

MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ABDELHAMID IBN BADIS MOSTAGANEM
FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE



The Impact of the Algerian Revolution on the Foundation of the Black Panther Party (1966-1971)

Literature and Interdisciplinary Approaches

Submitted by: Laredj Ikram

Board of Examiners

Examiner 01: Pr. Bennaghrouzi F

Examiner 02: Dr. Rezga Zahra

Supervisor: Mr. Tiguia Cherif

Academic Year: 2021-2022

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved family and to all the ones who aided me in my path of knowledge and success.

To my parents, the reason for what I become today, thanks for your great support and continuous care.

To my brothers Ahmed and Slimen and my lovely sister Imen, you have been my inspiration and soul mates.

To my precious friends Fouzia, Fatiha, Sid Ahmed, Meriem, and Salima.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest appreciation and sincere thanks to my supervisor Mr. Tiguia for the patient guidance, encouragement, and advice he has provided throughout my time as his student. I have been extremely lucky to have a supervisor who cared so much about my work, and who responded to my questions and queries so promptly.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Pr. Larbi Youcef for being a boundless source of inspiration, activated a hunger for knowledge and wisdom, it was a pleasure getting to know you.

Thanks to all who helped and support me to finish my research writing.

Finally, I would like to thank Allah for letting me through all the difficulties.

And a special thanks to me for not giving up and becoming the best version of me.

Table of Content

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgment.....	II
Table of Content.....	III
Abstract.....	V
General Introduction.....	1

Chapter One: Algerian Revolution and the Call for Black Power

Introduction.....	6
1 Revolution Begins to Rise 1954 – 1962.....	6
2 The Battle of Algiers 1965 – 1966.....	7
3 Algerian Nationalism.....	8
3.1 The 1920s and the “Awakening of Peoples”	9
3.2 The 1930s: Assimilation or Independence.....	10
3.3 The 1940s and Political Maturation.....	11
4 Frantz Fanon and his Legacy.....	12
4.1 Fanon’s Vision for Algerian Independence.....	14
5 Pan-Africanism.....	14
6 The Civil Rights Movement.....	17
7 Stokely Carmichael and the Birth of Black Power Movement.....	18
7.1 Call for Black Power.....	19
Conclusion.....	20

Chapter Two: The Black Panther Party, a Superheroes Journey of Survival and Resistance

Introduction.....	22
--------------------------	-----------

1 Black Power Movement come into existence.....	22
1.1 The influence of Malcolm X on the development of the BPM.....	23
1.2 Main Beliefs and Aims of the BPM.....	24
1.3 Black Power Movement Legacy Today.....	25
2 Black Nationalism.....	25
3 Black Panther Party (1966-1971).....	27
3.1 Origin Story of the Black Panther Party.....	28
3.2 Ten-Point Program and Platform.....	29
3.3 Black Panther Party Chapters.....	30
3.4 FBI Participation in the Decline of the BPP.....	32
Conclusion.....	32

Chapter three: Algeria... Mecca of Revolutionaries

Introduction.....	34
1“The Wretched of the Earth” and Paths to Freedom.....	34
2 Gillo Pontecorvo’s “The Battle of Algiers”: Cinema of Resistance.....	36
3 Algeria as a Haven for the Black Panthers.....	37
4 The first Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers.....	39
Conclusion.....	41
General Conclusion.....	43
Works Cited.....	44
Appendix.....	46

Abstract

This research attempts to enlighten the impact of the Algerian revolution (1954-1962) on the foundation of the Black Panther Party. The Algerian warriors were not satisfied with the results of the passive resistance, so they switched the latter into a direct fight as its find alternative which was structured in insurgency and civil unrest. However, the African Americans in that same era were facing racial segregation within the white American society. Their situation was characterized by the Civil Rights Movement led by Martin Luther King Jr whose allies were not supportive of the non-violent means to gain blacks' ultimate freedom, so they formed a military organization called The Black Panther for Self-defense. Therefore, this study aims to uncover how Black Freedom fighters became influenced by the Algerian revolution and its approved tactics to obtain an independent Algeria and to comprehend better the sequential event that led to it. Through the analytical and descriptive methods which were employed to investigate the topic in question, the reader can comprehend how the Black Panther Party was raised and the bounded international relationships between both parties' leaders were woven.

Keywords

Algerian revolution, Black Panther Party, African Americans, Freedom fighters, independence, international relationship, insurgency, violent, non-violent, Civil Rights Movement.

General introduction

General Introduction

The second half of the twentieth century is characterized by the process of decolonization with many imperial possessions gaining their independence. In some places, this was done by a peaceful legislative process, but for many, the road to national independence was marked by insurgency, violence, and warfare. France and its colonial empire were on the leading edge, not only in Indochina, but far closer to home, in a territory, it did not consider a colony but rather a full part of France. Among the states of Africa, Algeria has been one of the most active participants in international politics. Its leaders have defended their considerable concern with foreign policy by arguing that the distribution of world power is a major variable in the success of the country's development objectives. Aware that many Third-World states have not attributed the same importance to the international situation, Algerians have insisted that it is in the general interest of the Third World to increase its influence in world politics. Its policy thus provided insights into the fate of Pan-Africanism as a political idea. Algerians, however, after a series of political struggles with the French colons decided to fight differently, they were unsatisfied with the passive resistance led by politicians, and intellectuals, and instead, called for active resistance. In 1954, Algerians declared war against the French, following guerrilla tactics and the insurgency led by the National Liberation Front (FLN), a vision which they were inspired by violent attacks. Frantz Fanon was undoubtedly one of the most influential figures who transformed the Algerian war of independence.

