



# West

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## What is L.C.F.O. doing ?

• **Registering Voters.** Two years ago there were no Negroes registered. Today after SNCC initiated a registration drive, the LCFO has registered over 2600 of the 5000 eligible Negroes. Even though over 130% of the whites are registered (!), Negroes still have the majority!

• **Running Candidates.** Negroes came together democratically to nominate candidates that would honestly represent them. The candidates are for: Sheriff, Tax Collector, Tax Assessor, Coroner, and three members of the Board of Education. These candidates are running on a program of tax reform, school reform, and general social-civic reform.

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE



Their symbol is the "Black Panther" which stands for courage, determination, and freedom. It was chosen as an appropriate response to the racist Alabama Democratic Party symbol, the white rooster and its slogan, "White Supremacy/ For the Right."

• **Health Clinics.** Over 90% of the children in the county are undernourished. Most of the adults suffer with high blood pressure. There is a high mortality rate among black people. LCFO is doing things for the people NOW! It is initiating a health campaign, and it is setting up a clinic with doctors and other medical staff.



**The BLACK PANTHER**



**BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE**

**VOLUME 1 APRIL 25, 1967**

**NUMBER 1**

P.O. Box 8641 OAK CALIF. EMERYVILLE BRANCH

**PUBLISHED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SOLI-SOLIDARITY**

# WHY WAS DENZIL DOWELL KILLED

**APRIL FIRST  
3:50 a.m.**

**"I BELIEVE THE POLICE MURDERED MY SON" SAYS THE MOTHER OF DENZIL DOWELL.**

Brothers and Sisters of the Richmond community, here is the view of the family's side of the death of Denzil Dowell as compiled by the Black Panther Party for Solidarity, Emeryville, California, and the [unclear] [unclear]. As you know, April 1st, 1967, Denzil Dowell (age 28), was shot and killed by an "officer of the Martinez Sheriff's Department", as read the newspaper.

But there are too many unanswered questions that have been raised by the Dowell family and other neighbors in the North Richmond community. Questions that don't meet the satisfaction of the killing of Denzil. The Richmond Police, the Martinez Sheriff's Department, and the Richmond Independent would have us think people believe some thing contrary to Mrs. Dowell's accusation, that is, her son was "accidentally" murdered by a [unclear] cop.

There are too many questionable facts supporting the Dowell family's point of view.

These questionable facts are as follows:

1. Denzil Dowell was unarmed as he ran six bullet holes and shot gun shells are considered "justifiable homicide" (quote page 9)



**WE BLACK PEOPLE ARE MEETING SATURDAY 4:30 AT 1717 SECOND STREET LET US SUPPORT THE DOWELL FAMILY EVERY BLACK BROTHER AND SISTER MUST UNITE FOR REAL POLITICAL ACTION**

SAC, Baltimore

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - C. D. DeLoach  
1 - W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)  
(BUDED 12/2/68)

For the information of recipient offices a serious struggle is taking place between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals.

In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP.

Commencing December 2, 1968, and every two-week period thereafter, each office is instructed to submit a letter under this caption containing counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP. The bi-weekly letter should also contain accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period under captioned program.

All counterintelligence actions must be approved at the Bureau prior to taking steps to implement them.

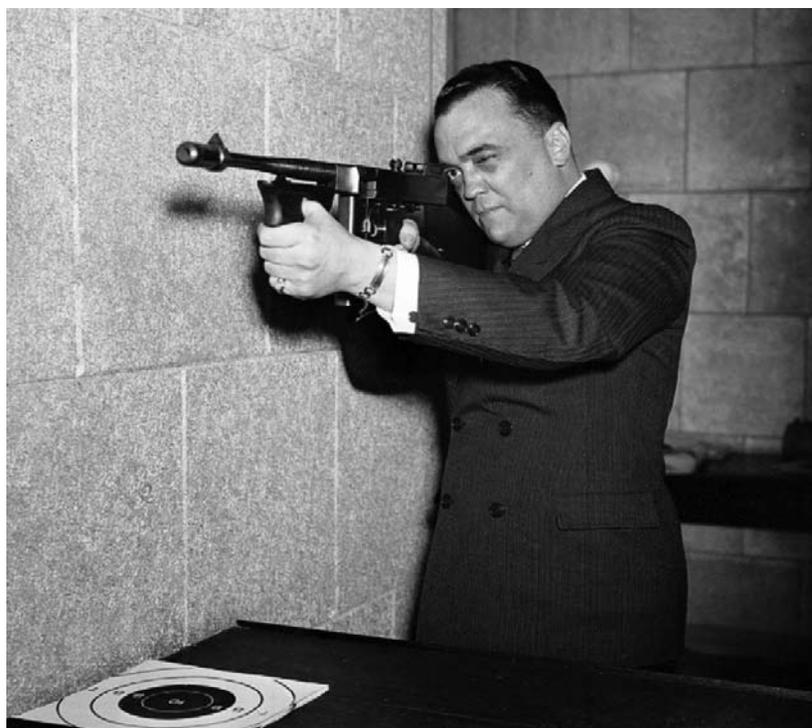
- 2 - Boston
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Cleveland
- 2 - Denver
- 2 - Indianapolis
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - New York
- 2 - Omaha
- 2 - Sacramento
- 2 - San Diego
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Seattle

MAILED 2  
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COMM FBI

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(1970)

