this abundance of statistical information. The programs which were instituted as a response to this data have failed to significantly affect the conditions of poor people, and many of these same programs are rapidly losing financial support. Non-violent strategies, too, have been used, most notably by Martin Luther King, Jr. Although his efforts touched and moved many people and certainly affected the attitudes of many black and white people, too many blacks and other minority members still live in poverty.

Violent methods have also been employed with very little success. Riots in the ghettos of Watts, Detroit, Newark, Washington, and countless other cities are a testament to this point. Violent strategies have often unleashed poorly directed or undirected anger and violence, and have
predictably evoked a violent response from the object of change, which then crushed the movement toward social change.

**Political Education**

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Education for a Critical Consciousness*, Paulo Friere spoke of the concept of utilizing education to allow people to become responsible for their own institutions and lives. Paulo Friere became aware of the reality of poverty and all its effects at an early age in Brazil. He noticed that poor people were merely victims of the economic, political and social situation; he realized rather that these "victims", instead of being prepared to know and to respond to their situations, were encouraged to remain submerged in a critical and impossible situation. Their educational system prepared them to maintain their culture of silence.

Paulo Friere, recognizing this all-encompassing cycle of silence, refused to accept the negative limits which bound him in an expected role.

Friere accomplished this because he operated on one basic assumption: that man's ontological vocation (as he called it) is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his world, and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively.
This world to which he relates is not a static and closed order, a given reality which man must accept and to which he must adjust; rather, it is a problem, to be worked on and solved. It is the material used by man to create history, a task which he performs as he overcomes that which is dehumanizing at any particular time and place and dares to create the qualitatively new. For Friere, the present resources for that task are provided by the advanced technology of our western world, but the social vision which impels us to negate the present order and demonstrates that history has not ended, comes primarily from the suffering and struggle of the people of the Third World.

Coupled with this is Friere's conviction (now supported by a wide background of experience) that every human being, no matter how "ignorant" or submerged in the "culture of silence" he may be, is capable of looking critically at his world in a dialogical encounter with others. Provided with the proper books for such encounter, he can gradually perceive his personal and social reality, and deal critically with it. In this process, the old, paternalistic teacher-student relationship is overcome. A peasant (or resident in any urban ghetto) can facilitate this process for his neighbor more effectively than a "teacher" brought in from outside. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1963), Richard Schall explains:
Men educate each other through the mediation of the world. As this happens, the world takes on new power. It is no longer an abstraction or magic but a means by which man discovers himself and his potential, as he gives names to things around him. As Friere puts it, each man wins back his right to say his own word, to name the world (pp. 11-13).

Friere used the method of informing and encouraging his students (the peasants of Brazil or anywhere) to show them that they must emerge from the "culture of silence" and become "subjects" in contrast to "objects" in their communities. "Subjects" refers to those who know and act, in contrast to "objects" who are acted upon. The educational system goes hand in hand with our culture, for it teaches our culture to conform rather than to critically analyze and participate in the transformation of the world.

Friere states empathetically that the oppressed (the peasants, etc.) must liberate themselves, and the oppressors, from the social contradictions that has submerged the humanization of all people.

He demonstrates that while the oppressed struggle to confront the "object" in them, they are at the same time striving to deal with the influence of their internal and external oppression. By gaining "survival" skills they can begin to realize their own self-worth and can commence the arduous struggle toward personal and collective liberation.

He proposes a newer and more human dialogical process
which is called problem-posing. This is in direct contrast to the more familiar concept of education to which most oppressed people are subjected. Friere calls it the "banking" concept of education.

Knowledge is a gift bestowed by those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite, by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence (pp. 12-13).

This liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferral of information. It is a learning situation in which the cognizable object (far from being the end of the cognitive act) intermediates the cognitive actors - teacher on the one hand and students on the other. Accordingly, the practice of problem-posing education demands at the outset that the teacher-student contradiction be resolved. Dialogical relations, indispensable to the capacity of cognitive actors to cooperate in perceiving the same cognizable object, are otherwise impossible.

In this dialogical process, arguments based on "authority" are no longer valid. People are jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. Here no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. People teach each other, mediated by the world (p. 67).

Friere's new concept of dialogue which includes more than the word speaking, involves people being trained to
reflect and act as a part of their dialogue. This interaction is so critical that if one is lacking the other immediately suffers.

The following charts are reproduced from Paulo Friere's work, explaining his concept of praxis and his theory of revolutionary action.

Action
Reflection
Sacrifice of Action = verbalism
Sacrifice of Reflection = activism (pp. 58-59).

THEORY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

Intersubjectivity

Subjects-Actors (revolutionary leaders)  Actors-Subjects (the oppressed)

Interaction

Object
Reality to Object
which be transformed which
mediates mediates

for

Objective    Humanization    Objective
as a
permanent
process (p. 75)
The three main concerns of Paulo Friere are: first, that people begin to see themselves as subjects, rather than as objects; second, that problem-posing is a more effective educational tool than the more traditional educational methods; and third, that by means of problem-posing, thought and action come together and operate as one reality, which Friere calls praxis.

It becomes absolutely essential for people's praxis (theory and practice; reflection and action) to become and to remain revolutionary, in the sense that all people are committees moving toward humanistic dialogue, and that they are critically aware of their roles as subjects of the transformation.

For the many disenfranchised people of this country, Paulo Friere's ideas and theories of education and revolutionary action can be as valuable as they were in Latin America. Friere's ideas could, perhaps, be implemented in the United States and used as a social intervention strategy by the oppressed people in the United States, in their struggle toward liberation.

Friere is concerned with the use of political education as a social intervention strategy, as a way of enabling poor and disenfranchised people to work constructively toward the social change which is so necessary.
Community Organization

In searching for viable social intervention strategies for disenfranchised people, one point to consider is that a successful technique might employ methods from several of the strategies already listed.

In Community Organization as a Political Resource (1972), Michael Lipsky and Margaret Levi define community organization as:

...a method which uses groups of community members which are deliberately designed collectives of individuals with relatively patterned stable relationships and modes of behavior. These organizations draw membership from communities of standard interests and perspectives, often, but not exclusively determined by geographic considerations (i.e., neighborhoods). Community organization as a social intervention strategy helps relatively powerless groups improve stability, persistence, and standing of the group (p. 6).

This strategy involves some of the techniques of the other social change strategies, for it takes into account and works with the value systems of community members, often encourages individual change through the group support which members receive within the organization, and employs non-violent methods - both direct and indirect.

Jack Rothman, in Strategies for Community Organization (1974), describes community organization as a method which:

...presupposes a disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized, perhaps in alliance with others, in order to make adequate demands on the larger community for increased resources or treatment more in accordance with social justice or democracy. It aims at making
basic changes in major institutions or community practices. Social action as employed here seeks redistribution of power, resources, or decision making in the community and/or changing basic policies of formal organization (p. 23).

Rothman describes three methods of community organization: locality development, social planning, and social action. In a chart which is included as Appendix II he details the components of each technique.

In Community Organizing (1973), by George Brager and Harry Sprecht, community organization is defined as follows:

Community organization is a method of intervention whereby individuals, groups, and organizations engage in planned action to influence social problems. It is concerned with the enrichment, development and/or changes of social institutions, and involves two major related processes: planning (that is, identifying problem areas, diagnosing causes, and formulating solutions) and organizing (that is, developing the constituencies and devising the strategies necessary to effect action) (pp. 27-28).

Each of these definitions describes community organization as a method by which members of the community are brought together to work as a group to effect social change. It is a viable method for it forms the foundation for people to view themselves in new roles. As large groups of people come together, work together, and actually speak to each other of their common condition, common concerns and problems emerge and a realization of the need for solutions results.
Large numbers of people in a movement lend it validity, and contributes to the individual change of more and more members within the system.

In further describing the factors involved in community organization, Lipsky and Levi (1972), speak of three other interrelated issues: factors initially commanded by a specific organization, incentives offered for membership, and the attractiveness to potential members (p. 78). Aspiring politically active community organizations from disenfranchised groups with a "weak" membership usually have fewer resources and less incentive than the community organizations formed from groups who are familiar with the political arena and are accustomed to achieving their goals. For the former, there must be a component in the organization for interaction with other members of the political arena.

Initial Membership

In attracting members, new organizations must demonstrate a potential for obtaining their objectives, and frequently must overcome generalized disinterest in political activity, for at times relatively powerless groups appear unalterably opposed to organizational efforts. The organization may demonstrate a command of organizational resources much as money, skilled leaders, active membership,
and technical assistance as evidence of their ability to achieve goals. They may also seek to demonstrate potential by accepting sponsors, although in most cases aid of this sort implies limits on the activities or orientations of the community organization. Sometimes a visible success of the group, leading to a favorable change in the political climate, can inspire confidence, overcome disinterest, and attract members (p. 180).

Once members have been attracted to the organization, in order to obtain the commitment of the membership, the organization must demonstrate that members will have more than a marginal effect on anticipated rewards, and that rewards can be obtained only through participation. In some instances, selective incentives demonstrate to potential members the direct benefit of the organization. Modest payments, peer group approval of active participants, and negative inducements, such as social ostracism of non-group members, are examples of this. In some cases, community organizations may try to promote the functional equivalent of the civic feeling which motivates electoral participation in order to obtain commitment of the members (p. 182).

Maintenance Strategies

The initial cynicism does not vanish once the organization has conquered the initial problems and is trying to
maintain itself. The survival of organizations generally depends on a capacity to sustain and enhance membership and status. Community organizations, however, even more than middle-class organization, must find or extract resources and incentives for members from outside sources. They must find contributors, technical experts, and others to help inspire membership and loyalty as well as effectively attack antagonists. Yet reliance on outside actors as well as the inexperience of members may lend community organizations to select tactics and goals they might not otherwise have favored. In choosing strategies to gain resources, community organizations may also choose strategies which particularly tend to compromise organizational independence (p. 182).

The Need to Demonstrate Strength

Community organizations must continually demonstrate that they are alive and well. They must show that they have a commitment to the membership and that they are able to perform effectively. The perplexity of an aspiring organization is that they are often required to display themselves publicly. The public then realizes that they exist - but they also have the opportunity to view their weaknesses.

One method for community organizations to demonstrate strength with tangible and quickly won objectives is by concentration tactics on vetoing public policies. Even for
organizations which have succeeded in gaining some legitimacy and recognition, it is easier to veto than to attempt to influence policy positively. However, retarding one plan without offering another may leave the organization without an issue and without rewards. Inexperienced and lacking necessary skills, few community organizations are able to follow up successful opposition with detailed alternatives, and they may be left with fewer possibilities of action than before.

These problems may help explain some aspects of organizational goal transformation. When the search for tangible rewards is thwarted, when victories are not forthcoming, or when concessions are gained in unimportant areas, community organizations may disguise their difficulties by projecting additional costs. Objectives such as heightened self-respect, black consciousness, or restructuring the economic system then become more attractive as the probabilities of attaining meaningful tangible rewards seem lower. In some cases, organizers may have initially withheld expression of such aims until constituents had been attracted to the organization. In other cases, the additional aims may serve to rationalize how little has been accomplished or justify the continued existence of a community organization whose original aims are satisfied p. 184).
The Need for Tactics Acceptable to Constituents

Community organizations not only must find tactics which have some chance of succeeding, but they must also find tactics in which constituents will engage. Community organization members may not wish to participate in militant, high-risk actions, even when the possible gains are significant. It is often alleged that successful community organization must involve issues in which people have a stake, according to Lipsky and Levi (p. 184).

