

THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service



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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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45th ANNIVERSARY



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY



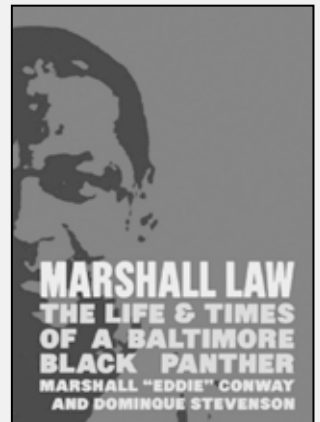
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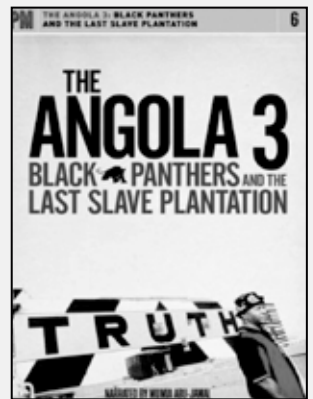
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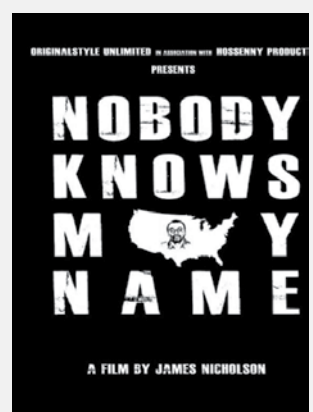
**ANGOLA 3:
LAST SLAVE
PLANTATION**
by Jimmy O'Halligan



**ASSATA:
IN HER OWN
WORDS**
by Assata Shakur



**ARM YOURSELF
OR HARM
YOURSELF**
by Charles E. Jones



**NOBODY KNOWS
MY NAME**
by James Nicholson

The Global Appeal of the Black Panther Party

By Elbert “Big Man” Howard
September 24th, 2010



The Black Panther Party was founded in October, 1966 in Oakland, California. It was first named The Black Panther Party for Self Defense because, at the time of its inception, neither Black people nor their communities, had any voice or organization to take a stand against the brutal treatment and oppression they suffered on a daily basis. The Black Panther Party was first organized around those issues and the Ten Point Platform and Program was designed to address them.

In the beginning, the Party followed the teachings of Malcolm X, which centered at the time on Black Nationalism. However, as the Party grew in size and as the members studied and learned, the Party's vision and perspective changed, as did Malcolm's. Malcolm X taught Black people to broaden their view of the world, and showed them how, by doing so, they would see that other so-called nations of people were suffering exploitation and oppression at the hands of the same racist oppressors who murdered and exploited them here in the US of A.

Because of their political stand against racism, war, and oppression, the Black Panther Party, quickly became known world-wide, and began receiving invitations to speak. One of the first of these came from an anti-war group to attend a Moratorium on the Vietnam War. This was held in Montreal, Quebec, Canada in 1968 and Bobby Seale, Big Man, David Hilliard, and Karen Wald attended. Bobby Seale spoke and he not only expressed The Black Panther Party's opposition to the war, but also took the opportunity to explain how there was a war of oppression going on against Black and poor people in America. There was a large and diverse group of people present at the Moratorium and they pledged their support of The Black Panther Party, and demanded the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnamese soil.

In 1969, there were certain organizations in Japan who also opposed the Vietnam War. They knew of the BPP's stands against the war and America's racist and oppressive policies, and they invited the BPP to come to Japan to speak at rallies and demonstrations. Big Man and Roberta Alexander were assigned to go to Japan in order to represent the Black Panther Party. The people of Japan got much information and a true picture what the Black Panther Party was all about through the many speaking engagements, press conferences, and meetings organized for Roberta and Big Man.

Upon leaving Japan, Big Man was directed to fly to Sweden and work with one of the Solidarity Committees which had been previously established by Bobby Seale and Masai Hewitt on their visits to Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden. These Committees and other organizations in many cities arranged demonstrations in support of the Panthers' demand that Huey Newton be set free.

While still abroad, as International Spokesperson for the Black Panther Party, Big Man was invited to West Germany

by the German Students for a Democratic Society. He was supposed to give speeches about the Vietnam War, the racial conflict in America, and the goals of the Black Panther Party. However, American agents had spoken to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and they decided to close the country's borders and seize any Black Panther who attempted to enter, their reason being that this entry would be "a clear and present danger to public security". So Big Man was not allowed to enter Germany, which then angered some 2,000 anti-Vietnam War demonstrators who had wanted to see him and hear him speak. In Frankfurt, throughout that day and evening, groups of demonstrators wandered through town and threw stones at American businesses. The President of the Federated German Students Unions protested to the Minister of the Interior about the deportation of Big Man.

Meanwhile, due to the increased repression of police in America and the US Justice Department's desire to return BPP member and Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver to prison, Eldridge had left the USA and established residence in Cuba. From Cuba, communication was established with the revolutionary government of Algeria. The way was then cleared so that Eldridge and his family had been able to move there, establish residence, and, as a result the first International Chapter of the Black Panther Party was born.

This soon resulted in Panthers going to Algiers to attend and participate in the Pan-African Cultural Festival. Spear-headed by Eldridge Cleaver, the BPP was represented by a Black Panther Party Cultural Center, which featured a vast display of African American art produced by BPP Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas. This turned out to be the center of attraction in Algiers.

During this event, representatives of the African liberation movements from many countries met and became acquainted with members of America's Black liberation movements. The Black Panther Party had been heard of, and it was known that the Party supported their struggles against imperialism. The BPP had printed accounts in the Black Panther Party Newspaper of the struggles of freedom fighters in Mozambique, Angola, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau, and the Congo and it was clear to all that the BPP stood in solidarity with the freedom fighters of Africa.

Because of the stance that the Black Panther Party took against American imperialism in the world, delegations of Panthers were invited to visit Korea, China, Vietnam, and Africa, places where no US officials were welcome. The Black Panther Party became a world-wide phenomenon, an international voice against injustice, racism, and oppression.

Although the Black Panther Party was founded 44 years ago, and does not exist today as such, its influence is still felt and seen around the world. There are groups in existence today whose members still call themselves Panthers and many groups have adopted Panther programs and policies. There are Panthers in Israel, England, Ireland, New Zealand, India, and the South Pacific Islands. The legacy of the Black Panther Party continues. Amongst many others, keeping this legacy alive is Emory Douglas, with his art, and Billy "X" Jennings, with his historical collection and his world-wide web-site, "It's About Time".

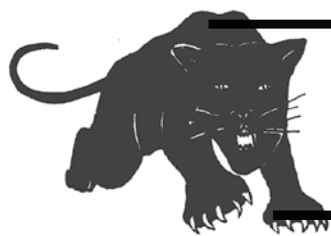
"Those who make Art and History may die but the Art and History will never die."

The struggle continues.

All Power belongs to the People.

Image courtesy of Ilka Hartmann:

Big Man in front of the Black Panther Party National Headquarters. Oakland, California, 1970.