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT AS REFLECTED  
IN ITS OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER  
*THE BLACK PANTHER*  
BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

STAFF STUDY

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION



(OCTOBER 6, 1970)

(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1970

50-929 O

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office  
Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price 60 cents



# The Guardian Call



VOL. 1 No. 7

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

SEPTEMBER 1969

## BLACK PANTHERS SPEW HATRED AND VIOLENCE TO CLAW AT AMERICAN LIFE



**The Only Good Pig Is A Dead Pig!**

From a 1969 article on the Black Panthers Coloring Book from THE GUARDIAN CALL (a Delaware Fraternal Order of Police newspaper) Full scans of entire item at: <http://www.sp.tc/black-panthers-1969-police-article>

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *gc*

SUBJECT: MASS MEDIA ITEM  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND  
LEONARD BERNSTEIN'S BENEFIT  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach *b7c*
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 18, 1970

- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

- 1 - [redacted] (Mass media) *b7c*
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

*b7c*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-21-80 BY [redacted]

It is recommended the attached mass media item be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis. This item concerns a benefit given by the well-known music conductor Leonard Bernstein and one of his guests, Black Panther Party (BPP) Field Marshal Donald Lee Cox. *b7c*

Bernstein, on 1/14/70 in his New York City home, gave a fund-raising party for the BPP. The affair raised over \$10,000 for the BPP. Donald Lee Cox, one of the attendants, is presently being sought by the Baltimore, Maryland, Police Department for conspiracy to commit murder and he is also an unlawful flight to avoid prosecution Bureau fugitive. These charges grew out of his involvement in the July, 1969, torture and murder of Eugene Leroy Anderson. Cox and other BPP members in Baltimore were involved in this murder as they believed Anderson to be a police informant. *b7c*

Cox in the 1/3/70 issue of the BPP newspaper, was indicated as the author of an anti-Zionist pro-Arab article.

This article shows Bernstein and his socialite guests with an individual now wanted for his involvement in a murder and also who had expressed anti-Zionist and pro-Arab statements. This could have a direct effect on contributions to the BPP.

**ACTION:** Refer to Crime Records Section for its consideration with regard to making the attached mass media item available to a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis.

Enclosure

NOT RECORDED  
17 MAY 27 1970

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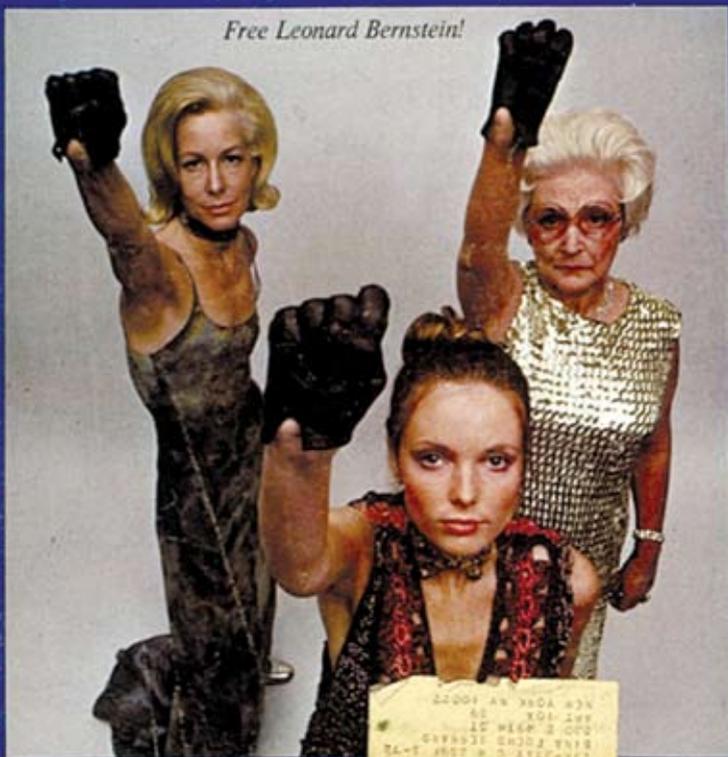
**SPECIAL ISSUE**  
**Tom Wolfe on Radical Chic**

40 CENTS

JUNE 8, 1970

# NEW YORK

*Free Leonard Bernstein!*



Age 2000

## Radical Chic: That Party at Lenny's

By Tom Wolfe

"... It's a tricky business, integrating new politics with tried and true social motifs..."

At 2 or 3 or 4 with, remembering to drink, on August 27, 1968, in 48th, Manhattan, in East, Leonard Bernstein made up to the clock in a state of wild alarm. That had happened before. It was one of the times his assistant took to be ill the house. He got up and walked around a bit. He felt pretty healthy. He had a vision, an inspiration. He would do himself, Leonard Bernstein, the singer, conductor, walking and in style in white tie and tails in front of a folk orchestra. The one role of the conductor's position in a place like this other in a show with a guitar being played. He sits in the chair and picks up the guitar. A guitar? One of those ball-and-stick instruments, like the saxophone, that are made for the Lenny to play in Eight Days of Dignity (1969) 15-year-olds of Leonard Bernstein's music. He has an excellent memory to deliver the great musical moment of the night in the apartment hall, the entrance to them. "I love," he said. The object is something. All of once a Negro dies up from out of the table of the grand piano and starts playing things like "The audience is currently uninterested." "Come into to start again, please some small numbers on the piano, says, "I love, done, done, done." The Negro runs up and says, "The audience thinks he ought to get up and walk out. The audience thinks, I am pleased even to make my neighbor." Finally, Lenny gets all a beautiful audience speech and ends.