The Need to Command Skills

Community organizations must command the technical and leadership skills which will enable them to act effectively as issues arise. Members of relatively powerless organizations, almost by definition, initially lack such skills. Hence, there is a reliance on community organizers and technical assistants. But dependence on exogenous skilled personnel creates additional problems.

Potential community groups will always be in that tenuous position of showing deference to the local leadership and being dependent on technical assistance from the outside. To reject such assistance is often inappropriate for relatively powerless groups whose inability to command technical and professional help comparable to that available to other organizations, places them at considerable
disadvantage. Organizations which seek to develop leadership from the ranks and to avoid overdependence on a few individuals must be prepared to endure the inefficiencies and mistakes which will accompany such efforts. Considerable intraorganizational tensions can develop when unskilled people accomplish relatively poorly and over a longer period of time what a skilled organizer might accomplish successfully and with greater dispatch.

Community organizations of disenfranchised groups can be positive, yet they remain constrained by their need to secure resources and develop incentives to attract constituents. For the most part, those may be acquired, only through interactions requiring compromises of group independence and goals. Although compromises are perhaps inevitable in any quasi-bargaining situation, the compromises forced upon the relatively powerless are inherent in becoming organizations. They may be "invited" to join the competition, but the cost of entry is high, and may be paid only by assuming identities which severely limit their competitive effectiveness according to Lipsky and Levi (p. 196).

Although these groups are designed to potentially represent the poor and minorities of our country, they find themselves in a bargaining position severely biased against the relatively powerless.
In order to change their bargaining position from one of powerlessness to one of strength, disenfranchised people must work to change the way in which they view themselves and the structure with which they are dealing. Political education teaches people why the old roles are unworkable, as well as how the system is responsible for the old roles, so that they have a focus for future action. Community organization enables them to build a foundation for the establishment of new roles.

Strategies for Analysis

In this chapter a number of social intervention strategies have been examined, as possible tools for effecting social change. Two strategies in particular, political education and community organization, have been described in some detail. Due to the complexity of the various strategies, as well as the limitation of space in this paper, a choice had to be made as to which strategies would be used for the systematic analysis of the case study of the Black Panther Party.

The criterion which the author used in choosing the strategies for analysis was usefulness in effecting social change. From the information presented here, as well as from the large amount of background material surveyed by the author, it appeared that political education and
community organization offered the greatest potential of yielding results which might be constructive for future efforts toward social change. Therefore, the author will limit himself to the consideration of these two social intervention strategies for the remainder of this paper.

Conclusion

In Chapter Two, the author has described the need for and the importance of developing strategies for social intervention. He has examined a variety of social intervention strategies and has focused this study on two particular social intervention strategies, political education and community organization. He has chosen these two strategies as the tools with which he will conduct his systematic analysis of the case study of the Black Panther Party.
CHAPTER III
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

This chapter presents detailed descriptions of the methods and procedures used in this study. Separate sections of the chapter are devoted to a definition of the case study approach and the rationale for its use in this paper. Additional sections describe the instruments utilized in the study, the data gathering process, and a presentation of the interview schedule. The final section refers to the method for analyzing the data compiled in the study.

Definition of Case Study

The case study method of research is an application of all relevant techniques to the study of a person, group, institution, or community, according to George J. Monly in The Science of Educational Research (1970, p. 347). It involves intensive study at one point in time or over a period of time. Tyrus Hillway (1969) writes that the method seeks to identify causative factors and explanatory data to account for symptoms or behavioral patterns (p. 45). More importantly, as Monly (1970) reports, the research undertaken in a case study is "concerned with the derivation
of generalizations that apply beyond the individual case" (p. 348).

In his chapter on Case Studies, Tyrus Hillway (1969) has defined the three major steps in undertaking a case study:

1. identification of the particular behavioral phenomenon to be investigated;
2. collection of all data relating to the person or group studied that may conceivably have a bearing on the observed phenomenon;
3. identification of cause-and-effect relationships between these characteristics and the observed pattern of behavior (p. 46).

Hillway further indicated that the materials and sources for case studies include: personal documents; results of direct observations; interviews, surveys, and questionnaires; transcripts of conversations; biological, psychological, and sociological measurements, and probes (p. 46).

Rationale for Case Study Approach

The method used for analysis of the work of the Black Panther Party is that of a case study. There is a limited amount of systematic data concerning the Black Panther Party and their efforts toward social change. The data which is available is primarily descriptive in nature, such as speeches of party members, party newspapers, legal and quasi-legal documents, the Manifesto and Statement of
Purpose, and the media responses to the Panther Party.
The community-based programs instituted by the Party were concrete responses to the problems of a stratum of people who had minimal reading levels and were most favorably impressed with groups who effected bold, clear-cut actions. A much smaller percentage of the energy of the Party was devoted to extensive written explanations of their work.

Data Collection

In the process of data collection, the author utilized several sources for information, including a thorough and complete E.R.I.C. (Research in Education and Current Index to Journals in Education), Psychological Abstracts (printed index with the same title), and Social Science Search (Social Sciences Citation Index). This process uncovered few articles concerning the Black Panther Party and their community survival programs. It soon became apparent that there has been very little research completed on the Black Panther Party and their programs.

The Boston Public Library was particularly useful in the examination of the government response to the Black Panther Party, with its Government Documents Section. This is important because the government response to the survival programs was minimal. Their response was concentrated on the more spectacular movements of the Panthers; for
example, their use of guns, raids, etc. In other words, the Party's negative aspects were highlighted, as opposed to any consideration of the tedious day-to-day projects which helped them gain and build their credibility in the communities in which they were working. The author also used the Boston Public Library's Periodical and Microfilm Sections to study all the Black Panther newspapers since 1966 and to read the responses of the major newspapers to the Black Panthers' activities.

The author also visited the Community Learning Center in the Black Panther Party's home base of Oakland, California. He utilized his time in actual participation in their programs by doing such things as serving free, hot breakfasts to students of the Oakland Community School. Through a personal tour of the school, including interviews with students, teachers and administrators, the author was able to gather first-hand information. He learned, for example, of the other community survival programs which were then operating out of the Community Learning Center in Oakland.

**Interviews**

Perhaps the most important source of data derived from personal interviews conducted with present and former members of the Black Panther Party, members of their legal defense committees, and people who are and were affected
by their programs. The information was gathered through a series of twelve interviews in Boston, New York, New Haven, and Oakland. These interviews occurred in both individual and group situations. Some of those interviewed are still involved with Panther-like activities, while others have completely abandoned the position.

In order to obtain valuable information in a systematic way, the author concentrated on seven major areas of concern and devised a set of questions that would provide the necessary information in each of these areas. The areas are as follows:

1. **The purpose of the survival programs:** what were the purposes of the community survival programs? Did the people, both in the Party and in the community, understand what the programs were and whom they were meant to serve? Were the survival programs viewed as vehicles to bring the Party members and the community in contact with each other in order to get community people involved in political education and as an entry point for future Party members? Could these programs serve to gain respectability from politically oriented groups within the community?

2. **Mechanics of the survival programs:** How did the programs work? What were the mechanics of the programs, who did what, and who had the responsibility?
Were the Panthers holding onto the programs or were they allowing the community to have valuable input?

3. **The community's perception of the survival programs:** Was there any confusion around who was sponsoring the programs? Did they understand the immediate and long range goals and effects of the survival programs? Did these programs counteract what the officials (police and media) were saying about the Black Panther Party and its activities?

4. **Effectiveness of the survival programs:** To what extent and what level were the survival programs working in their respective communities? Were the Panthers teaching the people who were most in need of these services? In retrospect, were the survival programs valuable as educational and organizational tools? Were the programs used to include more people, thereby broadening the base of the Party?

5. **The Party's perception of the survival programs vis-a-vis the community:** What were the Party members perception of where the communities stood in regard to status, power relations with the police, etc., and how did the Panther Party fit in with these perceptions? Were these programs for the entire community or only a particular target group? Did the programs breakdown any previous class lines or any existing
divisiveness between rivals in the community? Did the Party consider the various socio-economic and religious groups that existed in the communities in which they were working?

6. **The Party's perception of the survival programs vis-a-vis themselves:** Did the Party consider the perception of themselves, especially their mistakes and problems in growth and expansion? Did they try to force their new found knowledge and sense of themselves on the community? Or did they recognize the right of disenfranchised people to assume their new roles as human beings capable of making their own decisions on issues affecting them? Do they feel that more time and less pressure from the government and the media would have brought different results for the Black Panther Party and its survival programs?

7. **Present and future direction of the survival programs:** Is the strategy of creating survival programs still considered viable or are there other methods that are more appropriate now? Essentially, is the social, political, and economic climate different today than in the past? How does this difference effect the outcome of the programs? Do the particular survival programs that were initiated in the 1960's continue to be correct in the mid-1970's? What is
more important, the programs themselves or the idea behind the programs, that is, of bringing people together to educate and organize themselves?

Method for Analysis

The perspective of political education as a viable and vital social intervention strategy for disenfranchised groups will be one focus of this study. Without the insight afforded by political education into their oppressed social situation, poor people are simply unable to translate their vague feelings of unrest into organized activity, directed at social change. The author chose to base his presentation on the thought of Paulo Friere and, more specifically, Friere's social model of poor people achieving political education through constructive dialogue. Friere believes that the poor people of his experience can achieve their own education by working together and assuming roles that aid each other. Friere's three main areas of concern are that people begin to see themselves as subjects, rather than objects, that problem-posing is a more effective educational tool than traditional educational methods, and that, through the use of problem-posing, reflection (thought) and action can come together in a concept called praxis. The author will examine the Black Panther Party's community survival programs in terms of Friere's model
in order to further evaluate their effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

The second focus of this study will be community organization as a social intervention strategy. The author will utilize a table, designed by John Rothman, which identifies factors which shape modern community organization practice. Rothman identifies three models of community organization: locality development, social planning, and social action. The third, social action, appears to be the appropriate model on which to examine the successes and failures of the Black Panther Party's community action programs. In his table, Rothman details twelve criteria which apply to each of the three models. He rates the potential for action (or inaction) in terms of practice variables, e.g. goal categories of community organization, assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions, and basic change strategy.

This paper will present an analysis of the successes and failures of the Black Panther Party's community survival programs, both in terms of the political education theory of Paulo Friere and the community organization theory of John Rothman. It will provide a perspective on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the community survival programs, as constructive efforts toward social change.
CHAPTER IV
CASE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter presents a case study of the attempt of the Black Panther Party to initiate social change through the use of carefully designed community survival programs. The political atmosphere in the United States will be described in its relation to the development and growth of the Black Panther Party. A description of the Panther Party itself will include the formation, stated major purposes, and the growth of the Party through change. Each individual community survival program will be described separately as an example of political education and community organization. Finally, information and data gathered from a variety of sources, i.e., an informal visit by the author to the Party's headquarters in Oakland, California, views and observations of present and former members of the Black Panther Party, will be used to measure the relative successes and failures of the survival programs themselves.