In Memory of Geronimo Ji-Jaga

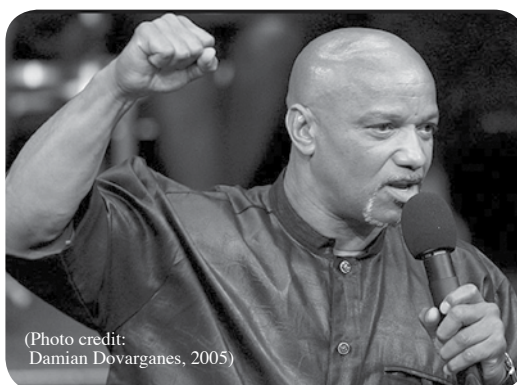
Black Panther Minister of Defense (1968-1972)
Former US Political Prisoner



Thursday, June 2nd 2011 marked the passing of Elmer G. “Geronimo Ji-Jaga” formerly Elmer Pratt (September 13, 1947-June 2, 2011) a Los Angeles Black Panther Minister of Defense and cause célèbre for those noting the injustice of jurisprudence in the United States. Geronimo Ji-Jaga was living in Imbaseni, Tanzania with his wife and daughter at the time of his passing from an apparent heart attack. Former Kansas City Black Panther Chairman and political exile Pete O’Neal who, with his wife Charlotte, founded the United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC) in Arusha, Tanzania, stated “Geronimo was a symbol of steadfast resistance against all that is considered wrong and improper. His whole life was dedicated to standing in opposition to oppression and exploitation. ... He gave all that he had and his life, I believe, struggling, trying to help people lift themselves up.”

Unjustly convicted of the 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen in 1972, Ji-Jaga spent 27 years behind bars, eight of which he spent in solitary confinement. After his imprisonment, documents from the US government’s COINTELPRO operation noted a systematic effort to take Ji-Jaga, a Vietnam veteran trained in military tactics and weaponry, out of the Black Power movement. All this happened after the murder of his close friend and bodyguard Nsondi (aka Sandra “Red” Pratt) was “killed” “by the CCS Section (Criminal Conspiracy Section) of the LAPD.” Ji-Jaga’s conviction was vacated in 1997 after it was revealed that Julius Butler, key witness for the State, was

an FBI informant, and on the LAPD payroll. Geronimo’s freedom was in part due to tireless efforts from his lawyers, Stuart Hanlon and Johnnie L. Cochrane as well as long time supporter Rev. James McCloskey.



(Photo credit: Damian Dovarganes, 2005)

“And we understood that our entire struggle was really based on a class struggle, and that our adversaries would try to use the race factor to manipulate and to divide and conquer when all along those people of other nations, other ethnic backgrounds, are in fact our allies and our friends”
-Geronimo Ji-Jaga

Geronimo Ji-Jaga received \$4.5 million as a settlement from the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department for their unlawful actions. The FBI’s share, “mark one of the few times in its history it was forced to admit culpability in a case of false imprisonment.”

Ji-Jaga was also the godfather to actor, activist and rapper Tupac Amaru Shakur, son of Afeni Shakur who was at one time incarcerated as part of the Panther 21. Geronimo continued to work for social justice causes, including the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, an award-winning journalist unjustly convicted of murder. It is especially tragic that Geronimo’s passing happened so close to the transitions of actress Clarice Taylor, poets Will “Da Real One” Bell and Gil Scott-Heron, as that makes four sage voices our community can

no longer call upon for wisdom and guidance.

In the words of our ancestors, anedge hirak Geronimo ji Jaga, and thank you for never giving up.

Source references:
www.komplikated.com
www.onepeoplesproject.com
www.democracynow.org

In the words of our ancestors, anedge hirak Geronimo ji Jaga, and thank you for never giving up.

MEMORIAL FOR GERONIMO JI-JAGA

Celebrating The Life of A Revolutionary

July 17, 2011 / 2:30 PM

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GROVE STREET COLLEGE

By Elbert “Big Man” Howard
March 27, 2011

Grove Street College, which was also at other times named North Peralta Community College and Merritt College, was opened in 1954 at what is now 5714 Martin Luther King Jr. Way in North Oakland. This 2 year community college served a student body which consisted mostly of poor, disenfranchised Blacks in the surrounding flatlands of Oakland. Many of these people were older than 30 years of age and had not previously had an opportunity to attend college. They had hopes for better lives and enrolled as students seeking the knowledge and skills to help them attain and fulfill their goals.

Grove Street College, with its dilapidated buildings, low budget, and insufficient staff, was expected to somehow give these attending students a chance to compete on an equal basis with those students attending larger, mostly white, universities like UC Berkeley and San Francisco State. With very little funding or support from the Peralta College District, which governed the community colleges in five cities, Grove Street College did manage to provide educational opportunities, offering an Associate of the Arts degree, as well as classes to complete GED requirements, and many of its students did successfully transfer to larger colleges and universities and completed their educations.

Importantly, Grove Street College set some very historic and revolutionary precedents in education. Included in its student body were Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, founders of The Black Panther Party, as well as myself, Elbert “Big Man” Howard, who became one of the Party’s first members. In 1966, shortly after meeting, Newton and Seale became instrumental in the founding of the very first Black Students Organization - The Soul Students Advisory Council. In 1967, along with the formation of this student group, came the demand for a Black Curriculum and a Black Studies Program, which was the Black Panther Party’s first campaign at Grove Street. Asian, Native Americans, and Chicanos soon joined in, demanding Ethnic Studies courses as well. As the students’ demands grew more intense, the College District offered one or two courses which they named “Black History”. Initially these courses were taught by white instructors who were not prepared or interested in the subject matter and did not serve the needs of the community. But student demands and protests increased and soon a series of Ethnic Studies classes were offered with more appropriate instructors.

During the time (late 1960’s and early 1970’s) that the college was known as Grove Street College, Dr. Young Park was its President and he was there for about 5 years in that capacity. Dr. Park was an innovative thinker who tried everything he could think of to produce, create, and offer the best education and educational environment possible for his students. Despite strong opposition, especially from the college’s Board and administrators and some non-community-minded students and residents, Dr. Park tried to, and did succeed, in establishing programs that truly served the interests of the student body, as well as the community.

One of Dr. Park’s ideas was to hire me, Elbert “Big Man” Howard, as an ombudsman. We worked together to implement a number of community survival programs on the campus, modeled after similar programs that The Black Panther Party already had up and running in the Bay Area. By 1970-1971, two programs were in place - a Free Health Clinic and a program which offered educational and employment opportunities for recently released parolees. The program was named The Peer Counseling and Work/Study Program and it allowed these adult students the opportunity to earn a stipend and also two meal tickets a day. They helped to get tasks done on the campus and at the same time took classes to earn their GEDs or college credits. It was very validating for these students to know that they were worth something and that we believed in them. We offered them hope as there were no other programs like this available for “ex-convicts” in the community.

