

A New

By Ross K. Baker

Assistant professor of political science,
Rutgers University

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By David Hoffman

Washington Post Foreign Service

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South Vietnamese generals, politicians, journalists, even businessmen seem to share their President's optimism. A consensus appears to be building that no matter what strategy the Communists pursue in their new offensive, it can only fail—on the battlefield. Conversely, it can succeed only in America.

Behind the shellings, the infantry probes, the acts of sabotage and the terrorism that rocked Vietnam last week, Saigonese see a single Communist purpose: to convince Americans that the war is hopeless. Americans presumably would then pressure their President to recall a half million GIs from Southeast Asia—with concessions at the Paris peace talks paving their road home.

That sort of pressure did build rapidly in America after the 1968 Tet offensive, after the spring offensive and after the August-September offensive last year. But those offensives and this one—judged by its first week—are worlds apart militarily. If so, diplomats keep asking here, why should a similar response be likely?

Inexpensive Propaganda

As James put it, "When a black man is thrown out of his house, he never puts his roots down again." Urban renewal is perceived as the work of unresponsive and arrogant bureaucrats who cater to the needs of large corporations, affluent suburban motorists and disciples of beautification. For Jerry James, the new high-rise public housing units in Newark are "vertical concentration camps."

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Bushels of captured documents warn that an assault on Saigon has been planned meticulously. But none hint when it might begin and all are suspect because of the morale problem understood to exist in the Communist army.

See VC, Page B3, Column 4

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The parkway incident was a bloodless standoff, but it demonstrated that between battles, tactical intelligence is



marked difference between the publication and the Panthers in person. This may, however, depend on who the whites are.

Who Is a Racist?

IN THEIR DENUNCIATION of the existing power structure, the Panthers have put their finger on one of the most crucial components of politics in America: the corporate nature of political power, which decrees that a

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MOST OF THE incidents that the Panthers have found themselves in, here and on the West Coast, have been in response to police attempts at search, seizure or arrest. These police initiatives are considered by the Panthers to be provocation requiring acts of self-defense. The slaying of a police officer in Oakland, Calif., and the wounding of Huey Newton, the Panther leader, occurred in the context of a police search of Newton's car. Given the Panther definition of self-defense, the killing of a policeman is usually regarded as a case of justifiable homicide.

The wings of Panther self-defense, however, extend beyond the Panthers themselves to cover the entire black community. The Panthers claim that police activities within the ghetto are usually repressive and aimed at persecution rather than protection. The black man, according to James, is the target of law enforcement rather than its beneficiary.

James asserts that among the police, indeed, within the entire white community, there is a pervasive presumption of wrongdoing in regard to black men. The assumption is that a black man is never really up to any good. When a black man walks along the street with a coat on a hanger, a radio in his hands or a parcel under his arm, he immediately becomes subject to suspicion. That a black person has purchased an article rather than stolen it is difficult for the police to believe.

The normal courtesy rendered by the most hardboiled police officer to

New Jersey... and hatred of the police by some black student riots was regarded by some black student leaders on the Morning-side Heights campus as a publicity stunt. The idea of the hot line, generally regarded as the brainchild of Newark's Police Commissioner Dominic Spina, was actually the idea of a professional "crisis manager" brought in as a consultant on ways to reduce tensions. See PANTHERS, Page B2, Column 1

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Four Black Panther leaders "salute" on a street in New Brunswick, N.J. From left: 2d Lt. James Pelser, Capt. Jerry James, 1st Lt. Greg Criner and 1st Lt. Robert Reynolds.



The 'Other' 55,000 Priests Feel Tide

By Colman McCarthy

McCarthy is a Washington writer who did postgraduate work in theology.

LAST SUNDAY, at a few moments past noon, Jim Carroll left the sacristy of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church at Bolling Air Force Base. Twenty-six, tall, handsome, wearing white vestments and preceded by a modest train of altar boys, he was about to celebrate his first Mass.

The day before, Father Carroll was ordained a priest in New York, along with nine other young men who had completed six years of training in the

ness," "fulfillment," "identity," "meaningful prayers," "finding out who I am." It is a deception because millions of Catholics never see first-hand what the media are talking about.