Historical Perspective

The atmosphere in the United States in the early 1960's was a politically volatile and frequently violent one. At
the beginning of the decade some of the leaders were
John F. Kennedy, newly elected President by a very narrow
margin, who was beginning his presidency with a good deal
of skepticism directed toward him throughout the country.
Among the members of Kennedy's Cabinet were men who favored
aggressive action in Viet Nam as well as anywhere the
Communists were making inroads in the free world. Martin
Luther King Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership
Conference, was working hard to establish a non-violent
approach to racial integration. George Wallace won the
governorship of Alabama on an openly racist platform.
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People, built for the defense of black people, looked to
the judicial system in this country for hope in the struggle
for racial freedom. Throughout this decade the United
States became increasingly committed to aggression and
violence on an international level, particularly in Viet
Nam, and a growing anger, frustration, and rage on the
part of black Americans became more and more overt.

Perhaps part of the basis for increasing racial division
and hostility stemmed from the May, 1954, unanimous decision
of the Supreme Court, in the case of Brown vs. the Board
of Education of Topeka, in which the Court declared school
segregation unconstitutional. In many ways this decision
was a very real blow to the social structure of much of
the United States, particularly the South, where racial segregation was well established. This decision engendered hostility and aggression on the part of many white people, which they demonstrated very openly in succeeding years in many cities as school integration was implemented. Frustrated, however, from years of slavery, repression and poverty, and backed by a major Supreme Court decision, black Americans began to realize and act upon their own anger and hostility. As a result, militant white people vowed to defend the racial status quo through such organizations as the Klu Klux Klan, and black Americans began, for almost the first time, to take an equally strong stance in challenging this same status quo.

The year 1957 brought a good deal of tension, both nationally and internationally, for the United States. Russia launched its first space satellite, and the United States felt obliged to rise to the competition and begin an all out effort in the "space race". American military advisors were already minimally committed in Viet Nam and President Dwight Eisenhower elaborated on the Eisenhower Doctrine, basically his position to defend other countries who were struggling against the nations controlled by "international Communism". The Cold War was in full effect, the enemy was Communism, and the United States was becoming increasingly committed to fighting it and maintaining
itself as a world power.

In the fall of that year Eisenhower ordered federal troops to aid in the integration of nine black students in a Little Rock, Arkansas school. This attempt at integration was far from peaceful and, although few people were actually injured, it added fuel to the anger of southern white people, who saw federal troops on their streets over a black-white issue - forcing them to accept black students into their schools. The students were successfully integrated, but this was only the beginning of a series of confrontations between ardent white people who felt a need to "defend" their schools, and federal troops sent by the government to implement the integration of black students. There was a residue of bitterness from these episodes of integration on the part of both black and white Americans which spilled over into and escalated in the 1960's.

In 1960 a sit-in by four black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sparked similar sit-ins throughout the country by blacks and white sympathizers. These incidents, on the whole basically non-violent, accomplished some small gains in the acquisition of basic human rights for black people. From here on the fight for the rights of black people became more aggressive.

International tension again escalated in 1961. In an abortive attempt to rescue Cuba from a "Communist dictator
ship", a small group of 300 Cuban exiles were dispatched to take over the country. Although the United States was responsible for the planning of the raid, only minimal American support was provided. The Bay of Pigs invasion ended in defeat, and Americans began to split on the issue of support of the Cold War against Communism. This same year Vice-President Lyndon Johnson visited Viet Nam and pledged further support of the war effort there, as the government of President John F. Kennedy took a stronger position on the defense of the "free countries" of the world. Violence and aggression were escalating on an international level.

In 1962 federal troops again intervened in order to enroll a black man, James Meredith, into the University of Mississippi, resulting in a violent struggle on the campus. Two men were killed, and racial bitterness became an even more public and political issue. In this year Students for a Democratic Society was formed, as young people of high school and college age began to be active in their rejection of current American values and politics. In the following years, members of S.D.S. became progressively more aggressive and violent in their stance toward American society.

Martin Luther King Jr. started a campaign of sit-ins and marches in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 to challenge racial segregation there. In one of many instances, his non-violent approach was met with an aggressive reaction
on the part of law enforcement officials, who broke up demonstrations in downtown Birmingham with police dogs and fire hoses. Perhaps as a direct result, similar demonstrations were started in other cities throughout the country, resulting in the jailing of large numbers of demonstrators. In Alabama, Governor George Wallace unsuccessfully tried to prevent the registration of black students at the state university. There were no incidents but his act undoubtably had its effect, as racial incidents became more common. Perhaps it was about this time that black people began to lose faith in the non-violent approach to integration.

In the summer of 1964 riots began in Harlem over a black youth who was shot and killed by a policeman. The first riot was brief but violent, and spread to other areas of New York City. Violence then erupted in ghettos in New Jersey, Rochester, New York, and Philadelphia. These riots differed from many previous race riots because now black people became the aggressors. Anger on the part of the black Americans was becoming more overt. During this same summer the Mississippi Freedom Summer was organized to increase black voter registration, and three people who had volunteered to help in the effort were murdered. During this drive there were numerous arrests and beatings of both blacks and whites, and there were several burnings
and bombings of homes and churches of black people.

January 1965 brought a black voter registration drive, initiated by Martin Luther King Jr., which was to open in Selma, Alabama. A black would-be voter was murdered by rural white people and civil rights leaders organized a protest march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. The march was aggressively turned back through beatings and tear gas by Alabama state troopers. During the subsequent days, three white civil rights workers were murdered while working among black people to organize a second, successful, Selma to Montgomery march. Black people were witnessing more violence and murders in their struggle. The year before, Medgar Evers, field secretary for the Alabama NAACP, was murdered by a sniper. During this year an increasing number of people had died. Malcolm X began to speak about the "evils" of integration and the need for a strong reaction on the part of black people.

At this time the international picture showed more violence and aggression on the part of the United States. Search and destroy was a method used in the Viet Nam struggle on the part of American troops, as the war continued to escalate. Accordingly, many people in the United States became more vocal in their opposition to this undeclared war. The peace movement started with teach-ins, sit-ins, and demonstrations, which often
brought them in conflict with law enforcement officials. This was another source of strife which divided the United States.

Late in the summer of 1965, Los Angeles, California was rocked by a week long riot in Watts, a predominantly black, low-income district. There were burnings, lootings, and beatings, and when the riot was quelled at the end of the week, thirty-four people had been killed. This riot, a long and costly one, seemed to be the beginning of a long series of riots in the ghetto areas of many major American cities. By the end of 1966, the United States had had forty-three race riots for that year alone, according to William Manchester (1973, p. 305).

By this time there were new voices who were speaking to angry young black people who had grown up as witnesses to racial violence. Certainly young black people became more open to the voices of those black people who encouraged them to fight back. In 1965 and 1966, black men such as H. Rap Brown and Stokley Carmichael openly split with the ideals of Martin Luther King Jr., and the NAACP. Brown and Carmichael urged black people to fight back and to demand "black power."

**Description of the Black Panther Party**

In 1966 two men, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, analyzed
the condition of black people in the inner cities, and they formed an organization with the ideal of relieving the ills that black people have faced for centuries, and which still confront them today. One year following the Watts riots, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded to organize a united effort on the part of black people to defend themselves, eliminate the ills which blacks and other oppressed people suffer, and bring about the liberation of black people. The fundamental basis of this program was the promotion of the achievement of all human rights, including the right to defend themselves against any threat, to the actual achievement of these rights. The original idea of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was to provide for black people a "life-line", serving their basic needs and desires.

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale started their party in Oakland, California, close to the scene of many violent racial incidents. They set out to design a program which would be responsive to the wants and needs of the residents of the ghettos of Oakland. As a result of extensive door knocking and questioning of Oakland ghetto residents, Newton and Seale designed and published the original Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which stated their demands. This program, as it was revised in 1972, is included in its entirety in Appendix I.
From its inception, the Black Panther Party went to the people for advice, ask people their needs and attempted to include the community in an effort toward self-determination of their lives. They initially responded to, and served, the people on two, major, visible levels. At the birth of the Party, in 1966, there began what came to be historic patrols of the Oakland Police Department, armed with shotguns and law books to explain to the community their basic constitutional rights. Black people of Oakland had recently seen so much racial violence that there was an initial reaction to protect themselves and to begin to assert their own rights. This was the beginning of the organization of a group of disenfranchised people into political activity for their own benefit.

The second major level in which they responded to, and served, the people was in their attempt at the "conscientization" of black and poor people who were the disenfranchised groups. In talking about black power, they made an attempt to help people to alter their identities from that of "objects" to that of "subjects" in everyday situations. The Party attempted to instill black pride and a feeling of unity. From the beginning, the Black Panther Party developed a wide range of programs in order to realize the objective of organizing, educating, and serving the various members of the black and disenfranchised communities of this country. The programs were meant to meet the immediate
needs of the community until the social conditions could become ripe for people to take over their own lives and afford the things they need and desire.

Membership in the Black Panther Party grew quickly and chapters began in many cities throughout the United States. Members were often idealistic and dedicated to helping their "brothers and sisters" grow and live in a more reasonable world. Their average age was between twenty and twenty-four, and for many of them this was their first experience at being part of an organized disciplined group. Many had developed their political perspective from reading such things as Quotes from Chairman Mao Tse Tung and the Black Panther Party's newspaper. As a group, their maturity level was low. They made mistakes and often did not react quickly enough, or, sometimes, overreacted. Panther members, however, came from, and in general had a commitment to, the communities which they served. They had the validity with the communities which was necessary for their existence, and when at all possible, they devoted their time to the children of the communities. Because of the atmosphere of violence at the time and their frequent aggressive stances against law enforcement officers, in the early history of the Party much of their energy was focused on raising money for the trials of their members, many of whom were arrested and jailed through
racial disturbances and confrontations with the law.

In the early stages of the Party it appeared, because of the intense political atmosphere of the time, that the major focus of the time and energy of the Black Panther Party was spent on self-defense in the streets and in the courtrooms. In the late 1960's a vast amount of their resources were spent in lengthy trial defense for the Panthers in various jails throughout the country. Huey P. Newton, however, always insisted that the aim of the Party was primarily to serve the people. In the early 1970's there was a change of emphasis, and the Party returned, realistically, to the level of the people. The phrase "for self-defense" was dropped, and the Party became known as the Black Panther Party, with a renewed emphasis on grass roots issues and problems. In 1972, the Black Panther Party designed and published a revision of the original Ten Point Program. This revision is included in its entirety in the appendix.

At this point approximately two dozen community based activities and programs were initiated to work with the people and expose them, more and more, to the dialectical process. These programs, and their results, became the second level on which the Black Panther Party contributed to the members of the community. Newton described these programs as an attempt to elevate the people to the level
of consciousness where they could take control of their own lives by helping them, as a first step, to meet their daily needs. The programs were not designed as solutions to the problems of people who lived in ghettos. They were methods to organize each community around a true analysis and understanding of its situation, so that when consciousness and understanding begin to improve within the community, the community can take the necessary steps to liberate itself.

The Black Panther Party Today

The author made an informal visit to the Black Panther Party facilities in Oakland, in April 1976. On this visit the first stop was the Central Distribution Center of the Black Panther Party. Here, The Black Panther, the Party's newspaper, is put together and published on a weekly basis. The Party also sells its literature (e.g., books, pamphlets), posters and cards from this office. During the short time the author spent at this office, people came in and out with newspapers under their arms from distribution assignments in the community.