At Grove Street, there was an African American instructor who was the student faculty advisor to the Soul Students’ Advisory Council. He designed and implemented a Black Studies Curriculum which became the standard for many Black colleges, as well as many other colleges and universities in America. That instructor was Sid Walton. It took awhile, but after many delays and racist ambushes, the Black History Courses were approved for transfer credits to the University of California.

Because of the struggles that were fought for and won at Grove Street College, students across America took up the fight. Soon Black Student unions and Black Studies programs with credits and degrees in Black Studies sprung up in educational institutions across America.

One of Grove Street’s students was Richard Aoki, a third-generation Japanese American who became a founding member of the Black Panther Party. He went on to UC Berkeley, and became a dynamic leader in the Third World Liberation Front’s student strike there. This led to the formation of the Ethnic Studies Department and courses at UC Berkeley. Richard later returned to the Peralta School District as an instructor and an administrator.

Many of Grove Street College’s students also went on to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals. Some became famous performers in the arts, in music and theater.

For example, Richard E. Gant, a former student, became a well-known stage, television, and film actor. He has appeared in the television productions “NYPD Blue”, HBO’s “Deadwood”, and in the film “Daddy Day Camp”, as well as many others. Gant has also been honored with a Key to the City of Oakland.

Another former student is musician Bill Summers. A multi-instrumentalist, who played primarily flute while at Grove Street, Summers went on to become well-known as a percussionist, playing primarily conga drums, internationally. He worked with Herbie Hancock during the Headhunter years. His long musical career includes working behind the scenes on film scores for various movies such as “The Color Purple” and, along with Quincy Jones, the TV miniseries “Roots”. Summers now performs as singer and percussionist and as a co-leader of the group Los Hombres Calientes, along with trumpeter Irvin Mayfield.

At the same time that these innovative programs were being put into place at the college, there was a major power struggle occurring. This was between the administration, which for years had wanted to close down Grove Street College and relocate the campus to the Oakland hills where they would build a new college, and the students, who wanted the college to remain in the flatlands, where most of them lived. The new campus in the Hills did open in 1971 as Merritt College but Grove Street College was kept alive for several years after this, through community protests against shutting it down. Although these protests extended Grove Street’s life, the Peralta administration had systematically de-funded it and the campus fell into disrepair and was finally shut down in 1973.

There are many reasons why we should celebrate and remember Grove Street College. We must not forget that Grove Street College was the campus where The Black Panther Party grew from its inception there to an international force in the struggle for justice and equality for all people. Through the efforts of the Black Panther Party and many students, programs were developed which addressed and reflected the educational needs of the surrounding community’s members. These programs served as models for those which quickly followed in colleges and universities across the nation.

As one of Grove Street College’s former students and staff members, and as a former founding member of The Black Panther Party, I want to say that I am proud of Grove Street College’s legacy and history, and proud of the foundation it laid in the community where the interests of disenfranchised people of color were served.

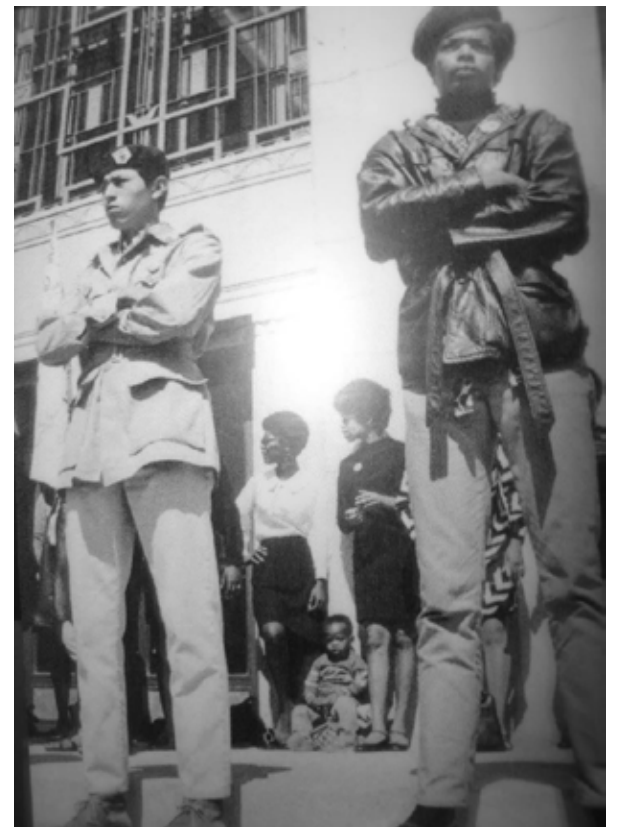
On behalf of former members of The Black Panther Party and Its About Time, I am extending an invitation to all former students, faculty members, employees, and to all interested members of the community to come and celebrate Grove Street College and its historical contribution to the people and city of Oakland. This celebration will occur sometime in the programs celebrating the 45th Anniversary Celebration of The Black Panther Party, which start around October 21, 2011.



Grove Street College, (courtesy of BPP Newspaper)

International Solidarity, Pan-Africanism

By Curtis Austin



The Black Panther Party formed in Oakland, California in October 1966. While it had numerous goals, it emphasized a philosophy of armed self-defense, self-reliance, and interracial solidarity. Within a span of two years it had spread from this medium sized Bay Area town to cities, hamlets, and boroughs throughout the United States. Within four years it had chapters, branches, and affiliates in locales as wide ranging as Germany and France, India and Israel, New Zealand and Africa. From its inception, it called for the internationalization of the black struggle and for black Americans in particular to learn about and to identify with their own African culture and heritage. In the process, it became one of the most vilified, yet well-known human rights organizations in the world.

It's identification with Africa and with others fighting for their liberation is the primary reason for its resonance among people of all racial and ethnic groups. It's willingness to stand up to the brute force of the police power inside the United States, and to insist that others world wide do the same, garnered for it a reputation and respect that continues to be felt by many the world over.

By the time the Civil Rights Movement began to garner steam in the early sixties, many black Americans viewed newly independent African, Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean countries as models to emulate when gaining their own freedom. Almost overnight, their heroes became Cuba's Fidel Castro, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, and China's Mao Tse-tung. Though they adored the leaders and the peoples who struggled in all the Third World countries, American blacks paid particular attention to Africa, where beginning in Sudan in 1956 and Ghana in 1957, formerly colonized areas began to emerge as independent nations that fought their way to victory.⁵

This newly acquired sense of direction, based on their identification as people of African descent, gave blacks the reservoir

of spiritual and mental strength they needed to combat the slings and arrows of an embattled but tenacious Jim Crow system that operated in all regions of the country. Members of the nascent Black Panther Party realized their struggles were linked with the struggles of poor and working class whites as well as those who had been dispossessed by the vicissitudes of colonialism, racism, and a capitalism so avaricious it sometimes devoured human bodies for profit.

