From the White House to the White City: The Internationalisation of the Black Panther Party in Algeria (1969 – 1972)

MA Thesis – Colonial and Global History

Sohail Aadil Randhawa – s2624990

Word Count: 18,246

01/07/2020

Universiteit Leiden

Figure 1: A young Algerian boy holds a poster of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton during the First Pan-African Cultural Festival of Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade

Abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress (South Africa)

APS – Algeria Press Service

BPP – Black Panther Party

COINTELPRO – Counter Intelligence Program (FBI)

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation

FLN – Algerian Liberation Front

FRELIMO – Mozambique Liberation Front

GPRA – Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic

NAACP – National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

OLAS – Organisation of Latin American Solidarity

PAIGC – African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde

PLO – Organisation of Palestinian Liberation

RPCN – Revolutionary People's Communication Network

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People's Union

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 3

THE ANATOMY OF THE THESIS 11

REVIEW OF SOURCES 12

CHAPTER 1: A PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY 23

1.1 – W.E.B. DU BOIS 24

1.2 – FRANTZ FANON 28

1.3 – MALCOLM X 36

CHAPTER 2 – ORIGINS TO ACTION 40

2.1 – 10 POINT PROGRAM 41

2.2 – ACTION PROGRAMS 45

2.3 - ARREST OF NEWTON 47

CHAPTER 3 – ALGIERS, THE MECCA OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS 54

3.1 – PAN-AFRICAN FESTIVAL 55

3.2 – LIBERATION STATUS 59

3.3 – CLASH OF PERSONALITIES 62

3.4 – TURBULENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN 66

CONCLUSION 69

BIBLIOGRAPHY 72

Introduction

"*Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission. Fulfil it, or betray it*" (Fanon, 1963: 145).

The Black Panther Party grew out of the civil rights era in the 1960s to form a movement aimed at protecting African-Americans from police brutality and the social injustices that stemmed from living in a racist society hellbent on ensuring the underdevelopment of Black communities. In seeking to explore and understand the growth of the International section of the Black Panther Party (BPP) from its base in Oakland, California to the Mediterranean coast of Algeria, this project will come across a variety of primary and academic sources that address the various influences and actions partaken in this journey. Whilst relatively short lived in its mission, the internationalisation of the BPP involved numerous actors, among whom, many have released autobiographies and memoirs detailing the unfolding of events that occurred between the years 1969-1972, alongside video speeches and declarations pertaining to such events. Yet, in order to truly appreciate this often forgotten part of the Black Panthers' history, the years of revolutionary struggle dedicated to fighting for the rights of Black people across the world, and in the case of this project notably in the United States, albeit not solely, must also be taken into account. This is particularly important as tracing the influences of Black philosophical thinkers of the 20th Century such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey on more contemporary movements, such as the Black Panther Party, is often not done so to the extent that such major influences deserve[1]. This becomes

[1] For historical influences on the Black Panther Party: W.E.B Du Bois. The Souls of Black Folk. (Chicago: AC McClurg & Co, 1903); Marcus Garvey. Negro World Newspaper (University of California Press, 1995).

all the more amplified as the debate that occurred between these two important philosophical thinkers in the United States was somewhat played out between the BPP section in California, under Huey Newton following his release from jail, and its international section headed up by Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria. What this project will attempt to highlight however speaks to a more broader debate within these philosophical circles, and will pinpoint the various influential figures that shaped the Internationalisation of the BPP in the late 1960s. Notable thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X and W.E.B Du Bois, amongst many other leaders, can be clearly defined as integral figures in the establishment of the international section of the BPP and its leaders[2]. There was also an ever-present international existence within the influences behind the growth of the International section of the BPP, with important leaders such as Eldridge Cleaver often citing his appreciation for the likes of Ho Chi Minh following their meeting in Vietnam, as well as Che Guevara of Cuba and Mao Tse-Tung of China.

Moreover, many of these more contemporary influential thinkers had close ties to Algeria and the newly founded Algerian government following their eight year war of independence against their French colonisers. This culminated in further opening the gateway between the BPP and the Global South, whilst events such as the First Pan-African Festival in Algiers, 1969, also tied the BPP to members and activists of the Black diaspora, who in turn would share ideas and prophesise over each other's struggles against the ongoing imperialism that each "brother" was facing[3]. Whilst great scholarly work has been produced on the Black

[2] For more influences on the Black Panther Party: Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth. (New York: Grove, 1963); Frantz Fanon. Black Skin, White Masks. (New York: Grove, 1967); Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. (New York: Grove, 1965).
[3] William Klein. Festival Pan-Africain d'Alger 1969. (ONCIC, 112').

Panthers as a revolutionary movement, a large section of this tends to focus on their actions within the national sphere of the United States, and occasionally in its dealings with the Anglophone world. Much less however has been produced on the international networking that took place during this period. The objective of this thesis will be to shine a light on this gap within the academic sphere, and provide a historical interpretation of the various exchanges that took place between Black Panther members and affiliates around the world, notably in Africa, where the international section of the BPP would base themselves in the form of the revolutionary city of Algiers. Examining these actions will aid this project in situating the International section of the BPP within the larger Third-World resistance movement, without failing to acknowledge its dedication to reversing the injustices faced by Afro-Americans in the United States. This will be done through investigating various primary sources, such as newspaper articles from the Black Panther Community News Service alongside corresponding events that took place between various liberation movements in this resistance[4]. This will be further aided by the analysis of various memoirs alongside the use of archival footage taken during this period.

Another intriguing segment in this historiography is produced as a consequence, and not negatively, of several years' worth of dedicated work done by activists across the globe in the attempt to challenge European imperialism and the perils that stemmed from it. From the first Pan-African Conference in 1900 based in London, to the inaugural Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, a shared mutual feeling tied peoples from the Global South together in a way that has yet to be seen since. Often referred to in scholarship as the

[4] The Black Panther Community News Service – Created in 1967, the newspaper went on to gather an average circulation of 300,000 copies as it became a staple for any Black Panther to read. Online access can be found here: https://issuu.com/basicsnewsarchives

"Bandung Spirit", the promotion of anti-colonial and anti-imperial sentiments are an integral factor in tracing the BPP's decision to make the journey across the Atlantic, alongside the Algerian government's willingness to cooperate and fund many aspects of the International section of the Black Panther Party[5]. The argument will be made, through understanding the psychological trauma of imperialism, that the treatment of African-Americans by the hands of the law enforcement services, alongside official government policy, bares significant resemblance to the horrors faced by the many millions under colonial rule in the Global South, thus making both the desire and necessity of exporting these pains a natural occurrence, both physically and mentally. Therefore, the decision to choose Algiers as a base for the international section of the BPP appears to be a rational one, despite it not being situated within the Anglophone world, given that Algiers became home to various liberation movements across the globe in this continued fight, as part of Algeria's expansive activist foreign policy following independence (Byrne, 2016; Mortimer, 1984).

Yet whilst on the face of it this decision appeared rational, primary sources produced suggest a slightly different story, with Kathleen Cleaver, a leading figure in the international section of the BPP and wife to leader Eldridge Cleaver, highlighting the several issues that the BPP had to face in their decision to shift bases from Oakland to Algiers[6]. Kathleen, writing in Jones's book, highlights how the Panthers found themselves in a midst of a totally different, and somewhat alien, society whereby divisions based on the effects of

[5] For further reading on the Bandung Conference and its importance: Amitav Acharya & See Seng Tan. Bandung Revisited. (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008); Robert Shilliam & Quynh Pham. Meanings of Bandung. (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); Vijay Prashad. The Darker Nations. (New York: The New Press, 2008).
[6] To better understand some of the issues faced by the Black Panther Party in Algeria, see: Interview with Kathleen Cleaver. PANAFEST Archive. (New York, 2015) accessible here - http://webdocs-sciences-sociales.science/panafest/#PANAF_69-Kathleen_Neal_Cleaver

colonialism, race and societal attitudes and normalities meant there was always a friction in the international section of the BPP's attempt to settle within Algeria during their stay there.

"*The world into which Panthers came to escape imprisonment in America was an ancient North African society struggling to modernize itself in the aftermath of a vicious war with France, which has ruled the country for 130 years. Bombed out buildings still stood as grim reminders of the war that had left no family in Algeria unscathed. The French colonial pas was evident in the striking architecture of the city and the complex bureaucracy of the state, which the daily calls to prayer and veiled women attested to the resurgence of Algeria's Islamic heritage. Arabic was the dominant language, but everyone in Algiers still spoke French, the language of government and commerce. The complicated tribal and ethnic divisions among Arabs, Berbers and Africans bewildered the Panthers who, coming from the United States, were accustomed to simple stratifications of colour and class, as did the general absence of antagonism towards France. The daily juxtaposition of ancient and modern, North African and French, yielded unending confusion to the Black refugees accustomed to a fast-paced, sophisticated urban life.*

Thus, adapting to life in Algiers, where nothing was remotely similar to America, presented a shock for which none of the Panthers was prepared. Few Algerians would discuss their society, their government, or their recent history with any Panthers, who were left to grope for such understanding on their own, whatever assistance they got usually being offered by other foreigners. The tension in Algiers was inescapable and unrelieved by intimate friendship. Government surveillance of the Panthers so inhibited Algerians who

were interested in becoming acquainted with the Panthers that interactions remained superficial and frequently uncomfortable". (Kathleen in Jones, 1998: 229-30).

This is further exemplified by other issues that the International section of the BPP had to face in Algeria, such as securing funding for their expansive ambitions, dealing with the FBI who sought to bring the BPP down "by any means necessary", through a counter intelligence program known as COINTELPRO, alongside in-house fighting which proved detrimental to their ambitions[7]. The turbulent nature of Eldridge Cleaver's character also needs to be assessed to better understand the actions of the international section of the BPP, both positively and negatively, as clashes with other important figures such as Stokely Carmichael and particularly Huey Newton caused grave strain to the BPP cause and their ambitions[8]. Moreover, whilst Algeria and its government under Houari Boumediene welcomed the BPP with open arms to Algiers, the monetary cost of having such an expansive foreign policy meant that it was not possible to completely severe ties with the United States and its government. Rather, following the principles and guidelines established in the Tripoli Programme, Algeria saw the United States as a possible consumer for their hydrocarbon industry which in 1971 became nationalised following a speech by Boumediene whereby 51% of all industries in this field would be taken over by the state and away from France (Mokhtefi, 2018). This was a significant moment for the international

[7] COINTELPRO were projects run by the FBI in the attempt to surveil, infiltrate and disrupt political organisations in America. For more information on their surveillance of the Black Panther Party, see: Kathleen Cleaver & George Katsiaficas. Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party. (New York: Routledge, 2014); Ward Churchill & Jim Vander Wall. Agents of Repression. (Boston: South End Press, 2002).

[8] Internal disputes between leading figures in the Black Panther Party proved detrimental to their objectives. For a greater understanding as to the extent of these disagreements, see: Charles Jones. The Black Panther Party Reconsidered. (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998); Jama Lazerow & Yohuru Williams. In Search of the Black Panther Party. (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006).

section of the BPP, and in combination with some of the other factors mentioned above, proved detrimental to their efforts and ultimately led to the demise of the international section, which would go on to reframe itself as a new organisation called the Revolutionary People's Communication Network (RPCN) which effectively signalled the end of their foray in Algiers.

In further investigating the phenomenon that was the international section of the Black Panther Party, and their years based in Algiers, this project will also relocate contemporary primary sources, such as the recently released memoirs of Elaine Mokhtefi, and newly released video footage, to the workings of the international section of the Black Panther Party in Algiers amongst previously produced historiographies. This newly released work has somewhat rejuvenated research regarding both the international section of the BPP, the influences and influencers behind this decision to establish a base outside of the United States, and that of Algiers establishing itself as the hub for liberation movements. Often referred to as the "Mecca of liberation movements", originally made during an interview by leader of the 'PAIGC', Amilcar Cabral, Algiers turned into a metropolis for various liberation movements across the globe[9]. Often at the compassion of Boumediene's government via funds, weapons and plane tickets to attend further international events, various liberation movements fighting colonial struggles would use Algiers as a base of operations, whilst also mingling amongst other liberation movements in, perhaps the truest use of the term, a shared "Bandung Spirit". From the South African ANC; FRELIMO of Mozambique, PAIGC of

[9] For a better understanding of the Pan-African Festival of 1969 see: William Klein. Festival PanAfricain d'Alger 1969 (ONCIC, 112'); Jeffrey James Byrne. Mecca of Revolution. (New York: OUP, 2016); Elaine Mokhtefi. Algiers, Third World Capital. (New York: Verso, 2018); PANAFEST Archive accessible here - http://webdocs-sciences-sociales.science/panafest/#02-Menu-Inroduction_PANAFEST___une_archive_en_devenir

Guinea-Bissau to the Anti Franco movement of The Canary Islands and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation led by Yasser Arafat, the centre of Algiers became the centre of the "Third-World" during the 1960s and the hosting of the first Pan-African festival of 1969 attested to this[10]. With the aid of Mokhtefi, working as an interpreter and "middle-woman" between the Black Panthers and the Algerian establishment, the international section of the BPP were able to find its feet in Algiers, even going on to gain official recognised status by the Algerian government as a liberation movement. This in turn provided the BPP with extra funds, a government villa and, most importantly, the right to exit visas whilst key members, such as Huey Newton, in the United States were refused passports stopping them for networking outside of the country by physical means (Mokhtefi, 2018). Eldridge Cleaver, leader of the international section of the BPP, went on to proclaim that, on the day of the inauguration of the International section of the Black Panther Party, "this is the first time in the struggle of Black People in America that they have established representation abroad" (Ibid). Jones' book also spoke on the inauguration of the international section, acting as somewhat of a critical juncture in the growth of the International section of the BPP, arguing that with the ever-increasing numbers of Panthers arriving, official status and the growth of friends made within Algiers, both within the government but also externally, the "isolation that had initially frustrated the BPP began to diminish" (Kathleen in Jones, 1998: 229). Despite this however, the level of action that could be the international section of the BPP remained limited in Algiers according to Jones, with "little diplomacy being able to be carried out", despite the various luxuries offered to the Black Panthers during their time in Algeria (Jones, 1998: 235).