From the Central office, the author rode a bus to the Oakland Community School. On this bus ride of approximately twenty city blocks, the author observed members of the Black Panther Party talking to fellow passengers on the bus. The Party members were very friendly, talking to
community members, from senior citizens to young mothers and their children, about general topics ranging from the weather and their health to what and how they were doing and their views on various subjects. As the author rode the bus, he also saw Party members carrying out the same activities on the street.

On arrival at the Oakland Community School, the author was greeted by a very friendly and helpful black man. This man, in his late twenties, explained that since it was a holiday (Good Friday) most of the activities at the school had been suspended. Nevertheless, he gave the author a very thorough and informative tour of the Oakland Community School's facility. The major purpose of the facility was to house the school. However, it also provided a base for several other important community survival programs of the Black Panther Party, such as the Community Learning Center and the Community Forum.

The Oakland Community School building is a large, sprawling, essentially one-level structure that was formerly a church. Half of the building has been constructed around an open patio off of which are approximately twenty-five meeting rooms and classrooms, a large kitchen facility and a cafeteria. At the other end of the building is an auditorium which seats three hundred people. Here the weekly Community Forums take place. In the back of the
building is a large, black-top parking lot, which has been converted into a playground for the Oakland Community School and the Community Learning Center programs. Bordering the rear of the property are several small, run-down houses. The Black Panther Party has already purchased one of these houses. It is being used for a Science Center by both the school and the Learning Center programs. Part of the Science Center is a garden, which the children involved in the programs have planted and are studying. The Black Panther Party has plans to buy the remaining houses as they become available, to use for similar specialized study-projects.

Community Survival Programs

The Black Panther Party's approach to their community survival programs is a very pragmatic one. Their main focus of concern, in terms of the programs, is the "here-and-now", although there is an openness to suggestions for future change and new programs. There is a constant process of evaluation that is carried out on a daily basis in the programs themselves. If a total program, or a certain aspect of it, is not working, then the program, the people working in it, and the need are evaluated. Perhaps the focus is incorrect; perhaps there is not a need for that particular program or aspect of that program
in that neighborhood; perhaps the people working in the program are incorrect in their thinking or practice. All phases of the program are carefully examined. Changes and improvements are then tried. If there are still unresolved issues, then a program may be discontinued because it is unworkable.

The people who comprise the Black Panther Party are determined to make the community survival programs work. In essence, they are implementing a dream which no one thought that they could do. The Party members work up to twenty hours a day, seven days a week, in the streets of the community they serve, and in the survival programs. The Black Panther Party is a group of people who come from communities similar to the one they work in, thus making it easier for them to relate to the neighborhood people. Although originally non-professional in nature, the Party is now focusing on creating and maintaining programs with a professional quality to them, as a means of gaining recognition for their viability from established agencies.

At this point the author will present a representative sampling of the survival programs instituted by the Black Panther Party. The bulk of this information was gathered on the informal site visit to the Oakland Community School and the Community Learning Center in April 1976, by the author. The September 23, 1974 issue of Co-Evolution
Quarterly, which is a supplement to the Whole Earth Catalogue, provided additional information. This issue was guest edited by the Black Panther Party.

Since the Black Panther Party's inception, there have been community survival programs instituted for the immediate relief of the people. Some of the programs, such as The Black Panther, the weekly newspaper have continued uninterrupted since they were initiated. Other programs have been incorporated with more recent programs. An example of this is the Free Breakfast for School Children Program. Initiated on a wide scale in the late 1960's, the Free Breakfast Program in Oakland is now part of the Oakland Community School. Its present form is to provide three free nutritional meals a day to the approximately 120 students at the school.

Oakland Community School

The Oakland Community School, originally the Intercommunal Youth Institute, was founded by the Black Panther Party in 1971. The school was initiated as a direct response to the public school system, which has a long-standing reputation, within the community, for graduating students incapable of analytical thinking, and lacking in basic reading and math skills. The Oakland Community School has been cited by the California State Department
of Education as being one of the most important models in elementary education in the state. The children in the school perform three to four years in advance of their public school peers.

The school provides its students (approximately 120) with three full meals a day (an incorporation of the Free Breakfast Program), a full curriculum (which includes Language Arts, Spanish, Math, Science, Social Science, Environmental Studies, Physical Education, Music, Drama, Dance, and Art), family counseling, health care screening, and tutoring. The children, who range in age from 2½ to twelve, are taught according to the philosophy of the Oakland Community School, that is, that the children will learn how and not what to think. This is achieved through the utilization of two basic principles in the classes. The first principle is the general analytical approach in all subject areas, one in which the understanding of the many-sidedness of all things, as opposed to a one-sided or narrow view of reality, is stressed. This will lead the student to investigate and analyze both the positive and negative aspects of things. The second principle which is emphasized at the Oakland Community School is that in order to be able to change any situation or thing, there must be contact with it. To this end, the children study the physical and social phenomena of their community
first-hand and test out their theories for making basic changes through practical activity.

The basic approach is that learning should be a full and ongoing experience. In this respect, instructors do not give opinions when passing on information; instead facts are shared and information discussed, while conclusions are drawn by the children themselves. As an illustration, the older children are taken to courtrooms in the suburbs and in Oakland, and they are able to view first-hand the difference in the handling of, for example, a first offense for breaking and entering.

In order to insure that their educational experience at the Oakland Community School does not isolate them from their peers, children attending other schools in the Oakland area participate each week in after school and weekend activities at the school. Another unusual feature is the school's staff of sixteen certified instructors and thirteen volunteers and aides. The staff works in teams of two in each of the eight groups (classes). The staff are responsible for working with the children in the classrooms, at recreation, and meal times and throughout the entire day.

On a visit to the Oakland Community School, the author saw a typical day's activity. Those Party members who were responsible for the cooking of breakfast arrived well
before the 7:30 A.M. opening of the school. The teaching staff arrived by 7:30 A.M. to supervise, and participate in, the Breakfast Program. The children arrived on foot, by bus, and by car. They ate in shifts between seven-thirty and eight-thirty. Before and after eating the children played outside on the playground. On the day of the author's visit, he helped to serve a breakfast of sliced pineapple, oatmeal, bacon, and toast. During breakfast there was a lot of positive interaction between the students and teachers. The children are polite and they know what their tasks are. At 9 A.M. the teaching staff brings the children in to start the day. The author sat in on several of the classes.

In one class, a student and teacher discussed a police-story television show. The child, about twelve years old, was quite impressed with the show and was extolling its virtues. The teacher, a black man, was explaining that, in reality, the Black Panther Party had been the object of many police harassments and actions, with resulting bloodshed and death. In many ways, the Oakland Community School is similar to an open classroom. One very positive feature, which the author noted, is that there is a lot of affective contact between students and teachers. As the author walked into one classroom, a black man was hugging a small child of eight or nine. The author also saw several senior citizens in the school,
talking with the children and conducting various projects, such as crafts, with them.

Through the school, the students, teachers, and parents learn to view themselves collectively in new roles. They come to respect and understand that they all have unique talents to contribute to each other and to the community as a whole. Furthermore, they are encouraged to develop and share their talents. The goal which motivates this process is that the people involved will learn to restructure their situation in other areas of community life.

Community Learning Center

The Community Learning Center is a multi-purpose organization which provides progressive educational, cultural, and social activities to the Oakland neighborhood in which it is located. Physically, it is a large structure which provides space for many simultaneous activities. These programs include a Cultural Arts Program, with skilled instruction in music, dance, and drama, and an adult education program. Additionally, the Community Learning Center continues to host a broad variety of community events, ranging from rallies, to professional entertainment, to gatherings of local grassroots political organizations.

The major focus of the Community Learning Center is
the youth of the community. There are extensive activities for the young people both after school and on weekends. A well-developed sports program is offered in addition to the activities discussed above. There are courses in self-defense. During his visit to the after school program of the Community Learning Center, the author noted the interaction between the students of the Oakland Community School and the students from other Oakland schools. It is here, in this informal setting, that the practice of the maxim "each one teach one" was readily observed. Two groups of children, experiencing very different forms of education, attempt, successfully, to teach each other the different survival skills they have learned.

In addition to the programs specifically for the youth, there are many continuous programs offered at the Community Learning Center. The Legal Aid and Education Program provides legal counseling, attorney referral service, free busing to prisons, free commissary for prisoners, and welfare and food stamp counseling. The programs involve both the prisoners, and family and community members, and help to maintain and create contact with each other. The other services provide assistance to the people in dealing with almost daily problems and obstacles to their survival.
The S.A.F.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Program was begun in 1971 by the Black Panther Party. A group of senior citizens had originally approached the Oakland Police Department, requesting prevention and protection against muggings and other attacks on the elderly, particularly when they went out to cash their social security and pension checks. The response of the Oakland Police Department was to advise the senior citizens to "walk closer to the curb". Through the joint efforts of the Black Panther Party and the senior citizens, the S.A.F.E. program was established. Basically the program provides a busing service on a periodic basis to enable the elderly to cash their checks and to do their shopping. Senior citizens are thus protected from an unsafe environment.

In addition, senior citizens who participate in the S.A.F.E. program also participate in other community survival programs. The author observed several senior citizens working in the Oakland Community School. One woman, in particular, was conducting a crafts class for a group of children. In her late sixties, she told the author that working with the children made her feel young again, as well as giving her something positive to do.

The S.A.F.E. program allows elderly persons to see themselves in new and changing roles. Through participation
in this program, they realize that they have a place in our society and that there are things for them to do. The S.A.F.E. program has also created a way in which the elderly can participate in various activities at the Community Learning Center. For example, the senior citizens take part in the forums and they have a place in the community to hold social activities (e.g., dinners, dances, fashion shows).

The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic (Berkeley)

The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic, located in the neighboring community of Berkeley, was one of the first programs initiated by the Black Panther Party. The Medical Clinic provides comprehensive health care to the community. Doctors treat patients for common physical ailments and refer them to specialists if necessary. Laboratory testing is provided in conjunction with local hospitals. The Medical Clinic is also involved in developing preventive medical programs. For example, the Free Medical Clinic initiated free sickle cell anemia and high blood pressure testing in the Oakland area. This testing takes place in shopping malls, community churches, and other gatherings in the community. If a child, youth or adult is observed at the Community Learning Center to have a condition that requires medical attention he is referred to the Peoples' Free Medical Clinic. Additionally,
the Medical Clinic is working to demystify scientific and medical information, so that community members may provide themselves with proper medical attention and care.

In the years since it was begun, several of the immediate goals of the Medical Clinic have been realized. As an example, a major focus of the Medical Clinic was working to establish a Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation. Recently, both public and private monies have been committed to sickle cell research. Since this service is now being provided by established agencies, it is no longer a major focus of the medical clinics. Another goal of the Medical Clinic is to have medical clinics located in each community, rather than in large, impersonal and overcrowded hospital centers. To a large extent, this goal has also been met with the proliferation in recent years of community health centers funded with government money. The operation of the Free Medical Clinic demonstrates to the community that they can receive professional, competent, and preventative medical attention on a local level and, further, that they do not have to pay exorbitant rates for it.