Newton and Seale agreed with Malcolm's conclusion that capitalism and racism were linked by the economic necessity of exploiting colonized people. They also believed Malcolm's assertion that the plight of black Americans and the people of Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America were intertwined. Malcolm X, through the organization, had hoped "to unite everyone on the continent of Africa" and "in the Western Hemisphere of African descent into one united force."⁵² Once united, according to Malcolm, blacks would boldly assert their right to defend "themselves by whatever means necessary . . . in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property" of black people. They agreed with Malcolm's conclusion that black America was an internal colony mirroring the rest of the colonized world. According to them, blacks, like the Vietnamese or Angolans, had to use violence to rid themselves of this oppressive situation.

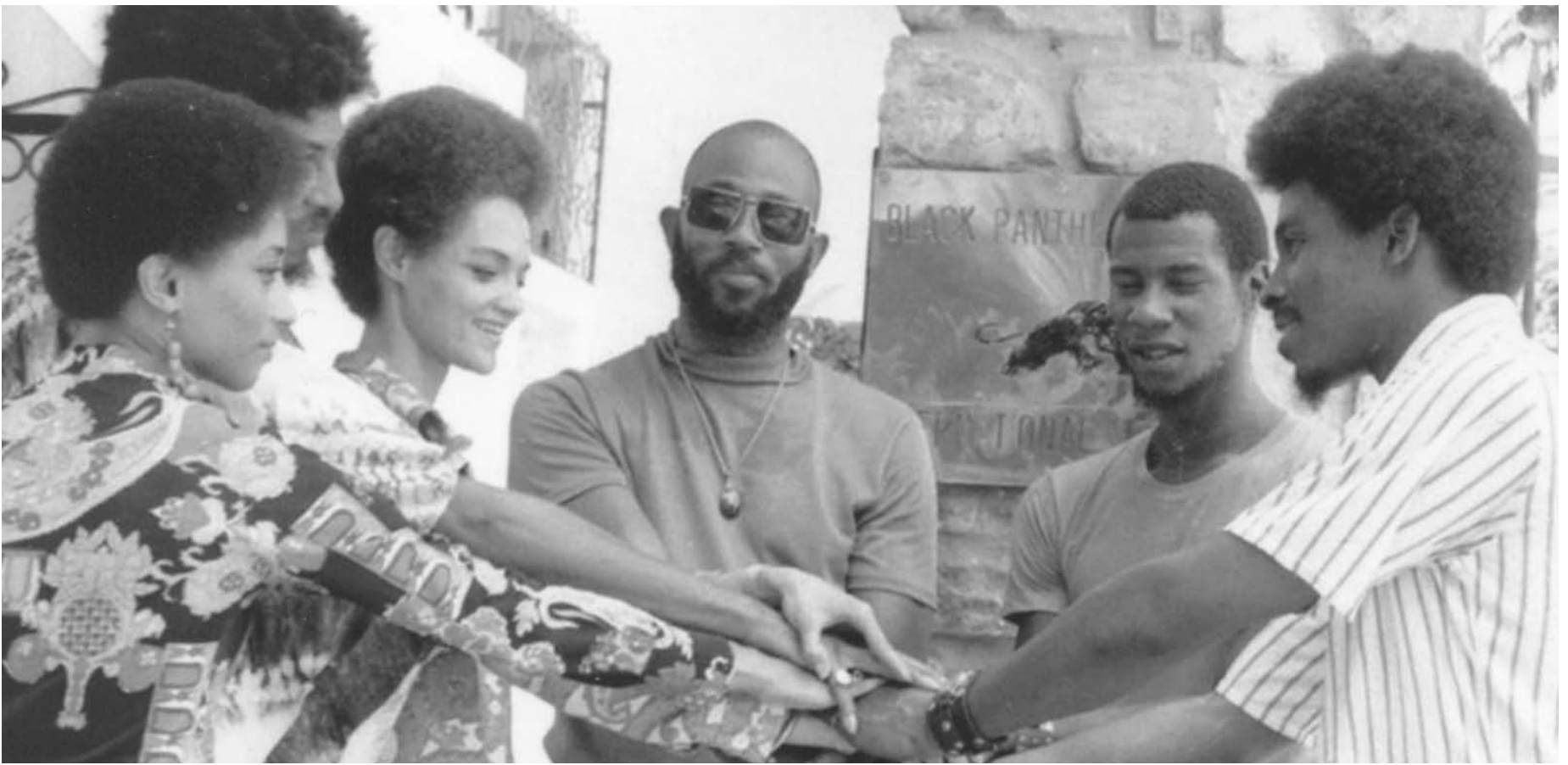
It was at this point that the Panthers actively looked for support beyond their own borders. For example, the Panthers made foreign contacts with the North Koreans and the Chinese. In 1969, Cleaver visited North Korea to address the North Korean Conference of Journalists and to set up ties with the North Korean government. After this visit, both the North Korean and the Chinese governments "joined in public expressions of sympathy for black Americans and the Black Panther Party in particular." A congressional investigation of the group revealed that the governments of North Korea and China "concurred with the Panthers that the United States was the

world's public enemy number one as a result of its imperialistic foreign policy and fascist domestic programs." A North Korean radio broadcast declared that the people of North Korea "expressed solidarity with the Panthers and [would] actively support and encourage their struggle." In 1970, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung sent a telegram to the Panthers expressing his personal wishes "for the Panthers' success in their just struggle to abolish . . . racial discrimination and win liberty and emancipation." A September 23, 1970, Chinese international broadcast deplored the United States government's treatment of the party and expressed its support for the group. According to Senate testimony, while Cleaver visited North Korea, "the regime designated August 18, 1970, as an international day of solidarity with the black people of the United States."⁴² These gestures went a long way in encouraging Panther recruitment and heightening the level of revolutionary violence.

In addition to support from foreign governments, the BPP also became the beneficiary of many citizen support groups overseas. Organizations in Britain, Ireland, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and the Netherlands applauded and publicized Panther activities while at the same time giving them financial and other material assistance. Matsuko Ishida, a member of the Committee to Support the Black Panther Party in Tokyo, Japan, after visiting BPP headquarters in Oakland, wrote that many of the protest groups in Japan "learned from your ideas and concrete wisdom necessary for the [survival] programs, and materialized them in their own programs." Finally, the San Francisco-based International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver, in addition to its affiliates in New York, Detroit, and Atlanta, had branches in Paris, Rome, London, and Amsterdam.⁴⁴ Panther activity had become so respected abroad that the BPP "catalyzed indigenous insurgent organizations" in England, Bermuda, Israel, Australia, and India. According to Michael Clemons and Charles Jones, "these global social movements also assumed the BPP's confrontational style and stance on political violence."⁴⁵

As part of the process of maturing as revolutionaries, the Panthers began to understand and articulate a type of internal-colony discourse. Among other things, this characterization of

anism, and the Black Panther Party



the black experience served to link African Americans to their Third World counterparts, also struggling against colonial domination and oppression. In *Racial Oppression in America*, Robert Blauner argued that “the experience of people of color in this country does include a number of circumstances that are universal to the colonial situation.” He wrote that blacks had been subjugated to the point where their labor did not bring them social and political advancement. He concluded that cultural policies inside the U.S. destroyed blacks’ original value system and ensured that their way of life followed that of their oppressors.¹⁰ This colonial situation in black America informed Newton’s and Seale’s analysis of the black dilemma and served as a springboard from which the group launched its philosophy of armed self-defense. Like Malcolm X before them, the Panthers sincerely believed that they lived in an era of revolution and that their fight against oppression represented a significant part of the global resistance against white domination and colonization. As a result of their philosophy and activities, it was not long before they needed to seek refuge abroad. They found safe haven in Africa, a place they considered the motherland.