[10] Ibid

Thus, this project will attempt to place the significance of the BPP constructing an international section in Algiers during the 1960s and early 70s, and present arguments suggesting why this was an important step in the history of the anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggle during this time. Through examining both the BPP during their time in Algiers, and the actions and motivations behind the Algerian government's decisions, this thesis will shed light on the more intimate interactions that occurred during this historic exchange, and exemplify the various impulses that were at play. This thesis argues that this must be done in truly examining the global state of affairs during this period, as contextualising these actions without strong examination of the reasons behind each actor does not allow for a true understanding of the events that unfolded between 1969 and 1972.

The Anatomy of the Thesis

The first chapter of this thesis will delve into some of the numerous influences and events that occurred which led to the growth of the Black Panthers as a revolutionary counter movement during the civil rights movement in the United States of America. Through examining works produced by influential figures in the civil rights movement, and globally in the fight against colonialism, in the form of primary sources, a greater understanding of the motivations of the BPP and the various battles that had previously occurred can take place. This is integral to this thesis as it will provide the foundations for situating both the BPP within the American political sphere, but also within the wider international struggle which is necessary in understanding the need for its branching out internationally. The second chapter, titled "Origins to Action", takes a more in-depth analytical look into the association between the civil rights movement and the treatment of Afro-Americans and those suffering

from colonisation in Africa and Asia. This is paramount to the aims of this project, as it is within this chapter that the works of more contemporary thinkers are assessed as influences behind Eldridge Cleaver moving across the Atlantic and establishing a base in Algiers. Many of those that Cleaver was heavily inspired by had a close proximity to Algeria, in some cases even representing Algeria in international conferences, whilst the expansion of America's increasing involvement in the Third-World forged new relationships amongst activist networks that culminated in the eventual shift to Algiers. The third and final chapter will focus on the actions of the BPP once they had installed themselves in Algiers with the help of Mokhtefi, who acted as both translator and aide throughout their time in Algiers. This chapter will dig deep into the innerworkings of the world that was Algiers in the late 1960s, focussing on the manoeuvres of the international section of the BPP, from their inauguration as an official liberation movement to its accelerated decline and subsequent repatriation to the United States under a new philosophy.

Review of Sources

In order to fully grasp the importance of establishing the international section of the BPP in Algiers, and certain key figures who were in the midst of this, it is important to consult specific sources that were present to speak on these exact issues. In the last decade, the academic field has slowly seen more work being produced on the relationship that existed between the Black Panthers and their time spent in Algeria, and that of the Global South. The release of Elaine Mokhtefi's memoirs, titled 'Algiers: Third World Capital', in 2018 has shed new light on the project evoked by the BPP, particularly Eldridge Cleaver, to establish an international section of the Black Panthers in Algiers. Working effectively as the role of

translator, political supporter and press officer, Mokhtefi's memoirs serve as an invaluable primary source into the inner workings, disputes and ideas of the BPP during their time based in Algiers, alongside their dealings with other liberation movements within the Global South such as the Cubans, the African National Congress movement from South Africa, as well as the BPP's interactions with the FBI through their COINTELPRO bureau (Mokhtefi, 2018: 104). It is perhaps the more intimate day to day information of the BPP provided by Mokhtefi, such as Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's relationship, the fracas between Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver and "effect of discovering and identifying with Black Africa for the first time" that emphasise the importance of this source in both the construction of this thesis, but also in evaluating other source materials that speak on the same issue (Mokhtefi, 2018: 126).

Assessing Mokhtefi's memoirs with some of the other academic works produced on the Black Panthers and their growth during the 1960s, alongside their sojourn in Algeria, highlights some important agreements, as well as differences, amongst scholarship pertaining to the matter in question. The Black Panthers Party (reconsidered), by Charles Edwin Jones, are a set of collected essays composed together by various members of the BPP, alongside offering an critical historiography of the events that unfolded during the incredibly growth of this movement. With many members of the Black Panthers being women, Jones' book offers many telling anecdotes of the importance of gender politics within the movement, and how the party internally transformed itself as "Black women were critical players in the BPP, and the Party overall had a significant impact on the political life of an entire generation" (Jones, 1998: 270). Whilst Mokhtefi's memoirs do speak on the issue of gender politics, notably in her time spent with Kathleen Cleaver, these memoirs

focus more on the personal life of Eldridge Cleaver, understandably given both his leadership role within the BPP, but also through the fact that her interactions during this period were more with him than others. However, Jones' book, and especially in the essay written by Kathleen Cleaver herself, offers a very similar account to that of Mokhtefi on the issue of the BPP settling in Algiers and the need to acclimatise to a totally different landscape where the BPP didn't speak the same language, share the same religion, nor greatly understand Algerian domestic politics, as Mokhtefi concurs (Kathleen in Jones, 1998: 211:220; Mokhtefi, 2018: 124-125).

Jennifer Smith and her book 'An International History of the Black Panther Party' offer a well-balanced and accurate account of the Black Panther's foray in the Global South when assessed alongside academic scholarship produced around, and later, that time. Whilst relatively short in detail, the book, and specifically its chapter on the Party's "International History", does not omit the major frequentations that occurred between the Black Panthers and various liberation movements across the Global South in their combat against White supremacy in the United States. This is done by assessing sources such as Eldridge Cleaver's acclaimed autobiography, "Soul on Ice" alongside delving upon some of the various political and philosophical thinkers that significantly influence the actions and motivations of the BPP, such as Che Guevara, Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon, in accordance with other scholarly works in this field (Smith, 1999: 65-79). Yet, whilst Eldridge Cleaver's incredibly popular memoir, cited by Smith, is a good source for understanding his own growth as a Black man in a racist society, his time in prison and his "conversion" in understanding the complexities of having to fight for one's freedom, certain parts of this source have been brought into question (Cleaver, 1999). Mokhtefi does this in her own memoir, speaking highly of the man

she spent a lot of the time period in question with, stating how she “cried uncontrollably” following his departure from Algeria for Paris (Mokhtefi, 2018: 180). She further goes on to bring into question the validity of certain parts of Cleaver’s revised publication of his memoires, where Cleaver claims that the Black Panthers had “survived in Algeria by dealing in passports and stolen cars”, alongside stating that the Black Panthers “used to run stolen cars from Europe, and that cars were brought into Algeria found their way across the Global South” (Cleaver, 1999; Mokhtefi, 2018: 186-187).

Mokhtefi notes that this argument made by Cleaver has been reproduced by other scholars working within the field, based of Cleaver’s assumptions given that it comes from a primary source, but argues rather that this argument is made by Cleaver in an attempt to “gain status across what Cleaver determined as the soul circuit” (Mokhtefi, 2018: 186-87). Mokhtefi aims to disprove Cleaver’s argument stating that “nothing could be further from the truth” as “it was her alone that brought over the stolen passports from France to Germany where they were used for one sole purpose, to the BPP to be able to travel outside of Algeria as they “were given the privilege of “exit visas” (Mokhtefi, 2018: 104; 187). Moreover, Mokhtefi claims that Cleaver had been approached to become “a true mafioso” in Algeria, in relation to acting as a relay station in Algeria to traffic drugs into Europe from Latin America, whereby “Eldridge turned down the offer….he might later choose to forget how much he owed his North African benefactors for his safety, but at the time he was highly aware of his responsibility for the lives of several dozen women, men and children” (Mokhtefi, 2018: 187). Based on other facts that appear during scholarly research, such as Huey Newton’s denial for a passport by the American government and the tracing of the FBI’s COINTELPRO counterinsurgency effort in seeking to destabilise the Black Panther

movement (Ibid; 104), more credence must be given to Mokhtefi's version of events regarding this matter, and the new release of this memoir will shape further research within this field given such revelations.

Kathleen Cleaver who played an integral role in the Internationalisation of the BPP, following her return from Algeria had decided to enter the legal profession, studying law at Yale before later entering the academic field. Having also been privy to the dealings and all matters concerning the BPP in their ambition to embrace the Global South and the African diaspora to the situation confronting Afro-Americans in the United States, Kathleen's presence in academia, as well as in film, is a welcome one. As noted earlier, Cleaver transcribed part of Jones' book alongside recently co-authoring her own book on the life of the Black Panthers with American historian George Katsiaficas. The book, titled 'Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party', reads as a collection of essays produced by academics, within the field of research regarding revolutionary movements, as well as key members of the BPP such as Cleaver herself and Donald Cox, who Mokhtefi notes as being the head of the Kansas Chapter of the BPP in America before making his way to Algeria to join the International section in May, 1970 (Cleaver & Kastiaficas, 2014; Mokhtefi, 2018: 104). Whilst Cleaver's book offers a more holistic study of the BPP movement, its local bottom up political actions as well as the role it played on the international stage, the book interestingly speaks on other issues not expressed brazenly by some of the other books on the Black Panthers, with the movement to free Mumia Abu Jamal and the political assassinations of Dr King being such topics (Cleaver & Kastiaficas, 2014). Whilst produced several years since many of these actions had taken place, the sources used throughout the book are precise and often first hand, with essays written by academics within the book

offering a more unabridged analysis of the respective claim being made. This fusion allows for the reader to gain both a first-hand insight into the eventful workings of being a Black Panther member whilst also gaining access to important information on the workings of the FBI, through their COINTELPRO programme, and their attempts to quell the dynamic movement that was the Black Panther Party.

In regards to academic work pertaining to the central figures of the Black Panther movement, from its inception to its radically different transformation reacting to the new circumstances that Afro-Americans found themselves in, Bloom and Martin's 'Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party' provides a comprehensive discussion on the BPP. Largely through the use of archival sources and interviews, this book demonstrates how the influence of the BPP during the 1960s spread across all walks of American life, from politics to sports and entertainment. By demonstrating both the successes and errors committed by the party during this epoque, Bloom and Martin, in their newly released 2016 edition marking 50 years since the inception of the Black Panthers movement, speak on more contemporary issues facing the Afro-American community in the United States, and how much of the #BlackLivesMatter movement derives from a lot of the work done by the Black Panthers in their struggle (Bloom & Martin, 2016). This is contextually important also as one begins to understand the importance of the Black Panthers in the civil rights struggle, especially in regards to the bottom-up activism that further initiatives such as #BlackLivesMatter have relied upon alongside filling the whole within the civil rights movement for anti-imperialist politics across the diaspora. Another strength of Bloom and Martin's book is how relevant much of what has been produced can be applicable in today's America and in the struggle that Afro-American face in the fight for

economic, social and political freedom. In adopting a phrase coined by Frantz Fanon, an influential figure himself in the growth of the Black Panthers, the book also focuses on the ways new struggles need to survive and adapt to the situations and circumstances that they find themselves in. This is where the Black Panthers provide a great example, as highlighted by Bloom and Martin, as the relative obscurity that each generation faces will provide the answer to their struggle, either to accomplish or betray it (Bloom and Martin, 2016; Fanon, 1963).

A critical juncture in the relationship between the international section of the BPP and the Algerian government, who had previously welcomed the party's shift to Algeria in 1969, came in the infamous Western Airlines Flight 701 hijacking by Roger Holder accompanied by his girlfriend Catherine Kerkow. Whilst flight hijackings were not an absurd event during the 60s and early 70s, this specific hijacking, as told by Koerner in his novel "The Skies Belong to Us", had significant repercussions both globally and on the state of affairs for the Black Panthers in Algeria (Koerner, 2013). Koerner emphasises, through well-resourced and researched materials during this period, how not only was this the "longest distance" hijacking that had occurred on American soil, but also how the intended ransom and weapons that were on board the flight were part of a plot to liberate the incarcerated Angela Davis, a highly prominent and outspoken member of the Black Panthers in their fight for civil rights in America (Ibid). Whilst a few scholars have picked up on the hijacking story that shook America, it has never been given the time nor detail that Koerner has produced in this book. This holds importance for this project as other sources, including both Mokhtefi and Cleaver's memoirs do speak on this event, as the odds at stake for the Black Panthers were huge. 'The Skies Belong to Us' provides an alternative account to this perilous act as a

better understanding of the decision, and the actual lack of thinking that occurred during this hijacking, from the side of the belligerents involved as opposed to those awaiting in Algiers (Ibid). The narrative of the book, and the greater issue of hijackings, do however allow for some reflection when assessing the events that took place following Holder's arrival to Algeria. Whilst Holder and Kerkow were released to the Black Panthers by Algeria's government, the funds and weapons that Cleaver so desperately longed for were not and the plane was quickly flown back to America. Mokhtefi, whilst articulating the tension that ensued between the Black Panthers and Algeria's top officials, offers an understanding of Algeria's decisions that few scholars have duly acknowledged. The hijacking put the Algerian government in between a rock and a hard place, and the decision to confiscate the ransom and weapons was part of a wider image that Algeria wanted to portray following its independence, of which Mokhtefi points out (Mokhtefi, 2018). Assessing both versions of the events that unfolded, and the subsequent fall out that severely influenced the Black Panthers ultimate exodus from Algeria, grant a much better and nonpartisan understanding pertaining to each of the actors involved.

Another fundamental component in bridging the Black Panthers and Algeria, alongside the 'Third World', is that of Frantz Fanon and his understanding of the need to form an internationalist resistance across the Global South to the perils of imperialism. Bose's recently produced article, placing Fanon's work within what she describes as a framework of "intercontinental populism" across the 'Third World', adds a new dimension to both the understanding of Fanon as a revolutionary thinker in the fight against imperialism, but also as an influence on movements that followed him such as the Black Panthers (Buse, 2019). It is indeed this political comprehension of Fanon's political theory that offers an strong

interpretation as to why the creation of a international section of the Black Panthers was necessary, and why it was that Algiers would be willing to receive them. Fanon, as mentioned earlier, acts as the ideal personality to investigate given his proximity to both main actors in question throughout this project. Moreover, it is the personal relationship held between Mokhtefi and Fanon's wife, Josie, reported through her memoirs and their briefings working for "El Moudjahid", that adds another dimension to the intertwining between the Black Panthers, and a Martinican born Fanon who would spend many influential years in Algeria (Buse, 2019; Mokhtefi, 2018). Buse speaks on Fanon's distinction between cultural nationalism and a national consciousness, arguing that the latter derives its foundations from a "pan-ethnic form of identification" whereby "anticolonial national consciousness arises from a solidarity that coalesces at the continental scale between Asia, Africa and the Americas" (Buse, 2019:678). This is also an argument that is developed by Mokhtefi alongside other scholars who have worked on Algeria's foreign policy during this time, such as Mortimer and Byrne, all concluding that this shared impact and experiences of colonial rule and imperialism brought about an urge to come together to combat such forces in the ambitions of enacting change (Mokhtefi, 2018; Mortimer, 1984; Byrne, 2016). Fanon speaks on the birth of national liberation and how this transforms into this shared "consciousness", arguing that "it is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness establishes itself and thrives" (Fanon, 2005:180).