On the contrary, Father Reilly down at St. Bridget's has been happily celibate for 30 years and wouldn't marry even if the rule were changed. Nor is there a battle in the diocese between the bishop and the priests. If anything, they agree too much. As for the touted Underground Church, well, the Above-ground Church is still on the scene and much in control.

For millions of Catholics like these,

SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 1969

A New Breed of Panther

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THE BOMB came through the open door of the store front at 321 Hawthorne Avenue at 4 in the morning Nov. 21. Carl Nichols, captain of the Newark Black Panther Party, was standing in front of one of the battered wooden desks that served as the main piece of office equipment in the headquarters. The impact from the bomb threw Nichols over the desk, showering him with phosphorus and breaking his right arm. The panel truck from which the bomb was thrown sped away down the street in Newark's black Central Ward. In the view of the Panthers, another skirmish in their war with the police had taken place.

Nichols received emergency hospital treatment and should have been admitted, but he and his colleagues feared another attempt on his life. Since then, Carl Nichols has moved from apartment to apartment in order to prevent his enemies from finishing the job.

The alleged assailants in the bomb incident, as far as the Panthers are concerned, are two Jersey City policemen who, in their off-duty hours, contrive ways to harass and intimidate the Black Panthers. The police have the license numbers of cars owned by the Panther Party members and tow them away for parking offenses for which other vehicles merely receive tickets. The headquarters are closely watched, and when groups of Panthers leave the headquarters (they believe in the safety of numbers and travel in groups) they are usually followed. With New Jersey's new wiretap law, the restrictions on bugging their phones have also been removed, and the Panthers expect to be tapped.

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ON DEC. 11, 1967, a group of Panthers was traveling south on the Garden State Parkway toward New Brunswick, where they were to appear before a class at Rutgers. One car blew a tire and as the other two stopped to help, the members found themselves

diligently carried on by the police.

The Panthers are by no means exclusively on the receiving end. A bomb struck a Jersey City station house early in January and the police concluded that it was in retaliation for the attack on Nichols. Several members of the Panthers were arrested. The Panthers denied that they were involved in the Jersey City bombing. If such a reprisal were, in fact, perpetrated by the Panthers, it would have been at variance with their frequently repeated statements of violence only in self-defense.

Self-defense as a belief, a working principle and an operational code has been stressed by Jerry James, a captain from the Orange branch of the party, who has taken charge of the Newark chapter during Carl Nichols' convalescence.

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The wings of Panther self-defense, however, extend beyond the Panthers themselves to cover the entire black community. The Panthers claim that police activities within the ghetto are usually repressive and aimed at persecution rather than protection. The black man, according to James, is the target of law enforcement rather than its beneficiary.

James asserts that among the police, indeed, within the entire white community, there is a pervasive presumption of wrongdoing in regard to black men. The assumption is that a black man is never really up to any good. When a black man walks along the

most blatant white malefactor is the quintessence of cordiality when compared to the suspicious, hostile and brutal treatment accorded to the black man. The police presumption of black criminality has its parallel in the black presumption of police savagery.

The image of the policeman as a pig permeates Panther demonology and is everywhere in Panther writings and dialogue. The mention of the word "police," indeed, is avoided assiduously by the Panthers. James referred variously to the "Newark pigs" and the "New Jersey State pigs." The disdain and hatred of the police by the Panthers extends to the self-proclaimed auxiliaries of the police in Newark, such as Anthony Imperiale's North Ward Citizens Council.

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efficacy of this cold war link must be judged by the degree of control that Jones has in restraining black passions and Imperiale in controlling white reaction.
 Although Jones is well known to Newark blacks and is on the periphery of the Panther Party, he is often gone from Newark on lecture tours, and local black organizations tend to resent the presence of black celebrities, especially during periods of tension and confrontation.
 The appearance of Stokely Carmichael at Columbia University during the student riots was regarded by some black student leaders on the Morning-side Heights campus as a publicity stunt. The idea of the hot line, generally regarded as the brainchild of Newark's Police Commissioner Dominic Spina, was actually the idea of a professional "crisis manager" brought in as a consultant on ways to reduce tensions.
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ances are the only individuals equipped to produce local settlements or agreements.

Despite the appearance of Nationwide organization, and its attendant roster of celebrities, the Black Panther Party is in reality a loosely connected structure of local chapters concerned primarily with local issues. This is one of the greatest strengths of the party.