On the other hand, the African American situation in the United States by the 1960s was characterized by the struggle for civil rights. The Civil Rights Movement achieved many great things, their powerful protests created an immense amount of awareness of the oppression of black people in America. Yet, members of the party felt that passive resistance was unrealistic and that for real change to occur, leaders like Malcolm X were inspired by the events done in the third-world countries and saw that violent direct action needed to happen and that passive resistance was not effective. Howbeit, the failures of the Civil Rights Movement subsequently led to the rise of Black Power. Black intellectuals who were shaped by revolutionary thinking and philosophy, reading texts written by nationalists like Frantz Fanon, and Marcus Garvey, wanted to create something similar to the Algerian war of independence in the United States, following the same strategies and programs.

Black Organization for Self-Defense was one of the Black Power Movement methods. The Black Panthers may be summed up in one word: radical, they elevated the civil rights movement to new heights. In addition, the Black Panther Party took the concept of self-defense to a new level, they campaigned for equality, freedom, improved health care, decent housing, and education, but most importantly, an end to police brutality. Since the Revolution of 1776 and the Civil War, the panthers have been known as the most potent force for social change. The Black Panther Party understood it would be a difficult path to travel, but they were determined to fight for what they believed was right. The Panthers were subjected to numerous attacks from local law enforcement as well as higher-level attacks from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Some Panthers even placed their lives on the line to further the cause. Some think the Black Panthers were a failure as a group, but they succeeded in giving the black community hope and demonstrating the importance of standing up for what they believed in.

After they were exiled by the FBI, members of the Black Panther Party like Eldridge Cleaver and his wife Kathleen Neal Cleaver fled to Algeria. In 1969, Algeria organized the first Pan-African Cultural Festival which gathered all African unique cultures, traditions as well as politics. The PACF of 1969 was designed to emphasize the anti-colonial, anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist character of the independence and post-independence movements and parties. The conference shaped the direct relationship between all African freedom fighters, and the Algerian revolution leaders specifically. Black Panthers were among revolutionaries who would gain much support from the Algerian government and all African leaders.

I've come up with a few questions that will help me craft this research, and they are as follows:

1. How Did Algeria Change Involved Violence Compared to America?
2. What do the Algerian Revolution and the Black Panther Party Have in Common?
3. How were the Algerian warriors and the Black Panthers linked?

The following hypothesis might answer the previous questions:

1. Algerians turned to insurgency and civil unrest to defend themselves, compared to African Americans who were relying on passive resistance.
2. Algerians and Black Panthers both faced social inequality, racism, and the breakdown of both their nation and national identity.

3. The Algerian revolutionary leaders and other freedom fighters had to organize international conferences and events, where different liberation movements represents itself and gain much support from other parties.

This research paper is based on analytical and descriptive methods intended to investigate the vigorous long struggle of Algerian warriors against French colonial rule and its impact on the foundation of the Black Panther Party. Data collection is mostly from books and articles. This research is composed of three chapters. The first chapter, at length, will introduce all the chronological events that resulted in the Algerian independence on the one hand and tackle the situation of the African Americans in America in the late 1960s on the other hand. Furthermore, the second chapter will be first dedicated to defining who the Black Panthers were and what was their approved strategies and programs to obtain their social rights in American society. At last, the third and final chapter will tackle the events that gather among all freedom fighters, and the direct relationships between Algerian leaders and the Black Panthers.

Chapter one

Algerian Revolution and the Call for Black Power:

“The Algerian Army Made Me a Man”

Abdeldjalil Arbi Youcef

Introduction

Algerians had been waging political battles against French colons since the 1830s, defending and reinventing themselves through the years, they raised new leaders and built different organizations. Yet, the majority of these organizations witnessed dissolution. Howbeit, by 1954, a group of Algerians turned to rebellion, determined to end France's colonial rule and achieve independence, following the ideology of ‘Nationalism’ and the spirit of Frantz Fanon, whose vision transformed the Algerian struggle for freedom. This section sheds light on the long, vigorous, and heroic Algerian anti-colonial struggle for freedom and how the Pan- Africanist movement influenced Algerian leaders to declare full war against the French rule. In addition, the chapter tackles another part of the world where other racial conflicts were waging while the Algerians were busy fighting. The other part was America, the world’s first superpower in the post-war era. In the 1950s and 1960s, such nation was a global leader in science and technology, and its economy was the most powerful in the world. However, the United States was also a very racially and culturally diverse country, making it a complex society. African American population at that time was still very much a minority in the American society and they faced numerous social, economic, and political problems. Therefore, the African Americans situation in the United States by the 1960s was characterized by the struggle for civil rights between African Americans Civil Rights Movement and the Southern White Citizen’s Council, and by the time they were inspired by the revolutions witnessed in the third world countries which led to the emergence to Black Power Movement.

1. Revolution Begins to Rise (1954-1962)

The Algerian Revolution was one of the most pivotal events in modern African history. In 1954, on the eve of active pro-resistance, a group of Algerians turned to insurgency, determined to end France's colonial rule and achieve independence. On November 1, the recently formed National Liberation Front (FLN) launched attacks across Algeria against French military and civilian targets. For the French authorities in Paris, the FLN's aim of independence for Algeria was unthinkable. Troops were sent in to clamp down on what was regarded as mere civil unrest.

And even as the violent rebellion escalated in the coming months into an all-out conflict, France refused to admit it was entering into war. In «Long Walk to Freedom», Mandela states:” The situation in Algeria was the closest model to our own in that the rebels faced a large white settler community that ruled the indigenous majority”. The Algerian National Liberation Army (ALN)’s resistance to the "Native Code," which imposed strict regulations on the country's Arab residents, as well as its fight for Algerian independence from the French, became a beacon and a model for other freedom movements, and Mandela and other freedom fighters sought to learn from Algeria's example”, “The Algerian Army Made Me A Man” by Abdeldjalil Arbi Youcef pp.67-79.