For a moment, sitting there alone in his home in the small hours of the morning, Lenny thought it might just work and he joined the show down. That of the audience, however, in the very concrete moment with another



the Beatles the Beatles would!

and Lenny. But that his audience, perhaps, he had heard, that the ball was the Negro, coming up from the piano and shouting the world when he saw Leonard Bernstein was making of himself. It didn't make sense, the message Negro to the piano grand.

At the time, Leonard Bernstein, then not even 19th-century change music, called it cracked out. Very late, very subtle. It's the first day of the audience of the new topics up against the show later of the show that is to come, or subtle. Wonder what the Black Panthers can hold on the back of a Negro? In the Beatles, he says. He might think there was, except it cracked into this one, and everyone tips in to remember this, and eventually parties on Cag Marsh all of which are at the very moment being played in their unperfected other places by means of thick intention with horizontal white spaces. . . . The better will bring them their attack. . . . They a if you wish to,

Photo and Leonard Bernstein and good Don Cox



Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan b7c

DATE: 8-16-71

Mr. R. L. Shackelford b7c

- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

- Delaney
- Gale
- Rosen
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PLANS OF ANTIWAR ELEMENTS  
TO EMBARRASS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

PURPOSE:

To advise that information regarding a previously reported plot by Leonard Bernstein, conductor and composer, to embarrass the President and other Government officials through an antiwar and anti-Government musical composition to be played at the dedication of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts has been reported by the press.

BACKGROUND:

[REDACTED]

The purpose of this action was to embarrass high Government officials, possibly even the President who might be present. This information was furnished to the White House, the Attorney General, Secret Service, and Bureau of Prisons. Thereafter, on 7-14-71, Bernstein attempted to visit Berrigan at Danbury but was denied admission by prison officials after consulting Bureau of Prisons in Washington, D. C.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS:

There is attached an article from the 8-7-71 issue of "Human Events" which discloses "rumors are sweeping Washington. . ." that Bernstein will embarrass the President with an antiadministration bombshell. The article referring to "administration sources" as the basis for this information stated Bernstein had been in contact with Berrigan for ideas in connection with the dedicatory "Mass" he was composing for the Kennedy Center ceremony.

ENCLOSURE  
Enclosures - 2

100-360261-  
b7c (8) [REDACTED] 6/16/78 b7c D. 20 AUG 18 1971  
INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-8-80 BY [REDACTED] b7c  
NEW LEFT









# Black Panther Party Australia

24 FEB 1972  
B 3, B



Black Panther Party of Australia - Brisbane Chapter

## MANIFESTO NUMBER TWO

Released in conjunction with the Orientation Week (Feb.-March) on all Universities throughout Australia.

The Black Panther Party of Australia - Brisbane Chapter has only been in existence for a little over one month & already there has been a great deal of publicity around it. This has been mainly because the press has chosen to sensationalise the policy of the Party pertaining to self-defense of the Black Community.

The main aspect of this policy of course is the fact that we advocate that if any section of the community is allowed to carry guns in the streets, then all people should be allowed to arm themselves for their own self-defense. Some say this is placing too much power in a persons hands. We say that the pigs have a legal right to carry guns & (that from our experience) those pigs have gone beyond their legal right, not on isolated occasions, when dealing with the people from the Black Community, but on almost every occasion. To date, little or nothing has been done to ensure that the pigs do not abuse the legal rights of the Black People.

Our legal rights are being abused daily by the pigs. The threat of intimidation, both armed & otherwise (batons) is always evident when pigs are dealing with Black People. Black People have no defense against this threat whatsoever. Therefore if the pigs are not forced to respect our legal rights then we advocate that we be allowed to arm ourselves in the street for our own security. We wish to arm ourselves to defend ourselves & the Black Community against the naked undisguised aggressive violence of the exploitationists system & the fascist pigs who are armed & paid to protect it.

We do not advocate anymore than this & we believe this is a just demand. We do not incite people to arm themselves outside of the law, but we do point out that there are laws prohibiting people carrying guns, while the pigs are paid & protected to do so. This then is a denial of yours our human rights.

We do not advocate any terrorist activity such as 'death lists' & 'bombings' because we believe our demands are just. Any action carried out by us must be justified. Therefore we will continue to carry out our actions in full view of the people. It is the pigs that carry out the violent acts of aggression against us in the security of a darkened street or behind the security of the locked doors of the concentration camps.

The press has chosen to play up the violence advocated by us, not as a self defense measure, but supposedly as aggressive acts. We deny that any acts of aggressive violence are advocated by us.

# Talking while looking\*

JUAN PABLO FAJARDO: The first image is a caricature by Malik, another of the artists associated with the Black Panther Party newspaper, in which you appear with a beret and a paintbrush and behind you the shadow of some pigs hanging. The caption image says:

*When the black revolutionary artist begins a still life, he doesn't see a beautiful vase or a plate full of delicious fruits on a velvet cloth... he just sees a tattered curtain, rusty cans and broken and empty plate. When looking for a nice scenery to paint, he doesn't see flowers growing in fertile land and beautiful maidens bathing in the sun, instead he sees dilapidated houses and streets covered with rubble and a black woman with threadbare clothes and cheeks soaked with tears.*

EMORY DOUGLAS: There were other artists who collaborated with the newspaper at different times, sometimes there were two or even five, but I was always responsible for giving the orders and the guidelines. Malik arrived in the early seventies. He came from the Washington chapter, but there were many other artists, including Tarika Lewis and Mark Teemer, who made the famous coloring book.