Community Forum (formerly Son of Man Temple)

The Community Forum takes place on Sunday afternoons at the Community Learning Center. It provides a place for people to assemble to discuss community problems and to
develop strategies to bring about change in those conditions. The Forum also includes guest speakers from local poverty agencies, community colleges and universities, civic organizations, media, local associations and community residents who share their knowledge and experience. The audience is encouraged to participate in all aspects of the forums, which can include questioning local politicians, and giving their own views. There is usually a cultural presentation by local and professional entertainers.

The author attended a Community Forum on Easter Sunday, 1976. There were approximately one hundred adults and many children in attendance. A participant explained to the author that attendance was low because of the holiday. Usually, he said, there were 250 to 300 people at the Forum. On this particular Sunday, the Forum was an informal gathering of people moving around and talking. There was a raffle of a television set, and upcoming events, both at the Community Learning Center and in the community, were announced. A local jazz band provided entertainment. Once again, the author noted that the children present received a lot of male attention. Also, the children were very friendly and inquisitive, asking the author his name and where he was from. At the close of the program, which lasted approximately three hours, refreshments were served and literature and cards were on sale.
The philosophical and practical goals of the Community Forum are stated very well in the *Co-Evolution Quarterly*. The Community Forum is a place "...where the dreams of the people can become ideas, where ideas can become practical reality, where that reality will lead us forward to freedom" (pp. 7-8). The purpose of the Community Forum is described as simply "...to come together, let our differences be minimized, let our similarities blossom...let us use this place...to be happy...because we recognize that we are oppressed and have gotten together to throw off that oppression" (p. 8).

**Child Development Center**

The Child Development Center was instituted to work with children from birth to age 2½, helping them develop in a communal life style. The program is divided into two categories: infant stimulation, from birth to age one; and sensor-motor development, from age one to 2½. In Infant Stimulation each child is observed and evaluated according to a developmental schedule, devised by the Child Development Center. Using the evaluation as a guide, each child has an individual stimulation program designed to meet his or her specific needs. The developmental schedule includes: motor skills, problem-solving skills, verbalization, self-awareness and responsiveness.
The older children in the sensor-motor skills curriculum continue with their individualized stimulation program and move on to more advanced skills. This program includes: basic body movements, rhythm, peoples' health, political education, language arts, math, and physical education. Through this program the children develop a good basis for further education and begin to build an awareness of their individual selves. As a result of this, community members work together to form the basis of a strong, aware, and self-directed community.

The Black Panther - Intercommunal News Service

The Black Panther is the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party. It has been published, without interruption, on a weekly basis since April 1967. The Black Panther provides news and information about the work of the Black Panther Party chapters throughout the country. It examines the news and gives news analysis to items of interest to black and other oppressed communities in the United States and around the world. It also includes theoretical writings of Black Panther Party ideologists and general news features.

The paper features service and survival information such as a directory of addresses and telephone numbers for city services, as well as other free services. The Black
Panther does not accept paid advertising or classified ads. It depends on sales, subscriptions, and contributions for funds. Advertisements do appear: they are in recognition of regular contributions of goods or services to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party and the community.

The Black Panther is sold directly on the streets of the community, in community shops, shopping malls, barber shops, bars, and bus and train stations. The paper is one of the chief tools of consciousness-raising used by the Black Panther Party.

Other Programs

In addition to the successful survival programs, the Black Panther Party has had a number of programs that were either discontinued or never implemented. Some programs are in operation in only one city or have become part of a larger program. There are several reasons for the discontinuation of survival programs. Concerning the case of the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation, one of the Black Panther Party's most well-known programs, the Black Panther Party was able to organize enough people around the issues that were involved, which are vital to the survival and the future of black people, and then bring enough pressure to bear on the established agencies, that both public and private organizations assumed the respon-
bility for its funding. Another reason why some survival programs were discontinued is that they proved uneconomical and were therefore judged ineffective. In some cases many man-hours of work didn't contribute to the relief of the problem significantly, so the program was abandoned. Several examples of discontinued programs are the Free Food Program, the Free Shoes Program, and the Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program.

**Landbanking**

Landbanking is a program that the Black Panther Party drew up on paper but never put into practice. It called for the people, through the Party, to enter the real estate market, buying and selling land for community development. The main reason it was never implemented is that the necessary money could not be raised to buy into the real estate market initially.

**The Peoples' Free Ambulance Program**

In determining which survival programs are going to be implemented, a decisive factor is the need that exists in a particular city or community. Thus, the Black Panther Party's Free Ambulance Program is operational only in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The program, which provides a free, twenty-four hour ambulance service to the black
community. The service is staffed by trained emergency medical technicians. Increasingly, private ambulances will not transport patients unless they are guaranteed payment through medical insurance or cash. Since black and poor people generally have limited insurance coverage and cash, The Peoples' Free Ambulance Program fulfills a very real need in the community it serves. The Free Ambulance Program also provides a way for the Black Panther Party to educate the people in socialized medicine, preventive health care and basic first aid techniques.

The Peoples' Free Pest Control Program

Another program which is operational in Dallas, Texas, is the Peoples' Free Pest Control Program. Not only are household and neighborhood pests, such as ants, roaches, mice and rats exterminated, but people are educated as to how to control their reappearance. This survival program, therefore, relieves an immediate problem and also serves as a vehicle to educate the community in the control of pests, related health issues, and larger political issues (e.g., why are there pests in the first place?).

Free Breakfast for School Children Program
The Peoples' Free Employment Program

The Free Breakfast for School Children Program has been absorbed and expanded by the Oakland Community School.
The children who attend the school are given three well-balanced meals each day. Another example of a program that has been absorbed is the Peoples' Free Employment Program, which is basically a job clearing-house. It is now carried on, on a somewhat smaller scale, by the Community Learning Center.

The Free Food Program
The Free Clothing Program
The Free Shoes Program

Three programs were designed and implemented by the Black Panther Party and then discontinued. These three programs were discontinued for very similar reasons. The basic reasoning behind these three programs was that everyone is entitled to free, adequate, and nutritious food, free, well-made and adequate clothing, and free, quality shoes. In order to implement these programs, the Black Panther Party originally solicited donations from local wholesalers. After a period of time, these donations became increasingly difficult to obtain and the Party was faced with paying increasingly high prices for the food, clothes, and shoes which they could ill afford. In addition to this economic reality, the Black Panther Party did not want to provide the people with incomplete survival programs. Hence, the decision was made to discontinue these programs and concentrate the Party's energies on programs that were...
more successful and therefore more effective.

Summary

Many of the Black Panther Party's programs are on-going and successful, and can be viewed as a realistic hope for the future. More importantly, they have helped to fulfill the major intent of the Black Panther Party, which is to participate with community members in the daily struggle to liberate themselves. These programs can be used to rally, educate, and petition the people while involving these community members in a wide range of activities. In these community programs, people have had the opportunity to participate as subjects who direct their lives, rather than objects, and they have the chance to view themselves in a new political perspective.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

Introduction

The community survival programs of the Black Panther Party will be analyzed and evaluated according to the political education theory of Paulo Friere and the community organization principles designed by John Rothman. A review of Friere's theory, as it applies to the focus of this paper, will be presented. John Rothman's principles of community organization practice will be discussed in terms of the focus of this paper. Each program will then be analyzed and evaluated: first, it will be done according to the political education theory of Friere; second, it will be done according to the community organization practice variables of Rothman.

Overview of the Community Survival Programs

As indicated in Chapter IV, the emphasis of this paper is on the importance of community programs in general, rather than on an in-depth description of any one of the community survival programs in particular. Hopefully, it will be more helpful and valuable for future change agents to look at all the programs, for they, as a unit, are responsible for finding ways to deal with all aspects of
the problem in the disenfranchised communities. The Black Panther Party attempted to deal with problems systematically by way of the community survival programs. If children are fed, they will be more alert in classes. If senior citizens are protected, they can feel free to provide their many and varied experiences to the community. If there are free buses to prisons, the prisoners will always feel that there is a community that cares about them.

The problems are abundant, but they are all symptoms of the lack of control of the black and the disenfranchised over any of the activities in their communities. The Black Panther survival programs are a subjective response to this felt lack of control. The survival programs teach the people a number of very important lessons. From his readings, interviews, personal experiences and observations, the author has summarized the lessons taught by the survival programs.

First, the people learn to isolate a problem and look for a solution. Second, they learn that there is a tremendous potential for change in developing new and more responsible behavior for the future. Third, they gain practical experience with a different system, socialism, and they learn that running their own food and housing collectives can be effective. Fourth, people learn how to leave their more familiar roles as "objects" and become
more aware of their surroundings in a new and more positive way. Fifth, people learn to break out of their accustomed circles and dialogue with more diverse groups. Sixth, people have the opportunity to see how various authorities view them in their new roles. Seventh, people discover that new information and new ways of thinking can become reality. Last, people learn to find answers to the underlying causes of their problems.

It is of paramount importance to emphasize that the goal of the Black Panther Party's community survival programs was not only to provide limited services to the various communities in which they operated, but also, because of the people's insistence, to force the government to respond to these problem areas. A third important goal of the survival programs was to demonstrate to the involved communities that these services should not be considered luxuries, but rather, necessary services sponsored by the government. Through the survival programs, the people could observe first hand the possibilities that existed to change certain conditions. Further, since the people were initiating, participating, and maintaining these programs, they were actively demonstrating to the government that the problem areas could be alleviated.
The Political Education Theory of Friere

Political education is, for the purposes of this paper, a strategy which allows people the time and the foresight to view themselves in a more significant and active role. The input of each individual is valuable, regardless of their status. There is a stress on people actively listening, dialoguing, and learning from each other; then they can translate ideas into meaningful action. Political education is a viable social intervention strategy for disenfranchised groups. Without the new perspective of political education in which to view their social situation and their oppression, poor people are often unable to translate their vague feelings of unrest into organized activity, directed at social change.

Political education and its importance have been discussed by many social innovators. Paulo Friere, of Brazil, insisted on an entirely new way of re-introducing education to people through a rediscovery of the humanizing vocation of the intellectual, and a demonstration of the power of thought to negate accepted limits and open the way to a new future.

Richard Schall, in the preface to Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1965), describes the basic assumption of Friere:

...man's ontological vocation (as he calls it) is to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms his
world, and in so doing moves toward ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively. This world to which he relates is not a static and closed order, a given reality which man must accept and to which he must adjust; rather it is a problem to be worked on and solved. It is the material used by man to create history, a task which he performs as he overcomes that which is dehumanizing at any particular time and place and dares to create the qualitatively new. For Friere the resources for that task at the present time are provided by the advanced technology of our Western World, but the social vision which impels us to negate the present order and demonstrate that history has not ended comes primarily from the suffering and struggle of the people of the Third World.

His premise is that every human being, no matter how indoctrinated into our culture, is capable of looking critically at his world in a dialogical encounter with others. Provided with the proper tools for such encounter, he can gradually perceive his personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. In this process, the old, paternalistic, teacher-student relationship is overcome. A peasant can facilitate this process for his neighbor more effectively than a 'teacher' brought in from outside (pp. 12-13).