2. The Battle of Algiers (1965-1966)

The Algerian war was very cruel, difficult, and long and unlike most other overseas possessions, Algeria was not legally a colony, but rather, by the Constitution of 1848¹ was considered an integral part of France. There was a fundamental contradiction that Algeria was part of sovereign France, yet the majority living there were Algerian Muslims that did not have the same rights as Europeans and French citizens, and that explains the whole problem. Algerians could even apply for full French citizenship, in exchange for a renunciation of Sharia law “led by Amir Khaled, a group of politically active young Muslims of French culture, they wanted equal rights for native Algerians just as the French citizens, so they made laws which demand change within the framework of a French colonial system and under the sovereignty of the French government” The Europeanized Algerians and the Emancipation of Algeria pp.206-35. It was an option that few took, but was constitutionally available. However, the non-Europeanized Algerians did not necessarily agree with this viewpoint and agitation for a free and independent Algeria, or at least a more autonomous Algeria, began.

The vanguard organization of the Algerian independence movement and the first to take firm action against the French was the ‘‘Front de Liberation National’’, the National Liberation Front or FLN on November 1, 1954. It was distributed on the eve of the start of the armed revolution to show the presence of freedom fighters throughout Algeria, launching a series of attacks against military and police targets. Howbeit, the FLN, from its headquarters in Cairo,

¹ The French constitution of 1848 was drawn up by the national constituent assembly. The assembly was elected following the revolution of February 1848, which created the Second French Republic. Both nobility and slavery were abolished, and France declared an indivisible republic. It rejected collegial executives of the first republic of 1792 in favor of the American model.

called on Algerians to join in the fight for Algerian independence, based on democracy and social justice principles within the framework of the Islamic principles. In response to FLN attacks, the French minister of defense sent troops and more soldiers to reinforce the existing French forces there. With their atrocities, the French used a torture code, killing citizens and FLN members. Yet, it was easy for FLN to gain more followers joining them. Hence by 1957, FLN grew from having 50% of the population's support to becoming 95%. The FLN leadership, although all committed to the removal of France from Algeria, held a variety of different positions on what an independent Algeria should look like. Some wanted the establishment of an Islamic Republic while others felt that some form of socialist government would be the best way forward. Saadi Yacef, FLN commander « Témoignages sur L'arrestation de Yacef Saadi ».

The FLN used to rely on guerrilla tactics for a long time. They never used bombs until the French did against innocent Algerian civilians after the French ordered a curfew and caused around 75 deaths and wounded 150 in an entire neighborhood (Saadi Yacef). Algerians who lived in Casbah² wanted to go to a European quarter and get revenge on the French. To avoid blood back, the FLN leaders and other organizations tried to calm them and promise to avenge them. They knew that if Algerians protested in the streets, the French soldiers would not mind committing a massacre. Thus, the FLN responded to this violence and they started to use bombs as well, placing them in casinos frequented by military personnel and paratroopers. That was the price of war and violence and was the means to an end, which they achieved in the end.

3. Algerian Nationalism

The term "Nationalism" refers to an ideology based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state³ surpassed other individual or group interests. According to Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Civic Nationalism", it tends to promote the interest of a particular nation, especially to gain and maintain the nation's sovereignty. Nationalists argue that the nation should govern itself and must be free from outside interference. For nationalists, the nation must be the natural and ideal basis of a polity, and the nation must be the only rightful source of political power. Therefore, nationalism aims to build and maintain a single national

² The Casbah (Arabic: قصبة, qaṣba, meaning citadel) is the citadel of Algiers in Algeria and the traditional quarter clustered around it.

³ A nation state is a political unit where the state and nation are congruent. It is a more precise concept than "country", since a country does not need to have a predominant ethnic group.

identity based on a shared social characteristic of culture, ethnicity, politics, religion, and traditions. As well as to promote national unity or solidarity.

“It is nationalism that engenders nations, not the other way around,” as Ernest Gellner famously stated in “Nations and Nationalism”p.55. Though it appears that way, nationalism does not reflect “the reawakening of an old, latent, dormant power.” It is, in fact, the result of a new type of social structure built on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each with its state. It makes use of some of the existing cultures while also altering them.” The nation, on the other hand, “is an imagined political community and understood as both essentially restricted and sovereign.”(Nations and Nationalism p.55) In the case of Algeria, the nationalist period from the 1920s to the 1950s influenced the nature of the nationalist movement, its founding ideals, and the future independent country. Disputes about the colonial order, autonomy vs independence, and the definition of Algerian nationality arose during the nationalist period.

According to the canonical narrative, the timeline of Algerian nationalism history from the French occupation to independence can be split into five distinct phases. The first lasted from 1830, when the Ottoman Empire's Mediterranean Muslim possessions were conquered by a modern European state, through 1870, when the first resistance against France, particularly among Berbers, began. The second phase, which lasted from 1870 to 1919, was a time of stability following the French's complete pacification of Algerian lands. The third period, from 1919 to 1945, was a watershed event, the birth of Algerian nationalism: after the First World War, the roots of nationalism were laid, and global perspectives on colonial issues shifted. The growth of solely Algerian parties marked the fourth phase, which lasted from 1945 to 1954, and was followed by the fifth phase, the War of Independence, which lasted from 1954 to 1962. After a protracted gestation period, the anti-colonial movement erupted as a consequence of a combination of people's spontaneous initiative, the activity of forces fuelled by new or existing ideas, and the influence of the international setting. These five phases can be summarized in three main groups:

3.1.The 1920s and the “Awakening of Peoples”

The first group was made up of Algerians who had received French education and worked in the French industry. They were known as assimilationists because they used gradualist, reformist tactics, avoided unlawful activities, and were willing to accept permanent union with France if Frenchmen's rights could be extended to native Algerians. This group, which dates

from before World War I and was informally structured under the name Young Algerians, included Khaled Ben Hachemi ("Emir Khaled"), Abdelkader's grandson, and Ferhat Abbas, who eventually became the first premier of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in the 1930s.