After taking its independence from France in 1962, the north African country of Algeria became a center of revolutionary struggle for independence movements worldwide. Algeria agreed to host representatives of revolutionary movements, including the Black Panther Party. The Panthers’ semi-diplomatic status included a building for an office and living space, a stipend from the Algerian government, and the ability to issue visas to grant asylum to other members of their struggle and to move relatively easily in and out of Algeria.

The Black Panther Party chapter in Algiers, Algeria, existed from 1969 to 1973. While the history of this chapter of the Black Panther has received very little scholarly attention, the international section of the BPP served an important role in the development of the BPP. Primarily, it connected the struggle of the black Americans with other liberation struggles throughout the world. The history and dynamics of the BPP in Algeria sheds light on the difficulties that come with living in exile, while they also provide a glimpse of a unique relationship between a liberated African nation and a quasi-diplomatic organization representing black people in the United States

The primary role of the International Section was to communicate to other governments the needs of the BPP and the progress of the movement inside the United States. Kathleen Cleaver wrote that the villa became the “embassy of the American Revolution, receiving visitors from all over the world,” and sharing news about “revolutionary developments within the United States.” The Panthers believed a revolution was taking place in the United States and that they were the official representatives for that movement. As confrontations between the Panthers and the police continued, “the international staff of the Black Panther Party increased as more fugitives seeking to avoid arrest or imprisonment fled to Algiers.” These fugitives and their activities eventually cause so much conflict with the Algerian government that the section eventually had to be abandoned.

When Pete O’Neal took over the international section after Eldridge Cleaver departed, he was burdened with a group of Panthers and miscellaneous radicals who were growing tired and frustrated with being away from their families, friends, and the action of the frontlines. While several of the members were anxious to return to the U.S., other black revolutionaries continued to arrive in Algeria, hoping to join up with the International Section. They eventually found that they had to go to other parts of Africa to find refuge. When it came time for Kansas City Panthers Pete and Charlotte O’Neal to leave Algeria, Charlotte convinced Pete that they should first visit comrades in Tanzania. She recalled trying to encourage his ideas while at the same time suggesting that before he goes back, he first take a detour to Tanzania where Bill and Jimmy Whitfield, also former Kansas City Panthers, had taken up residence.

Arriving in Tanzania in late September of 1972, the O’Neals first lived in Dar es Salaam but later moved to the Arusha region in the northern part of the country where they found the climate there much more suitable. Pete O’Neal continued to use his electrical skills and built a windmill, which made them the only people in the village with electricity. More than thirty years after their arrival, they continue to work in the tradition of the Black Panther Party. After raising two children and

learning to farm, the O’Neals opened a community center in the rural village of Imbaseni. The United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC) was officially chartered as a non-governmental organization (NGO) in 1991, although the O’Neals began offering classes long before that. Today the UAACC offers free classes in English, arts and crafts, construction, computers, and music production. They also operate a community radio station. In addition, the O’Neals partnered with former political prisoner Geronimo ji Jaga who won in 1998 won a multi million-dollar settlement from the federal government for his twenty-seven year false imprisonment. The two formed a partnership and have jointly sponsored a community water project and a solar energy project. They also started a community bus service in the village and on any given day one can see the “Gari Ya Uhuru,” meaning “free transportation,” driving up and down the dirt roads around Imbaseni Village with a picture of a black panther emblazoned on its doors.

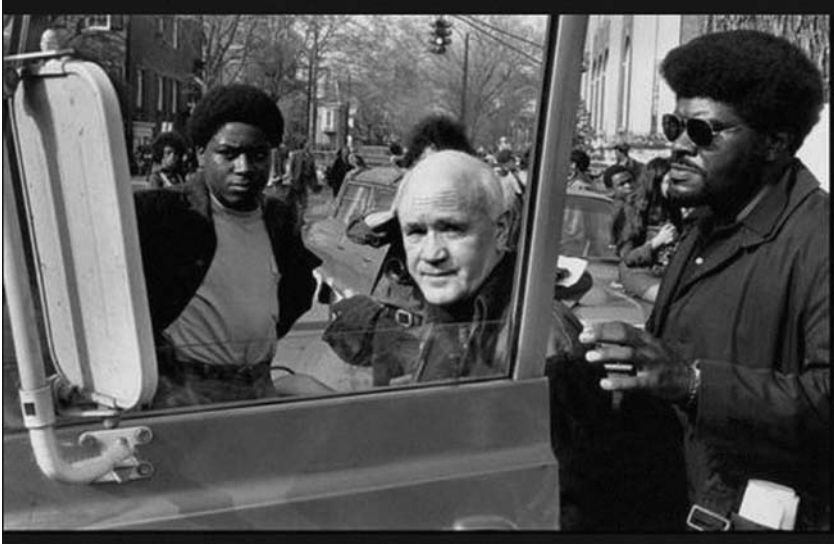
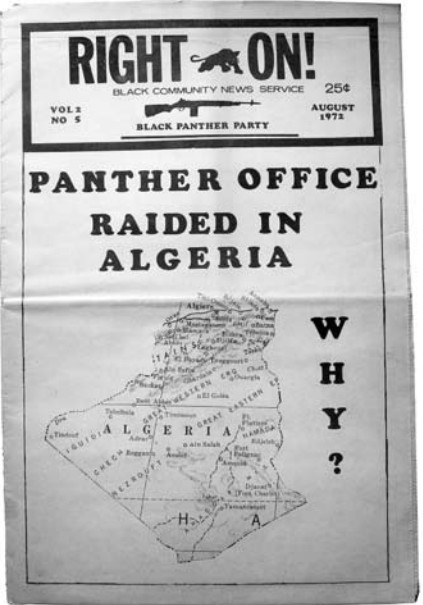
O’Neal and his wife chose to remain in exile for over thirty years because of their commitment to the work they began in Kansas City. Their contacts and alliances abroad served as a vehicle for Panthers to participate in revolutionary activities and to continue the work of community and institution building as epitomized by the United African Alliance Community Center in Imbaseni. Since all this has unfolded, however, the Black Panther Party wrote its experiences in the annals of history and the world has not been the same since.

Author: Curtis Austin

Associate Professor and Director of the Center for Black Studies at The University of Southern Mississippi.

Published Up Against the Wall (2006) chronicling the complex history of the Black Panther Party.

