

THE **BLACK**SCHOLAR INTERVIEWS:

BOBBY SEALE

BLACK SCHOLAR: *What are some of the things you and the party have been doing recently?*

SEALE: Well, we've been doing quite a few things. We've been trying to do some concrete organizing. To get the people organized in the community, they have to have something concrete to unify around. So, we are trying to make an example out of Oakland. We want to unite black people around my mayoralty campaign simultaneously with our survival programs. The survival program is really a means of organizing black people in the black community.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *You are referring to your candidacy for the mayor of Oakland?*

SEALE: Yes, and Elaine Brown is going to run along with me as a candidate for councilwoman. The city of Oakland has four seats open — the mayoral seat and three other city council seats. We will probably slate up with one Chicano and another black brother or sister from some other black community organization that gen-

erally relates and understands what we are doing.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *How does this campaign relate to the movement?*

SEALE: Well, people have had a tendency to define the movement strictly in terms of outright, direct confrontations. That's not to say that confrontation shouldn't exist. We think that confrontation in any dialectical sense means that there is contradiction going on. A direct overt contradiction means that there is a confrontation going on between some aspect of the masses and the ruling class structure — racist lackeys or what have you. One thing in the past that's happened is that people saw the issues in many cases but they were never really organized to take control of the existing institutions that affected their lives. This is the Party's analysis.

To use Oakland's institutions as a means to run the survival program is to organize and unify the people, and make those institutions serve the people. But the main thing to do, of course, is get the racist flunkies and lackeys of the capitalist ruling class out of the system.

Oakland is 50 percent black. There's also a 12 per cent Chicano population in Oakland. The greater population of the city of Oakland is over 60 per cent Chicano and black. But there's another aspect to winning an election besides population — that's effective organization.

BOBBY SEALE is Chairman and Co-Founder of The Black Panther Party. He is presently campaigning for the office of Mayor of Oakland, as a Black Panther Party candidate. Elections will be held in Spring 1973. A life-long resident of Oakland, Bobby Seale is the author of *Seize the Time* and is presently working on another book dealing with his experience in the Movement from the late 1960's on into the present.

For out of all those confrontations — out of all the organizing efforts since 1954 how many real institutions do we control? Very few. Yet, there's potential all over the country, especially in counties, whole counties throughout the South. County seats are white racially controlled because they are gerrymandered.

We're in a very complex system. It's not Africa, it's not China, it's not Russia in 1917. It's here — racist America 1972. As long as it's complex to the people, it will not become simple, in their minds and their consciousness until they feel that they can control it. It's complex because the people don't feel that they can control it. One manifestation of the people's frustration that comes to the mind is the old voter registration — but nothing to vote for, game. But it's changing. The Party's got the largest voter registrant crew in the community. Nine out of ten of all the people registering to vote say they are going to vote for Bobby Seale. There is something to vote for now. I think at this time the people have decided that they really want control and when you start talking about power to the people or black power to black people, this is what is going to have to start happening. And I think it is beyond electing a cat just because he's black nowadays. I mean you can elect a man just because he's black but has he got enough revolutionary sense to step by step try to alter the oppressive conditions that black people are subjected to? Now, at the same time we attempt to take control of the system — and this is one of the things that Fanon brought out — we must recognize that the lumpen out there really wants to take the place of the oppressive establishment. But Fanon also made another note — that political education is a historical necessity for the oppressed class. So through all of these conflicts we have had a lot of political education from direct experience and direct practice.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *What is the relationship of the black student-black studies movement to this process?*

SEALE: We have Black Panther Party members who actually enrolled in school to increase their skills and to create the Black Students Alliance (BSA), along with the black students that were already on campus. What we have done with Grove Street College, Merritt College, Laney College, Cal State at Hayward and some black medical students at the University of California was create what we call Black Students Alliances. They are based in the community at this time. They are working right now to raise funds and put funds together from the campuses and also the community and, with whatever aid the Party can contribute, to set up actual community survival centers where they have programs to aid students on campuses and also a program to directly aid oppressed people in the community. Of course when I say students on campus, remember I don't separate the student from the community because he is a community person. He's one and the same — just like a worker is really one and the same in the community. This group of brothers is very important because we have to get as many brothers who are into any kind of academic situation to regard their skills in terms of building a framework for black liberation. Skills are very important. The city of Oakland has a 72 or 74 million dollar budget. Fifty-eight million dollars of that 74 million goes for personnel and other expenditures to run the city. Fifty percent of that 58 million goes really for salaries and jobs. But it's not so much the salaries and jobs that we want the brothers in the BSA to relate to. We want them to really relate to the liberation struggle.