The Young Algerians added a critical voice to the reformist movement against the French colonial strategy that was inaugurated in 1892 and continued until the episode of World War I. In 1919, Clemenceau designated reform-minded Charles Jonnart as governor-general. Reforms extended the number of Muslims allowed to vote to around 425,000. The enactment also confiscated all voters from the jurisdiction of the mortifying Code de l'indigénat. Emir Khalid was able to win electoral victories in Algiers and invigorate political discourse with his calls for reform and full assimilation. In 1930, he established the Federation of Elected Muslims, an association with an assimilation agenda that called for representation in the French parliament, concealment of legislation that discriminated antagonistically against Muslims, and similar rights for Muslims without the abandonment of their Muslim status.

The French Prime Minister Blum set forward the Violette Plan that was to grant full citizenship to 25,000 Algerians without repudiation of Muslim status. Another factor affecting Muslim response to the reintroduction of that Plan was the move in Abbas' position from support for incorporation to the interest for a self-governing state federated with France. At this point, more than 350,000 Algerians worked in France to help their relatives in Algeria. Sketching out the apparent past and present issues of colonial occupation, the manifesto demanded particularly an Algerian constitution that would ensure urgent and viable political cooperation and legitimate fairness for Muslims in their own country, in language, education, and religion; nullification of colonization together with agrarian reform, full and prompt participation of Muslims in the legislature of their country and acknowledgment of the political self-governance of Algeria as a sovereign state. (Amel Khiereddine, "The Rise of Algerian Nationalism").

3.2.The 1930s: Assimilation or Independence:

The second group comprised Muslim reformers influenced by Sheikh Muhammad Abduh's religious Salaf movement⁴, which was started in Egypt in the late nineteenth century. Under the leadership of Sheikh Abd al-Hamid Ben Badis, the Association of Algerian Muslim Uléma (Association des Uléma Musulmans Algériens; AUMA) was founded in 1931. This organization was not a political party, but it instilled a strong sense of Muslim nationalism in Algerians.

The reform Uléma promoted a more sophisticated type of Islam in Algeria starting in the 1920s. The reformers encouraged the use of contemporary methods of investigation and the rejection of rural superstitions and customs. They were motivated by the Sheikh Muhammad Abdu and Muhammad Rashid Reda-founded Salafi movement in Egypt, which emphasized the Arab and Islamic roots of the country. They came together to form the Association of Algerian Muslim Uléma under the charismatic leadership of Shaikh Abdel Hamid Ben Badis. Under the dynamic authority of Shaikh Abdel Hamid Ben Badis, the reformist Uléma composed the Association of Algerian Muslim Uléma (Association des Uléma Musulmans Algériens, AUMA) in 1931.

3.3. The 1940s and Political Maturation:

The third group was more proletarian and radical. It was organized among Algerian workers in France in the 1920s under the leadership of Ahmed Messali Hadj and later gained wide support in Algeria. Preaching a nationalism without nuance, Messali Hadj was bound to appeal to Algerians, who fully recognized their deprivation. Messali Hadj's strongly nationalistic stance, or even the more muted position of Ben Badis, could have been checked by such gradualist reformers as Ferhat Abbas if only they had been able to show that step-by-step decolonization was possible. Several efforts to liberalize the treatment of native Algerians, promoted by French reformist groups in collaboration with Algerian reformists in the first half of the 20th century, came too late to stem the radical tide. The Blum-Violette proposal was introduced during the Popular Front government in France from 1936–37, (Nationalist Movements). It would have allowed a very small number of Algerians to obtain full French citizenship without forcing them to relinquish their right to be judged by Muslim law. Settler's opposition to the measure was so fierce that the project was never even

⁴ The Salafi movement aimed to achieve a renewal of Muslim life and had a major influence on many Muslim thinkers and movements across the Islamic world. Since its inception, Salafism has been evolving through the efforts of numerous Islamic reformers, whose interpretations have spread within various regions.

brought to a vote in the French Chamber of Deputies. Many Algerians began to feel that organized violence was the only option. The group that inherited such mission, the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), grew out of Messali Hadj's organization, later absorbing many adherents of the other two nationalist groups.

4. Frantz Fanon and his Legacy

Frantz Fanon was one of the notable philosophers and theorists of liberation movements in the twentieth century. He was born on July 20, 1925, in Martinique Island which was a French colony. In his youth, he joined the French resistance against the Nazis and then moved to study medicine at the University of Lyon in France, but his true passion was philosophy. After studying psychiatry, he moved to Blida-Joinville (Algiers) where he worked for three years in a psychiatric hospital. This move set the foundations for his remarkable revolutionary path. From then onwards, Fanon began the intellectual trajectory that resulted in his struggle against French colonialism in Algeria and the production of revolutionary texts such as “Black Skin”, “White Masks”, “The Wretched of the Earth”, Studies in a “Dying Colonialism”, and “Toward an African Revolution”. With the war having ended but with the evident weakening of France as a colonial power, the time was ripe for the colonials to strive for their freedom. Fanon had the conviction that freeing France from German occupation also entailed freeing Algeria and colonial Africa from French colonialism. In this, he agreed with the French philosopher, J.P. Sartre, who wrote the preface to “The Wretched of the Earth”. Fanon was necessarily caught up in that anti-colonial struggle as it picked up pace after World War II.

The anti-colonial war in Algeria is popularly seen as the war of the FLN against the French “Pied Noirs”,⁵ but there were important precursors to that organization. Messali Hadj was the founding member of the “Etoile Nord-Africaine” (ENA) and subsequently the “Parti du Peuple Algériens” (PPA) 1937. This was the basis for the subsequent rise of the FLN which in turn came to compete with Messali Hadj's party, which had by then reconstituted itself into the “Mouvement National Algériens” (MNA). Therefore, with the emergence of multiple movements, the anti-colonial struggle and the French colonial response to it continued. Sekou

⁵ Pied Noirs or the Black Feet, are the people of French and other European descent who were born in Algeria during the period of French rule from 1830 to 1962, the vast majority of whom departed for mainland France as soon as Algeria gained independence or in the months following.