International Photos



We were fortunate to
like ourselves and
Panthers in America
the Brown Berets
Americans) stood up
time of reawakening
~ Will 'Ilolahia
Polynesian Panthers Co-Founder

International Photos: (Top Left to Bottom Right); 1 2. Arusha Conference 2009 3. Algeria 1970 4. Australian Panthers 1971 5. Spiro) 8. Black Panther Right On 1972 9. 10. 11. Polynesian Panther, Ama Rauhihi 12 13. Polynesian Panthers Demonstration 1969 18. Australian Panthers 1971 19. 20. Palestinian Delegation, 1969 21. Aligers, 1969 Courtesy BPP Newspaper 22



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6. Richard Aoki, Black Panther 1968 7. Panthers meet NLF, Hemispheric-conference, Montreal, Canada 1968 (photo courtesy Robert
ation 1970s 14. Jean Genet, Bigman at Yale 15. Israeli Black Panther Newspaper 1972 16. 17. Black Panther Newspaper, Zapata
22. Huey and Arafat, PLO 1980 23. Cleaver, Vietnam 24. London Panther, Olive Morris

Memorial Tributes



Richard Aoki, 1968

Richard Masato Aoki

March 15, 2009. Born on November 20, 1938, Richard was a righteous fighter and a warrior in the truest sense – he dedicated his life to his beliefs and the struggle for human rights. He was a founding member and field marshal in the Black Panther Party, Asian American Political Alliance, and a leader in the Third World Liberation Front Strike at UC Berkeley, coordinator for the first Asian American Studies program at UC Berkeley, an advisor for Asians for Job Opportunities, a counselor, instructor and administrator at Merritt and Alameda Colleges.

“...Based on my experience, I’ve seen where unity amongst the races has yielded positive results. I don’t see any other way for people to gain freedom, justice, and equality here except by being internationalist.” – Richard Aoki

Richard Masato Aoki (November 20, 1938-March 15, 2009) Black Panther Party (Field Marshal)

“Revolution means change from the top to the bottom, and that includes the way we deal with each other as human beings.” (Richie Perez, Young Lords Party, New York City Chapter) Richard Aoki passed away on



Conny Mathews

Huey Newton. This visit would change Matthews life and at the age of twenty five, she became International Coordinator for the Black Panther Party. Matthews work with the Panthers from 1969-1971 took her to Africa, the United States and throughout Europe. She used her contacts and skills to help facilitate trips abroad for Panther leaders to meet with a base of supporters that she helped cultivate. She played a role in supporting the political networks of dissident African American GI’s on American military bases in Germany who identified with the Black Panthers and took an anti-Vietnam stance; worked with war resisters and deserters based in Sweden and exiled blacks like Denmark based journalist Leonard “Skip” Malone; and helped to coordinate the work of Panther solidarity committees. She became a well-known figure due to her public speeches, newspaper articles and editorials. Working with other Panther leaders such as Kathleen Cleaver and Elbert “Big Man” Howard, Matthews skillfully mobilized international alliances to provide moral and even material support for incarcerated Panthers at a time when the FBI’s COINTELPRO campaign against the organization had heightened raids of chapter and branches and arrests and detentions. In 1969, she travelled to the US speaking at anti-Vietnam war rallies; she would return in 1970, working closely with Panther leader Huey Newton to arrange a nationwide speaking tour after his release from prison. In 1971, when internal conflicts fueled by COINTELPRO had resulted in a wave of expulsions and departures, Matthews remained based in the Panther’s international chapter in Algeria. When the chapter began to disband Matthews continued political work in Lusaka, Zambia, where she settled with her husband, New York Panther Michael Tabor in 1972. Tabor became a writer and leading radio personality. Matthews worked as secretary to Hage Geingob, Director of the UN Institute for Namibia and leading committee member in the Namibian liberation organization SWAPO (South West Africa People’s Organization). Matthews returned to Jamaica after she and Tabor divorced. She passed away in 1993. Connie Matthews’ political work spanned three decades and three continents. As movement flames turned to embers in different locales, through her mobility and political connections Matthews was able to constantly identify places, spaces and movements that could serve as beacons for black liberation. She connected issues such as racism in the US, African decolonization, the Vietnam war and the movement against apartheid in South Africa, a true reflection of the revolutionary internationalist spirit of the Black Panther Party.

-Robyn C. Spencer (History Professor: Lehman College, New York, NY)

Connie Matthews was born Connie Smith on August 3, 1943 in St. Ann’s parish in Jamaica, West Indies. Her quest for higher education took her to Europe, where she earned a bachelors degree in England and a master’s degree in psychology from Austria’s University of Vienna. Matthews went to Copenhagen, Denmark. She secured a job at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) by 1968. Her first noted involvement with the Black Panther Party was in 1969, when she helped coordinate Panther leader Bobby Seale’s visit to Scandinavia. Seale travelled through Finland, Sweden, and Denmark to raise awareness and seek support for Panther political prisoners and the movement to free



Photo courtesy of Ducho Dennis (1968)

Michael Ceteweyo Tabor

Rice High School where he excelled in both academics and varsity athletics.

Tabor joined the Black Panther Party in 1968 and took the name Cetewayo, a 19th century Zulu Warrior King. It was during that time that he wrote an insightful pamphlet on drug addiction called “Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide.” He was among a group of 21 members of the New York Chapter of the Panthers that was indicted in April of 1969 for conspiracy to commit acts of “terrorism” in New York City Police precincts and department stores. The 21 defendants were acquitted of all charges in May of 1971. Tabor joined Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver, Denise Oliver and Donald “DC” Cox at the Panthers International Section in Algeria that same year. In 1972 Tabor moved to Lusaka, Zambia, on a writing assignment for the Paris-based Africa-Asia magazine in order to cover the African liberation movements based there. He would remain in Lusaka for the next 38 years. Tabor became a popular and respected figure in Lusaka and continued writing on politics and culture for various publications. His distinctive voice allowed him to transition into radio and for many years he hosted programs that featured jazz, African and world music on several Lusaka radio stations.

In memory of Olive Morris - Brixton Black Panther Movement/OWAAD



Courtesy South London Press (photo circa 1972)

Olive Morris

movement it was short lived, and its main period of activity was from 1970-1973. Morris co-founded the Brixton Black Women’s Group and the Organization of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD), and was part of British Black Panther Movement and the Manchester Black Women’s Cooperative, amongst other groups. Morris worked at the Brixton Law Centre, campaigned for access to education, decent living conditions for Black communities and fought against state and police repression. She died from cancer at the age of 27.

Olive Morris: 1952-1979.

-Ana Laura Lopez de la Torre
PHD University of Arts, London

*...that culture of resistance,
it’s all around the world.*

- Barbara Easley (BPP Oakland, Algiers)

Women of the Party. Where are they now?