There is an unspoken but devoutly pursued code that each local chapter is the best judge of how to cope with conditions in its own city. Despite their national reputations, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver of the Oakland chapter have strenuously avoided imposing themselves on other chapters.

The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) produced a large number of peregrinating prima donnas who, armed with the lustre and renown of national recognition, traveled the length and breadth of America as bearers of Olympian advice from their national headquarters. This facile notion of interchangeable leadership has contributed to the decline of these groups and has raised the Panthers to their currently exalted status within many black communities.

Land for Black Man

THERE IS, TO BE SURE, a national platform consisting of ten points, among which are: land for black men, exemption for black men from military service, black control of black communities and freedom for all blacks currently held in state, local and Federal jails.

This last plank, Jerry James explained, was not for the purpose of turning loose convicted felons but rather is related to another plank which states that black men accused of crimes have the right to be judged by their black peers. The underlying theory here is that only a ghetto resident is competent to judge the circumstances which would prompt a black man to commit a crime. According to Panther analysis, all black men currently serving time are illegally incarcerated.

The issue of land for black men is one which the Newark Panthers, at least, speak about most passionately. Urban renewal is characterized by the Newark Panthers as "black removal." The interstate highway and the construction of new office buildings in former areas of high density housing are tangible enemies of the ghetto resident.

As James put it, "When a black man is thrown out of his house, he never puts his roots down again." Urban renewal is perceived as the work of unresponsive and arrogant bureaucrats who cater to the needs of large corporations, affluent suburban motorists and disciples of beautification. For Jerry James, the new high-rise public housing units in Newark are "vertical concentration camps."

ark. It is precisely their fearsome revolutionary image, however, that provides the Panthers with the scare power to exert leverage upon the white establishment.

The Clenched Fist

SO FAR, AT LEAST, the Newark Panthers have leaned more heavily on the book than on the rifle. They have been less aggressor than the objects of aggression.

Self-protection is necessarily a passive role. If Mao and Castro were only interested in protecting the Chinese and Cuban peasants, they would still be in the caves of Yenan and the hills of Sierra Maestra. The doctrine, symbolism and style of the Panthers are strongly revolutionary. The black beret, the leather jacket and the clenched fist salute all point to a cohesive, dedicated band of black insurgents bent on the destruction of the system. The actual record of the Panthers indicates otherwise. There has not been a single violent incident involving outsiders and Panthers that has stemmed exclusively from Panther initiative.

The random acts of terror directed against New York policemen last summer were not traced to the Panthers. The deaths of two members of the Los Angeles Panthers at UCLA on Jan. 17 were part of an internal power struggle over leadership of the vocal and articulate black student groups at the university. The tragic events of Cleveland last summer when black snipers led by Fred Ahmed Evans fired on police were likewise not precipitated by the Panthers.

The decentralized structure of the Panthers makes it very difficult to generalize about them as a national party, and the Jersey chapters appear to differ in some aspects, both in style and behavior, from the West Coast groups.

Doctrinal leadership and propaganda emanate from the charter chapters on the West Coast, especially Oakland. The weekly newspaper, the Black Panther, comes from the Ministry of Information in San Francisco. The Newark chapter receives its copies of the paper by air from California and distributes them locally. The newspaper comes on as a strident, inflammatory, scatological, revolutionary tabloid which is quite at variance with the relatively subdued, polite, almost cordial manner that the Newark and Orange chapter members convey in person. In relations with white people, this is the marked difference between the publication and the Panthers in person. This may, however, depend on who the whites are.

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we are an army of liberation for blacks, but in the process we intend to liberate the poor whites as well."

White Students as Allies

AS FOR THE WHITE student radicals, the Panthers see them as important tactical allies. A cynical reading of this view is that the Panthers regard white student radicals as tools, rather than equal collaborators. James does say that "whites can go places that blacks cannot. If they (the white student radicals) can do this and teach the people or at least begin the process of making them aware of their plight, we can finish the job."

The partnership aspects of a black militant-white militant combination, however, are even more strongly stressed by James.

"All through history, black men in America have assumed that all whites are enemies. Now, however, we find that white college radicals are our allies with whom we can fight the revolution together. We will get black power for our people; they will get white power for their people."