J.P.F.: Was this book really an official publication of BPP?

E.D.: What happened was that after the armed takeover of the State Assembly in Sacramento, Bobby Seale decided that it shouldn't be published because it would be used against us. Finally, it was published and that violated the Party's policy, which is why its authorship was not acknowledged. It was not an action by agents provocateurs as has been said in the past, it was the simple lack of knowledge of some members that produced that action. Teemer continued to do a good job, which you can track online, although it's difficult because he changed his name to an African name.

J.P.F.: Do you remember exactly when and the circumstances in which you took the famous photograph of Huey P. Newton in the chair?

E.D.: Eldridge Cleaver suggested that the photo be taken. Huey was not really convinced and didn't want to do it, but eventually he posed for the photo. We were working in the paper and I don't remember if it was taken in Eldridge's apartment -he'd just got out of prison- or in his lawyer's. I arrived at the time they were arranging the set to take the picture and it was Eldridge who really orchestrated that image.

J.P.F.: The third image is the famous painting on the french revolution. It is an allegorical picture in which a woman and a child are carrying weapons and I think it closely relates to your oeuvre and in general with your work.

E.D.: There are times when you need a lot of determination and that's what I see there. You must face the challenges in front of you and fight for the rights.

J.P.F.: In an interview I had with Bobby Seale I asked him about the issue of the arms, if he considered that the decision to use them, which ultimately made them targets of state violence, was a mistake.

E.D.: State violence existed before that and our decision was a response to it. Since we were abducted from the shores of Africa there's been violence and rebellion. It was the Constitution that allowed us to arm ourselves. There have been communities that have had to defend themselves against racism, for example, against the Ku Klux Klan. If you put everything in a historical context, the concept would be the need to defend ourselves.

J.P.F.: The following picture is from the Kimbrough's collection in Los Angeles.

E.D.: This is a piece of local communication. If any piece carries the header People's News Service, it means that it has to do with local issues. I hadn't seen it in years ... They were four-page brochures ... and I don't remember the content of this piece.

J.P.F.: It says: "David and Emory arrested".

E.D.: Yeah, that happened in Connecticut after the arrest of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, accused of murdering a member of the Black Panthers, but they were later exonerated of those charges. The agents provocateurs were discovered, convicted and sent to prison. David Hilliard and I were in court during a trial recess reading a newspaper, an officer came over and took our newspaper. Then I snatched it back... things got rough... and, well, they arrested us.

J.P.F.: The fifth image is very famous, the one of the 1968 Olympics...

E.D.: The one of the athletes John Carlos and Tommie Smith. There is a story behind that image, because there was a series of previous meetings between

different rights movements and students, to decide what our position would be at the Olympics and if a statement would be made about the civil rights violations that occurred in the country. The Black Panthers had a representative, but it wasn't me. Finally, no agreement was reached on what was to be done, but there was a series of talks on various proposals. When they arrived at the Olympics this was what they decided to do. It was anyway an agreement and something that was planned beforehand - although not exactly the gesture of the fist - in order to denounce abuses against the black population in the country. The white man in front is an Australian, Peter Norman, who won the silver medal in that race. Recently, with an Australian Aboriginal artist, I did a project about him, because the young people don't know him. Norman supported us, and he also qualified for his country for the 1972 Olympics but was censored and could never run again.

J.P.F.: The following is the cover of the magazine where Tom Wolfe's article was published that trivializes the black power salute.

E.D.: I didn't know the image; it seems to be of wealthy people who supported the cause. Many people were involved in the subject of race, but I don't see the texts and that's what happens when images are taken out of context. In fact, we had many people who helped to get or donated funds, such as John Lennon and Yoko Ono who paid Bobby Seale's bail. These details are in the new documentary.

J.P.F.: I've also seen a picture of Jane Fonda making the black power salute ...

E.D.: Yes, Jane Fonda also supported us. We held events in Hollywood to get funding and there were people that connected us with their acquaintances to raise funds.

J.P.F.: Would you say Hollywood was an important source of funding?

E.D.: It was one of them, but there were many.

J.P.F.: How important were the sales of the newspaper?

E.D.: It was more a line of communication with our community. The aim was to report on what was happening and show our perspective on everything happening both domestically and internationally.

J.P.F.: How long did you collaborate with the newspaper?

E.D.: Around 1976, the newspaper took another political course and they decided to stop using my work in it. It's possible that I may have made some other picture for the newspaper in 1977, but none after that.

J.P.F.: The following is an image of Edgar Hoover, the FBI director, with a machine gun. You wanted to show Hoover armed...

E.D.: Yeah, sure, I've seen the picture and I know about him.

J.P.F.: Is there anything you want to say about that picture?

E.D.: Ha, ha, ha ... mmmm ... not really. All I can say is that Hoover was a racist. There were no black FBI agents and, when asked about this, he said the only thing negroes could do for him was "wash his clothes and shine his shoes." He was subsequently pressured about that and then he convened a press conference at which he appointed one of his servants as an FBI agent and said, "Now I have a black FBI agent."