Charlotte & Pete O'Neal

Black Panther/
UAACC Co-Founder
Kansas City Chapter

I found out about The Black Panther Party when I was 17 years old and joined when I was 18 that's how I met Brother Pete (O'Neal). Brother Pete was the Chairman and founder of the Kansas City Chapter. The thing that drew me so much to the Panther Party was the community programs you know feeding 750 children alone in Kansas City every day (1970). Most of us were teenagers, After Brother Pete, because of Cointelpro (FBI), called a case, decided to leave. We thought we were coming back in two years, it was 20 years before I came back. Because he was convicted of carrying a gun across state line, which would have been 5 years (sentence) and he had another case, with 5 more years. In those days once the leaders were in (prison) they would parallel more charges against them. The police continually told him (Pete) he would only come out (of prison) in a box. We went to Algeria and worked with the International section of the Black Panther Party (1971-1973) with brother (Eldridge) Cleaver and Kathleen, DC (Donald Cox), Michael "Ceteweyo" Tabor and Sekou Odinga. Their spirits will always continue and the spirit of the Party continues in the work that we do. The Community work that we did as members of the Black Panther Party continues to inform everything that we do as the members of United African Alliance Community Center, this is based in Arusha, Tanzania. At UAACC we have daily classes for youth and elders in our community. Right now we have 150 youth who come everyday for classes in language, music production, video production, computer studies, fashion and design, sports, yoga. We feel art is one of the greatest means of empowering youth. They're able to find their voices like that. They're able to learn a vocation that will help them financially. Art is one of the most important ways in which you can empower someone, that you can help someone find their own voice. That you can bring up questions and you can even suggest answers, art is the one thing that everyone can relate to and I always mention historical facts and spread peace and love through my poetry. I work with allot of Hip-Hop Artists in East Africa, Hip-Hop there is being used as a tool for up-liftment and education. The youth there have taken it back to where it used to be. These youth are really keeping the spirit of the Panther alive. Excerpt from interview with Minister of Information JR: www.blockreportradio.com (April 5,2011)

“...Their spirits will always continue and the spirit of the Party continues in the work that we do.” ~ Charlotte O'Neal



Photo courtesy: william cordova, (2008)

Dr. Yvonne King

Black Panther Party, Illinois Chapter
Former Field Secretary (1969 -1974)

My interest in the Party began when I was living in California for a brief period in 1968. I used to follow some of the Party's works, through Ramparts magazine, when Eldridge was still writing for them. The work was of great interest to me. I ended up in Chicago, and the guy I was with joined the Party, and told me I should make my own decision about it. He brought material home from the Illinois Chapter, and I read the materials, the Ten Point Program, and in January 1969 I went to the office and joined the Party. It wasn't merely an adventure for me. I didn't view it as that. I recognized the work they were doing was important. There was discrimination going on throughout the country, racism. I was attracted by the Party's boldness and assertiveness, and the fact that they were organized stood out to me. They caught the imagination of the people, including me. It was phenomenal; even today, and in retrospect, it remains that way. (excerpt from PBS: P.O.V. interview, 2004)



Photo courtesy of Encore.org (2008)

Cleo Silvers

Black Panther Party/Young Lord Party
New York Chapters

I was born and raised in Philadelphia, a product of a family whose members, both free and previously enslaved, played an active part in African-American History. My great, great grandfather Frisby Green was a free African and a committed abolitionist. In 1811, at the age of 14, he came to the US from Haiti, on a merchant ship to take part in the Louisiana Anti-Slave Rebellions.

In 1967 I became a volunteer in VISTA, the domestic Peace Corps. Coming from Philly, my assignment to the predominately Puerto Rican South Bronx was initially a culture shock. I overcame that by immersing myself in working to change the social conditions in the community and learning the language.

I was also active in the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast Program for Children and in preventative health care programs as a member of the Young Lords Organization. The focus of my life continues to be the improvement of conditions for working people in every aspect of their lives: housing, healthcare, education, and criminalization of youth in communities of color.

In June 2010 Cleo Silvers became a summa cum laude graduate from Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations and National Labor College collaborative. Cleo Silvers is the Director of Outreach at Mount Sinai I.J. Selikoff Center for Occupational and Environmental Medicine.



Jakub Anderson-Emory Douglas, Houston
(courtesy of william cordova)



Black panther teaching child time, 1970
(courtesy of Ducho Dennis)

***“...there needs to be
some heroes
and heroines in the
Black Community,
people that the
Black community
can look up to”***

~ Vernon “Sensei” Benton
(People’s Party II/ BPP)



Children in front of Panther Office
(courtesy of Ducho Dennis)



Photo of DC, (courtesy of
Stephen Shames, 1970)is)

Field Marshall DC by Billy X

I was in San Francisco at Emory Douglas’ home when Barbara Cox called to tell me that DC (Donald Cox) had died in his sleep in France. I felt very bad as I told Emory the news. I was feeling pretty good up to that point. We were talking to some young actors about a play they wanted to do on the BPP. I also told them, as they were very interested in the history of the Party. In fact they asked about DC earlier. I told Emory that this is a bad day in our Legacy of the BPP; that we lost a good soldier. DC was the Field Marshall of the BPP. His responsibilities included checking out the many (48) BPP offices to make sure they were able to defend themselves and were carrying out the correct principles of the Party.

Everyday last week, I was in communication with Kathleen Cleaver and Barbara Cox about an exhibit I am putting together on the World Impact of the Black Panther Party. Last year we were in Tanzania for a Conference we cosponsored with the UAACC. While there, Pete O’Neal gave me some photos for the It’s About Time Archives. The photos were taken at the International Section of the BPP in Algiers from 1970-1972 while DC was there. These are the only photos I know of from the BPP Embassy. Pete and Charlotte O’Neal worked there for a while before moving to Tanzania in 1972.

Many of the photos were of Panthers and people I didn’t know, so everyday I would send photos to Kathleen and Barbara, and they would e-mail back their comments. Just the other day I e-mailed some pictures of DC at the embassy with African Leaders and a photo of Yasser Arafat with DC. So everyday we would communicate about the International Section and DC.

I first saw DC at some rallies at the Alameda County Courthouse in 1968 and at Bobby Hutton Park. I didn’t know his name until I joined the BPP. He worked out of National HQ’s and San Francisco was his base. He worked out of the office in the Fillmore. DC was highly respected in the Party and on campus at SF State and the streets of SF.