Now, between now and 1975, you have to understand there's four seats open in 1973 and five seats open in 1975. We can take this election. We know that. We have the machinery to do it — we have the organized people to do it and we're going to organize a lot more people to do it.

The brothers are going to have to fulfil 2,000 or 3,000 jobs just in the city government alone. But they have to have the

mind and the dedication, the will and the heart, you know, and the understanding of unifying and organizing the people. They have to get some basic understanding of the dialectical process — how to apply these basic dialectical principles to black people's situations in building this framework as it's related to this racist system.

These are the brothers we're gonna have to have — that's gonna have to run the city government. Don't no one mayor in no one city council run a city. It's similar to our studies in black history in which we remember the situation that Brother Marcus Garvey was in. Eventually brother Du Bois did admit that his economic program with the Black Star Shipping Lines was correct, but he didn't have the personnel. I remember reading one significant thing about the Black Star Shipping Lines, which had to hire these whites and other fools to run the shipping lines. They were taking a cargo load of rum, I think it was to Cuba, across the Gulf and these people — who weren't dedicated to the liberation struggle for black people at that time — were running the shipping lines and they hollered across the ship that the ship was sinking and some mate or other hollered "cargo overboard."

You know rum comes in boxes, wooden boxes, and you know rum in a bottle, a bottle will float on water. And the cargo was floating on top of the water and come to find out the ship wasn't sinking. By the time they got all the cargo overboard, there was another ship about a mile behind picking up the cargo — ripping them off — I mean this is what was happening.

So it's like a ship that we are dealing with, you see. And so when we start talking about this system here and running the city government — that's a port out there, if you can just look out there — that's the Port of Oakland. This is one of the significant ports, a pretty large port, lots of trade. Now as to whether we will own ships or not is one thing but whether or not we will have the world trade on one level or another might be a reality in the future.

The fact is, that the Port of Oakland has a larger budget than the city of Oakland itself. The Port of Oakland has almost a 90-million dollar budget. That's very significant and the Port of Oakland is under certain Revision and Ordinance Procedures of the city council and mayor of the city of Oakland. So the BSA is very important — brothers with skills who've got some minds about the liberation struggle.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *In this respect, there's Mayor Stokes in Cleveland. He had the leadership, so to speak, at the top, but he did not have his men in any of the bureaucratic slots, management and personnel, which meant that he didn't have total power. You'll be getting people into the lower echelons in the service — into the bureaucracy, essentially.*

SEALE: I think that most black politicians who have been elected to office in the past have been blocked and cornered. I think they lack the real organized forces that they really need, brothers and sisters dedicated to the liberation struggle. I think they lack this. I mean it's superficial — yeah brother, we are black and on the scene — we are together is one thing. But the problem is to be able to have a lot of minds that really focus in on what to do. That's why I fall back upon what Brother Fanon said, "That political education for black and oppressed people is a historical necessity," and also for the varying organizations in this country.

We want a ship — we're gonna run this ship this time. We're not gonna to have it ripped off from us by some jive racist working behind the scene. If anything, our principle first is expropriation from them, right? So you have to have a properly organized machine, politically educated and hip brothers and sisters functioning within the framework of the system.

We've also learned that probably more than 50% of the people working in the city government agencies in the city of Oakland live outside the city of Oakland. So black people are not even represented

in the real functioning, internal functioning, of the varied governmental systems — even though they pay city tax. Fifty to sixty per cent of the people in personnel who work inside the city of Oakland live outside the city limits. The police department is sixty percent I remember reading a long time ago. This is what's going on.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *So you're saying that students haven't really faded as much as a lot of people think but that they have a new role to play in this new politics for a black community.*

SEALE: To answer that aspect of the question, they are actually in service to the people. We're gonna use the existing institution to serve the people. See, we're part of the system. You cannot get out of the system. It's absurd to say you gonna get out the system, really. Unless you're gonna get out of the universe. The very system that sends the cops down to beat our heads causes us to be hungry. I mean, how you're gonna stop it unless you take control of the system and then from there transform it. If there's an institutional aspect inside the city government that cannot be made to function, then you eradicate that whole system. So if we want all of the students to play a significant part — this is very important — black students, they got a job on their hands and don't even know it yet and I would really like to get this over to them. And this is just only one city.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *Can you tell us more about your community organization program?*

SEALE: We're gonna make a test run of it on the city. We haven't got down to county governments throughout the South. We have to have the nerve, audacity, gump-tions, guts and gall and the minds, the will and the spirit to walk right off down South — a hundred Panthers and a hundred students, register everybody in the county to vote, put a proposition on the ballot and vote out the gerrymandering system, vote in a whole new black slate of revolutionary

black people in those areas. It can be done all over the country. Then we talk about land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. Organizations that's talking about we need seven states and all that stuff — the man's not gonna give it to you. You have to take it if it's only piece by piece, city by city and county by county where black people have the potential to build that broad revolutionary framework for all black people.