J.P.F.: The following picture is a sort of caricature ...

E.D.: Yes, there were some disagreements between the movements that were exploited by COINTELPRO to create friction between the Black Panthers and the radical US movement in Los Angeles. They used these fissures to take advantage of us.

J.P.F.: Would you say that the end of the Black Panthers was really a result of the FBI harassment and the COINTELPRO program?

E.D.: Yes, we were young and they exploited our weaknesses and limitations. They made us attack one another and used disinformation ... I think more than 150 COINTELPRO actions were directed against us. It was an offensive at all levels.

J.P.F.: What do you think were the most harmful actions?

E.D.: The murder of many comrades.

J.P.F.: What often remains over time and in the minds of the people is the negative image of the Black Liberation Movement ...

E.D.: Of course, when there's misinformation, people don't know what's true and what isn't. But now they're doing a lot of research on the subject. Many scholars and academics are now dedicated to this task and maybe now they can better understand many things.

J.P.F.: The following is one of my favorite pictures, I understand that it's allegorical, on the right I see the portrait of a Black Panther and on the left a person from another era, a slave, maybe?

E.D.: No, both are photographs of Black Panthers. I've even seen the superimposed image of the drawing with real people ...

J.P.F.: Are those types thick and strong-lined images made, often, based on photographs?

E.D.: Sometimes, not always. Sometimes there were people who posed for me and other images I made up from my imagination ...

J.P.F.: There are two other images that I like very much, which use raster textures and curious framings. The image of the woman has almost a comic strip language and reminds me a little of the works of Lichtenstein, the pop artist that incorporated this language in art...

E.D.: Well, I've heard about that, there are people who relate it to that ... The use of prefabricated material is a resource ... In these images, in particular, I had fun not portraying something or someone specific and drawing with a woodcut style ...

J.P.F.: Do you think they're important? Do you like them?

E.D.: Well, precisely these and two others have been released again in limited editions. They are strong images that have to do with psychological warfare and self-determination. The one with the phrase "You can kill a revolutionary, but not the revolution" has buttons of all the Black Panthers murdered in Chicago.

J.P.F.: It's interesting that you include other information on the image, such as buttons with text ...

E.D.: It provides more meanings when it's relevant ...

J.P.F.: The other two images, the one about Halloween and Christmas, are related... They're good; they have a punk-like spirit...

E.D.: They destroy the myth! They were always provocative images... The activists liked the idea of exploiting the celebrations...

J.P.F.: The next one is a very different and realistic picture, like an image of everyday life with lots of detail in the drawing...

E.D.: Yeah, it's a very familiar sight, like things I've experienced or people I've met. I didn't want people to get bored with a monotonous style ... I did this using gouache.

J.P.F.: It's as if you chose the type of representation according to the subjects or needs. The previous images were drawn strongly... They're icons, almost out of a graphic novel or a comic. This one, on the other hand, is smoother and beautiful, although it does have an aura of sadness...

E.D.: Yes, that was what you'd see when you got home.

J.P.F.: The other portrait is an older person, but I'm not sure who it is ...

E.D.: We had a program for older people called SAFE, which was to escort the elderly when they went to collect their pension checks. The image is part of a notice published in the newspaper, but it was also used later to make a poster. The image also criticizes a program of the Mayor of Oakland to buy a helicopter intended to make things safer for the citizens, and that was a contradiction. We felt there'd be more safety if that same money was invested in social programs for the young people. The image was accompanied by information on the context.

J.P.F.: Do you think the newspapers were more valuable than posters? The pictures were made for the newspaper and using them in a poster meant giving them a second use ...

E.D.: We were doing a lot of things with images apart from posters. We also did too greeting cards!

J.P.F.: This picture, taken from another poster, is a person with a match ...

E.D.: He was a member of Stokely Carmichael's student committee. H. Rap Brown said "If America doesn't come around, we're gonna burn it down...". But it's an image I did before joining the Black Panthers. I was involved in other movements like the Black Arts Movement, but then many things were happening in the South: attacks on rural communities, uprisings... And although the Black Arts Movement was respectable, there were many more things to do.

J.P.F.: Are there other images from that era?

E.D.: The images of Amiri Baraka, Stokely Carmichael and Black Studies... were made before, but when

I joined the Black Panthers they were turned into posters and cards because of the need for funding.

J.P.F.: The next one is probably one of the most famous images of your work, a bit psychedelic and fun, the boy with glasses and the ray effect...

E.D.: This is a happy picture... We had schools with free breakfasts for children and proposals for an alternative and modern education with social benefits.

J.P.F.: If you had to choose one image, although I guess you like them all, which would it be? Some of them are joyful like the last one and others are very powerful and dark in the newspaper...

E.D.: Ha, ha, ha... Well... "I don't choose because ain't got shoes"... Sometimes I even impress myself with what I've done... Ha, ha, you show me things I don't remember or haven't seen in a long time, but... No, I couldn't really choose a special one.



Only months before his death, Hampton seemed to predict the rise of Vichy black politicians like Obama, while explaining why education was integral to the struggle:

“If the people ain’t educated, one day, we’ll have Negro imperialists.”

**Jon Jeter**

# WHAT WE WANT



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



2. We want full employment for our people.



3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.



4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.



5. We want education for our people that expose 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.



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



7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.



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



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.

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.