Yet, there are disagreements in the extent to which the "national consciousness" can be used as an argument for the actions of both the Black Panthers in Algeria, and in the Algerian government's motives for both hosting the Black Panthers and their treatment in Algeria. This debate takes two sides, although neither one downplays the existence of their

counterargument. Authors such as Byrne, take a more sympathetic approach to the motives behind Algeria's implementation of this "anticolonial national consciousness", arguing that the foundations of national liberation movement were entrenched in the infamous "Tripoli Programme" that enshrined the need for combatting this shared experience into a positive international consciousness, as emphasised by Algeria's willingness to open its doors to the Global South (Byrne, 2016). Whereas other authors writing on the subject matter, such as Kesseiri, and to a lesser extent Mokhtefi, whilst not disputing the claim Byrne makes, but rather highlight other significant factors that explain both Algeria's willingness to host the world's liberation movements in Algiers, and their readiness to host the international section of the Black Panther Party when no other country would. Kesseiri argues that the acceptance of what Fanon described as the "national consciousness", also referred to as "Third-Worldism" by Byrne, is a valid one up until the moment that the promotion of national consciousness clashed with the Algerian state's national ambition for state development (Kesseiri, 2016). This more critical perspective on the dialectical issue of nation and state building whilst promoting what Fanon concludes as "international consciousness" not only highlights the struggles faced by newly decolonised nation states adapting to the global hegemonic structure but also in their promotion of the ideology based on the shared experience of colonisation and their attempts to resist this. Kesseiri's assertion that ideology becomes somewhat usurped by pragmatism in relation to faced difficulties is one that is apparent in both the international section of the BPP, and that of Algeria's government, an argument that Mokhtefi attests to (Kesseiri, 2016; Mokhtefi, 2018). Whilst Mokhtefi states in her memoirs that despite Algeria's lack of diplomatic ties with the United States following the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, a reason behind Algeria's decision to host the international section of the BPP, the belief remained that even if relations were to have existed between

the two countries this decision would not have been any different (Mokhtefi, 2018:95). The motives behind such a decision can indeed be questioned, as done so by Kesseiri, with Mokhtefi herself noting that she herself was at odds as to why the international section of the BPP were offered so many luxuries as opposed to some of the other liberation movements based in Algeria during this period, citing that she was aware however that Algeria had ignited negotiations with the United States over the sale of their newly nationalised hydrocarbon industry (Ibid:107). Moreover, in relation to the Black Panthers themselves, Mokhtefi highlights much of the infighting that tore away at the party, consequently leading to the party's split in February 1971, only two days before Algeria's nationalisation of their hydrocarbon industry (Ibid: 124). The importance of Mokhtefi's memoirs being released will promote new debates and literature to be produced on the Black Panthers in Algeria, and this projects intends to be part of this scholarship in bridging this new information gathered with previous conducted works.

Chapter 1: A Philosophical Understanding of the Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party established itself in the latter half of the 1960s during the peak of the civil rights movements, in response to a vacuum left behind following the deaths of important figures such as Malcolm X, and subsequently, Martin Luther King Jr[11]. The pursual of combatting hundreds of years of lived racism somewhat had reached an anti-climax, with several progressive advancements being made in dismantling the Jim Crow era of segregation and the search for citizen rights which include the right for widescale franchisement amongst the African-American population. The establishment of said achievements led to the infamous Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed discrimination in relation to franchisement on the basis of skin colour, alongside the ending of de jure segregation in schools by the introduction of racial quotas[12]. Yet, these achievements made by the civil rights movement did not fully address the needs of the new generation of urbanised young African-Americans, who would find themselves facing various other political, social and economic issues that needed to be raised (Murch, 2010). Young African-Americans were facing the full brunt of the institutionalised racism that, as the BPP argued, could not be dealt with merely through appeasement as legislation alone could not provide African-Americans with the resources they would require to gain access to positions of power in the search for communal growth. What becomes clear is that the BPP were not simply a political action group, but rather

[11] Two of the major figures in the civil rights movement, Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X were assassinated by the forces they fought against. For more information see: Peniel Joseph. The Sword and the Shield. (New York: Basic Books, 2020); Andrew Vietze. The Life and Death of Malcolm X. (New York: Rosen YA, 2018).

[12] The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and The Voting Rights Act of 1965 were important milestones for the civil rights movements, as these act saw the de facto legislation outlawing segregation in schools and racial discrimination in voting. These two acts saw the legislative death of the Jim Crow Era, although de jure discrimination persisted in various parts of America, as we still see today.

dissatisfied members of the African-American community that wanted to deal with the "real" issues that their community was dealing with, starting on a more micro scale with issues such as providing African-Americans with their own means of protection against the issue of police brutality (Ibid). This would be combined with other important projects such as establishing black schools, free breakfast programmes for children and housing cooperatives, all under the name of the BPP, labelling these programmes as being "survival pending revolution" (Jones, 1998: 30). However, this chapter will rather focus on the major influences behind the growth of the BPP, from being supporters of the civil rights movement to full on influencing the movement into the 1970s, with Bloom and Martin referring to the BPP as "the strongest link between the domestic Black liberation struggle and global opponents of American imperialism" (Bloom & Martin, 2013: 3-4). This quote is important in highlighting, as shown by the influences on the BPP, the international dynamic of the movement and how this outreached far more than the fight for civil rights amongst African-Americans, but also for those in the diaspora trapped under a capitalist and colonialist framework.

1.1 – W.E.B. Du Bois

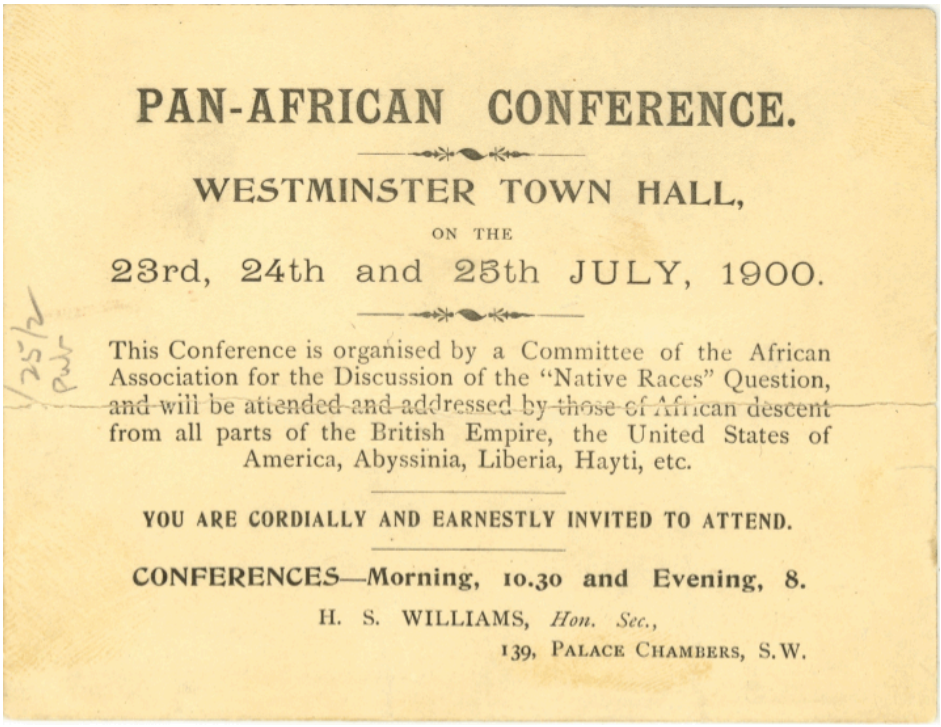
In order to better understand the Black Panther Party's sense of internationalism, one must consult and recognise some of the previous work that had been done, both in America and internationally in this effort. The relationship between the suffering of Black Americans for over 400 years to other parts of the Global South was not that began during the heyday of the civil rights era, but rather, decades before. African-American activists, such as W.E.B Du Bois, an integral figure in the fight for African-American emancipation, had professed their beliefs on the necessity for internationalism in the fight against imperialism. Du Bois, a prominent figure at the First Pan-African Conference of 1900 in London, argued for the end

of colonialism in Africa and the Americas, whilst rebuking the treatment of his fellow African-Americans in regards to the lack of franchisement, right to property and the lack of recognition in the form of reparations for the wrongs of slavery, that had yet to be addressed as seen in their treatment as continual second class citizens in America (Du Bois, 1900). In this letter titled '*To the Nations of the World*', Du Bois, who would send copies of these letters to numerous heads of states residing over Black communities, implored on the those oppressing the Black diaspora to "let the nations of the world respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro states of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these states, the Tribes of Africa…and the black subjects take courage and fight bravely" (Ibid). The Address made at the end of First Pan-African Conference by Du Bois cited what he believed as being "the problem of the Twentieth Century, that of the colour-line", what symptomatic of the issues faced across the Black Diaspora, with the establishment of Jim Crow in America combined with the harsh realities of colonial rule "in relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" (Du Bois, 1903: 19).

The importance of the First Pan-African Conference in 1900 should not be underestimated in its role of gathering together members of the African diaspora in the battle against colonialism, and of course imperialism[13]. This was best exemplified by African-American Bishop and Chair, Alexander Walters, who opened the Conference stating that "for the first time in history, Black people had gathered from all parts of the globe to discuss and improve the condition of their race, to assert their rights and organise so that they might take an

[13] For more information on the First Pan-African Conference of 1900: Marika Sherwood. Origins of Pan-Africanism. (New York: Routledge, 2011); Hakim Adi. Pan-Africanism. (London: Bloomsbury, 2008); Vijay Prashad. The Darker Nations. (New York: New Press, 2008).

equal place among nations" (Walters, 1917: 255). Moreover, the invocation of Black political rights through noting the issue of the colour line signified "a crucial moment in the evolution of Pan-African protest", as this demand was made "against a backdrop of dramatic changed affecting reformers on both sides of the Atlantic" (Johnson et al, 2018: 41).



PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

ON THE

23rd, 24th and 25th JULY, 1900.

This Conference is organised by a Committee of the African Association for the Discussion of the "Native Races" Question, and will be attended and addressed by those of African descent from all parts of the British Empire, the United States of America, Abyssinia, Liberia, Hayti, etc.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY AND EARNESTLY INVITED TO ATTEND.

CONFERENCES—Morning, 10.30 and Evening, 8.

H. S. WILLIAMS, *Hon. Sec.*,
139, PALACE CHAMBERS, S.W.

Figure 2: Official invitation for W.E.B Du Bois to the Pan-African Conference at Westminster Town Hall, London, 23-25 July, 1900. Source: University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries

Having attained leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in 1918, Du Bois was also present at the Second Pan-African Conference held in Paris, 1919, upon which the foundations had been developed by Du Bois and Williams in 1900[14]. Du Bois' aspiration at this conference was to build on the work accomplished in London to further challenge European leaders subjecting the Black diaspora through colonialisation, having openly critiqued the President of the United States

[14] Ibid

Woodrow Wilson of "ruling a state that is deliberately denying democratic privileges to over 12 million souls" (Rosenberg, 2018:1-3). Rosenberg describes how the Second Pan-African Conference would promote Du Bois' ambition of "aiding the cause of Black people around the world" and that Du Bois' conviction that the conference was extremely important in the context of the domestic struggle for racial justice" (Ibid). This raised an interesting suggestion that racial justice in the United States was intertwined within a global effort in the fight for racial equality, implying that the two were not mutually exclusive, but rather, integral in achieving the perceived goals in the empowerment of African-Americans and the Black Diaspora. Du Bois made further advancements towards this contention, stating in a letter to the Secretary of War Newton Baker, that the greatest calamity for "200 million black people around to world would be held without voice or representation at this great transformation of the world" (Du Bois, 1918).

Not only does this show that the origins of the internationalisation of Black liberation movements such as the BPP can be traced to the beliefs and actions of Du Bois, but also how they were heavily influenced by his works, be it explicitly or implicitly. Another example of this influence can be found through Du Bois' work on "double consciousness", a term he coined in relation to the internal struggle experienced by African-Americans living in racist America, a land they were brought to from Africa under bondage. Du Bois refers to this psychological double consciousness as being a "peculiar sensation, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One feels his twoness, an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts and two unreconciled strivings" (Du Bois, 1903: 16-17).

1.2 – Frantz Fanon

Du Bois was not the only influential figure on the Black Panther Party and its internationalism to delve into the notion of "double consciousness", as Frantz Fanon spoke at great lengths on the issue, specifically in relation to this thesis, at how this affected the daily lives of African-Americans. In his book Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon argues that the source of this "double consciousness" for African-Americans, as recognised by Du Bois, stems from the establishment of white, also referred to as European, culture and the effect this has had on the upbringing of the Black diaspora in the Americas and Europe (Fanon, 1967). Fanon notes that the issue of the "double consciousness" is faced by members of the Black diaspora all over the world, as faced by himself during his time with the French military and education system, alongside Du Bois who recognised facing this situation during his teaching years at Atlanta University, where Fanon articulates indirectly on these said issues (Fanon, 1967). Fanon in a further examination of the effects of "double consciousness" provides various examples of this endeavour, which acts detrimentally to the growth of Black liberation by encapsulating Black people to the confined stereotypes presented to them by European culture[15]. Like Du Bois, Fanon through the form of Negritude, had been provided with the educational tools to both understand and combat the struggles that faced him as "a black man in a white world" (Fanon, 1967). It is indeed such works that are essential in understanding the trajection of the civil rights movement during the 1960s, and how key figures in this movement such as Malcolm X, and indeed Bobby Seale of the BPP were heavily influenced by Fanon, and why the appeal of internationalising the struggle was so strong.

[15] Frantz Fanon. Black Skin White Masks. (New York: Grove, 1967); W.E.B. Du Bois. The Souls of Black Folk. (Chicago: AC McClurg & Co, 1903).