So when you hear the system running around here talking about the Panthers are working within the system, what are we doing? We are talking about working against the corruption and getting those racists out of the system, to expropriate. I've heard rumors that ten to twenty per cent of the businessmen are going to leave as soon as I become elected mayor. We don't care. We hope they do leave. Our Survival Conference — you heard about. The March 29, 30 and 31st, 1972 conference. Between 16,000 and 17,000 black people attended that. We registered 11,120 people to vote. We gave 13,000 plus sickle cell anemia tests and 10,000 bags of groceries. The June 24th conference drew about 5,500 to 6,000 people to Oakland Auditorium. The May 13th conference drew about 3,000 people. There's also the petitions that we have been sending out to free Chief of Staff David Hilliard from prison; we have upwards of 50,000 who've signed those. Off of that list alone we think we have calculated somewhere in the area of about 7,000 or 8,000 people together, just off that list alone in the last year since the Chief has been in jail that live in Oakland. These lists put together, after all the cross indexing, give us a net list of about 22,000 people. Out of that 22,000, there's somewhere in the area 12,000 or 13,000 people who live in the city of Oakland and they are 99.99 percent black. Alright?

Out of that nearly 13,000 mailing list of people who live in Oakland, we are organizing 2,440 precinct workers. We are gonna work 240 precincts. There are only 440 precincts in the city of Oakland. Two-hundred

candidates who stand for the liberation of and forty precincts constitute the predominately black and Chicano belt. We will have ten precinct workers per precinct. We have sectioned down the city and the black belt to eight sections.

In those eight sections we have what you call precinct subsections. A subsection would constitute anywhere from five to eight precincts per subsection. We have, therefore, somewhere in the area of 42 subsections throughout the black belt that encompasses all of these 240 precincts where in each precinct we'll have ten precinct workers on the average apiece. Now this is a heavy overestimation because we can do it with five precinct workers easily. This is the baddest machine ever been set up in a black community in this country. It has never been done before in the history of America.

So the businessmen want to leave, huh? We're running a test now in the community with one hundred Panthers knocking on doors asking for one quarter for the Survival Program on Friday nights, it should produce over \$1,000. With 2,240 precinct workers we expect a minimum of \$6,000 per week. We haven't even got to selling bottles and the paper drives. We want the people to save for the campaign for the Survival Programs because people really relate to the survival programs. Those survival conferences were more than what people saw. They were a means to organize. I can go anywhere in this community and there's not hardly a child that don't know me, okay?

I'm not bragging — that's just what the situation is. I didn't ask to be gagged — I didn't ask to be shot at, you know. Okay, I'm not the same kind of candidate as the average candidate. The average candidate has to be built up a couple of months on the radio and on billboards and people never heard of him until they saw his name on billboards or leaflets or heard his name on radio. It's not that case with me. I'm already known. This kind of campaign is a lot different. The money is in the com-

munity in nickles, dimes, quarters. The average black person will donate a nickle or dime. He'll donate a dime to the campaign — he'll donate a dime to the survival programs.

The survival programs will mostly be made non-profit corporations, so we separate them somewhat as much as we can from any allocated funds. These non-profit status corporations will be controlled by community people, who become the trustees in the community — reverends and preachers who have been working with us and other dedicated people. They will be separated so they can actually buy up property. The free food program will be made a non-profit corporation like that. So this same political machine that we are putting together can pick up all the dimes. They can raise two or three hundred or four hundred thousand dollars in a matter of a couple of months — this same 2,440 precinct workers. This is what we are going to educate them to. They are going to see beyond just a mayoralty campaign.

So when the business men leave, if we can spot nine supermarkets in the area, we're gonna buy up every last one of them and put those very business institutions in the community back in the control of black hands in the black community via the institutions in the very survival programs. Then we can have food conspiracy programs for the people. We'll buy food on a large wholesale quantity basis and it's business, even to those jive businessmen. But now we are trying to link up with the Muslim brothers, so that they will sell us a lot of wholesale stuff. So that keeps the money circulating among black people.