As an example of a black racist organization, James points to the Black Muslims. The Newark Panthers are proud of the defections from the Muslims to the Panthers. One of James's aides is Lt. Sha'azz, a former Muslim.

The Panthers espouse none of the religious doctrines which characterize the Muslims. Both groups do put a premium on self-defense: the Muslims on judo and karate and the Panthers on marksmanship. James would probably say that karate is not much use against a man with a machine gun.

The two groups have in common a highly moralistic, almost puritanical code of behavior. Some of the ten rules of conduct for Panthers are:

- No party member can have narcotics or "weed" in his possession while doing party work.
- Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from the party.
- No member can be drunk while doing party work.
- There are also prohibitions against theft and against pointing weapons at anyone but the enemy.

One thing that is very striking about the Panther group in Newark and Orange is that women play a clearly marginal role. The "sisters," as they are called, do have the simulated military rank carried by the men, but they are manifestly the support unit in this black army.

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What's in a Name?

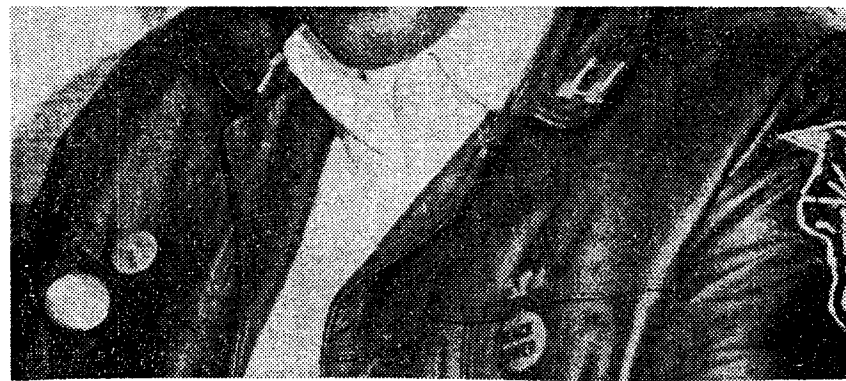
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calling itself the Black Panthers to
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Lemmings" or the "Black Chipmunks."
But what they lose in public relations
with a largely hostile or fearful white
community, they gain in the kind of
"scare value" that can wrest conces-
sions from the hated establishment.

An equally important gain is in the
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as a soldier or an Irishman as a cop.

It is a case of the last becoming first.
For the black man, it is the transition
from supplicant to stalwart; from peon
to paladin. How sweet it is, after centu-
ries of being ridiculed and scorned as
a bumbling, feckless object of pity, to
be the object of fear and dread.

It might be inferred that this public
image of the Panthers as unalloyed
militants interferes, to a degree, with
their efforts aimed at changes within
the system; that it would be difficult
for them to present themselves as "re-
sponsible spokesmen" of the black
community. But this is precisely the
image the Panthers hope to achieve,
for they see their role as "irrespon-
sible spokesmen" as an infinitely more
productive approach. That the Pan-
thers prefer to use threats and menac-
ing gestures is less a commentary on
black extremism than it is on the un-
responsiveness of whites.

This brings up a third characteristic



Jerry James . . . "a book in one hand and a rifle in the other."

which again may be peculiar to the
Newark-Orange group, and that is the
strongly reformist, system-oriented
posture which characterizes the Pan-
thers as an operational rather than
ideological group.

The Panthers do not seem to spend
a great deal of time planning the pre-
cise configurations of a postrevolu-
tionary society. In the Newark-Orange
group, at any rate, there was disagree-
ment over precisely what revolution-
ary model the Panthers followed.
James said the Chinese. Capt. Lou,
who had spent several years in North
Africa, said the Algerian, and Lt.
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Both the revolutionary paradigm
and the tactical requirements leading
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erately vague. Revolutionary planning is
apparently less important than the pro-
jection of a revolutionary image and
style.

If the Panthers are not presently
dedicated to the total overthrow of the
system, why do they employ revolu-
tionary symbols?

The answer probably lies in the fact
that low-keyed, deferential appeals by
old-style, middle-class black groups are
seen as failing to win the substantial,
tangible benefits produced by violence.
Fearful of black riots, the white com-
munity has proven considerably more
tractable than it was when petitions,
boycotts and sit-ins were used to artic-
ulate black interests.