Toure⁶, Kwame Nkrumah⁷, and Julius Nyerere⁸ were among the many African leaders who led anti-colonial campaigns. The idea of Marxian socialism⁹ and the Soviet state model was the ideological engines underlying this rush of revolutionary activity. Although the FLN was able to lead the nationalist revolution, it had to contend with the “French Communist Party” (PCF) and its Algerian sister organization, the “Algerian Communist Party” (PCA), for its ideological position.

Fanon was a fast learner, and after the National Liberation Front had launched the revolution on November 1, 1954, he became actively engaged as a supporter and later spokesperson of the organization and he completely devoted himself to the cause of Algerian independence, serving from 1959 as a roving FLN ambassador to Africa’s sub-Sahara states, which he repeatedly crisscrossed to solidify support for the revolution. Nonetheless, long before he penned “The Wretched of the Earth”, Fanon had a reason to be concerned about the FLN's trajectory. Despite its public appearance, the FLN, like many liberation movements, had a diverse range of political ideologies. Slimane Dehilés¹⁰ (Aka Colonel Sadek), the commander of the FLN, was one of Fanon's favorites. As early as 1955, he formed close links with Dehilés, who was considered a member of the FLN's Marxist wing. Howbeit, Ramdane Abane¹¹ was even more significant, he was a secular socialist who became the FLN's main organizer in Algiers in 1955 and planned the legendary Battle of Algiers in 1956–57. Fanon associated himself with Abane and regarded him as a political mentor in many ways. At the time of its public emergence at the end of 1954, the FLN stated objectives, but this proclamation was vague about the movement's ideology, structure, and ultimate goals. This led it to hold a

⁶ Ahmed Sékou Touré was a Guinean political leader and African statesman who became the first president of Guinea, serving from 1958 until his death in 1984.

⁷ Kwame Nkrumah was a Ghanaian politician, political theorist, and revolutionary. He was the first Prime Minister and President of Ghana, having led the Gold Coast to independence from Britain in 1957. An influential advocate of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah was a founding member of the Organization of African Unity and winner of the Lenin Peace Prize from the Soviet Union in 1962.

⁸ Julius Nyerere was a Tanzanian anti-colonial activist, politician, and political theorist. He governed Tanganyika as prime minister from 1961 to 1962 and then as president from 1963 to 1964, after which he led its successor state, Tanzania, as president from 1964 to 1985. He was a founding member and chair of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party, and of its successor Chama Cha Mapinduzi, from 1954 to 1990.

⁹ The Marxist definition of socialism is that of production for use-value (i.e. direct satisfaction of human needs, or economic demands), therefore the law of value no longer directs economic activity.

¹⁰ Slimane Dehiles , by his nom de guerre Si Sadek , born on November 14 , 1920 in Ouadhias and died on November 5, 2011 in El Biar , is an Algerian nationalist militant , colonel of the ALN , commander of the historic Wilaya IV during the Algerian war.

¹¹ Abane Ramdane (June 10, 1920 – December 26, 1957) was an Algerian political activist and revolutionary. He played a key role in the organization of the independence struggle during the Algerian war. His influence was so great that he was known as "the architect of the revolution".

clandestine conference in Soummam in August 1956 in a bid to resolve internal divisions. Fanon did not attend the conference, but he strongly supported the positions adopted there at Abane's initiative. The conference also resolved that the FLN should make its decisions on a collective, democratic basis, emphasized the need to gain support for its cause in France, and promised equal rights to Algeria's Jewish and European minorities after independence.

4.1. Fanon's Vision for Algerian Independence

The Algerian national liberation struggle was a multi-class movement. Despite the important role played by members of the national bourgeoisie in the fight for independence, Fanon held that it would play a retrograde role upon coming to power. Fanon's concerns directly grounded his arguments in "The Wretched of the Earth". A famous chapter called "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" portrayed the national bourgeoisie in the African context as a parasitic class that lacked either economic power or ideas and was politically insecure. In "The Democratic Revolution," Frantz Fanon argued that the idea of democracy runs counter to all oppression and tyranny. He argued that national independence should take the form of a democratic republic. Only such a political framework could enable the revolution to develop to the point of bidding adieu to capitalist society.

Francois Fanon's Algerian essay, "The Wretched of the Earth", was written in the early 20th century. In it, he argued that national independence could not be achieved overnight. Instead, he called for a thoroughgoing democracy grounded in the masses. Francois Fanon argued against the idea of a single party serving as the "vanguard" of the revolution. He did not oppose parties as such, but he insisted that the party, like the nation, must be "decentralized". Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth" was a warning against either national or social consciousness as an alternative to colonialism. He argued that there was no color-blind path to liberation and that elites would misuse racial and national identity to divert the masses. However, "The Wretched of the Earth" was a sharp warning against either approach. Yet, the book insisted that the national struggle would retain primacy so long as colonialism prevailed.

5. Pan- Africanism

"Some Africans away from home are called Jamaicans, some are called Trinidadians, Barbadians, and some are called African Americans. They are all African people reacting to a

different type of oppression” Dr. John Henrik Clarke wisely states, that Africans must unite globally and understand that they suffer the same oppression and have the same enemy inflicting it. Pan-Africanism is the only way for Africans to achieve true liberation and power globally in their own countries, communities, and the continent. “Powerful people cannot afford to educate the people that they oppress, because once you are truly educated, you will not ask for power. You will make it” Dr. J.H Clarke. In addition, Pan-Africanism is a movement, an ideology, and a geopolitical project for liberating and uniting African people and the African diaspora around the world. At its heart lies the notion that through unity can be forged an independent and strengthened economic, social and political African destiny. In the words of the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the Organization of African Unity: “We must unite to achieve the full liberation of our continent” Kwame Ture 1980 Interview.