This sounds like I'm a practical man but I think in dealing with the economics of the black community and getting some kind of economic stability in the black community. This is the kind of stuff that initially has to be laid out and has to be done so the poor black people know really what to do. The old concept of buying black for the sake of buying black is not where it's at, but buying black for the sake

of circulating that money right back through some constructive program that feeds the community is right. We could put up eight supermarkets, one in North Oakland and one in West Oakland and one in Elmhurst and one in Brookfield and one in the Seminary District and one in the Foothills area. A chain of supermarkets under the control of the people's community survival program. With a food conspiracy program, we can knock prices of food down 20% and 25%. Where the people are paying 9, 10 and 11 cents per pound for potatoes, we can pick them up anywhere between 3.9 cents per pound to 5¢ cents per pound, and sell them to the people at 6 cents per pound and 7 cents a pound so you have enough overhead in economics to stabilize what's going on. Now this is projected.

But you can build righteous community cooperatives where the people really control institutions in the community. But you have to have at least this — the control of the city government and the city agencies to protect that institution of the people. If you don't have that, what do you do? You begin too much to rely upon the system itself. We have to have some collective association to teach the people how to do this by building. This is what I mean when I say a liberation framework. They got to be able to stabilize, and we have to make a base for people — all kinds of bases scattered all across the country like this. If we have any more conflicts in the future shooting it out with anymore police, it's gonna be because of this program.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *You mentioned just once in passing about the class aspect within the black community. However slight it is, there is nonetheless class differentiation — some black bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, workers, lumpen, etc. How do you see the Party's relationship to the black class structure?*

SEALE: I see it as very good. We did have a boycott at one time — one against Brother Bill Boyette. We never called him an en-

emy. We always called him a victim because he was a victim along with us. He might have had a liquor store where he sold black people liquor and he might have made \$16,000 a month or whatever his gross take was, but regardless, we saw him as a victim under the greater white monopoly capitalists. But we reached an agreement where Boyette and the Cal-Pack Liquor Association put up a United Black Fund, to solicit and donate these funds to our survival programs. Not only community survival programs in the Party but other constructive programs in the community that black organizations might have. Ron Dellums was the mediator of this settlement. I think that was healthy in that sense.

On another level with the working class recently, we have done something that we thought was very significant in supporting the workers in Berkeley and we are going to support a number of others. The garbage workers are the key ones — predominantly black brothers that work there — and we also supported the hospital workers at Kaiser Hospital here in Oakland, and some of those are black workers. The lumpen relate to us, basically because of our stands and opposition against the system and police. And then, of course, you have the church mothers and brothers and sisters — that's another group that relates to us heavily. I've been invited to a number of churches. I got ten churches scheduled right now to go to Sunday after Sunday. I can't get out of the church. I'm shaking hands with both hands — every church I go to. People relate to the survival programs. With the brothers on the streets, they all know me, you know what I mean? They relate to what we are doing. They relate to the stands we have taken. They even relate to that clinic — those free clinics out there — they relate to somebody doing something concrete. Even though they are not involved totally in it, they relate to that. They relate to the free shoes we give away. They relate to the few free clothing we've given away. They relate to the free

food, of course. I would say another thing, though, at the survival conferences, the first night of the March 29th survival conference at the Oakland Auditorium, every stratum existed.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *The period in which Eldridge Cleaver was a major influence in the Black Panther Party has been described by Huey P. Newton as a period of Party alienation from the black community. Could you clarify that for us?*

SEALE: Yeah, sure. It's all related to the original vision of the Party and how at one point Eldridge Cleaver — we call him the hidden traitor — was key to influencing large numbers of the Party. You can't blame it all on Eldridge Cleaver's hangups. You have to blame it on a large body of the Party. Huey had disagreed with the method they were using of telling the preacher to either throw the bible away or pick up the gun; or if you gonna keep the bible, get out of my way because I'm going to shoot you. He was confronting too many people with these either-or propositions. You alienate the community right away like that.

But, in fact, if you analyze the situation, probably 40% of the whole black population in this country is sitting in church every Sunday morning, right? It's absurd to ignore all of the black people sitting there. If you think they are getting brainwashed, then why don't you go in there? If you can relate some aspect of your philosophy to theirs, then check it out. If we believe in collective cooperatives and co-operativism at this point to try to help build this framework, it really points philosophically to the point of view of share and share alike, right? They also teach that in the church, right? We believe that the racist police shouldn't shoot, kill and murder us, you know, and that we shouldn't fight each other. Well, one part of the church's philosophy says, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Is that not right?