Friere included two more concepts in his revolutionary educational constructs which are vital to poor, powerless people not only in Brazil, but also in this country. The first and most important of these is a newer and more humane dialogical process which is called problem-posing. This is in direct contrast to the more familiar concept of education to which most oppressed people are subjected. Friere calls it the "banking" concept of education. Knowledge is a gift bestowed upon those whom teachers consider
to know nothing. This process of projecting an absolute ignorance onto the student, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as a process of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite. By considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence (pp. 58-59).

The second major concept is:

...an unauthentic work, one which is unable to transform reality, results when a dichotomy is imposed upon its constitutive elements. When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well, and the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism. It becomes an empty word, one which can not denounce the world, for denunciation is impossible without a commitment to transform and there is not transformation without action.

On the other hand, if action is emphasized exclusively, to the detriment of reflection, the word is converted into activism. The latter - action for action's sake - negates the true praxis and makes dialogue impossible. Either dichotomy, by creating unauthentic forms of thought, will reinforce the original dichotomy.

Human existence can not be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words, with which men transform the world. To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection.

But while to say the true word - which is work, which is praxis - is to transform the world, saying that word is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every man. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone - nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words.

Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue can not occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming -
between those who deny other men the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them. Those who have been denied their primordial right to speak their word must first reclaim this right and prevent the continuation of this dehumanizing oppression (pp. 75-76).

Paulo Friere's philosophy and methodology and his actual practice of these ideals created such a threat to the military government, after the coup in 1964, that he was jailed immediately. This act reveals the enormous gulf separating the ideas of Friere and those of the existing order.

Community Organization Practice of Rothman

The author has utilized a chart designed by John Rothman, which analyzes factors that affect community organization practice. Mr. Rothman is a noted theoretician, who is concerned with social change and how it can be effected by group practitioners. He is aware that change does not come about over night, and also that change for the sake of change, without proper planning, is not always valid. This is of particular importance when working with disenfranchised communities. There are many sociological, economic, and political factors that determine how people are affected by issues.

John Rothman's focus is on community organization. His ideas are concerned with disenfranchised people assuming control over some aspect of their own lives.
As disenfranchised people assume more control over their own lives, there is an overall change in the way that these people view themselves. It is important to note that Mr. Rothman's emphasis is on the role of teaching and facilitating community organization and social planning methods. Once the people are able to comprehend, and then apply, these methods in one area of their lives, they can transfer these same principles to other areas as new issues arise.

According to Rothman's chart of community organization practice, there are three different models of community organization: locality development (Model A); social planning (Model B); social action (Model C). Rothman's concern was not just the ability of disenfranchised groups to gain support for themselves, but also their ability to gain support with other groups. Because this study focuses on disenfranchised groups in the United States, particularly black and minority groups, Social Action (Model C) will be emphasized. Rothman noted that various radical action groups (e.g., Alinsky, welfare rights councils, black and brown power groups) belong in the Social Action model.

Mr. Rothman utilized twelve variables, or criteria, to examine the effectiveness of each community organization model. These variables will be applied selectively to the Black Panther Party's community survival programs.
Those criteria which are successfully met by the programs will be discussed. A summary chart has been included at the end of the following discussion. This chart indicates which of the criteria apply, partially apply, or do not apply to each of the survival programs.

The criteria of Rothman are:

1. **Goal Categories of Community Action:** shifting of power relationships and resources; basic institutional change (task or process goals);
2. **Assumptions Concerning Community Structures and Problem Conditions:** disadvantaged population, social injustice, deprivation, inequity;
3. **Basic Change Strategy:** crystallization of issues and organization of people to take action against enemy targets;
4. **Characteristic Change Tactics and Techniques:** conflict or contest; confrontation, direct action, negotiations;
5. **Salient Practioner Roles:** activist-advocate, agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan;
6. **Medium of Change:** manipulation of mass organization and political processes;
7. **Orientation toward Power Structures:** power structure as external target of action; oppressors to be coerced or overturned;
8. **Boundary Definition of the Community System of Constituency:** community segment;
9. **Assumptions Regarding Interests of Community Subparts:** conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; scarce resources;
10. **Conception of the Public Interest:** realist-individualist;
11. **Conception of the Client Population or Constituency:** victims;
12. **Conception of the Client Role:** employers, constituents, members (pp. 26-27).

The author will now examine seven survival programs of the Black Panther Party. They are the Oakland Community School, the Community Learning Center, Seniors Against a
Fearful Environment Program, The Peoples' Free Clinic, the Community Forum, The Black Panther - Intercommunal News Service, and the Child Development Center. Each program will be analyzed according to the political education theory of Paulo Friere and the community organization practice variables of Rothman. The summary chart at the end of the chapter can be used to determine, at a glance, which of the variables of Rothman apply, partially apply, or do not apply to each of the survival programs.

Oakland Community School

Political Education. The Oakland Community School exhibits all three aspects of Paulo Friere's model for political education. The Oakland Community School is an example of people refusing to be objects any longer, in terms of accepting the limits placed on them by society. They have actively taken the role of subjects by establishing their own school. In this school, the parents and teachers are attempting to change the traditional concept of education, as well as the methods that concept used. Instead of establishing a school where the teachers are assumed to know everything and the students to know nothing, they are employing the concept of "each one teach one" and problem-posing. On a daily basis, the Oakland Community School presents the children with situations and
conditions that affect them. The children are encouraged to examine these situations, actively dialogue with each other, pose problems, and devise practical solutions to them. This method is used in the classroom, on the playground, and in the home. Additionally, the problem-posing approach to their education reinforces their concept of themselves as subjects, rather than as objects.

Friere's third concern, praxis, the combination of thought and action, is also demonstrated at the Oakland Community School. The children learn that when a problem is presented, the solution that is going to be most successful is the one which has been examined, and discussed, with all aspects of the problem considered. This process then leads to action. Action can take place either individually or collectively. When children learn to solve problems in this manner, it strengthens their self-images and aids them in their daily lives.

Community Organization. According to Rothman's table, the following is a discussion of the criteria used to measure the success of the Oakland Community School. Concerning the first criteria, goal categories of community organization, the Oakland Community School provides a service in that it teaches children and adults how to think. In this instance, the Black Panther Party chose a small area of institutionalization, i.e., elementary education, that
needed change. They created a program that was not only worthy of accreditation, but also could be compared with existing structures, and be judged as excellent. The people in the community could observe a concrete structure and make their own decisions in regard to its validity and character.

The second criteria Rothman describes, to assess the effectiveness of the Oakland Community School, concerns its assumptions regarding community structures and problem conditions. Here, with a successful school, the students, parents, and the community itself, as a disadvantaged population in terms of education, learn that they do not have to have social injustice, deprivation, and inequity. The sixth criteria of Rothman is called the medium of change. The Oakland Community School established an alternative to the existing educational system and demonstrated, through practice, that not only can it be good, but that it can be a highly successful model. This factor encourages the community to change their ideas of what education should be and also encourages them to demand that the existing educational system make changes to bring it closer to the more successful model.

By dealing positively with a small segment of the community, that is, those involved with the Oakland Community School, the Black Panther Party effectively deals with
Rothman's eighth criteria, boundary definition of the community client system or constituency. In the tenth criteria, the conception of the public interest, the Oakland Community School is being realistic in taking an area that is small enough to actually effect change. And this change is easily observed in the children themselves, e.g., their thought processes are more logical and analytical than the thought processes of children in surrounding schools.

The conception of the client population as victims, the eleventh criteria, is effectively demonstrated by the Oakland Community School. The Oakland Community School realizes that the people are the victims of inadequate school systems and, by using the school as a model, they are taking concrete action to change this. Students, parents, and the community as a whole, contribute to Rothman's twelfth criteria, the conception of the client's role.

Community Learning Center

Political Education. The emergence and continuance of the Community Learning Center is a concrete example of Friere's concern for people viewing themselves as subjects rather than as objects. The Community Learning Center is representative of a group of people who realize and comprehend the extent of the social problems, e.g., lack of youth activities, prisoners, welfare rights, that exist in the
community. Through a variety of people initially thinking about options that could improve their situation, then coming together to actively dialogue about their thoughts, the people have created a successful alternative which is attempting to work on these problem-ridden areas. As a result, the people began to view themselves in a more positive light because they realized that the problems were theirs and that they were the only ones who were concerned with solving them.

Participating in the creation, maintenance, and enlargement of their own Community Learning Center was a new experience for most of the community people. Not only did it aid in enhancing their self-images as subjects rather than objects, but it taught people the dynamics of problem-solving. Through the Community Learning Center, the people of the community demonstrated Friere's model of praxis, that is, thought and action operating together.

Community Organization. The Community Learning Center may be considered a successful model of Social Action, in so far as it fulfills several of the criteria which Rothman describes. The second criteria involves the assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions. The Black Panther Party recognizes that the youth of their community live in a politically and economically disadvantaged situation. The response of the Community Learning Center
is to teach the youth to interact with the various situations from that perspective.

Rothman's eighth criteria, boundary definition of the community client system, is illustrated by the fact that the Community Learning Center mainly serves the youth, but that it also includes many other smaller programs that focus on other age groups.

The realist-individualist requirement of Rothman's tenth criteria, the conception of the public interest, is fulfilled by the Community Learning Center. The Community Learning Center, in choosing to work in a small area of the community with a variety of programs, is working on a small scale. The conception of the client population as victims is a realistic approach for the Black Panther Party. The people of the community which the Community Learning Center serves, know that they are being shortchanged by the system. Thus, the programs at the Learning Center are effective because their approach reflects this thinking. This conception of the clients as victims is the "accepted" way of viewing themselves. The Community Learning Center recognizes this, and has successfully implemented programs to alter this view of themselves, and create a more positive image.

**Seniors Against A Fearful Environment Program**

**Political Education.** In regard to S.A.F.E. (Seniors Against
A Fearful Environment Program), the senior citizens approached the appropriate government agency, i.e., the Oakland Police Department, only to be told that their need for safety was not a priority issue. As a result of this rejection, the senior citizens met with the Black Panther Party. They dialogued together and it was decided that the safety of the older people was crucial to the community as a whole. There was a common realization that senior citizens form a very important segment of the community and that freedom from fear of muggings and physical attack would increase their very valuable participation in the community.

As a result, the Black Panthers and the senior citizens worked out the details of the S.A.F.E. program, which insures the right of the elderly to fully participate in the community. This act was a highly visible example of people realizing their situation and refusing to accept it. In the words of Paulo Friere, the senior citizens became subjects rather than objects. Because the established agency would not do it for them, they assumed the initiative in analyzing their problem (safety) and seeking solutions for it. This gave them a very real experience of problem-posing, another of Friere's basic concerns. The S.A.F.E. program is also an example of praxis, i.e., that people, observing the situation and dialoguing with each other, and considering the options, will choose the best
solution for themselves.

Community Organization. In following Rothman's table, the S.A.F.E. program fulfills several of the criteria. The first criteria, goal categories of community organization, identifies the need for protection for senior citizens. Since the established appropriate agency, the Oakland Police Department, abdicated its responsibility, the senior citizens and the Black Panther Party assumed the task themselves. This indicates a shifting of power relationships away from the establishment and back to the people. And, too, it reflects a need for basic institutional change.

In the third variable, basic change strategy, the Black Panther Party is first taking action to insure the safety of the senior citizens, and second, involving the elderly in the actual planning and implementation of a program that is necessary because the current economic situation has placed them in jeopardy. The S.A.F.E. program is an example of direct action, which fulfills the fourth criteria, that of characteristic change tactics and techniques.