When James talks about the book
and the rifle, he appears to be offering
a choice between the two. But these
Panthers with their power to frighten
and enlighten have discovered that the
book will receive greater attention
when the rifle is in plain view.

The Price of Restraint

THE SECOND question relevant to
the thesis of the reformist Panth-
thers is whether or not they will con-
tinue to operate within the system.
The response to this is that they will
exhibit restraint if the system is able
to process black demands in a reason-
ably effective fashion, particularly in
law enforcement, urban renewal, edu-
cation and welfare.

The third question is whether they
will continue to seek common cause
with certain sections of the white com-
munity, notably the campus militants.
A partial answer was provided by

James when he exhorted the students
not to change; to maintain their radi-
cal views and carry them on after col-
lege and pass them on to future uni-
versity students. The white militant
students are the Panthers' only link to
white society. As long as these student
groups exist, the Panthers will proba-
bly trust them and cooperate with
them. The most successful Panther
chapters are those with easy access to
large universities with substantial
numbers of white student radicals.

If Despair Sets In

THE LAST QUESTION is what the
Panthers will do if they give up
on the system as unresponsive, un-
sympathetic and obdurate.

There are several models for the
Panthers to follow if despair sets in.
They can go the way of the Evans
group in Cleveland, engaging in hope-
less random acts of violence and terror
with predictably tragic consequences,
given the asymmetry of strength be-
tween them and the forces of law and
order. They can indulge in revolution-
ary cabals and conspiracies like RAM
(the Revolutionary Action Movement),
which allegedly seeks to assassinate
systematically moderate black leaders,
or they can opt out altogether like
Robert Williams and his Republic of
New Africa.

One fact does emerge from this as-
sessment of the Black Panther Party:
they are neither the most extreme, the
most potentially destructive nor the
most negative force to emerge from
the hopelessness and squalor of Ameri-
ca's black ghettos.

If white Americans dig in their heels
and attempt to turn back the clock,
black organizations will arise that will
make white people long for the day
when the angry, articulate Black
Panthers acted as spokesmen for black
people.

This was stated most eloquently by
James as he sat in his apartment on
the day he was released from Hudson
County Jail. Across his lap was a 16-
shot, pump action Remington rifle.
"There are madmen in the ghetto," he
said, "men who will kill any white on
any pretext, and they're waiting for
me to fail. They may even hurry the
process by killing me. You can't deal
with these people. Next to them, the
Panthers come off looking like moder-
ates."

Panthers



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The Central Committee of the Black Panther Party includes only one woman, Kathleen Cleaver, the wife of the novelist and Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

The attractive young black women in the Newark-Orange group were clearly not as serious or as dedicated as the men. James was careful to post a man with the women when they were talking to outsiders lest the women fail to describe properly the goals and nature of the party.

Despite its display of party paraphernalia and invocation of Panther symbols, the "ladies' auxiliary" is clearly not central to the operation of the group. It is a man's movement and one of its unspoken but salient features is the establishment of the primacy of the black male in the context of a revolutionary movement.

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A Different Breed of Panther

PANTHERS, From Page B1

Such grandstand plays by well-intentioned or publicity-conscious outsiders rarely produce any lasting benefits.

Naivete Among Whites

THE RESENTMENT toward outsiders, luminaries, experts and mediators who attempt to resolve local conflicts of which they are only vaguely aware, demonstrates the fallacy of a monolithic, Nationwide "black community." It also indicates a high degree of naivete among white leaders who feel that any well-known black leader can simply drop in on any black ghetto and can, by dint of his reputation, force of personality or color, effectively ply his good offices.

This simplistic view of black social organization is the supreme act of condescension.

For the nub of community control is that local people conversant with local issues that precipitate local grievances are the only individuals equipped to produce local settlements or agreements.

Despite the appearance of Nationwide organization, and its attendant roster of celebrities, the Black Panther Party is in reality a loosely connected structure of local chapters concerned primarily with local issues. This is one of the greatest strengths of the party.

There is an unspoken but devoutly pursued code that each local chapter is the best judge of how to cope with conditions in its own city. Despite their national reputations, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver of the Oakland chapter have strenuously avoided imposing themselves on other chapters.