VALÉRIE MALOT, researcher and promoter of African music in Paris, was in Bogotá for a few days. One of the visits she made had to do with tracing the origin of an album from the Colombian band *Son Palenque*. *Palenque* is the name given to the populations of slaves who escaped from *haciendas* and plantations in Colombia during colonial times. This phenomenon was repeated in several countries in Latin America and designated with different names. Its inhabitants were known as runaway slaves (*cimarrones*), characterized by a fierce spirit and organized in villages that were often assaulted by the Spaniards. They developed political, economic and military organization tactics. Men, women and children had to participate in the defense of their way of life in the context of a fragile and hard-won freedom. The Palenques of the Caribbean coast of Colombia, particularly those in the *Montes de María* region, such as the *Palenque de San Basilio*, resisted their former masters. The fighting lasted nearly a century until, in 1691, the King of Spain opted to negotiate with them, granting them the land where they had raised their villages.

In Colombia, the struggle for land and access to it by peasants, afros, indigenous and poor communities has continued within the context of a bloody armed conflict for over sixty years.

The *Son Palenque* album was designed and coedited by *La Silueta*, a studio and artist-run publishing house in Bogotá. The packaging of the record is particularly notable because it was a folded poster with simple portraits of the musicians. It was created with flat lines and colors, lettering drawn by hand and an original typeface made based on strokes copied from *Didot*, a typeface cast in the eighteenth century in France. The spirit of the handmade type was related to the *Machete Fencing*, a type of combat developed by slaves in the Colombian Pacific region, which followed the traditional forms of sword duels. However, it was adapted to the peasants' tool, the *machete*, mixing African dance movements with the elegant steps of combat between knights.

Valérie researched the Afro spirit in Colombia through its cultural events, tracing the sound of the paradigmatic band that began playing in the seventies. These musicians adapted a mixture of the sound of the past with *champeta*, and subsequent musical influences that arrived as a second African landing in Colombia.

During a long talk in the design studio, she inquired about the source of the record and its original graphics, Valérie mentioned that she and David Murray, an old-school jazz saxophonist born in Oakland in the fifties, were producing a project. In this project, they presented the *Last Poets*, the forefathers of *hip hop*, who embodied another cultural production that inherited the African American civil rights movement.

Murray's performances with the *Last Poets* projected images by Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the Black Panther movement, which originated in Oakland in 1966.

Douglas's graphics are instantly recognizable for their raw strokes, predesigned textures and the use of imagery representing different visions of the black community in the suburbs of the east coast of the Bay Area near San Francisco.

Emory took courses in graphic arts during juvenile detention center. His visual education took place on the streets and in the ghettos, together with the likes of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and the Cleaver couple (Kathleen and Eldridge), the first two founders of the Party and the last two responsible for communications within the organization. He always thought art was a tool for social transformation and decided to put his talents to the service of its newspaper, *The Black Panther*—this newspaper is the most important record we have today about the movement, its facets and complexities—from the third number. For the third issue he offered to improve the headlines and overall presentation of the simple lampoon made on a typewriter by Newton and Seale. Nearly 500 editions of the newspaper, produced weekly,

are part of Emory's visual legacy, many of which have illustrated covers full of powerful images.

The legacy of the Panthers is debatable, since it has been and still is the subject of academic analysis. While criticism about gender and power relations, misleading representations of race and violence among other issues are discussed, their undeniably grassroots organizational capacity, –in spite of terrible misinformation campaigns and mistakes by the organization itself– could be one of their fundamental achievements. However, it is clear that his imagery came to be embedded in the popular aesthetic and culture, not only in the United States but throughout the world. Why do his images still feel so powerful? They have the ability to incite; they convey a message of rebellion and hope. One can easily imagine the impact they had on black communities who, a mere 50 years before, had been facing terrible conditions of poverty and racial and social exclusion. The image of six-year-old Ruby Bridges entering the first desegregated school in Louisiana in 1960, escorted by three U.S. Marshals, seems to be something from the past. However, when you think about it, it is something that was confronted by people who are still alive, it was just one generation ago.

Douglas's work is part of a political moment of great changes and social struggles on several fronts, battles that included murdered heroes, such as Luther King or Malcolm X, to name only the best known. An assault on the Pentagon in 1967 to demand an end to the war in Vietnam and imperialist policies is documented by Chris Marker in *The Sixth Side of the Pentagon*. 100,000 students and protesters encircle the world's most powerful military complex and manage to climb on the roofs and surround the building. This is something unthinkable today in times of the so called *war on terror*. As Marker quoted in his documentary: *attempting to exorcise evil from the Pentagon, they had asked permission from the authorities to have the Pentagon levitated up to three hundred yards above the ground. They received permission for only ten yards.*

Poetic battles go hand in hand with real battles. No doubt it was one of the culminating moments of society's politicization and consciousness, not only in the US but in general in Western societies.

One of the most fascinating phenomenon related to the Panthers movement consists in the construction of an imagery of empowerment; Douglas was part of a group of people who understood that the development of the image could have a huge impact on political action. There are important examples of the movement's transformation as it progressed from a local initiative, with an impact on a community of just a few blocks in Oakland, into the national level and, within a few years, to being received in a few years in nations confronting the bloc led by the United States as representatives of internal revolutionary forces within the bowels of the capitalist monster. However, the transition expected by the leadership of the Black Panther Party was dissolving. Even though their participation in the election for specific public offices in some areas of the east coast was important, its scope on the electoral scene was perhaps far removed from the cultural impact it still has to this day. Despite the fact, that there are positive consequences of political and cultural action movements like the Panthers, which are cumulative political and social efforts, promoted by different types of actors, including the heirs of the civil rights movement such as *Black Lives Matter*, and that there was hope of change represented by the Obama administration (a sophisticated product of capitalism: the white negro), police harassment, poverty and death in African communities caused by state forces is still going on.