Part of understanding what this double consciousness meant for African-Americans implied acknowledging this duality as a form of pride, one that was shared across the Atlantic by their fellow African contemporaries on the continent. The early 1960s, often referred to as the 'heyday' of the civil rights movement in their achievement of forcing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, saw the promotion of Black activism done through nonviolent tactics such as protests and sit-ins, administered by Dr Martin Luther King[16]. Fanon, having left Martinique to join the French Free Forces in the war effort, had confronted the several layers of racism faced by being Black in a European society, where what he characterises as the "masks" falling off the façade of the espoused European values that are clouded by racism, which falls on the Negro both physically and psychologically (Fanon, 1967). Combatting this however required actions which differed from those performed during the civil rights movement, without discrediting their perspective, and this stems from the absolute necessity of violence. Having philosophically argued that freedom can "solely be claimed by risking one's life", Fanon established the foundations upon which violence formed a psychological objection to the racism enthused in European society on individuals, whereby "violence acts as a cleansing force, freeing the native from his inferiority complex making him fearless" (Fanon, 1967: 217-218; Fanon, 1963: 43-44). Fanon further argued, disputing Marx's claim that non-violence can work in the United States, in a collection of his essays titled '*Toward the African Revolution*' that essentialised the need for violence as a form of resistance that leads to the awakening of the masses:

[16] Peniel Joseph. The Sword and the Shield. (New York: Basic Books, 2020); John Kirk. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement. (New York: Routledge, 2013).

"Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organised and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses, to understand social truths and gives the key to them. Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practice of action, there is nothing save a minimum of re-adaptation, a few reforms, at the top, a flag waving: and down there at the bottom, an undivided mass still living in the middle ages, endlessly marking time" (Fanon, 1964: 117-118).

There is another tenant here to Fanon's view on violence and the purpose that it serves for the oppressed, as collective violence in the manner that Fanon describes acts to mobilise the masses by "unifying its people, whereby solidarity is primarily expressed by the increasing blows stuck at the enemy" (Fanon, 1963: 50). Fanon's reference to 'violence' needs to be contextualised, given that the "double consciousness" faced under European society itself is inherently violent towards members of the African diaspora, thus its overcoming through necessarily violence in order to rid its shackles both physically and psychologically is indeed "monstrous" (Fanon, 1967: 124).

This solidarity forms a major role in the possibility of developing an international consciousness across the diaspora, through which the establishment of free nation states, whilst conscious of its unique capabilities, sets the foundation for genuine internationalism to flourish. A major role in this development therefore meant the need for violence against the global capitalist system, which subjugated the diaspora to the ills of poverty and underdevelopment, through which the racist European society compelled on the diaspora blossomed, as other contemporary revolutionaries such as Malcolm X and Che Guevara

agreed upon[17] (Fanon ,1963; Fanon, 1964). Mohammad Harbi, an Algerian historian and former member of the FLN until his expulsion from the country following Houari Boumediene's bloodless coup in 1965, writes in a later edition of Fanon's 'Wretched of the Earth', stating that "Fanon was not simply satisfied with a purely economic analysis of imperialism, and thus attempted to show that the true wretched of the earth, those exploited absolutely, are the colonised" (Fanon, 2002). Mokhtefi notes in her memoirs, having been close to Fanon as far as visiting him on his deathbed, of a meeting that took place in Rome, 1961 between Fanon, Mokhtefi, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre and Claude Lanzmann where Fanon said that "the lumpenproletariat of the cities and the poor, illiterate peasantry will one day take up arms and transform the world" in relation to the importance of violence and armed struggle for the future of Africa and the healing of the African, of which African-Americans were included (Mokhtefi, 2018: 43). Moreover, Mokhtefi highlights how "Fanon's 'Wretched of the Earth' outlined the exemplary transformative philosophy of violence required for victims of a racist society for the founders of the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale" (Ibid; 47). Bose notes in her assessment of Fanon's Third-Worldist appeal that there is a specific usage of the personal pronoun "we", in which it is argued that the connection of a mobilised community is necessary in the shared struggle as Fanon critiques those before him who had failed to recognise the importance of internationalism. "We must shed the habit of decrying the efforts of our forefathers…whose struggles were often limited to national interests, demands and aspirations" (Bose, 2019; Fanon, 1963: 145-146). In this same chapter in the 'Wretched of the Earth', Fanon also made a claim that reverberated across both the United

[17] Kathleen Cleaver & George Katsiaficas. Liberation, Imagination and The Black Panther Party. (New York: Routledge, 2014); Michael Löwy. The Marxism of Che Guevara. (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007)

States and Algeria, “each generation out of relative obscurity must discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it” (Ibid). Whilst the issues facing African-Americans clearly during this era differed from the situation on the continent in certain regards, it is indeed through Fanon’s capitalist critique, alongside his theory on the need for violence in order to address the underdevelopment caused through forcefully living in a “European society”, that one sees his immense impact on the Black Panther Party and their further internationalisation.

Mumia Abu Jamal, a member of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, notes that Fanon’s works were invaluable to the growth of the Party, with every Panther being advised to read the recently translated ‘Wretched of the Earth’ by co-founder of the Party Bobby Seale (Abu-Jamal, 2019). Seale himself writes in his own history of the Black Panther Party that he was so touched by the works of Fanon that he read the book “six times over” to fully comprehend (Seale, 1970: 25). Yet it was not only Bobby Seale who took inspiration from the works of Fanon, with the other co-founder Huey Newton also professing an admiration for Fanon’s theory and political insight on the need for revolutionary thinking. As stated, despite the fact that many of Fanon’s writings were on the lives of Africans facing the terror of colonisation, Newton understood the connection that could be drawn to the African-American experience of racism and imperialism, thus connecting this shared understanding with the diaspora across the Atlantic. Despite the fact that the Black Panther Party was made up of many members that had become increasingly disillusioned with the civil rights movement and its accommodation tactics, in regards to the issues faced by the Black community and the internal colonisation that came with ghettoisation, Newton and Martin Luther King were “almost indistinguishable” (Abu-Jamal, 2019: 8). Moreover, Kathleen

Cleaver, another integral figure in the Black Panther Party, also writes on the significance of Fanon's work on situating the struggle faced by African-Americans, stating that:

"*his brilliant posthumously published work The Wretched of the Earth became essential reading for Black Revolutionaries in America, and profoundly influenced their thinking. Fanon's analysis seemed to explain and justify the spontaneous violence ravaging Black ghettos across the country, and linked the incipient insurrections to the rise of a revolutionary movement*" (Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 214).

However, as Hilliard describes, the influence and importance of Fanon's works were not immediately identifiable amongst the Panthers, for even today scholars continue to argue and debate over the extent to which Fanon regarded violence as essential to freedom and how this can occur within democratic systems amongst various other debates. Despite various members of the BPP being well educated, these new concepts being introduced by Fanon did take time to understand, often to the frustration of Party members (Hilliard, 2008). Yet, this also highlights how important '*The Wretched of the Earth*' was to the BPP as an education and philosophical tool, as what Fanon described as the consequential result of colonialism across the diverse diaspora leads to the organisation of "minority groups" arming themselves against their oppressor (Fanon, 1963). Not only did this have ramifications on the Westphalian understanding of the state during the decolonisation period, but also internationally as Fanon foreshadowed the growth of hegemonic imperialism that occurred during this decolonisation era, based on the proximity of said nation to the interests of American capitalism, notably given the heightened tensions of the Cold War (Ibid, Singh in Jones, 1998). Through this understanding, Fanon's influence over

the Black Panthers becomes apparent and this also presents a strong argument for why the BPP established their international section in Algeria, a country dear to Fanon's works and one which he had represented internationally.

The influence that Fanon held philosophically over the Party during its inauguration perhaps becomes all the more telling given that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had, in 1967, established a counterinsurgency department labelled "COINTELPRO" in order to "expose, disrupt, miscredit, discredit or otherwise neutralise the activities of Black nationalists in America, in order to "destroy what the Black Panther Party stood for" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 82). The BPP, according to Edgar Hoover, then director of the FBI in 1967, only a year after its inception quickly became "the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States of America" (Ibid). This quote perhaps also strengthens the cited criticism of the civil rights movement, that it was too accommodating to the extent to which it posed little fear amongst those in power, whilst doing too little to aid the everyday lives of African-Americans. Not only did the BPP provide a more radical challenge to the American status quo, but it also actively participated in seeking to empower subordinate groups of society whose voices were not represented in the larger movement for racial equality. This was evidently presented in its 10 point program which outlined the Party's early objectives, demanding an end to the poverty and unemployment that the successes of the civil rights movement could not achieve (Black Panther Party Platform, 1968). A significant section of the original ideas that formed the Platform stemmed from another key inspiration behind the Black Panthers' ideology, the recently assassinated Malcolm X, who played an integral

role in changing the revolutionary discourse amongst the civil rights movement[18]. Murch describes how the revolutionaries that came together to form the BPP, and the propagation of the Platform in 1966, asked themselves what Malcolm X would have done and asked for, if he would have been present during their meetings. Moreover, the Panther archives reveal that the work of Immanuel Wallerstein had been discussed amongst the founding members in the search for economic parity with White America as a tool for demanding the need for development amongst Black communities in America (Murch, 2010). Not only does this show that the likes of Seale and Newton were developing an conscious economic understanding of the problems that African-Americans were facing, but also how these were reflected globally, as told through Wallerstein's development theory which one clearly sees present in the BPP's Party Platform[19] (BPP Platform). This becomes all the more important as this development theory suggested by Wallerstein also held a significant amount of credence amongst the Algerian Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) and the National Liberation Front (FLN) in their economic understanding of the global capitalist system that had been built of colonisation, as shown in the Tripoli Programme[20] (Tripoli Programme, 1962). The influence of development theory is an interesting one that binds together many of the numerous influences on the Black Panthers together alongside the shared experience of the horrors of colonialism, as perhaps highlighted best with Newton's fascination of Fanon's understanding of the

[18] Andrew Vietze. The Life and Death of Malcolm X. (New York: Rosen YA, 2018); Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth. (New York: Grove, 1963)
[19] For a greater understanding into Development Theory: Immanuel Wallerstein. The Modern World System. Vol 1. (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Donna Murch. Living for the City. (NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010)
[20] The Tripoli Programme was an important tenant of the Algerian revolution and it worked as a moderate constitution for the GPRA and FLN of Algeria following independence. For an in-depth analysis of the programme: Radia Kesseiri. Algeria. (LAP, 2011). Access to the Tripoli Programme here - https://autogestion.asso.fr/app/uploads/2012/11/le-programme-de-tripoli1.pdf

'*lumpenproletariat*', providing more rationale behind the decision to establish an international section in Algeria. This shared connection is highlighted in an interview conducted in Algiers during the Black Panthers' stay, where a group of young Algerian men, fascinated by Eldridge Cleaver, ask "By what means do the Black Panthers wish to have and to what extent are they going to help their cause?" to which Cleaver replied "With bombs and guns, just like you guys did it here. With the understanding of the problem, with the ideology of liberation and with fighting men who will put this ideology into practice" (ARTE, 2017). This fusion between the economic need for self-determination and the gathering of peoples on an ideological level based on a shared history of oppression is one that remained at the heart of the Black Panthers' project, with this too stemming from the ideas of another key figure in the civil rights movement.

1.3 – Malcolm X

As mentioned, Malcolm X, assassinated in February 1965, had offered an alternative discourse to the nonviolent demands of many civil rights leaders, whilst not contradicting the larger aims of the movement in the struggle for racial equality in America[21]. This spoke to several of the founding members that would go on to form the Black Panther Party of Self Defence, despite the impressive gains made politically through legislation, this was not transferring down the common African-American who still suffered from both racism and high unemployment. Malcolm himself had been significantly influenced by the works of Fanon, perhaps most notably in relation to the need to "decolonise" as African-Americans living under a "double consciousness", whereby the need for violence as understood in the

[21] Andrew Vietze. The Life and Death of Malcolm X. (New York: Rosen YA, 2018);

Fanonist use of the word was necessary[22]. Singh articulates that Malcolm X understood the importance of Third World struggles for decolonisation in the fight for racial equality in America as being intertwined, given that the violence that America had committed in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba meant that the assassination of President Kennedy was not only justified, but a "sign of America reaping the violence it had sown on the world"[23] (Singh in Jones, 1998).

"In my opinion, not only in Mississippi and Alabama, but here in New York, you and I can learn how to get real freedom by studying how Kenyatta brought it to his people in Kenya…that's what we need in Mississippi. In Mississippi we need a Mau Mau. In Alabama we need a Mau Mau. Right here in Harlem we need a Mau Mau. If they don't want to deal with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then we have to give them an alternative" (Malcolm X, 1990).

Fanon's influence on Malcolm X became further apparent during his infamous '*Ballot or the Bullet*' speech, where amongst many things, Malcolm related the treatment of African-Americans as being victims just as those being colonised by their oppressor, the United States, clearly influenced by Fanon's '*Wretched of the Earth'*.

"*No. I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing*

[22] Ibid
[23] The assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961 in a plot conjoined by the American and Belgian government had a massively consequential effect on the diaspora. For greater information: Ludo De Witte. The Assassination of Lumumba. (New York: Verso, 2002)

but distinguished hypocrisy. So I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot…I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim, where there is no American dream. But rather, I see an American nightmare." (Malcolm X, 3rd April 1964).

Further work from the Black Panther archives show that founding members such as Huey Newton saw the Black Panthers as being the natural succession within the pantheon of Black liberation movements following the untimely loss of Malcolm X (Pinkney, 1976: 98-99). Given the nature of Malcolm X's upbringing, with his murdered father a follower of Marcus Garvey's enthused ideas of what needed to be done within the Black community, Malcolm's attachment to the suffering of the Third World should not come as a surprise[24]. This speech also highlighted Malcolm X's critique of the American war in Vietnam, noted as the first Black nationalist leader to do so, forming a critical juncture in the civil rights movement upon which the Black Panthers would actively campaign against.

"*There is no system more corrupt that a system that represents itself as the example of freedom, the example of democracy, and can go all over this earth telling other people how to straighten out their house, when you have citizens of this country who have to use bullets if they wish to cast ballots*" (Malcolm X, 3rd April 1964).