Pan-Africanism, which took its roots from the slave trade, colonialism, oppression, and exploitation, was originally propounded by black American and Caribbean scholars. Political activists deserve recognition for being one of the noblest expressions of the modern era and the backbone of African liberation movements. Pan-Africanism was based on the belief that Africans and people of African descent share common interests, experiences, and history, and that as a result, they should unite in a common struggle for liberation, whether in Jamaica, Barbados, the United States, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, France, England, or Spain. That was what Pan-Africanism, in its broadest sense, aimed to accomplish. Marcus Garvey (1888-1940), one of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism, preached the Back to Africa policy ¹²to American blacks and aspired to unify black people all over the world. He proclaimed himself President of the United States of Africa. However, in London in 1900, a Trinidad lawyer, H. Sylvester Williams, organized the first Pan-African international conference to protest European control of African territory. William E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), an African-American who was a key role in the early Pan-African movement, was present. Between 1919 and 1927, he held four more congresses.

The first of these congresses, held in Paris in 1919 in conjunction with the peace conferences, drew 57 participants from French and British colonies as well as the United States.

¹² The Back-to-Africa movement was based on the widespread belief among some European-Americans in the 18th and 19th century United States that African Americans would want to return to the continent of Africa. In general, the political movement was an overwhelming failure; very few former slaves wanted to move to Africa.

Congress passed a resolution requesting that the League of Nations ¹³drafts legislation for the "international protection of the natives of Africa" and that their land and natural resources be held in trust for the indigenous people. They also requested that Africans be given as much land as they could profitably cultivate; that slavery and corporal punishment be abolished; and that Africans be allowed to participate in governance to the extent that their development enables so that Africa is eventually ruled by African consent. The conference also petitioned the League of Nations to give over former German territories to international supervision. In 1921, 130 delegates attended the second conference in London and Brussels, including 41 from African territories and 35 from the United States. W.E.B. Du Bois, in his keynote lecture, called for the establishment of political institutions among oppressed peoples, claiming that the democratic habit must be spread throughout the world. Two years later, the third congress was convened in London and Lisbon.

The last conference called by Du Bois took place in 1922, with 208 participants from 27 countries declaring Africans' entitlement to the continent's territory and resources. They requested that free primary and technical education be extended, that African judges be appointed, and that Africans should be allowed to express their views to the government in charge of their issues. In London, in 1937, Pan-African leaders founded the Pan-African Federation, which included several wings of the existing Pan-African Movement. Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and two West Indians, George Padmore and Sir James, were among the leaders. Dr. Azikiwe of Nigeria wrote a memorandum for the International African Service Bureau in 1944, calling for the end of the British colonial regime. Members of the Bureau demanded African unity and independence in 1944, as well as an end to racial discrimination and cooperation between Africans and others who supported their goals.

The next big congress, the first significant Pan-African gathering since 1927, was convened in Manchester in 1945. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore¹⁴, Jomo Kenyatta were among the more than 200 delegates that attended the Congress. The "right of all colonial peoples to choose their own destiny" was recognized in a declaration passed by Congress. "All colonies must be free of foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic," the

¹³ The League of Nations was an organization for international cooperation. It was established on January 10, 1920, at the initiative of the victorious Allied powers at the end of World War I and was formally disbanded on April 19, 1946.

¹⁴ George Padmore, born Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse, was a leading Pan-Africanist, journalist, and author. He left his native Trinidad in 1924 to study medicine in the United States, where he also joined the Communist Party.

statement continued. "Colonial and subject peoples' struggles for political power are the first step toward, and fundamental prerequisites for, complete social, economic, and political emancipation." Marcus Garvey, *the Negro Moses*, New York Public Library.

Another declaration advocated for "Black Africa's" autonomy and independence, and another demanded independence for Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco; and their resolution called for the removal of "the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries" created by colonial powers, which were deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples, among other matters. In 1946, the West African National Secretariat, formerly set up by the West African delegates to the Manchester Congress of 1945, convened a conference in London attended by representatives from French and British West African colonies. The conference pledged to achieve international autonomy for dependent countries and promote a West African Federation as an indispensable cover for realizing the Pan-African hope for the United States of Africa. (Marcus Garvey bibliography).

6. The Civil Rights Movement 1950-1960

In the 1950s and 1960s, the African American population was still very much a minority in the United States, and they faced numerous social, economic, and political problems. America was the first country to institutionalize racial segregation. This occurred in the south, where the Jim Crow laws¹⁵ were passed. The laws, which were enacted between the late 1800s and the 1950s, enforced racial segregation and were intended to maintain the racial hierarchy that had been in place in the south since the Plantation system was introduced by the Europeans. Under the Jim Crow laws, African Americans were segregated from the white population and were subject to several restrictions, including being banned from certain jobs and facilities, being forced to drink from separate water fountains, and being forced to use different toilets. However, the situation of African Americans in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s was characterized by the struggle for civil rights by the African American Civil Rights Movement.

The African American Civil Rights Movement which was led by Martin Luther King Jr was a huge protest movement in the southern United States against racial segregation and discrimination that gained national attention in the mid-1950s. This movement arose from the centuries-long struggle of enslaved Africans and their descendants to reject racial oppression

¹⁵ Jim Crow laws were state and local laws enforcing racial segregation in the Southern United States. Other areas of the United States were affected by formal and informal policies of segregation.

and abolish slavery. Even though enslaved people were freed as a result of the American Civil War¹⁶ and awarded basic civil rights by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments¹⁷ to the United States Constitution, attempts to guarantee federal protection of these rights continued for the next century. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s disrupted the norm of public facilities in the south being segregated by "race" and won the most significant advancement in equal-rights legislation for African Americans since the Reconstruction period (1865–77) through nonviolent protests. Although major civil rights legislation was passed in 1964 and 1965, militant black activists had begun to see their struggle as a freedom or liberation movement, rather than a civil rights movement, because they were confronting the long-term economic, political, and cultural consequences of past racial oppression.