As part of the investigation, I interviewed Emory in San Francisco, Bill Jennings –the well-known former Panther who owns one of the most complete archives on the movement– in Sacramento, and activists who continue the community work initiated by the Panthers in the suburbs of Oakland. I also had the unforgettable opportunity to have a long

conversation with Bobby Seale. Now almost 80, Seale was one of the two founders of the organization. He has a crystal-clear political vision and a vivid memory; he received me very elegantly dressed, after he had just been interviewed by Anthony Bourdain for a CNN special. We talked a lot about the history of the organization and the initial vision of a political party whose fundamental element was voter registration and participation in elections as a real way to empower communities. Yet for him it was clear that if he wanted to capture the attention and hearts of the black community, it was not enough to have images of people voting or long discourses about inclusion and class struggle on the front pages of the newspapers; that was OK for the inside pages of the weeklies. The front pages had to present an imaginary of empowerment, capacity and forceful action. Weapons were always a symbol of power, even though the image of an armed guerrilla has always been a story that runs parallel to the development of the movement, it was never an underground organization. Quite the contrary, its communication strategy was always comprised of full visibility of its content and platforms -even actions that were planned to attract the attention of the media, such as occupying the capitol in Sacramento, with guns, berets and leather jackets, a few months after founding the organization.

That day we talked about the iconic image of Delacroix, *Liberty leading the people*, with its bare-breasted woman brandishing a bayoneted musket accompanied by a child with pistols in both hands. If those images would be published today, as happened with much of the images of Douglas, we would see multiple comments about how inappropriate and risky it is to spread images of violence and weapons, incorrect visions of childhood and gender. Seale said that the greatest danger of the Panthers for the establishment and the real reason why Edgar Hoover said that the Black Panthers were the most serious internal threat for the government of the United States, were the schools (true political centers where the pedagogical model

and education policies were rethought) and the free breakfast program developed by the organization. Not in vain was it the women who usually carried out this work, and who by 1969 were the majority in the party. 'Panthers' in Spanish is a female word.

A few days later, just as we were winding up the privileged guided tour that Murray had given me of the world of the Panthers, from Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco and the Bay Area, we ended up at a Chinese restaurant on a dark street in Oakland. After leaving the place, we found the car with a broken window. David ran over to it because he'd left behind the saxophone he had inherited from a legendary musician who had played for the *Blue Note* label. Horrified at the thought of the theft, he rushed over to check what was missing, jackets and some minor belongings. After a few seconds in which I could barely look at him, he shouted out sad, happy and confused: *Jazz is dead!*

The saxophone case still open and mouthpieces scattered around the floor there it was, shining, his most valuable possession, untouched and despised by thieves.

I thought then that if maybe the two social programs instituted by the Panthers in those same communities nearly half a century ago, mentioned by Seale, had continued, the terrible conditions of poverty and social exclusion to which two-thirds of the world are submitted by a small percentage, less than one digit, probably would not exist.

## **Addendum**

This show has arrived by a curious route: the version in Bogotá represented the first comprehensive museum exhibition on Emory and the Panthers in Latin America (without failing to mention the valuable community experience of Douglas with the Zapatista movement in México). In Colombia, peace talks were being held between the FARC guerrilla and the government. You had to be careful with displays of images where representations of weapons were the main theme. Afterwards an expanded version was presented in São Paulo, coinciding with political debates on racism and deaths of youth at the hands of the police in the favelas of Rio. The dismantling of the leftist government in Brazil also prompted comments on the contents of the exhibition. In this case it was the title of the show, translated into Portuguese as *Todo Poder ao Povo!* which required a more modest handling of the size of the typeface. Bringing the exhibition to Europe, specifically to The Hague, using historical buildings such as the former Supreme Court *originally constructed in 1734 as a city palace for the incredibly wealthy Adrienne-Marguerite Hugueta following a design by Daniël Marot in Louis XIV style. In 1761, the building was expanded on both the left and right sides by Pieter de Swart\** loaded with the weight of its colonial past. Then the development of the Cold War and the representation of the imperial power of the United States through a symbol such as its embassy, again renders its content controversial, leading to a powerful rereading and cross-examination of ideas.

\*Excerpt from the guide to the monuments of The Hague, 2013  
**Power and Splendor**



1965



1969



2008

The following was originally an internal letter from Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense to the other brothers of the Black Panther Party.

**OAKLAND (LNS)**—During the past few years, strong movements have developed among women and homosexuals seeking their liberation. There has been some uncertainty about how to relate to these movements.

Whatever your personal opinion and your insecurities about homosexuality and the various liberation movements among homosexuals and women (and I speak of the homosexuals and women as oppressed group) we should try to unite with them in a revolutionary fashion.

I say, "whatever your insecurities are" because, as we very well know, sometimes our first instinct is to want to hit a homosexual in the mouth and to want a woman to be quiet. We want to hit the homosexual in the mouth as soon as we see him because we're afraid he might be homosexual and want to hit the woman or shut her up because she might castrate us or take the nuts that we may not have to start with.