This importance of Malcolm X's command upon the Black Panther Party's formation is not only viewed through the establishment of their 10 Point Platform, but also their decision to

[24] Malcom X's father was a priest that was murdered by members of the Ku Klux Klan in a racially motivated attack. For a greater understanding into Garvey's philosophy: Marcus Garvey. Message to the People. (New York: Dover Publications, 2020)

establish an international section in Algeria can be derived from Malcolm X's influence. Malcom had stated that "I would like to impress upon every African-American leader that there is no kind of action in this country that is ever going to bear fruit unless that action is tied with the overall international struggle" (Malcolm X, 1990). James Baldwin, the playwright and activist, follows on from Malcolm X's assertions on the treatment of African-Americans as "victims of American colonialism", by contextualising the impact of police brutality towards African-Americans as being reminiscent of the horrors faced by native Algerians at the hands of the French during the Algerian War (Baldwin, 1972: 404-455). Baldwin's experience as an African-American living in France during the Algerian fight for independence allowed him to conceptualise, albeit unconsciously at first, how the American framework of institutionalised racism was reflected in France, stating "it is strange to find oneself, in another language, in another country, listening to the same old song and hearing oneself condemned in the same old way" (Ibid: 368). Having been in close proximity to Newton and the BPP during the late 1960s, Baldwin demonstrates how the BPP's Party Platform had distinctive characteristics of the arguments made by both Fanon and Malcolm X, referring to the need for violence as an inevitability that stems not from hatred for White America, but in the need for African-Americans to establish themselves as equals in American society and for the greater international movement in the fight against colonialism (Ibid).

Chapter 2 – Origins to Action

The Black Panther Party for Self Defence, formally created in October 1966, grew out of a study group formed by Donald Warden, whereby the founders of the BPP Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, deemed a defection as being necessary following disagreements with Warden over his accommodating beliefs, rather demanding that more radical action be taken in line with the beliefs of Malcolm[25]. Warden, as head of the African-American Association, proves an interesting figure in analysing the motives and actions of the BPP, given that his association, regarded by Murch as a "study group", provided the tools and impetus that Newton and Seale required. Murch demonstrates that from the Panthers' archives, given that the African-American Association archives were not saved, the African-American Association consisted of a learning syllabus for its members that included the works of Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and indeed Malcolm X (Murch, 2010). This is important in both exemplifying why the BPP and their founding members were so heavily influenced by the aforementioned revolutionaries, as well as how this played out in the following years through their actions. Given the growth of angst amongst younger African-Americans, still suffering from de facto racism and economic underdevelopment across America, the creation of a new movement which actively sought to deal with these issues within Black communities was welcome, even more so given the major assassinations of two leaders in the fight for racial justice. Such assassinations, alongside the continual police brutality towards African-Americans and a greater understanding of the perils that come with American imperialism both at home and towards the diaspora, entrenched the belief that self-defence was paramount and this immediately led to the establishment of armed police

[25] Donna Murch. Living for the City. (NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010)

patrols. With a strong commitment to the 2nd amendment, the BPP were able to ensure that their constitutional right to bear arms were used to good effect, with an escort provided for Malcolm X's widow Betty Shabazz in San Francisco, February 1967 also leading to a rise in members (Bloom & Martin, 2013: 72; Black Panther Paper, 15th May 1967: 3). The murder of Denzil Dowell in Richmond, California a few days later led to various rallies across the town educating the African-American community on the need for self-protection through the right to bear arms following a call from Dowell's family as the county officials refused to pursue the matter, further leading to a rise in both the BPP's influence amongst the community alongside their membership (Bloom and Martin, 2013: 52-54; Black Panther Paper, 25th April 1967).

2.1 – 10 Point Program

In establishing the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence, Seale and Newton immediately set about devising a program that would act as the basis for the actions of the party. Created in October 1966 but officially released in May 1967, the *'10 Point Party Platform and Program*' comprised of two sections, "What We Want" and "What We Believe", which addressed both the issues that the Black Panthers had with the American government and American society at large, on behalf of the 22 million African Americans living in America (Black Panther Paper, 15th May 1967). Seale writes that the '*Party Platform'* was essential to the growth of the Black Panther movement as it formally set out their ambitions in a manner that was accessible to all, whilst contributing to the over "100 yearlong effort" made by African-Americans since the Emancipation Proclamation (Seale, 1991). Moreover, the 10 Point Program was precise in demanding what the BPP deemed to be the needs and wants of the African American community, with the Program featuring in "all 537 succeeding issues of

the Black Panther Newspaper under the title “What We Want Now” (Black Panther Paper, 15th May 1967; Bloom and Martin, 2013: 71). The 10 Point Program spoke on the need for Black determination over their own destiny, in other words freedom via self-determination, alongside the need for full employment amongst the African-American community; the creation of an education system that truly represents the “true history” of African-Americans and their link to the diaspora, an “immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY” as well as the exemption of all African-American males from military service (Black Panther Party Platform 1966; Black Panther Paper, 15th May 1967).

In the Black Panther Party Platform, there are three major points which need analysing in order to better understand the formation of the BPP as a movement, alongside being a continuation of the work done by previous Black revolutionaries such as Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon in the foreshadowing of an eventual international section through situating the issues of African-Americans amongst the global issue of American imperialism. The third demand made in the Party Platform states “an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities”, whereby the demand is made in the “What We Believe” section for the right to reparations that “this racist government has robbed us of and we demand the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules” citing the reparations given to the Jews by the Germans and the United States in the form of finances and the State of Israel following the horrors of World War II (Black Panther Party Platform, 1966). The seventh demand, and the most visible amongst all of the demands made in the Platform in demanding the “immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY” came to symbolise much of what was thought at the time of the BPP, and consequently much of what has been written about their movement. Given that each copy of the Black Panther Newspaper would consist of this

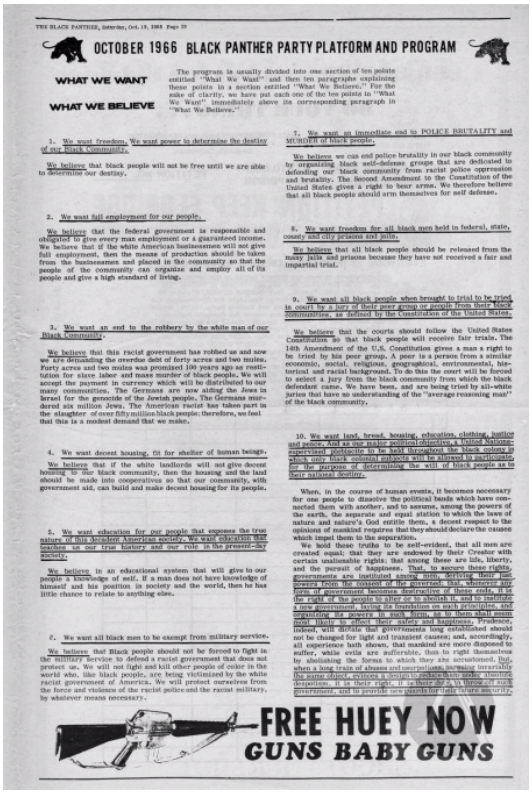
Party Platform, held alongside a symbolic photo of Huey Newton dressed in the Panther uniform, the message was simple and easily spread across the United States, and worked incredibly effectively in both promoting the BPP as a substantial player in the civil rights movement but also making the movement easily identifiable. Yet, the most important demand in the Party Platform for this thesis comes in the sixth demand, arguing for the "exemption of all African-American men from military service" (Ibid). The timely public release of the official Party Platform came less than a month after famous African-American boxer Muhammad Ali had openly refused to conscript for the war effort, resulting in him being stripped of both his boxing titles and his licence[26]. Ali's timeless quote from an anti-war speech he made explaining his decision to not join the American war effort in Vietnam would act as a critical juncture in the BPP's relationship with the diaspora, playing an incredibly important role in their decision to form an international section.

"My conscience won't let me go shoot my brother, or some darker people. Or some poor hungry people in the mud for big powerful America. And shoot them for what? They never called me a nigger, they never lynched me, they didn't put no dogs on me, they didn't rob me of my nationality, rape and kill my mother and father…shoot them for what? How can I shoot them poor people, poor little black people, babies, children and women? Just take me to jail" (Ali, 1967).

The Program itself very much echoed Ali's sentiments regarding the American war in Vietnam, and the conscription on thousands of African-Americans to aid the war effort, a

[26] Robert Harris & Rosalyn Terborg-Penn. The Columbia Guide to African American History Since 1939. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Bilal Muhammad. The African American Odyssey. (Indiana, Author House, 2011).

war that had very little to do with them. The Program argued that “African-Americans should be exempt from military service for a racist government that does not protect us…WE will not fight and kill people of colour in the world who, like Black people, are being victimised by the white racist government of America” (Black Panther Party Platform, 1966). Not only did this resonate across the African-American population on the West coast of America, but the distinct challenge to the American government on the grounds of the refusal to enact its imperialist campaign in Vietnam whilst the Black community in America continued to suffer racism enlarged the Party’s appeal nationwide. Kathleen Cleaver notes that “although the membership was exclusively Black, the Black Panther Party emphasised “power to the people” far more than Black power and sought to unify the anti-imperialist movements and organisations in America” (Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 212). This is an important point that is often misunderstood in the historiography and natural recognition of the Black Panther movement, highlighting the diverse range of influences that shaped the movement’s direction during its early years. However, this also caused strife amongst certain members of the party, with many schisms later occurring due to disagreements on this stance.



OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "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 white man 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 was 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 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 a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

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 bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

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

FREE HUEY NOW

GUNS BABY GUNS

Figure 3: The Black Panther Party 10 Point Platform and Program. Source: Black Panther Community News Service, Vol II Issue 9, 19th October, 1968

2.2 – Action Programs

Yet, the understanding that racial equality in America being directly linked to the emancipation of the diaspora in the Global South did not stop the Black Panthers from actively pursuing various communal programs aimed at meeting the fifth demand of the Party Platform. The demand for an education system that didn't simply portray African-American history as beginning with slavery, as taught in the American education system being fed through both federally and locally, required the establishment of readily available facilities across a variety of different sectors. From the infamous '*Free Breakfast Program*' to '*Liberation Schools'* aimed at establishing politically aware students alongside the '*Survival Program'* intended at providing free clothing and shoes to the needy, these various programs formed an integral part of the Panthers' objectives in serving the Black community

of America[27] (Pinkney, 1976; Black Panther Party Platform, 1966). These programs were particularly important for the founders of the Panthers, with Bobby Seale arguing that the ambitions and objectives of such revolutionary programs were to educate the masses to the politics of changing a system by relating politics to their daily needs (Seale, 1970).

Not only were several of these programs highly successful in both improving the lived situations of the Black community, but they also served as a great foundation for the growth of the Party. In particularly, the '*Free Breakfast Program*' and the '*Black Panther Party Newspaper*' engulfed the wishes of the BPP in their promotion of a political ideology that would both seek to better the daily lives of African Americans, whilst connecting their issues to the greater struggle internationally. In other words, the programs sought to lessen the distinctness between class and race in the struggle against imperialism. Costing just 25 cents per issue, the Black Panther Party Newspaper became an integral outlet for the African-American community, whilst also further promoting the demands of the BPP through the 10 Point Program. During its peak from 1968 to 1972, the newspaper averaged a weekly circulation of 300,000 copies across the United States making it one of, if not the most read newspaper in the country, whilst also establishing an international audience in the promotion of fighting racial inequality (Jones, 1998). Moreover, it was demanded amongst all Panthers that the paper must be read and understood before it could be sold on (Ibid).

The significance of the Black Panther Party Newspaper should not be understated, as its ability to spread the message and causes of both BPP actions and events but also the

[27] Charles Jones. The Black Panther Party (reconsidered). (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998); Jama Lazerow & Yohuru Williams. In Search of the Black Panther Party. (London: Duke University Press, 2006); David Hilliard & The Dr Huey Newton Foundation. The Black Panther Party. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 2010)

atrocities being committed by American forces, both at home towards African-Americans, but also abroad amongst the diaspora. This importance of this newspaper, as stated by its incredible reach during the peak years of the Black Panther movement is exemplified by the agitations made towards it by the FBI, where the FBI Director Hoover affirmed that "hindering the newspaper would be a great asset in crippling the Black Panther organisation", highlighting its prominence in the struggle (FBI Paper in Glick, 1989; Cashmore, 2003: 61). An interview with former Panther Jimmy Slater reveals that Cleaver would "swear up and down" that some of the corresponding letters he received from Newton were not written by him, but rather by the FBI (Slater in Jones, 1998: 151). Hilliard, another key figure in the BPP, notes that despite the FBI's meddling in attempts to botch the spread of the newspaper, the Party fought back and comrades gave their lives in order to continue its circulation (Hilliard, 2008: vii-viii). This becomes all the more meaningful given that it is very rare for an oppressed group to have such a strong outlet to voice their concerns and spread their message, as the BPP did with the newspaper. Moreover, Mokhtefi highlights that further meddling by the FBI through their COINTELPRO counterinsurgency program would cause major strife for the international section of the BPP following Newton's release from prison during their stay in Algiers (Mokhtefi, 2018: 119).

2.3 - Arrest of Newton

Newton, who Abu-Jamal refers to as being the "Black Panther Party's principal theorist" in relation to his philosophical leanings towards Frantz Fanon, was involved in an altercation with officer John Frey eventually resulting in Newton shooting Frey to his death (Abu-Jamal, 2019: 14). No gun was found to be in Newton's possession and Hilliard describes how he

took Newton to hospital to treat his own bullet wounds caused by the altercation, where Newton would be arrested and handcuffed to his bed (Hilliard, 2006; New York Times, 1968). The arrest of Newton however caused grave concern for the BPP, in plain ascendancy, and they quickly organised an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party of America to protest Newton's arrest, which gave further credibility to the ever-growing activity of the BPP (Street, 2019). This was coupled with a mass protest organised on Newton's birthday a few months after, where over 5,000 protestors alongside international news outlets gathered the clamour for his release, leading to the growth of the "Free Huey" campaign (Jones, 1998:308). Moreover, in appealing the injustice of Newton's arrest following this altercation, Kathleen Cleaver promoted the notion that Newton symbolised the combat being fought by African-Americans and this propelled a "martyr" styled image of Newton in prison (Ibid; Rhodes, 2017: 118). Newton was to be charged on the accounts of manslaughter, and sentenced to between 2 and 15 years in prison, although he would be released from prison two years later following a reversal of the decision (The Dispatch, 15th December 1971). The collaboration between the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party did not end following the protests for Newton's release, but rather strengthened with Kathleen Cleaver's husband and BPP member Eldridge Cleaver, joining up with the Party as he ran a presidential campaign on their ticket, despite not being eligible due to his age[28].