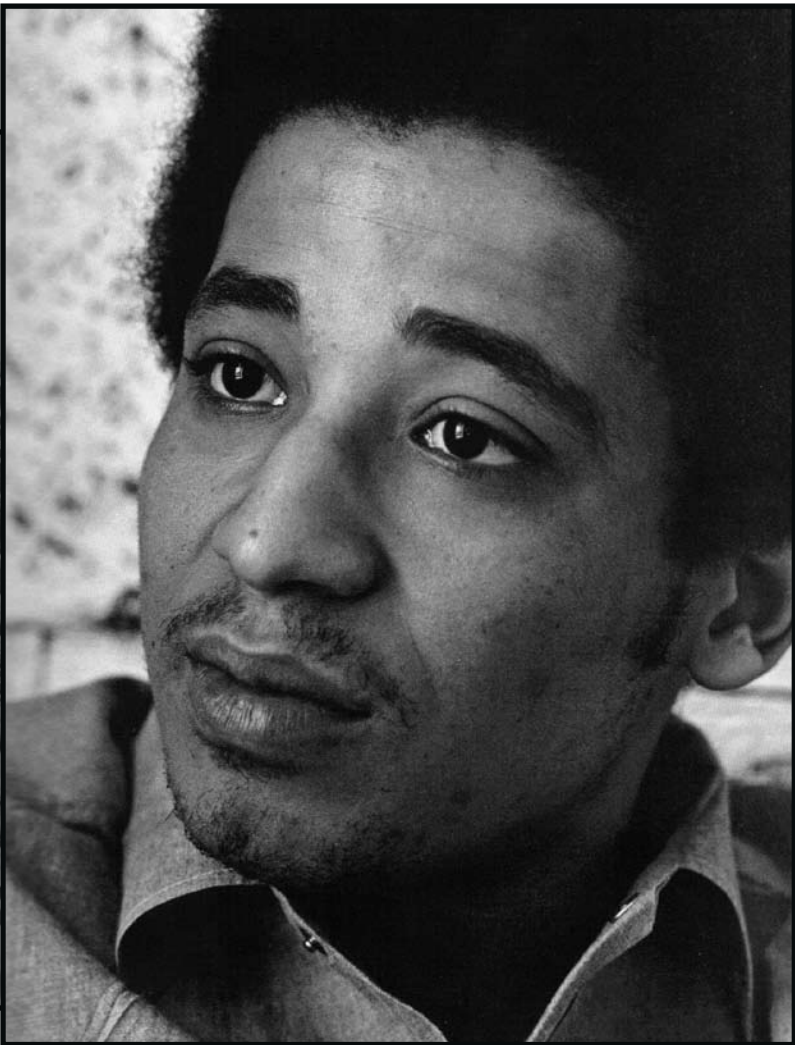
In 1968 I worked out of the E. Oakland office which was run by Captain Robert Bay. He was also a student at SF State. In 1968, the BSU led a strike at SF State College for an Ethnic Studies Dept. The college was the scene of a big strike and we as Party members supported the Black Students on campus. We would ride over to the campus in full Panther gear to show support for the strike. I would see DC on campus in support of the students and also George Murray who was our Minister of Education of the BPP. George also taught English at the college and was fired for his support of the students.

As time went on I would see DC at Political Education Classes which were held at the National HQ’s. DC was always well dressed, but he was very quiet. He was a very private person but open and friendly at the same time.

A few years back, Gail and I went to visit DC in France which was great trip. We drove from Nice to the mountain that was up in the clouds to see DC. He lived way up there in a beautiful home he rebuilt. It was large and had octagon windows with a breathtaking view. In the far background from his living room window you could see an old castle on a ridge miles away. He said the house was first built in the 1840’s, but he added on the modern things like inside plumbing and showers in the bathroom. He built a nice communication center, with all the modern toys. He had a PC, a radio and record player with albums. He also had a DVD and CD player, but not cable TV. He watched the news twice a day in the morning and evening. He spent his time gardening and growing flowers to sell to perfume companies. This home was part of a farming commune, but most of the people moved away to the city. DC loved the peace and quiet and didn’t mind being by himself.

Barbara said he was working in his garden earlier in the day. He was starting to turn over the soil to prepare for spring. On our visit with DC we spent a lot of time talking about the mistakes of the BPP. He told me he liked the website, and that it was a good thing a Rank and File member ran it, to keep the facts straight. After a few days we had to leave DC which was sad. He got us interested in castles and the way they were defended. He was a great historian and he studied the history of where he lived and even found some old coins while digging to put the plumbing in his house. The coins were so old that it took him a while to find out about them. They were from the 1200’s.

I loved DC for what he stood for. To me he was a rare individual and has always been one of my hero’s because he lived by his principles and taught by example. On several occasions, the government tried to kill him., like when they raided the SF office. Everybody that I know respected DC. If he had your back, he had your back, a man of his word. I will miss my brother. For those of you whom never knew DC, please check his link on our website. Check under Field Marshall and check Our Stories chapter 5: Barbara Cox story on www.itsabouttimebpp.com



Activists Commemorate the Life and Death of George Jackson

Those charged with the task of destroying him could not and cannot destroy his essence. They could not annihilate the principles he stood for and defended to death. —Angela Davis

Chicago, August 21 (RHC)— African-American activists in the United States are commemorating the life and death of George Jackson, a political prisoner who became a member of the Black Panther Party while in prison. He was killed on this date in 1971 —35 years ago.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, George Jackson grew up in poverty. Many observers say it was poverty and racism that propelled him into desperate acts. He was convicted and sentenced to one year to life in prison at the age of 18 for stealing \$70 from a gas station.

While at San Quentin State Prison in 1966, he founded the Black Guerrilla Family, a Marxist prison organization. The goals of the group were to eradicate racism, to maintain dignity in prison and to end the imperialist policies of the United States government.

On January 13, 1970, along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, he was charged with murdering a guard in retaliation for the killing of three Black activists by a guard at California’s Soledad Prison. He was incarcerated in the maximum-security cellblock at Soledad, and George Jackson and the other two prisoners became known as the “Soledad Brothers.”

Isolated in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day, Jackson studied political economy and radical theory and wrote two books—Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson and Blood in My Eye—both becoming bestsellers.

On August 21, 1971, George Jackson was gunned down in the prison yard at San Quentin in what officials described as an “escape attempt.” The official report said that George Jackson had a 9 mm automatic pistol, allegedly smuggled into the prison by his attorney. The lawyer, Stephen Bingham, was eventually acquitted of charges related to the incident.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

make a difference and donate to www.jerichomovement.org

Romaine “Chip” Fitzgerald
Francisco Torres (San Francisco 8)
The MOVE 9
Marshall “Eddie” Conway
The Cuban 5
Hugo “Yogi” Pinell
Mumia Abu-Jamal
Kenneth “Zulu” Whitmore
Sundiata Acoli
Leonard Peltier
Mondo we Lang (Omaha 2)
Edward Poindexter (Omaha 2)

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin
Albert Woodfox (Angola 3)
Herman Wallace (Angola 3)
Jalil Muntaqim
Ali Khalid Abdullah
Herman Bell
Matulu Shakur
Russell Maroon Shoats
Kamau Sadiki
Ana Lucia Gelabert
The Liberty City 7
these are only a few from a long list

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Ten Point Platform & Program

WHAT WE WANT WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. WE WANT full employment for our people.

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

3. WE WANT an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency, which will be distributed, to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

WE BELIEVE that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. WE WANT education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

WE BELIEVE in an educational system that will give to our people knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. WE WANT all black men to be exempt from military service.

WE BELIEVE that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. WE WANT an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

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

self- defense.

8. WE WANT freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

WE BELIEVE that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. WE WANT all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

WE BELIEVE that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the black community.

10. WE WANT land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

WE HOLD these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. ** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. **

Power to the People!

Acknowledgements

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Commemorative Issue courtesy of Bill Jennings and Emory Douglas

Cover Images: (From top left to Right Bottom) Arusha Conference 2009,S of the Bharatiya Dalit Panthers during a protest in Raichur, London Panthers, Israeli Black Panthers political rally, Jerusalem, early 1970s

Graphic Layout Nikki Baker

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AFRO - AMERICAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