We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist-type attitudes like the white racists use against people because they are black and poor. Many times the poorest white person is the most racist because he's afraid that he might lose something or discover something that he doesn't have. You're some kind of threat to him. This kind of psychology is in operation when we view oppressed people and we're angry with them because of their particular kind of behavior or their particular kind of deviation from the established norm.

Remember we haven't established a revolutionary value system, we're only in the process of establishing it. I don't remember us ever constituting any value that said that a revolutionary must say offensive things towards homosexuals or that a revolutionary should make sure that women do not speak out about their own particular kind of oppression.

Matter of fact, it's just the opposite, we say that we recognize the woman's right to be free. We haven't said much about the homosexual at all and we must relate to the homosexual movement because it is a real movement. And I know through reading and through my life experience, my observation, that homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in this society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society.

What made them homosexuals? Perhaps it's a whole phenomena that I don't understand entirely. Some people say that it's the decadence of capitalism—I don't know whether this is the case, I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists and we must understand it in its purest form; that is, a person should have freedom to use his body whatever way he wants to.



That's not endorsing things in homosexuality that we wouldn't view as revolutionary. But there is nothing to say that a homosexual can not also be a revolutionary. And maybe I'm now injecting some of my prejudices by

saying, "even a homosexual can be a revolutionary." Quite the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.

When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies and demonstrations, there should be full participation of the Gay Liberation Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement. Some groups might be more revolutionary than others. We shouldn't use the actions of a few to say that they're all reactionary or counterrevolutionary because they're not.

We should deal with factions just as we deal with any other group or party that claims to be revolutionary. We should try to judge somehow whether they're operating sincerely in a revolutionary fashion from a really oppressed situation (and we'll grant that if they're women they're probably oppressed). If they do things that are unrevolutionary or counterrevolutionary, then criticize that action. If we feel that the group in spirit means to be revolutionary in practice but they make mistakes in interpretation of the revolutionary philosophy or they don't understand the dialectics of the social forces in operation, we should criticize that and not criticize them because they are women trying to be free. And the same is true for homosexuals.

We should never say a whole movement is dishonest when in fact they are trying to be honest; they're just making honest mistakes. The enemy is not allowed to make mistakes because his whole existence is a mistake and we suffer from it. But the Women's Liberation Front and Gay Liberation Front are our friends, they are our potential allies and we need as many allies as possible.

We should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say "insecurities" I mean the fear that there is some kind of threat to our manhood, I can understand that. Because of the long conditioning process that builds insecurity in the American male, homosexuality might produce certain hang-ups in us. I have hang-ups myself about male homosexuality where on the other hand I have no hang-ups about female homosexuality and that's a phenomenon in itself. I think it's probably because that's a threat to me maybe, and the females are no threat. It's just another erotic sexual thing.

We should be careful about using terms which might turn our friends off. The terms "faggot" and "punk" should be deleted from our vocabulary and especially we should not attach names normally designed for homosexuals to men who are enemies of the people such as Nixon or Mitchell. Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.

We should try to form a working coalition with the Gay Liberation and Women's Liberation Groups. We must always handle social forces in an appropriate manner and this is really a significant part of the population—both women and the growing number of homosexuals that we have to deal with.

HUEY

This publication appears on the occasion of the exhibition:

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! EMORY DOUGLAS & THE BLACK PANTHERS

28.09.2018 – 22.12.2018

Location: West Museumkwartier, Lange Voorhout 34 Den Haag

Text, concept and design: Juan Pablo Fajardo

Translator: John Holden

Printer: Oranje van Loon, Den Haag

Thanks: Mondriaan Fund, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and

Gemeente Den Haag

Publication: West

Edition: 1000

ISBN: 978-90-79917-77-8



This project was initiated in 2014 thanks to Valerie Malot who introduced us to Emory Douglas. David Murray also played an important role as a guide to the Panthers and their presence in the Bay Area and LA. Then, the Cultural Area of the Banco de la República in Colombia supported the first version of the show and publication in Bogotá. In Brazil, SESC Pinheiros Sao Paulo hosted a second larger version of the exhibit which included video and sound. West Den Haag was our partner and supporter to bring the project to another continent in a context/container which enhances the historical threads and complexities of the legacy of Douglas work and the voice of the Panthers.

A project by **La Silueta**

Andrés Fresneda & Juan Pablo Fajardo

Thanks to: Valerie Malot, David Murray, Cynthia Rambaud, Angela María Pérez, Elaine Ramos, Juliana Braga, Bobby Seale, Emory Douglas, Elena Serrano, Greg Morozumi, Carol Wells, Alden Kimbrough, Marie-José Sondejker, Melissa Cruz, Adriana Rodriguez, Nicolás Llano, Manuela Jaramillo.

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There have been special interest in research on social photographers, graphic design and relations to printed material and distribution of content. Exhibitions and publications by *La Silueta* include the work of Sergio Trujillo Magnenat, Nereo López, Paul Beer, and Jorge Silva, the last one co published with the Archive of Modern Conflict (AMC UK). Fajardo currently works conducting research on the history of colombian graphic design, an exhibition and publication that will be presented by the Central Bank of Colombia in 2020.

Publications by *La Silueta* are included at special collections at Stanford and Princeton Universities and are part of art book collections of Moma and São Paulo Museum of Modern Art.