Why alienate yourselves from that opportunity, that inter-connected relationship? You can establish a broader relationship with the church members. The church members, a lot of them, try to relate in terms of the Breakfast For Children Program. They can dig on that, you know. They might not be able to articulate it like we would analyze it or show a broad analysis, etc., but that's keen.

These are the things that either-or-ism didn't allow comrades and the Party members necessarily to do. Even though they might have had a few Breakfast for Children Programs in the church, they alienated a lot of community people who thought it was a beautiful program.

Furthermore, another thing which happened is that at one time in the Party we used to have very sharp uniforms, you know. This uniform — the beret, the nice dressy type leather jacket — not the motorcycle type jacket but the dressy-type leather jacket — the black slacks, the pimp socks, the sharp shiny knobs, etc., okay? The blue shirt and the little scarf or neat clean turtleneck — was a nice little uniform, okay? Now that uniform represented a heck of a lot more to the community than just a uniform. It represented organization. The racist power structure recognized us as being organized and they hated it. But the black community, even to the elderly mother would say, "Lord, them young men show is sharp. Them young men and young women sure are sharp and clean and organized." This is one thing black people need. It's a safety valve for developed consciousness. To the brother on the block, the lumpen, "Man, them dudes show is sharp. Baby I show wish I had me some knobs and some pimp socks like that," you know what I mean? But at the same time, it gave us a chance to talk with people about the ten point platform and program really what we are about, even though at the same time we were moving in patrols as policemen, the Community Alert Patrol. That uniform attracted a heck of a lot more people — the

little kids loved it — and it was neat, that uniform.

What happened is that when Eldridge took us more into the radical hippy group of people, after about a year and a half or two, the uniform was gone.

You saw Party members walking around in big ole boots, wild leather jackets. And black people just don't have that kind — especially elderly groups — just don't have that conscious relationship to it. They think it's backwards. Some party members said, "Well, if they think it's backwards, I'm not going to relate to it." That either-or-ism again. Well, if you really have an analysis down about how to go about some liberation struggle, then you at least start at the level of consciousness where the people are instead of always trying to start at your level — which isolates you as an individual. Come back to where the people are, at least. Start from there. And this is one thing that happened — the way we started to looking like the white hippies. It looked like we were following the white hippies instead of them following us.

So that was one part of our alienation from the community. Servant Brother Huey P. Newton was in prison. He used to send a number of messages out. I didn't get all of them but I do remember some about these problems we used to have. I'm not blaming everything on Eldridge. You have to blame the whole Party and a large segment of the Party who were influenced by the way he was talking about doing this. He wasn't even concerned about a program like the Breakfast for Children Program. Some of our activities alienated the people to such an extent that it was left up to the mass media to define what we were about — terrorists, bombs, etc., you know? Even when we were in a shoot-out defending ourselves from an unjust racist police pig attack, 80% of the time it came out the other way as the media presented it. It was hard to get it over to the black community. A lot of things we drew in the Party newspaper tended to make the people believe the establishment. So that was part and

parcel of that alienation; because we didn't have a lot of constructive programs. I think the first constructive program — patrolling police — was really initially a constructive program because it was an educational point we wanted to get over. We wanted to get the idea over of self-defense over and then educate the people, not only for self-defense against racist police attacks and bullets, but to defend themselves against hunger, famine, rats and roaches, delapidated housing, unemployment, etc.

Without Eldridge realizing it, and maybe he did realize — I guess he did realize — he was a hidden traitor to the cause, to the people's basic needs. Like, he wasn't interested in the Breakfast for Children Program. Chief of Staff David Hilliard and myself really worked hard, you know, for the Breakfast for Children Program. And it took me all the way to prison, when I was incarcerated, to realize from certain polls, that 90% of the black community in this country supported that kind of program.

Poetry ain't going to feed me always. An old black man told me one time, "Poetry might be all right. You all talking about raising my consciousness, but you can't raise no hungry man's consciousness. His consciousness is on some food." Get him fed somewhat and relieve the agony and then he might be able to read the poetry and know what you're talking about, although the poetry is necessary, too, to develop his consciousness but how can you get him to read it when he's in agony.