7. Stokely Carmichael and the Birth of Black Power Movement

Stokely Carmichael was a leader long before he preached "Black Power," relocated to Africa, and changed his name to Kwame Toure. Carmichael was a man of the people throughout his life, whether he was acting as the vice president of the student council as an eighth-grader or conducting conversations on the Howard University campus. Stokely, who was known for his silky speech and engaging personality, transformed the way African Americans saw themselves. When the world told them they were doomed because of their skin color, Carmichael reminded the black community that it was in their skin color that they found their power. Many whites misinterpreted Black Power's message as anti-White, rather than the message's intended message of pro-Blackness. Through his writings and the writings of others, Stokely's significance to the Civil Rights Movement varies. To some, his exodus to Africa removed him from the issues of the Civil Rights Movement causing his story not to be told in high schools across America.

Kwame Ture was a prominent organizer in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the global pan-African movement. Born in Trinidad, he grew up in the United States since the age of 11 and became an activist while attending the Bronx High School of Science. He was a key leader in the development of the Black Power movement, first while leading the Student

¹⁶ The American Civil War was a civil war in the United States between the Union and the Confederacy. The central cause of the war was the status of slavery,

¹⁷ The Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, defines all people born in the United States as citizens, requires due process of law, and requires equal protection to all people. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, prevents the denial of a citizen's vote based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee¹⁸, then as the "Honorary Prime Minister" of the Black Panther Party, and last as a leader of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Carmicheal led the largest anti-war demonstration of the 1960s and marched alongside Martin Luther King Jr. "For America to live on a basic principle of human relationships, a new society must be born," observed Carmichael during a 1966 speech at the University of California at Berkeley. "Racism must die," he continued. "The economic exploitation of this country of non-white peoples around the world must also die -- must also die." Martin Luther King Jr another dream, Economic Equality.

7.1. A Call for the Black Power

Inspired by Malcolm X's ¹⁹example, Carmicheal articulated a philosophy of Black power and popularized it both by provocative speeches and more sober writings, he became one of the most popular and controversial black leaders of the late 1960s. J.Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, secretly identified Carmicheal as the man most likely to succeed Malcolm X as America's "black messiah" and targeted him for counter-intelligence activity through its cointelpro program. However, Black Power began as a revolutionary movement and emphasized racial pride, economy, and the creation of political and cultural institutions, there was a rise in the demand for black history courses. Carmicheal during his leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) rallied marchers by chanting "We Want Black Power". The Kwame Ture foundation aims to preserve and fulfill the Pan-Africanist vision, "we educate, enable, and empower others on the experiences and achievements of Africans and other oppressed humans, around the world showing that we are still capable of amazing things despite our circumstances" Kwame Ture un his powerful speech. Hence, Carmichael through his strong speeches and writings convinced all Africans around the world that if they dare to struggle and win their freedom, they have to pay the price for peace.

Conclusion

¹⁸ The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was the principal channel of student commitment in the United States to the civil rights movement during the 1960s.

¹⁹ Malcolm X was an African-American Muslim minister and human rights activist who was a prominent figure during the civil rights movement. A spokesman for the Nation of Islam until 1964, he was a vocal advocate for black empowerment and the promotion of Islam within the black community.

The independence movement in the third world countries during the twentieth century was the pivotal point to making a radical change in these countries' political and national legacy. Howbeit, the Algerian Revolution of 1954 was seen as a victory for African people and their fight against European colonization. Intellectuals and political activists at that time such as Stokely Carmichael, travelled to Algeria to meet with members of the National Liberation Front (FLN) who were the leaders of the independence movement against French colonial rule. He wanted to learn from them about their struggle and how they had succeeded in defeating France's 130 years of occupation without any help from other countries outside Africa. The Black Power Movement was founded in order to liberate all Africans from white supremacy, and the next chapter illustrates Stokely Carmichael's desire to build something similar in the United States where African Americans were experiencing discrimination and brutality.

Chapter Two

The Black Panther Party, a Superheroes Journey of Survival and Resistance

Introduction

Despite the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) that were praiseworthy, it was not good enough for African Americans because they were still subject to copious amounts of discrimination often racial abuse, and brutal attacks by anti-black police. Blacks, however, turned to more forceful ways of resistance. This chapter discusses how the Black Power Movement came into existence and promoted Black Nationalist interests, dissatisfied with the passive resistance. In addition, The Black Panther Party was an unfortunate reaction to the decline of the non-violent movement, following revolutionary ideologies including the belief in self-determination, they also put in place the Ten Point Program that emphasized what the panthers wanted to change and what they were fighting for. Therefore, this section sheds light on the notable figures of BPP and their leadership and also the role of the FBI in participating in the BPP's decline.

1. Black Power Movement come into existence (1960 – 1970)

The Civil Rights Movement accomplished a lot, and their powerful protests raised a lot of awareness about black people's injustice in America. Protests such as the 1960 sit-ins and the Selma-Montgomery²⁰ marches resulted in the American Congress passing the Civil Rights Act in 1964. The American Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965, which made discrimination based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and gender identity illegal. In addition to these laws being passed, the Civil Rights Movement gave black people a new sense of self-confidence. Despite the CRM's accomplishments, African Americans' economic status

²⁰ The Selma to Montgomery marches were three protest marches, held in 1965, along the 54-mile highway from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital of Montgomery, it was part of a series of civil-rights protests entrenched racist policies.

remained poor by 1965. They lived in overcrowded ghettos where infections were common due to a lack of services, and the ghettos were frequently in poor conditions and unkempt. Apart from the living conditions, most of these people were unemployed or paid very low wages as job opportunities were lacking. This resulted in poverty and crime and too many, the achievements of the CRM were in vain, they had lost all hope. . The African Americans had no solution to this problem as they were taught by previous leaders like Martin Luther King that passive resistance and civil disobedience were commendable ways of disapproving authority but many felt that this ideology was inadequate and so they turned to more forceful ways of resistance. Black power promoted black interests and this appealed to many frustrated African Americans, it grew out of black dissatisfaction with the CRM. Howbeit, members of the CRM like Stokely Carmichael who addressed the black revolt through his speeches, and Malcolm X arguably the best-known figure in the history of black separatist movements, believed that blacks had the right to defend themselves violently in the face of violent attacks if necessary, they encouraged their followers to achieve empowerment.