The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) produced a large number of peregrinating prima donnas who, armed with the lustre and renown of national recognition, traveled the length and breadth of America as bearers of Olympian advice from their national headquarters. This facile notion of interchangeable leadership has contributed to the decline of these groups and has raised the Panthers to their currently exalted status within many black communities.

Land for Black Man

THERE IS, TO BE SURE, a national platform consisting of ten points, among which are: land for black men, exemption for black men from military service, black control of black communities and freedom for all blacks currently held in state, local and Federal

Last Dec. 19, James and a group of Panthers from Newark and Orange went to Washington to protest the routing of Interstate Highway 75 through a black area of Newark. What a curious thing for revolutionaries to do, to protest against a proposed highway! Here were men whose public utterances call for a totally restructured society, a socialist economy and the abolition of capitalism. It is difficult to visualize Lenin visiting the Imperial Ministry of Highways in St. Petersburg to protest against a proposed highway through the proletarian quarters of Moscow.

James would explain this by saying, "We pursue our revolution with a book in one hand and a rifle in the other," and that the Panthers serve an educative as well as an agitative function. There is more to it, however.

Under a rather flamboyant doctrinal overlay, there is a profoundly reformist nature in the Panthers of Newark. It is precisely their fearsome revolutionary image, however, that provides the Panthers with the scare power to exert leverage upon the white establishment.

The Clenched Fist

SO FAR, AT LEAST, the Newark Panthers have leaned more heavily on the book than on the rifle. They have been less aggressor than the objects of aggression.

Self-protection is necessarily a passive role. If Mao and Castro were only interested in protecting the Chinese and Cuban peasants, they would still be in the caves of Yenan and the hills of Sierra Maestra. The doctrine, symbolism and style of the Panthers are strongly revolutionary. The black beret, the leather jacket and the clenched fist salute all point to a cohesive, dedicated band of black insurgents bent on the destruction of the system. The actual record of the Panthers indicates otherwise. There has not been a single violent incident involving outsiders and Panthers that has stemmed exclusively from Panther initiative.

The random acts of terror directed against New York policemen last summer were not traced to the Panthers. The deaths of two members of the Los Angeles Panthers at UCLA on Jan. 17 were part of an internal power struggle over leadership of the vocal and articulate black student groups at the university. The tragic events of Cleveland last summer when black snipers led by Fred Ahmed Evans fired on police were likewise not precipitated by

functional ethnic or economic group can wield decisive power and, indeed, veto political actions by virtue of its political "clout" within the system. Blacks have yet to appreciate their own power and have been excluded from this corporate interlocking directorate of American pressure and veto groups.

One of the standard denunciations of the Panthers is that they are racist. Panther Capt. James, however, went out of his way to deny that the Panthers were racist; that they advocated black supremacy or in any way regarded black men as morally or biologically superior to whites.

"A great many people," James said, "think that the Panthers are racist. We find this belief so absurd, Eldridge Cleaver said, we do not even want to respond to such a charge. We consistently maintain that any Panther who is a racist or is thought to be one is immediately expelled from the party. We are an army of liberation for blacks, but in the process we intend to liberate the poor whites as well."

White Students as Allies

AS FOR THE WHITE student radicals, the Panthers see them as important tactical allies. A cynical reading of this view is that the Panthers regard white student radicals as tools, rather than equal collaborators. James does say that "whites can go places that blacks cannot. If they (the white student radicals) can do this and teach the people or at least begin the process of making them aware of their plight, we can finish the job."

The partnership aspects of a black militant-white militant combination, however, are even more strongly stressed by James.

"All through history, black men in America have assumed that all whites are enemies. Now, however, we find that white college radicals are our allies with whom we can fight the revolution together. We will get black power for our people; they will get white power for their people."

As an example of a black racist organization, James points to the Black Muslims. The Newark Panthers are proud of the defections from the Muslims to the Panthers. One of James's aides is Lt. Shabazz, a former Muslim.

The Panthers espouse none of the religious doctrines which characterize the Muslims. Both groups do put a premium on self-defense: the Muslims on judo and karate and the Panthers on marksmanship. James would probably say that karate is not much use against a man with a machine gun.

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