The assassination of Dr Martin Luther King, leading figure of the nonviolence civil rights movement and celebrity in 1968, sparked mass race riots across the United States which

[28] The US Constitution requires that to stand as a candidacy for President, one must be a natural born US Citizen, at least 35 years old and a resident of the United States for at least 14 years. Cleaver was 34 when he stood for a candidacy with the Peace and Freedom Party.

had further implications for the BPP in America. Two days into the race riots, Cleaver amongst 14 other BPP members led an ambush on an Oakland police convey, leading to Cleaver himself being wounded and the death of BPP member Bobby Hutton[29] (Coleman, 1980). Under charges of attempted murder following this ambush, Newton contacted Cleaver to demand he leave the United States at the earliest possible opportunity upon which Cleaver broke his bail conditions and fled to Cuba (Mokhtefi, 2018: 84). This was not the first time Cuba had received members of the BPP, with Stokely Carmichael, also known as Kwame Ture, having both spent time with Cuban officials at meetings such as the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) in the summer of 1967, where he claimed that "because our colour has been used as a weapon to oppress us, we must use our colour as a weapon of liberation" (Ibid; 79). It was at this meeting that Carmichael received a formal invitation to visit Algeria by the FLN later that year (Ibid). Mokhtefi's insights into the meetings of OLAS, where she was writing for Algerie Press Service (APS) alongside Fanon's wife Josie, who wrote for the Algerian liberation magazine El Moudjahid, exacerbates the extent to which the forces of ideological internationalism played a potent role in bringing the BPP to Algeria, and specifically demonstrating why Algeria was the chosen land. Carmichael exemplifies this best during his conference upon landing in Algeria, with Mokhtefi acting as his translator, where he stated "It is important that we begin now to visit African countries. So that when the United States invades Africa, as she will have to in the coming years, we will have developed a revolutionary consciousness among African-Americans that they will not fight"[30] (ARTE, 2017). Mokhtefi further describes Carmichael's

[29] Walter Rucker & James Upton. Encyclopedia of American Race Riots, Vol 1. (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007; Kathleen Cleaver & George Katsiaficas. Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party. (New York: Routledge, 2014.

[30] For more works by Stokely Carmichael: Charles Hamilton and Kwame Ture. Black Power. (New York: Vintage Books, 2011); Kwame Ture. Stokely Speaks. (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2007)

visit to Algeria as “placing the accent on Black Power as an integral element in the struggle against imperialism (Mokhtefi, 2018: 80).

Cleaver, despite having been initially welcomed in Cuba by Castro’s government with the luxuries fit for someone of Cleaver’s growing status, quickly found out the difficulties that came with being tracked by the FBI’s COINTELPRO program (Cleaver, 2006). Moreover, and perhaps understated when discussing the connections between the Cuban government and the Black Panthers, were the difficulties that other Panthers, such as leader Bobby Seale and David Hilliard had in their attempted journeys to Cuba. Cleaver discusses in an interview that he learnt via a misplaced letter that the Cubans had been lying to him over their refusal to accept more Panthers to the island, including his “getting heavily pregnant” wife, Kathleen Cleaver (Gates & Cleaver, 1975). The influence of COINTELPRO had scared Castro enough that he had arranged Cleaver’s departure to Algeria, with Cubans based in Algeria ready to receive him in order to smooth over the transfer.

Cleaver admits that he knew nothing of Algeria at the time, nor was he aware that Algiers had become the hub for worldwide liberation movements following its independence in 1962 (Ibid). Having been told to stay away from “a dangerous American by the name of Elaine Klein”, Cleaver says he immediately sought to contact her, doing so via the Algiers representative for the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), Charles Chickarema, something that Mokhtefi, previously known as Klein, also states in her memoirs, “Cleaver is in town and he needs your help” (Ibid; Mokhtefi, 2018: 83). Following this meeting, a press conference had been immediately set up by Mokhtefi and Slimane Hoffman, the head of the FLN’s office for liberation movements. Not only would this press conference affirm the BPP’s

ambition for seeking internationalism, but it also provided the perfect opportunity for the Party to be received around the world as a justified liberation movement (Mokhtefi, 2018: 88). An often unspoken influence on the decision amongst the historiography behind Cleaver's arrival to Algeria is to do with the souring relations between Cuba and Algeria following the bloodless coup led by now leader Houari Boumediene against former leader Ahmed Ben Bella, a close friend and ally of Fidel Castro and Cuba which dates back to Ben Bella's decision to visit Castro in Cuba following his meeting with President Kennedy at the White House[31]. This is important as it offers another reason as to why the BPP established their international section in Algeria as opposed to the much closer state of Cuba, with Castro significantly worried by the growing COINTELPRO presence in Cuba.

Moreover, this worked in the BPP's favour given that the United States had rescinded all diplomatic ties with Algeria following the events that occurred during the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, with the American embassy in Algiers being desecrated in great protests against American involvement in the conflict, thus allowing the BPP some freedom to manoeuvre across the continent (ARTE, 2017). Cleaver's arrival in Algeria unofficially commenced the formation of the international section of the BPP, and he wasted little time in using his media charm to send a political statement to the world about the need for internationalism in his effort to free Black America.

[31] Ahmed Ben Bella's first state visit was to long-time supporter of the Algerian cause, President JFK where Ben Bella was received at the White House. Ben Bella would end his trip with a visit to Cuba, despite American officials advising against this move, where Ben Bella was received by a large Cuban crowd which saw Ben Bella's actions as a defiance to the blockage imposed on Cuba. This significantly strengthened ties between the two countries until Boumediene's bloodless coup in 1965.

"*African-Americans are an integral part of African history. White America teaches us that our history begins on the plantations, that we have no other past, thus we need to take back our culture. Oppressed people need unity based on revolutionary principles rather than merely skin colour. Our goal is to break the system, our goal is revolutionary*" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 90; ARTE, 2017).

Kathleen Cleaver, who would hastily join her husband Eldridge in Algeria in time for the birth of their first child, noted that the move across the Atlantic was integral to "Black self-determination given that it was not feasible simply under American imperialist domination", hence the charm of Algeria given they maintained no diplomatic relations with the United States, amongst other pivotal justifications (Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 212). Furthermore, the BPP's belief that "liberation of Blacks from racist oppression and capitalist exploitation required a social revolution to transform political and economic institutions and their presence in Algeria identified with African struggles to end colonialism" (Ibid). Mokhtefi identifies that there was logical sense regarding Algeria's decision to host the internationals section of the BPP given the fallout from the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 and the subsequent cutting of diplomatic ties between America and Algeria, yet she argues that she is of the belief that even if diplomatic ties were to be normalised, Algeria's positioning regarding the BPP would have been no different (Mokhtefi, 2018: 95). This can largely be stated as a legacy stemming from the FLN's dedication to its ideological blueprint, the Tripoli Programme, which argued amongst many things, for an unwavering support to "political and social forces fighting imperialism across the Maghreb, in the Arab world and in Africa in the promotion of unity in this combat" (The Tripoli Programme, 1962). This programme is

vital in understanding Algeria's decision making following its independence, and why Algiers became the 'Mecca of global liberation movements' across the Global South.

Chapter 3 – Algiers, the Mecca of Liberation Movements

A mere few weeks after the arrival of Cleaver and the international section of the BPP came the First Pan-African Festival in 1969, held in Algiers which formed a celebration of African resistance which came to highlight the combative struggles made throughout the decade against colonialism and imperialism. Not only was the festival vital in further progression this "shared experience" on colonisation as a means for promoting Pan-Africanism and solidarity in the combat against Occidental imperialism, but this Festival also served as a timely reminder of Algeria's commitment to the continent, to the cause and to its own ideological beliefs[32] (Tripoli Programme, 1962). The first President of Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella, was no stranger to the beliefs of Pan-Africanism. nor the plight faced by African-Americans in America. The founding conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 presented Ben Bella with an opportunity to affirm these beliefs.

"*The OAU charter would remain a dead letter unless the new organisation concretely supported the continent's liberation movements with arms, money and training. So let us all agree to die a little, so that the people still under colonial rule may be free so that African unity may not become simply an empty word*" (Ben Bella, 1963; ARTE, 2017; Mokhtefi, 2018: 67-68).

Less than a year earlier to the founding of the OAU, Ben Bella was received by President Kennedy at the White House, whilst he would also go on to meet with Dr Martin Luther King, where he spoke on America's waning moral authority given its treatment of African

[32] William Klein. Festival PanAfricain d'Alger 1969. (ONCIC, 112')

Americans that Dr King was combatting (New York Times, 14th October 1962; Byrne, 2016: 172-173). Furthermore, Ben Bella's relationship with the African-American struggle did not end there, with an exclusive one hour interview being granted to Charles Howard, UN Correspondent and writer for the Nation of Islam's weekly paper '*Muhammad Speaks*', which played a significant role in "raising awareness and connecting the situation of African-Americans amongst the diaspora" (Meghelli in Marable & Aidi, 2009: 102). President Ben Bella would further converse with Malcolm X, who would reciprocally visit Algeria two years later upon whereby clear parallels were drawn between the Algerian revolution and the growing need for an African-American movement that could sufficiently challenge the status quo (Ibid: 103-104).

"*I visited the Casbah in Algiers, they took me down and showed me the suffering…the first thing they had to realise were that they were brothers. The same conditions that prevailed in Algeria, that forced the noble people of Algeria, to resort eventually to the terrorist-type tactics that were necessary to get the monkey off their backs, those same conditions prevail today in America, amongst every Negro community*" (Malcolm X in Breitman, 1965: 66).

3.1 – Pan-African Festival

What becomes visible here is the continual intertwining of Western colonialism and imperialism with the injustices being faced by African-Americans, thus offering a further explanation as to how and why the BPP ended up establishing an international chapter in Algeria. Many see the international chapter of the BPP and the importance placed on African-American art and culture at the festival as the critical exemplification of this, as the BPP were based on rue Didouche Moruad, a central location for the Festival, for the creation

of an Afro-American Centre providing information screenings alongside speeches on political, cultural and economic themes (Mokhtefi, 2018: 91).

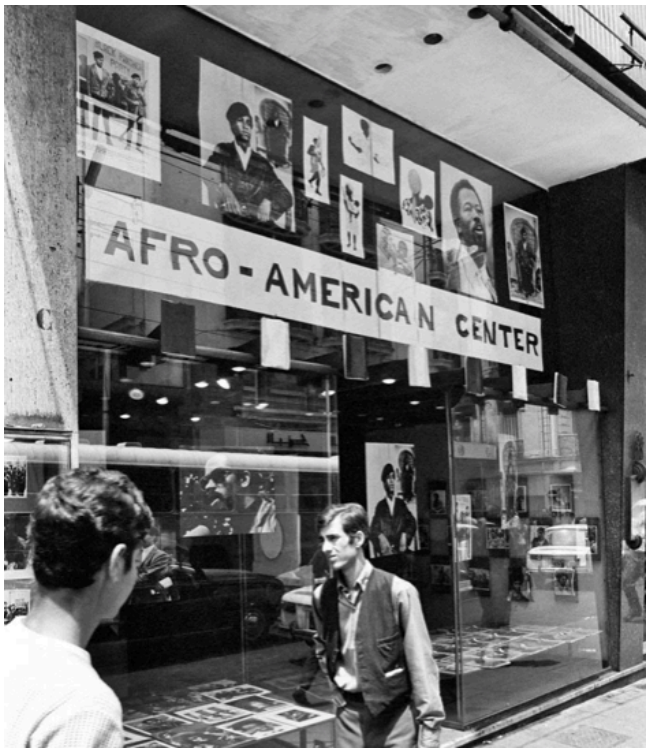


Figure 4: The front of the Afro-American Center in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade

Figure 5: The inside reception of the Afro-American Center in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade

Yet the appearance of African-Americans at the First Pan-African Festival in Algiers was not reduced to the international section of the BPP, with various musicians and poets such as Archie Shepp, Nina Simone and Maya Angelou performing. Mokhtefi anecdotally writes on an encounter between world renowned jazz musician Shepp and Eldridge Cleaver, whereby the meeting represented "a mutual appreciation as African-Americans, and as revolutionaries, each in their own right (Ibid; 92). Whilst Cleaver would also go on to verbally exchange unpleasantries with other important figures present at the Festival, such as Stokely Carmichael, based on a disagreement over "methods and the BPP policy of collaboration with whites", this did not take away from the fact that the Festival had repositioned African-American history into their own hands (Ibid; 93-94).

"*We are black and we have returned, brought back to our land. Africa. The Music of Africa. Jazz is Black Power. Jazz is African Power. Jazz is African Music. We have come back!. Nous sommes revenus. Nous sommes les Noirs Americains, les Afro-Americans, les Africains des Etats-Unis. Mais, le premier chose, nous sommes Africains et nous sommes revenus!*" (Klein, 1969; Mokhtefi, 2018: 93-94).

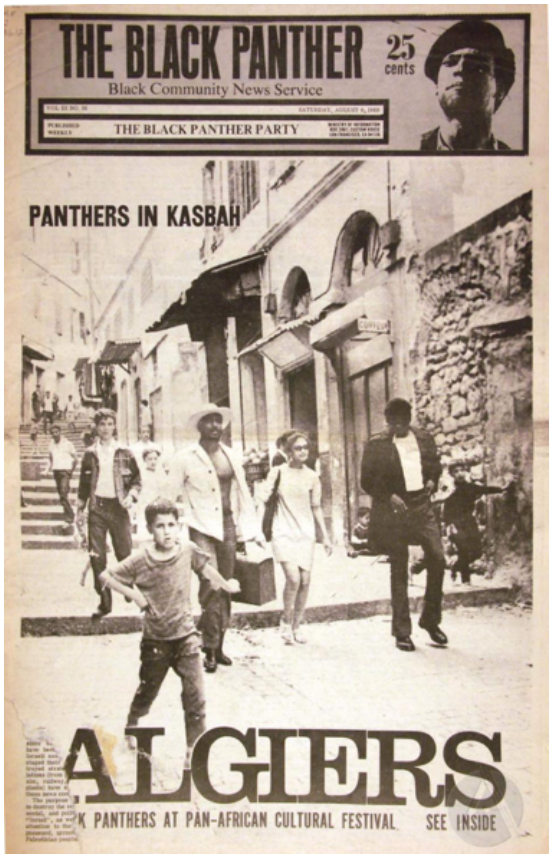


Figure 6: The Black Panther Party Newspaper depicting Eldridge Cleaver strolling through the Casbah of Algiers, 1969. Source: Black Panther Community News Service, Vol III Issue 16.)