The boundary definition of the constituency identifies the community segment as the senior citizens, particularly in the poorer communities. This is Rothman's eighth criteria in the social action model. The S.A.F.E. program is designed to help and protect senior citizens, who are viewed as victims in Rothman's eleventh criteria, the conception of
the client population. The twelfth criteria, the conception of the client role, the elderly realize that they are being helped, and in their own way want to participate as full members of the community. There is a realization on the part of young and old alike that senior citizens can make valuable contributions to the community.

The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic

Political Education. The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic is a result of community and professional people becoming increasingly aware of the low level of medical care that is usually reserved for the poor and disenfranchised. Heightening this awareness is the realization that poor people have a higher incidence of needing quality medical attention. After dialoguing with each other over a period of time, the people came to the realization that quality medical care should be accessible and free to those who need it. They also came to the realization that the hospital facilities had no interest in involving themselves on a local level.

It was at this point that the group became subjects rather than objects, as in Friere's model, and decided that they had to assume the responsibility for providing excellent medical care to the community. Further, they realized that this had to be accomplished in such a way that the people
would feel free and comfortable to utilize it. This focus indicates the use of the problem-posing component of Friere's model. The establishment of the Peoples' Free Medical Clinic is an example of Friere's theory of praxis, thought and action developing together.

Community Organization. The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic is a suitable example of Rothman's social action model of community action (criteria number one). The Free Medical Clinic provides a service to those in immediate medical need, a referral to specialists when indicated, and education in preventive health. The second criteria, assumptions concerning community structures, the community members view themselves as disadvantaged, in this case in terms of health care, and are actively involved in trying to change their situation. Through the use of the strategy of direct action, the Peoples' Free Medical Clinic provides a vital service. This fulfills Rothman's fourth criteria, characteristic change tactics and techniques.

The Medical Clinic identifies the community segment as that one which needs free medical assistance. This is a very distinct population, as in all of the survival programs, and fulfills the eighth criteria on the community organization practices chart. The conception of the public interest, variable number ten, is realistic because the free medical clinic successfully corrects a situation in which the people
had been receiving inadequate medical service.

Rothman's last two criteria are also successfully met. The community is aware that medical services are expensive and cannot be obtained by all. They viewed themselves as victims, and by establishing a free clinic they are attempting to change that role. The people who utilize the clinic are determined to see that the clinic continues to exist until there are other sources that will provide for their needs.

**Community Forum**

**Political Education.** The intention of the Community Forum is to provide an opportunity for concerned members of the community to congregate on a weekly basis in order to actively dialogue about issues which concern them. As much input as possible from people, regardless of their status, is an important goal. The format of the Community Forum is varied, ranging from distinguished lecturers to open meetings. At open meetings, the people discuss issues which are important to them, give them each a certain priority, and devise and implement solutions to them.

The Community Forums are an excellent example of Friere's concept of political education. In an active sense, the people involved become, through dialogue, aware of common problems, discuss them and finalize actions to be taken.
Usually, problems that should be alleviated by an existing government agency but are not, are the ones undertaken, because the people realize that if the problems are to be resolved, they must be the ones to work on them. Once again, relating to Friere's model, the people transform themselves from objects to subjects, participate in problem solving and the implementation of solutions.

**Community Organization.** The following discussion will indicate that the Community Forum is a successful example of Rothman's Social Action model. The Community Forum is a weekly on-going program. Its format is very flexible and involves community participants in various ways. According to Rothman's model, the first criteria of goal categories of community action, the Community Forum is a "process goal", that is, it provides an opportunity for people to congregate to establish cooperative working relationships, in order to more effectively identify problems and implement solutions. The community residents realize that they are disadvantaged, and through the Community Forum discuss their situations and map out strategies to alter it. This fulfills the second variable on the Rothman chart, involving the assumptions concerned with community structures and problem conditions.

The third variable, the basic change strategy, employed through the Community Forum, is that the people work on
specific issues and try to organize the community around the resolution of these issues. The boundary definition of the constituency changes according to the issues and problems that are discussed. For example, the constituency may be either elderly or youthful; in some instances it may involve all segments of the community. This factor satisfies the eighth variable of Rothman's chart. Here again, according to Rothman's eleventh criteria for a Social Action model, the client population is able to view itself as victim. By participating in the Community Forums, people are actively attempting to alter that perception of themselves.

The Child Development Center

Political Education. In one way, the Child Development Center is a very important survival program of the Black Panther Party. By establishing a quality day care center, the parents and teachers are not only adopting the role of subjects for themselves, but also for the very young children who attend the Center. The children enrolled in the Child Development Center have the advantage of being relatively unaware of their role as objects. Therefore, the concept of education through problem-posing is readily accepted by them. Additionally, the parents and teachers are actively involved in problem-posing, first in estab-
lishing the Center and second, in devising and carrying out the curriculum.

Friere's concept of praxis is also easily adopted to the Child Development Center. The need for quality day care became apparent as parents and teachers, all community members, discussed the kinds of day care that were available, what was lacking in those programs, and what they wanted in day care for their children. By being able to view themselves as subjects, they organized to establish themselves what they were seeking. Through the process of thought and action, the Child Development Center provides quality day care.

Community Organization. The Child Development Center is designed to be a complement of the Oakland Community School. It is essentially a day care center which attempts to deal with the needs of a limited community segment, the very young, on a realistic level. This satisfies Rothman's eighth criteria of the boundary definition of the community segment. It is a survival program that can be measured and evaluated. According to Rothman's criteria for a Social Action model, the Child Development Center provides a very valuable service as a "task" goal, thereby fulfilling the first criteria of goal categories for community action. In Rothman's second criteria, assumptions concerning community structures and problem conditions, the parents realize they
are disadvantaged, and through the Child Development Center they see that they can create their own highly effective program.

Through the sixth variable, the medium of change, the community members can observe a successful alternative, and further, demand it on a community wide scale. In Rothman's tenth variable, conception of the public interest, the Child development Center is realistically limiting itself to a small but important area where community members can see the qualitative difference in the children. The eleventh criteria, the conception of the client population, is satisfied, in that people realize that they have inadequate child care facilities, and that this model, the Child Development Center, should be copied on a wider scale.

_The Black Panther-Intercommunal News Service_

Political Education. The Black Panther, as a community survival program, actively demonstrates all the aspects of Friere's concept of political education. The newspaper is published weekly for an intended audience of black and poor people. The approach taken by the paper, and the focus of the articles is, specifically, the needs of its audience. A basic realization of _The Black Panther_ is that the established media does not concern itself with disseminating information which is important to poor people.
The Black Panther Party, through its newspaper, is attempting successfully, to be a subject, rather than an object, in providing the people with the "other news".

While the content of the The Black Panther is varied, the underlying focus is to give examples of the problems that exist in other poor communities and then show how those communities alleviated or solved them. Praxis, Friere's concept of thought and action together, is exhibited by The Black Panther in the decision of what articles and information will be included in the paper and the actual process of producing the paper.

Community Organization. Rothman's table can be applied to The Black Panther to demonstrate a successful model of social action. In the first criteria, goal categories of community action, The Black Panther is both a task and a process goal. It is a task goal in that it is a newspaper that is produced weekly. This newspaper is unique in the sense that it reports on, and prints, news items from the perspective of black and disenfranchised communities, while the established media does not. It is a process goal in that it informs the readers, through a wide variety of articles, of the incidents and the various alternatives the people must take to become a part of the process themselves. In the third criteria, The Black Panther becomes the vehicle to publicize and further to unite the people around the issues.
The sixth variable in Rothman's chart, the medium of change, is successfully met by the newspaper. The paper attempts to present the news in such a way as to make the people more aware of it, thus encouraging a response. For example, a proposed bill is examined from the point of view of what it will allow by being non-specific. This explanation allows the readers to make an intelligent response. The seventh criteria, orientation toward power structure, is fulfilled successfully by The Black Panther. Since its inception the orientation has been toward informing the people of their position vis a vis the government. The feature stories explain how the oppressor can be challenged in different communities, different situations, and with different outcomes.

The boundary definition of the constituency, Rothman's eighth criteria, includes the oppressed black communities, the elderly, the Spanish speaking, the native Americans. These are the groups to whom the paper is addressed. These people are well aware of their status and their roles in our society, that is their conception of themselves as victims, Rothman's eleventh criteria. The paper, through consciousness-raising and political education, will help the people to fully realize where they fit in this society, and further, help them to realize that steps and actions can be taken to change this.
Observations Regarding Table I

There are several observations that can be interpreted from Table I. The ninth criteria, assumptions regarding interests of community subparts, is not applicable to any of the community survival programs, which are discussed in this paper. There are two possible explanations. First, Rothman's chart was designed for three models of community organization. Perhaps this criteria can be better applied to the other models (i.e., Social Planning and Locality Development). Second, an important goal of the community survival programs is to aid the people in seeing their common problems and situations. To this end, the survival programs are designed for different groups within the community (e.g., S.A.F.E., Oakland Community School, etc.). However the overall focus is to help the people realize their common oppression in many spheres, rather than their individual differences, and to work to change that oppression.

The seventh criteria, orientation toward the power structure, is applicable to the two programs which are broad based, in that they encompass many different groups within the community (i.e., age, sex, economic and social factors). The Black Panther and the Community Forum are programs which provide to the community the awareness that the system, as a whole, must be changed in order to create
### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Categories of Community Action</th>
<th>Assumptions Concerning Community Structures and Problem Conditions</th>
<th>Basic Change Conditions</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
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*** = fulfills the criteria successfully  
** = fulfills the criteria partially  
- = not applicable to program
TABLE I (Cont'd)

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<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Salient Change Tactics and Techniques</th>
<th>Salient Practitioner Roles</th>
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<td>Orientation Toward Power Structure(s)</td>
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<td>Conception of the Public Interest</td>
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<td>Oakland Community School</td>
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the mechanisms to duplicate the other programs on a wide scale.

There are no criteria from Rothman's chart that are not met at all by the Black Panther Party's community survival programs. The criteria are either met successfully, or met partially, or not applicable at all. Rothman's chart is well designed and comprehensive and the Black Panther Party survival programs meet his criteria for the Social Action model successfully. This indicates that the survival programs are exceptionally effective in utilizing the principles and tactics of successful community organization.

Summary

As mentioned at the conclusion of Chapter IV, there were a number of other programs that were either discontinued or never implemented. However, the Black Panther Party remained legitimate in its communities, through its demonstrated commitment to deal with the problems of the communities, on a daily basis. The Black Panther Party was designed with growth in mind, for members hoped their programs would be enlarged and copied in all minority communities of the country. In the process of growth, however, mistakes have been made; not all the programs have been implemented and not all have been successful. The communities have been aware of this and, despite these
failures, the community members have seen the Panther programs as workable and effective, and a means by which they can help themselves.

In time, parents of school children began running the food programs and community residents began asking the local merchants for supplies to run their programs. This fulfilled one of the basic concepts of the community survival programs: to help people to help themselves, thereby helping them gain increasing control of their lives. The Panther Party members were prepared to move into the role of free consultants, as community groups began increasing participation and utilization of their resources to enlarge and extend the original programs.