You know the frustration that mothers can get into about shoes and where the children go get clothes. They just don't have time, you know. So you have to relieve them with something in order to get them to focus in on what's happening, just to relieve them of a worry, okay? For a week, a couple of bags of groceries will feed a family for a week, and you got a newspaper, a Party newspaper, in the bag, and they get full and say, "Well, let me read that paper." If his basic hunger is relieved for only a day you can raise his

consciousness more in that day than you will with months of rapping.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *They can write their own poetry.*

SEALE: Yeah. That's what we're talking about, you see what I'm talking about. I hope people don't misunderstand me. We don't give bags of groceries away for the sake of giving bags of groceries away. We give them away to remind the people of the unemployment, to remind them of what's got to be done and to remind them of the necessity of organizing and unifying around the objectives, around the programs we were talking about.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *There's been, of course, the Pan-African movement and mood, which has taken a lot of different forms and expressions. How do you see the Party in relation to that?*

SEALE: Well, we see ourselves in direct relation to it. The Party's philosophy is basically inter-communalism. We developed from black nationalism to revolutionary nationalism which meant nationalism with socialism. It was national socialism and it was a mistake. It was the same thing Hitler was doing. We went through that little short phase for a time being but we got away from that and said that we have to relate to all the poor oppressed peoples of the world. But to be an internationalist, you would also at the same time be a nationalist. Even in Pan-Africanism, because of the culturization process, you can almost define some groups of black people in this world as different nations just because of the very language barrier. The rhythmic form shows inter-connection but I can show you inter-connection with all Europeans, okay? I can show you inter-connection really with a lot of human beings — the universal inter-connections, might I say, okay. So we become the very part and parcel of all the liberation struggles in the world, we become part and parcel of all the cries and needs of oppressed peoples. We're saying that African

people are very diverse, although they have very common universalities about themselves. So we are not inseparable from that. We are very much a significant part of that. We relate to it and at the same time we relate to the struggles of oppressed peoples in Asia, Latin America, etc., because of our historical dispersion throughout the world.

At one time I think we incorrectly called Pan-Africanism the highest form of cultural nationalism but I think we have had a great analysis of that, especially when Huey first came out of prison and we had a qualitative leap to the concept of inter-communalism. Africa plays a very significant part. Technology has made inter-communalism an objective fact. Today's technology in travel and communications didn't exist when the revolution went down in Russia in 1917. Technology and communications and travel didn't exist even in 1945 when the Chinese peoples' revolution occurred. But what we are saying is that this is an objective fact to recognize. We are saying that modern technology has to come into more direct contact and control of the peoples in their communities (nations, for some), so it boils down to communities of black peoples, interspersed, inter-connected and inter-related by the forms of modern technology. Africa is essential to controlling a lot of what the racist capitalists develop and produce in communications, travel, and all forms of technology, means of production. Black people can be very significantly related to how Africa's control of its resources occurs and how it's going to affect world development. That's why controlling a city like Oakland is very important. Expropriate it back from the oppressors, expropriate all we can from them because at one point or another in this liberation struggle we're gonna come to head. They are just gonna factually say, "No, we are not gonna let these niggers take anymore." You see what I mean, and that's when we're going to have to have black people organized to be able to go forward and make that greater

leap for that total liberation. And not only in one city but all over the country and all over the world.

I'm being idealistic, they say. I think I'm being very realistic. I can't say exactly how the revolutionary struggle is going. I'm not saying that. But I'm looking at what's going to happen if we put one thing into practice and start doing one thing. The reaction is they're gonna react a certain kind of way and we have to calculate how they're gonna react, so we're gonna have to stay two steps ahead of them — twenty steps ahead of them, if we can.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *Well, from your programs your emphasis is more on community building or we can say nation building, if you will, within a person's immediate turf.*

SEALE: That's what's going to have to happen at this time. It's absurd not to recognize it. The black community is going to have to be controlled by the black community. And they have been telling me that a lot of white people, especially those reactionary thinking people, are going to

move out of Oakland as fast as Bobby Seale and four other black people become city councilmen and mayor. So we say, well, get to moving, I mean, get to stepping — right on! I mean, we can use the area — we can use the land.

BLACK SCHOLAR: *We were curious about your Pan-African position because there are various groups like Baraka's group, to a certain extent, and the CAP and, of course, Stokely and his theoretics, who practice different theories of Pan-Africanism. Some for a land base here, some for a land base in Africa, and so on.*

SEALE: It should be better with this place here where black people live and exist. It's not such a big monster as we think it is. Some of us feel that we should go to Africa. Okay on that. I'm not denying that. I think we have to have those inter-connecting and inter-community relationships. There's no two ways about that. That's a necessity. But I would not rely only on Africa for the liberation struggle. I think that this is the belly of the whale.

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