One of the major reasons for the Pan-African Festival being held in Algiers was down to the reputation that Algeria had built during the decade. Having entered the 60s in the midst of a colonial war against the French, Algeria went on to secure both its independence and its title as the "Mecca for liberation movements" by opening up the historical capital, Algiers, to liberation movements in the Global South fighting against colonisation[33]. The Festival years later cemented this status, with revolutionary Amilcar Cabral quoting that "pick up a pen and take note: the Muslims make the pilgrimage to Mecca, the Christians to the Vatican and the national liberation movements to Algiers" in response to a question posed by an American reporter at the start of the festival (Lakhdar-Ghettas, 2017: 97). Movements from

[33] For further reading on Algiers as a hub for liberation movements: Jeffery Byrne. Mecca of Revolution. (New York: OUP, 2016); Elaine Mokhtefi. Algiers, Third World Capital. (New York: Verso, 2018); Vijay Prashad. The Darker Nations. (New York: The New Press, 2008)

all over the world, albeit mainly African groups fighting European colonial powers, based themselves in Algiers, ranging from FRELIMO of the Mozambique, Cabral's PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, the ANC from South Africa to the PLO of Palestine were given offices in Algiers alongside receiving funds and guerrilla training from the Algerian government. (Mokhtefi, 2018: 54; Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998). Mandela upon his release from prison made Algeria his first external visit in February 1990, declaring that he had not forgotten the support given to him by the Algerian government in the form of moral support, weapons and funds (ARTE, 2017). Klein in his documentary on the Pan-African Festival, and subsequent documentary on the life of Eldridge Cleaver, shares a poignant moment between the Black Panthers in Algeria and the ZAPU whereby a meeting set up by Klein saw a representative of ZAPU declare that "We follow the struggles made by our African-Americans brethren…if they are successful in their battle against the common enemy then that success is ours too" (Klein, 1970).

3.2 – Liberation Status

Cleaver, leading the international section of the BPP, was quick to develop close relationships with the other liberation movements in Algiers in order to spread the message of the suffering that African-Americans had, and were, going through. Whilst this was specifically the case amongst the Anglophone world based in Algiers, it was not reserved to them with the Black Panthers working strongly amongst their Lusophone allies such as the PAIGC and FRELIMO in their active fight against the ongoing Portuguese colonial presence in their nations (Mokhtefi, 2018: 98). Moreover, there was a historical linkage made between the BPP and Fatah, which transformed into the PLO, which developed strongly following the establishment of the BPP's base in Algiers. Both Mokhtefi and Kathleen Cleaver have spoken

on the bond that formed between these two revolutionary groups, with Eldridge Cleaver "embracing the Palestinian cause in his opening speech at the Festival" (Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 213). "We recognise the Jewish people have suffered, but this suffering should not be used to justify suffering the Arabs now" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 98). Mokhtefi, acting as both a personal assistant and translator for Cleaver, proved invaluable for the international section of the BPP and played an important role in facilitating the internationalisation of the Party. She was an American who could speak French, was politically sympathetic to the Black Panther cause and had contacts amongst the upper echelons of the Algerian government, all of which proved timely for the BPP during their stay. This is exemplified in the accreditation that was given following Cleaver's petition to the Algerian government requesting official status be granted to the international section of the BPP as a liberation movement. Given that Cleaver received no official response from the Algerian government, he understood this to be a negative response however Mokhtefi, who had been in Algeria for a few years prior to Cleaver's arrival, was better prepared for the differentiation in bureaucracy and made it clear to the BPP that this was an affirmative response (Mokhtefi, 2018: 104).

Figure 7: A meeting between Eldridge Cleaver and PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of The Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver Family Archives

The granting of official status as a liberation movement was enormous for the international section of the BPP, as not only was it a major symbol in the recognition for their cause, but it also allowed for other privileges such as villas, greater media coverage and more funds which were invaluable to Cleaver's cause. Much of this actually differed from the experiences of other liberation movements based in Algiers, with the international section of the BPP receiving many more luxuries than most of the other movements. Whilst Mokhtefi states that she is not entirely aware as to why this was the case, she does describe however how "the natural flair and flamboyancy held by the African-Americans was a major positive, whilst their lifestyle and outspoken character held them to be esteemed" (Ibid). Moreover, ideological similarities appear to play an important role in this decision, with Mokhtefi connecting with Mhammed Yazid, in order for these privileges to occur. Yazid is an interesting character in this historiography, with Mokhtefi claiming that "he was one of the few Algerians who understood the United States", having served as representative for the GPRA at the United Nations whilst also having an American wife (Ibid). Yet, Yazid along with Ait-Hocine who also joined him in New York formed an important part of Algeria's foreign policy, with both being present at the infamous Bandung Conference of 1955 as members of the GPRA, alongside being part of the GPRA's delegation at the 1958 All-African People's Congress led by Patrice Lumumba[34] (ARTE, 2017; Byrne, 2016). It was at this conference that Frantz Fanon represented Algeria on the global stage, with Yazid being very close with Fanon, both personally and ideologically. This perhaps offers a greater explanation as to why Yazid looked so kindly upon the international section of the Black Panther Party. The importance of earning official liberation status whilst moving into the old Vietcong

[34] Mhammed Yazid served alongside Frantz Fanon as Algeria's delegation to Patrice Lumumba's All African Conference of 1958. Archival footage of this meeting can be accessed here by Pathé-Gaumont - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fl-3yEs2O6I

government villa in Algeria cannot be understated, as it allowed the BPP to receive special ID cards that granted the ability to obtain exit visas under the Algerian government's name, alongside a monthly cash stipend which would aid the transfer of further Panthers from America to Algeria (Mokhtefi, 2018: 106-108; Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 213-215). The official inauguration of the international chapter of the BPP also held further symbolic importance for the Party, with Cleaver stating that "this was the first time in the struggle of Black people in America that they had established effective representation abroad" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 108).

3.3 – Clash of Personalities

A few days before this official inauguration, back in the United States Huey Newton had been released from prison as the California Court of Appeals overturned his manslaughter conviction, ending his almost two year stay in prison (The Harvard Crimson, 1970). During his stay in prison however the BPP had radically changed from the Party he left in 1968, whereby under Cleaver's reign, the ideology of self-defence had shifted to a more radical position in the aims of achieving racial equality and justice in America. The BPP had developed numerous chapters across the United States, with thanks to the success of the Black Panther Party Newspaper circulating at almost 300,000 copies a week during Newton's time in prison (Jones, 1998). Moreover, the BPP had established its global network with partner organisations organising in places such as London, alongside Cleaver's international section in Algeria[35].

[35] For more information and further reading on the Black Panthers Chapter in London: John Narayan. British Black Power: The anti-imperialism of political blackness and the problem of nativist socialism. The Sociological Review. 67(5). pp 945-967; Kehinde Andrews. The British Black Panthers. Brook Lapping for BBC Radio – accessible here: https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m0007b0y

However, Newton's time in prison not only coincided with the growth of the BPP but also the increasingly heavy handed tactics of the COINTELPRO counterinsurgency program of the FBI, with "thirty-one Panther offices being raided leading to several arrests and murders of Panther members" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 119). Mokhtefi notes that COINTELPRO tactics had become increasingly divisive during this period, and played a significant role in the eventual demise of the international chapter of the BPP through the creation of fake documents with Newton's signature present in order to "denounce Cleaver to President Boumediene" (Ibid; Glick, 1989). Yet, on news reaching Algeria that Newton had his sentence overturned, the BPP members in Algeria were hopeful and optimistic on his arrival to Algiers. This arrival never transpired, as Newton's demands for a passport to make the journey in October, 1970, were rejected, somewhat foreshadowing the demise of Newton's leadership of the radically different BPP. Having conversated with members of the BPP under the new Cleaver reign, the situation facing the BPP and its survival was of stark contrast to the Party left by Newton in 1968, with many members facing assassination attempts (Ibid; 121). Moreover, Newton had demanded significant powers following his return to leadership which included the power to expel party members alongside imprisoning members, as Denise Oliver explained to Mokhtefi, whereby she was "coerced into sleeping with Newton whilst he was high on cocaine" (Smith, 1999: 165-167; Mokhtefi, 2018: 120-121). Tempers continued to flare between Cleaver and Newton who, in a live telephone debate, would go on to expel each other from the BPP. Cleaver immediately received the support and backing of the East Coast Panthers alongside various chapters across California, all of whom had lost respect and grown tired of their boss (Ibid: 122; Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 219). This argument exemplified the difficulties that came to surround the Black Panther Party, both at home in the United States as well as their international section in Algeria, with egos seemingly

overshadowing the efforts being made to promote the Party's objectives (Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2014: 119-122; Mokhtefi, 2018).

Figure 8: Huey Newton following his release from prison in California, 1970. Source: Courtesy of Nacio Jan Brown

The differences between Newton and the BPP would remain divisive, to the extent to which the international section of the BPP would split from Newton's ruling over the BPP in America. Yet, not only did this split lead to the assassinations of close members to the international section who remained in California, two days before the official announcement of the split President Boumediene had held an incredibly important conference announcing Algeria's nationalisation of its hydrocarbon industry (Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2014: 122; Mokhtefi, 2018: 124; ARTE, 2017). This announcement, which would challenge the Evian Accords signed between Algeria and France was pivotal towards Algeria's development, given that the funds raised from the hydrocarbon industry allowed

for its internal development and continual financing of liberation movements in the fight against imperialism[36]. Furthermore, the renationalisation of this industry played an important part of implementing the Tripoli Programme which proved so important during the premierships of both Ben Bella and Boumediene, an act which directly contradicted the 'development theory' that actually helped formulate the programme (Tripoli Programme, 1962; Byrne, 2016). Mokhtefi dictates that initially the Black Panthers in Algeria had paid "very little attention" to the domestic politics of Algeria, perhaps understandably given their ultimate goal and lack of a shared language, and "inevitably missed the significance of Boumediene's declaration (Mokhtefi, 2018: 124-125). It would only be later on, one year later, that the international section of the BPP became wary of the potential consequences that came with Algeria's decision to nationalise their hydrocarbon industry and what that meant for their chapter.

Before this however, the FLN in April, 1971 had forwarded an invitation to the "international section of the BPP from the People's Republic of Congo for an international conference in support of liberation movements fighting Portuguese colonial forces", upon which Cleaver would "spearhead the BPP delegation" (Ibid: 126; Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2014: 34; Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 240-241). Not only had the Black Panthers already developed a network the many of the involved liberation movements present at this meeting, given that they too were based in Algiers, but this conference also held a different significance for the Panthers, as it "allowed them to discover identify with Black Africa" (Ibid). Kathleen Cleaver

[36] Having nationalised the hydrocarbon industry, following the orders of the Tripoli Programme, Algeria sought to sell its newly accrued petrol to the major economic powers in order to finance its domestic policies of state building whilst trying to maintain its activist foreign policy. Further reading on this topic – Robert Mortimer. Global Economy and African Foreign Policy: The Algeria Model. African Studies. 27(1) (1984): 1-22; Jeffery Byrne. Mecca of Revolution. (New York: OUP, 2016).

writes, upon which Mokhtefi concurs, that the Panthers prolonged their trip to the Congo following the conclusion of the conference, going as far as to demand the government of the People's Republic of Congo for permission to establish a secondary international chapter in Brazzaville, a major reason behind their trip (Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2014: 34-35). Mokhtefi notes that during discussions between her and Eldridge Cleaver, the leader had claimed that "we felt at home there" alongside "we have come back" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 126-127). Smith notes that the trip to Congo-Brazzaville was symbolic for the international section of the BPP for further reasons, with Cleaver viewing the nation as "another example of the liberating influence of socialism whilst feeling the sensation that the Black Panthers were following the footsteps made by Malcom X", following his trip to Africa in 1964 (Smith, 1999: 81-82). Unfortunately for the Black Panthers, their request to establish an international chapter fell on deaf ears, and unlike with Algeria, this silence did not act as an affirmative response. Congo-Brazzaville would quickly descend into violence with Ange Diawara exiling from the country as his government would be overthrown[37].

3.4 – Turbulence in the Mediterranean

The return to Algiers for the Black Panthers, following the failure to transfer their international chapter to Brazzaville and the continual fallout from the Party's split, would further bring chaos upon the movement with the hijacking of a Delta plane by sympathisers of the Black Panthers. The Douglas DC-8 plane was hijacked in Florida, where a ransom was paid to the tune of over $500,000, upon which the hijackers "forced the crew to head for

[37] The Marxist-Leninist Congolese Workers Party (Parti Congolais du Travail) took control of power following the establishment of networks between the Republic of Congo, Cuba and the Soviet Union. Ange Diawara, the Black Panther Party's ally in the Republic of Congo attempted a coup d'état against his President in 1972 to no avail. After being captured whilst attempted to flee Brazzaville, Diawara was captured and killed for his failed attempt.

Algiers, where the Panthers were awaiting them (New York Times, 1st August 1972; Mokhtefi, 2018: 164-166; Koerner, 2013). Upon landing in Algeria, the hijackers and the ransom were swiftly taken into custody, where after days of deliberation the hijackers were freely released to join the Panthers in Algiers, but without the ransom that Cleaver was so desperately keen for in order to fund his revolution against the American state (ARTE, 2017; Ibid; Kathleen Cleaver in Jones, 1998: 245-246). Context helps explain one reason behind Algeria's decision to give back the ransom to the Airline carrier, given its own personal history with pirating and following independence, "too much was at stake for them to be pushed around by American exiles, whatever their plight"[38] (Mokhtefi, 2018: 167). The Panthers reaction to the Algerian government returning the ransom money that they so desperately wanted essentially proved to be the nail in the coffin for the internationalisation of the Black Panther movement in Algeria, with its consequences resulting in the final few days of the international chapter of the BPP (New York Times, 24th August 1972). The Panthers released a public appeal directly attacking the Algerian government for what they considered as a betrayal of the "Bandung Spirit" that had brought the Panthers to Algeria.