The Black Panther Party worked to maintain itself in the community by extending beyond the initial response to the crisis in Oakland. It assessed and analyzed the major problems of the poor communities and systematically instituted programs to alleviate these same problems. Members of the community saw this process and directly benefitted by it, and gradually became personally involved. Through this process the Party gained enormous credibility among community members, and the organization of the Party was maintained. The community survival programs were not an end unto themselves, but rather the first step in helping the people gain control and become self-directive
in their own lives.

From the beginning, the Black Panther Party held community discussion groups, often using the survival programs as an entry point. The discussion groups were available to explain the reason for their existence, their basic ten point program, how the survival programs operated, and what the objects of the survival programs were. Throughout their growth period the Panthers used these discussion groups to encourage the people to critically examine the major issues in their lives along with the relationships of these issues to what the Party was trying to do. In this way community members could examine their lives in a new way and begin to make new choices for themselves.

The Black Panther Party evolved through a process of growth. Their initial step in 1966 was to monitor police activity in the Oakland area. This was a highly visible action which demonstrated strength to the community. During the first year their intent was to put theory and practice together in a systematic manner in an attempt to implement and actualize their ten point program. Their actions were strictly strategic actions for political purposes designed to mobilize the community. By demonstrating issues to community members and explaining them from a new perspective, they also demonstrated a new and larger range of options.
The premise of the Panther Party, made explicit in the phrase "all power to the people" was that people—all the people—should have the power to direct their own lives. After the initial armed confrontations with law enforcement officials, some groups of Panthers accelerated their pace to thinking and talking of armed revolution. In this they lost credibility with the community, because the people were not ready for it. Without the support of the community the Panther Party lost its momentum, and as they realized this, their theme became "survival through service to the people". Their focus then moved to setting up community survival programs which would help people of the community to deal with their immediate needs, and also serve as an example for new active, decision-making roles for them.

Thus the survival programs working in tandem with the community discussion groups served as a dual learning model. The concepts of alternative community institutions were explained as they were actually being put into practice. Soon people began to view their own lives in a more critical way, as well as the system of capitalism. As Huey P. Newton, in To Die for the People (1972), expressed it:

We understand that our vanguard roles as initiator of survival services for people in dire need across this country exposes the failure of this 'great and wealthy nation' to provide those needs. Such exposure is damaging to the image conveyed and forces explanations about the system that cannot stand careful examination,
leading more and more Americans to the conclusion that the system needs drastic changing (p. 54).

The entire Black Panther Party program follows the model exemplified in the Oakland Community School. There the vital concept is "each one teach one". The older and more experienced child teaches the younger and less experienced child, and in the process both learn. In the Party as a whole, people grow, expand, develop newer, more powerful roles by contributing time, energy, and ideas to help each other. As problems within poor communities are dealt with, in a direct way, with the help and support of community members, these people work with each other and exchange ideas on the process of growth and development, and on self-direction in their lives.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

If there is to be a major change in society, then the majority of the people must begin to examine the system, and demand changes which will make it more accountable to them. Change will not come from isolated instances of small groups battling with the system or undertaking self-destructive strategies; the majority of the people must realize and demand their rights as human beings. Members of disenfranchised groups, and those who are vitally concerned with their welfare, must begin to assume more of a sense of responsibility for their survival.

Poor people are not yet sophisticated enough to be able to create their own alternative institutions, or to be able to deal, successfully, with members of the power sector. The two strategies of political education and community organization seem to be viable and effective methods for bringing about social change in poor communities, for with their implementation, community members have the tools to attempt, collectively, alternative strategies, in their efforts to gain equal rights as United States citizens. Political education facilitates this process by helping the disenfranchised to see the inequities and contradictions in the American system - that all people may be created equal,
but they do not have equal opportunities and rights throughout their lives.

The author chose the Black Panther Party as a model of an agent of social change, because of its effective demonstration, through the community survival programs, that people can create and maintain their own institutions. Certainly, with greater financial resources and more technical assistance, the programs could have been more effective, but in poor communities most often people must utilize what is available and make it work. They have no other choice.

The Black Panther Party used themselves, community members, and available resources within the community to create new options for poor people. They initiated community programs and encouraged the people they served to assume responsibility, for the betterment of the people, of their own lives and institutions. Their slogan "all power to the people" emphasizes their goal to make what poor people needed and wanted into reality. Not all their programs were successful, but they gave people the opportunity to assume roles in which they could view themselves in a newer and more positive light. This feeling of common humanity and concern for the immediacy of the needs and wants for others is reflected in the words of Huey P. Newton in Revolutionary Suicide.
There is an old African saying, "I am we". If you met an African in ancient times and asked him who he was, he would reply, "I am we". This is revolutionary suicide. I, we, all of us are the one and the multitude...

There is another illuminating story of the wise man the fool found in Mao's Little Red Book. A foolish old man went to North Mountain and began to dig; a wise old man passed by and said, "why do you dig, foolish old man? Do you not know that you cannot move the mountain with a little shovel?" But the foolish old man answered resolutely, "While the mountain cannot get any higher, it will get lower with each shovel full. Wen I pass on, my son, and his son, and his son's sons will go on making the mountain lower. Why can't we move the mountain?" And the foolish old man kept digging and the generations that followed after him and the wise old man looked on in disgust. But the resoluteness and the spirit of the generations that followed the foolish old man touched God's heart, and God sent two angels who put the mountain on their backs and moved the mountain.

This is the story Mao told. When he spoke of God he meant the six hundred million who helped him to move imperialism and bourgeoisie thinking, the two great mountains.

The reactionary suicide is "wise" and the revolutionary suicide is a "fool", a fool for the revolution in a way that Paul meant when he spoke of being a "fool for Christ". That foolishness can move the mountain of oppression; it is our great leap and our commitment to the dead and the unborn.

We will touch God's heart; we will touch the people's hearts, and together we will move the mountain (pp. 371-372).

It is apparent from the policies of the late 1960's and early 1970's that the United States government is abdicating its responsibility to its minority citizens. Funds and jobs for minority youngsters have been cut back, food stamps may soon be cut back, welfare budgets
are being decreased, and attempts at national health insurance are stalled. The current priority of the government seems to be controlling the economics of most of the underdeveloped countries of the world. There is a precedent in American history for "minority" citizens to assume a mature set of strategies which, by force, overturns the status quo:

...that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it...

This change need not be violent or destructive to any group of people. The ideal of social change is to create a situation in which all people will have a just share of the resources of our society. Hopefully, this would result in a more humane equitable living experience for all people.

The urban unrest since the 1960's and early 1970's and the problems and victories of the colonized people in other parts of the world demonstrate immediacy of need for social intervention strategies. This government responded to the early indications of unrest with affirmative action programs, the "war on poverty", and various Washington-controlled "poverty programs". These programs, however, were instituted at a strong point in our economy. Now, when our economy is at a low point, and unrest continues to exist, disenfranchised people unite and make
demands for equality, and the federal government must respond in a new way.

The burden for a new solution must be borne by the people. As has been stated before, the poor people in our society particularly, are divided, and their energies for survival are focused on many problem areas. The result of this division is that their goals are primarily individual, rather than group-oriented. The programs of the Black Panther Party are a model for collective action and growth both within the individual and the community.

First, the people of the community participate in the initiation and the maintenance of their own institutions. This step demonstrates to them their own power and capability for collective work. In the process of building these institutions they are placed in a situation where they carry on a dialogue to exchange ideas and ideals, while the institutions themselves meet their basic needs.

Second, through dialogue and collective work on programs which affect themselves and their children, people can begin to realize their position on the political and economic scale. They gain familiarity with a new approach to problems: that of analyzing a problem and designing a collective approach to alleviate it. Their feeling of strength and ability to deal with concrete situations is enhanced, along with the growing awareness of
themselves in the new role of initiators.

Third, as people become committed to the programs and they prove to be effective, more and more people see them, hear about them and are affected by them. As a result, the movement toward new social alternatives grows.

The community survival programs of the Black Panther Party were carefully designed responses to immediate needs of poor communities everywhere, instituted with the ideal of ultimate self-control for the people within their lives. At the time many isolated groups were dealing with the more grandiose notion of social revolution, but the majority of disenfranchised individuals, being categorized, bureaucratized, and divided, were not prepared for this. The more balanced and reasoned problem-solving approach of the Panthers gained support because people saw immediate results. The community survival programs affected many people both practically and in the development of new political perspectives. They are a part of the necessary growth process toward true equality for all people in this country.

If this growth seems unrealistic, we need only look at international successes such as Cuba, Viet Nam, and most recently, Angola. Although it was necessary for the peoples' organizations to establish military units in their struggles, the establishment of those units was made possible through the successful implementation of the strategies of
political education and community organization. The results of these strategies were not realized overnight. Rather, the outcome is brought about by hard, often tedious, day-to-day work, which may last for long periods of time.
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APPENDIX I

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

(The Ten Point Program)

March 29, 1972

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

   We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

   We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and 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 CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

   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 American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black People. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

   We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.
We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.
We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.
We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR
ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor, oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLES' COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

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 to 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 unalienable 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 to 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.
APPENDIX II
THREE MODELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PRACTICE
ACCORDING TO SELECTED PRACTICE VARIABLES
OF JOHN ROTHMAN

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Practice Variables</th>
<th>Model A (Locality Development)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. goal categories of community action</td>
<td>self-help; community capacity and integration (process goals)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions</td>
<td>community eclipsed, anomie; lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities; static traditional community</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. basic change strategy</td>
<td>broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. characteristic change tactics and techniques</td>
<td>consensus; communication among community groups and interests; group discussion</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. salient practitioner roles</td>
<td>enabler-catalyst, coordinator; teacher of problem-solving skills and ethical values</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. medium of change</td>
<td>manipulation of small task-orientated groups</td>
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<td>7. orientation toward power structure</td>
<td>members of power structure as collaborators in a common venture</td>
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<td>8. boundary definition of client system or constituency</td>
<td>total geographic community</td>
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<td>9. assumptions regarding interests of community subparts</td>
<td>common interests or reconcilable differences</td>
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<td>10. conception of the public interest</td>
<td>rationalist-unitary</td>
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<td>11. conception of the client population or constituency</td>
<td>citizens</td>
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<td>12. conception of client role</td>
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<td>Practice Variables</td>
<td>Model B (Social Planning)</td>
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<td>1. goal categories of community action</td>
<td>problem-solving with regard to substantive community problems (task goals)</td>
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<td>2. assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions</td>
<td>substantive social problems; mental and physical health, housing, recreation</td>
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<td>3. basic change strategy</td>
<td>fact-gathering about problems on the most rational course of action</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. characteristic change tactics and techniques</td>
<td>consensus or conflict</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. salient practitioner roles</td>
<td>fact-gatherer and analyst, program implementer, facilitator</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. medium of change</td>
<td>manipulation of formal organizations and of data</td>
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<td>7. orientation toward power structure</td>
<td>power structure as employers and sponsors</td>
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<td>8. boundary definition of client system</td>
<td>total community or community segment (including &quot;functional&quot; community)</td>
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<td>Practice Variables</td>
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<td>1. goal categories of community action</td>
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<td>3. basic change strategy</td>
<td>crystallization of issues and organization of people to take action against enemy targets</td>
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<td>activist-advocate: agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan</td>
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<td>12. conception of client role</td>
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