"*We are shocked and bewildered to be branded as criminals for our revolutionary activities, and to see our successful revolutionary actions threatened with ultimate defeat by the Algerian government. It was the United States' government itself that requested of the Algerian government to allow the plane to land in Algeria. We feel that by allowing the plane to land in Algeria, the Algerian government is not obligated to go one step further and*

[38] Having held a strong stereotype as a dangerous and rouge area prior to colonisation due to the activity of Barbary pirates on the Mediterranean coast of Algiers, the newly decolonised state realised the importance of shedding this label in order to fund its ambitions within the global economic system. The growth of airplane hijacking during the 1970s posed a worry to the Algerian government due to this history, hence their decision to refund the ransom taken.

play the part of policeman for the United States government" (Black Panthers Communique in ARTE, 2017).

The Algerian government immediately raided the Panthers' villa and confiscated their weapons alongside cutting their telephone communications so that no contact could be made with the outside world. Mokhtefi notes that the "publicised letter to Boumediene was a gaffe that illustrated how little the Panthers understood Third World politics" (Mokhtefi, 2018: 168). It is here that the importance of Boumediene's declaration in February, 1971 becomes so important, as America, despite not holding any diplomatic relations with Algeria, became a business opportunity for Algeria to sell its petrol. Following the return of the hijack ransom to Delta, the Black Panthers decided to call quits on Algeria and the party transformed into a new movement, known as the Revolutionary Communication Network (RCPN), aimed at becoming a clear-house for leftist movements across the world. Eldridge Cleaver left for Paris where he would attempt to seek refuge before eventually returning back to the United States. Kathleen Cleaver, having divorced Eldridge, returned to New York as part of the RCPN where she would eventually turn to the legal profession. The Black Panther movement continued into the early 80s, but remained fraught with fractions and a lack of clear leadership in the search for combatting American imperialism, implementing socialism in America and ending racial inequality.

Conclusion

The Black Panther Party emerged as the new generational face in the struggle against American imperialism and the racism faced by African-Americans during the latter stages of the 1960s. Having formed out of a study group in Oakland, California, the Panthers before the end of the decade would find themselves mingling with the likes of Amilcar Cabral, Mhammed Yazid and Muhammad Ali, to name a few of the many publicised figures fighting for Third-Worldism and an end to systemic racism in the United States. This growth was built on a mutual understanding of the intrinsic link between the African continent and the injustices faced in the United States, leading to the establishment of the international section of the Black Panther Party. Whilst marred by constant surveillance by the FBI alongside grave internal disputes between key influential figures of the Party, the international section of the BPP spoke strongly to the revolutionary attempts being made to reshape the global world order that occurred across the world during this era.

Thus, the rise of the international section of the BPP presented an organic continuation of this struggle, as highlighted in this project, through what can be described as the “Bandung Spirit” that encapsulated the newly decolonised states of the Global South. This natural continuation is, in large part, indebted to the leaders of the Black Panthers movement whom, as explained in Chapter 1, held tremendous esteem for the timeless philosophical reasonings demonstrated by earlier revolutionaries, such as Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X. In face of a civil rights movement that made major political and legislative gains for the African-American community of the United States, whilst inspiring many other movements around the world, the realities and challenges faced by many amongst this community were

however not being met. The Black Panthers offered a different proposition to those still facing the harsh backlash of 400 years' worth of oppression, through directly challenging law and order forces, both locally and internationally, in order to create change. Bound inherently with the wider decolonisation period that occurred across the Atlantic, the Panthers took the ownness upon them leading this fight to eradicate the forces of racism, alongside capitalism which they believed to be intrinsically linked to the suppression of coloured people around the world.

Arriving in a country with little resources, and even fewer means of communication and transportation, the Algerian government looked kindly upon the international section of the BPP, both in terms of their combat which had historical precedent, but also in their unique swagger which distinguished themselves from other revolutionary movements in Algiers at the time. Algiers, which had transformed itself from a site of revolutionary guerrilla warfare to the hub of Third-Worldism during the 1960s played host to numerous liberation movements during this epoque, funded largely by the Algerian state in its adherence to the Tripoli Programme which affirmed unwavering support for those combatting imperialism and colonisation across the world.

This project has highlighted the various historical links that played a role in the creation of the international chapter of the BPP, alongside the importance that the First Pan-African Cultural Festival offered the Panthers in their combat. In doing so, this project sheds further light on an often misunderstood and disregarded part of both American and Algerian history, during what can be described as the greatest threat to the American led world order that has existed since its creation. In focusing on the influences, actions and the ideological

stance of the Black Panthers in their internationalisation, this project only speaks to a specific part of the Black Panther movement, whereas more work can be partaken in the future on some of the other interesting aspects of the movement, such as its gendered politics, its positioning within the pollical left along many others. Moreover, this project has been enabled greatly by the recently released memoirs of Elaine Mokhtefi, with these memoirs being tied in together with previous historiographies. Whilst such previous historiographies do tend to align with much of Mokhtefi's contentions, this new level of detail should provide great impetus to further studies on the lives of the Panthers in Algeria.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Baldwin, James. *No Name in the Street*. ed. (New York: Dial Press, 1972).

Debjaoui, Mohammed; Benyahia, Mohammed; Harbi, Mohammed, Lacheraf, Mostefa; Malek, Redha. *Le Programme de Tripoli*. June, 1962. Accessed 15th June, 2020. https://autogestion.asso.fr/app/uploads/2012/11/le-programme-de-tripoli1.pdf

Du Bois, W.E. Burghardt. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. ed. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co, 1903).

Du Bois, W.E. Burghardt. "Letter from W.E.B Du Bois to Secretary of War Newton Baker", 27th November, 1918, *Du Bois Papers*, W.E.B Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, microfilm edition, reel 7.

Cleaver, Kathleen. "Back to Africa: The Evolution of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (1969-1970)." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. ed. Jones, Charles (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998).

Cleaver, Eldridge. *Soul on Ice*. 16th ed. (New York: Delta, 1999).

Cleaver, Eldridge. *Target Zero: A Life in Writing*. ed. (New York: St Martin's Press, 2006).

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Richard Philcox. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963).

Fanon, Frantz. *Toward the African Revolution*. Translated by Haakon Chevalier. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1964).

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967).

Mokhtefi, Élaine. *Algiers, Third World Capital: Freedom Fighters, Revolutionaries, Black Panthers*. (New York: Verso, 2018).

Seale, Bobby. *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. ed. (New York: Random House, 1970).

Walters, Alexander. *My Life and Work*. ed. (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917) Accessed 5th of May, 2020. https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/walters/walters.html

Figures

Figure 1: A young Algerian boy holds a poster of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton during the First Pan-African Cultural Festival of Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade. Photo taken during the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers, 1969.

Figure 2: Pan-African Association. Pan-African Conference, 1900. W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. Accessed 24th June, 2020. https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b004-i319

Figure 3: October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program", The Black Panther Black Community News Service. Vol 2 Issue 9 published 19th October 1968. Accessed 1st June, 2020. https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/items/show/636

Figure 4: The front of the Afro-American Center in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade. Photo taken during the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers, 1969.

Figure 5: The inside reception of the Afro-American Center in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of Robert Wade. Photo taken during the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers, 1969.

Figure 6: The Black Panther Party Newspaper depicting Eldridge Cleaver strolling through the Casbah of Algiers, 1969. Source: Black Panther Community News Service, Vol III Issue 16 published 9th August, 1969.

Figure 7: A meeting between Eldridge Cleaver and PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral in Algiers, 1969. Source: Courtesy of The Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver Family Archives.

Figure 8: Huey Newton following his release from prison in California, 1970. Source: Courtesy of Nacio Jan Brown. Photo taken on the 29th May, 1970.

Newspapers

Black Panther Party. "Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed", *The Black Panther Black Community News Service*. Vol 1 Issue 1 published 25th April, 1967. Accessed 19th May, 2020. https://issuu.com/basicsnewsarchives/docs/copy_of_1967_-_issue_1

Black Panther Party. "The Truth About Sacramento", *The Black Panther Black Community News Service.* Vol 1 Issue 2 published 15th May, 1967. Accessed 19th May, 2020. https://issuu.com/basicsnewsarchives/docs/copy_of_1967_-_issue_2

Black Panther Party. "October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program", The Black Panther Black Community News Service. Vol 2 Issue 9 published 19th October 1968. Accessed 1st June, 2020. https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/items/show/636

Black Panther Party. "Panthers at Pan-African Cultural Festival", The Black Panther Community News Service. Vol 3 Issue 16 published 9th August, 1969. Accessed 10th June, 2020. https://issuu.com/basicsnewsarchives/docs/03_no_16_1-28_aug_9_1969

Ronan, Thomas P. "Ben Bella Links Two Injustices: Tells Dr. King Segregation is Related to Colonialism," *New York Times*, published 14th October, 1962, p20. Accessed 8th June, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/1962/10/14/archives/ben-bella-links-two-injustices-tells-dr-king-segregation-is-related.html

Turner, Wallace. "State Opens Case of Black Panther: Promises Surprise Witness Who Saw Coast Murder," *New York Times*, published 6th August, 1968, p16. Accessed 13th June, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/1968/08/06/archives/state-opens-case-of-black-panther-promises-surprise-witness-who-saw.html

Witkin, Richard. "3 Hijack Jet, Collect $1-Million and Fly to Algeria," New York Times, published 1st August, 1972, p1. Accessed 14th June, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/1972/08/01/archives/3-hijack-jet-collect-1million-and-fly-to-algeria-3-seize-jet.html

"Algeria Gives Delta Ransom Taken in Hijacking," New York Times, published 24th August, 1972, p28. Accessed 19th June, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/1972/08/24/archives/algeria-gives-delta-ransom-taken-in-hijacking.html

"Case Against Newton Dropped," *The Dispatch*, Lexington. United Press International, published 15th December, 1971, p24. Accessed 8th June, 2020. https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=3egbAAAAIBAJ&pg=4755%2C3864335

"Huey Newton is Released While Awaiting New Trial," *The Harvard Crimson*, published 7th August, 1970. Accessed 18th June, 2020. http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1970/8/7/huey-newton-is-released-while-awaiting/?print=1

Speeches

Ahmed Ben Bella speech at Organisation for African Unity Conference, Addis Adaba, 23rd May 1963 quoted in Ottaway and Ottaway, *Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution*, p163.

Ali, Muhammad. Quote taken from speech refusing Army induction to Vietnam", 28th April, 1967 found in Like It Do, 1980 Documentary.

Du Bois, W.E. Burghardt. "To the Nations of the World" *Pan African Festival 1900*, London. Accessed 1st May, 2020. https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/second/en213/syllabus2017-18/dubois_tothenations.pdf

X, Malcom. "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech, 3rd April, 1964. US Digital History ID 3624. Accessed 18th May, 2020. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3624

X, Malcolm & Breitman, George. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. ed. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1965).

X, Malcolm. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. 2nd ed. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990).

Archival Footage

ARTE. "*Alger, la Mecque des Révolutionnaires*". Ben Slama, Mohamed & Laïdi, Amirouche. (2017, 57').

Cleaver, Eldridge. "Black Panther", 35mm film. Klein, William. (Algiers: ONCIC), 1970.

Klein, William. "*Festival panafricain d'Alger 1969*", ONCIC. (1969, 112').

Secondary Sources

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. "Frantz Fanon and His Influence on the Black Panther Party and the Black Revolution" in *Frantz Fanon and Emancipatory Social Theory: A View from the Wretched*. ed. Byrd, Dustin J and Javad Miri, Seyed (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

Bloom, Joshua & Martin, Waldo, E. Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party. ed. (California: California University Press, 2013).

Bloom, Joshua & Martin, Waldo, E. Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party. 2nd ed. (California: California University Press, 2016).

Bose, Anuja. "Frantz Fanon and the Politicisation of the Third World as a Collective Subject," *Interventions* 21:5 (2019): 671-689.

Byrne, Jeffery-James. *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonisation and the Third World Order*. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Cashmore, Ellis. Encyclopaedia of Race and Ethnic Studies. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Cleaver, Kathleen & Katsiaficas, George. *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy*. 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Glick, Brian. *The War At Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*. ed. (Boston: South End Press, 1989).

Hilliard, David. *Huey: Spirit of The Panther*. ed. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2006).

Hilliard, David. The Black Panther Party: Service to the People Programs. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).

Johnson, Violent Showers; Graml, Gundolf; Williams-Lessane, Patricia. *Deferred Dreams, Defiant Struggles: Critical Perspectives on Blackness, Belonging and Civil Rights*. ed. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018).

Jones, Charles. *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. ed. Jones, Charles (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998).

Kesseiri, Radia. *Ideologised Foreign Policy and the Pragmatic Rationale: The Case of Algeria under Houari Boumediene, 1965-78*. ed. (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2005).

Koerner, Brendan. *The Skies Belong to Us: Love and Terror in the Golden Age of Hijacking*. ed. (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2013).

Lakhdar Ghettas, Mohammed. *Algeria and the Cold War: International Relations and the Struggle for Autonomy*. ed. (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017).

Meghelli, Samir. "From Harlem to Algiers: Transnational Solidarities Between the African American Freedom Movement and Algeria. 1962 – 1978." In eds. Marable, Manning and Aidi, Hishaam, *Black Routes to Islam*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Mortimer, Robert. "Global Economy and African Foreign Policy: The Algerian Model." *African Studies Review* 27:1 (1984): 1-22.

Murch, Donna. *Living for the City: Migration, Education and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California*. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

Pinkney, Alphonso. *Red, Black and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States*. ed. (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1976).

Rhodes, Jane. *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon*. ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017).

Rosenberg, Jonathan. *How Far the Promised Land: World Affairs and the American Civil Rights*. ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018).

Singh, Nikhil Pal. "The Black Panthers and the 'Underdeveloped Country' of the Left." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. ed. Jones, Charles (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998).

Smith, Jennifer. *An International History of the Black Panther Party*. ed. (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1999).

Street, Joe. “Free Huey or the Sky’s the Limit: The Black Panther Party and the Campaign to Free Huey Newton.” *European Journal of American Studies* 14:1 (2019): 1-14