1.1. The influence of Malcolm X on the Development of the BPM:

Malcolm X was an African American Muslim minister and human rights activist, he joined the Nation of Islam²¹ which believed that blacks were superior to whites, and supported black self-reliance, he did not believe in integration between blacks and whites making him an early proponent of Black Nationalism. Thus, he did not believe in Martin Luther King's ideology of passive resistance, their lack of power was the foundation of X's duty to encourage that protests should be more assertive. "By any means necessary, we intend to fire our people up so much until that if they can't have their equal share in the house, they will burn it down", the most powerful speech stated by Malcolm X, "The negroes themselves should take whatever step necessary to defend themselves" Black Power and Theology, James H Cone. X's influence was profound in terms of the way African Americans looked at themselves and the way the nation began to look at them, he called for black dignity, and black self-respect. (Revolutionaries to Race Leaders, Black Power and the Making of African American Politics written by Cederic Johnson).

²¹ The Nation of Islam is a religious and political organization founded in the United States by Wallace Fard Muhammad in 1930. A Black Nationalist organization, the NOI focuses its attention on the African diaspora, especially on African Americans.

Malcolm was adamant that words associated with slavery such as Negro and Colored should be discarded for black and Afro-American, his theories and his philosophy formed the foundation of the ideology of Black Power. However, Malcolm X was the key common denominator for all Black Power activists, using his speeches, and political thoughts both in the Nation of Islam and outside as a sort of blueprint or framework for their political activism. However, the tensions that had been building between Elijah Muhammed (the leader of the Nation of Islam movement) and Malcolm reached a breaking point after Malcolm made a controversial comment; “Chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad, they’ve always made me glad!” Malcolm X, following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, led to a bitter split. Facing a spiritual crisis, Malcolm turned inward dedicating much of his time to learning more about his faith, including undertaking the Muslim’s sacred pilgrimage to Mecca. Tragically, members of the Nation of Islam would assassinate Malcolm before his new philosophy could gain momentum. But his autobiography would become a key text of the black revolution and it remains a key part of the American literary canon today. Finally, Malcolm X’s bold and resonant voice has inspired generations to “Fight the Power”, through his writings and speeches, he embraced the concept of self-defense and formalize the message for the black people to take control of their destiny lives on. (Malcolm X and Black Power).

1.2. Main Beliefs and Aims of the BPM:

The Black Power Movement was interpreted in a variety of ways, with many different views, but one unifying goal: Black Nationalism. Black power pushed for black interests, a self-sufficient black economy, and black pride and self-esteem. Because they felt that black and white people should not be mixed, they promoted a unique black culture. The CRM strove for social equality, but Black Power believed in black separatism. These ideas produced friction with leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. The Black Panther Party believed in self-defense against racial oppression, which was not shared by all groups. They also believed that America's power structure was unbalanced and that the majority of those in positions of power were white, making it unfair, they believed that people of color were being exploited economically and that this needed to be addressed.

Black power thought that black control of their neighborhoods was more effective than nonviolent protests and that direct action was more effective than nonviolent protests. Black Power Movement supporters began to dress in distinctive ways, particularly women, who decided that their wardrobe would be more uniform-inspired than European. They coined the

phrase "Black is Beautiful," which became their mantra. Men and women were told to stop straightening their hair and bleaching their skin because certain black characteristics were thought to be undesirable in American culture, so men and women wore afro hairstyles to show off their newfound confidence in being black. However, African Americans believed that effort should be focused on educating the black community about black power, developing institutions, and providing safety to fellow black residents, rather than proving to white people that they were equal.

1.3. Black Power Movement Legacy Today (2008):

The Black Power Movement established a crucial framework for African Americans' growth. The Civil Rights Movement, in addition to Black Power, played a significant part in obtaining equality for African Americans. Civil Rights Acts were passed during the Civil Rights Movement, making race discrimination illegal, and giving African Americans a new sense of self-esteem and confidence in who they were as Americans. Although the Black Power Movement "finished," its spirit lives on today, not just in America but throughout the world. There were many successful African Americans, When Barack Obama was elected as America's first black president in 2008, many African Americans' dreams come true and this would not be feasible without the existence of black power.

Many activists' strength and influence throughout the 1960s and 1970s shaped a significant part of history that still exists now. "A generation of black politicians, artists, and thinkers have channeled the new black identity it initially expressed in different and varied ways, so black power's impact remains profoundly resonant, however complex and disputed." Joseph on Black Power's Legacy. With this said, the writer makes an important point: Black Power was the foundation of African Americans' achievements today, and it should stay as a symbol that African Americans should be proud of. To conclude, it is argued that the Civil Rights Movement's failings paved the way for the birth of Black Power. Black people felt that the means used during the Civil Rights Movement, such as passive resistance and civil disobedience, were insufficient, and that there was a need for alternative methods to attain equality.

2. Black Nationalism

From Martin R. Delany to Alexander Crummell, and Bishop Henry McNeal Turner to Marcus Garvey, in its simplest form, Black Nationalism is the recognition of cultural and racial commonality and a call for racial solidarity. From a social standpoint, Black Nationalism is based on the idea that oppressed people must first cherish a fraternal unity between themselves, and that this charity must begin at home and then move abroad. Black Nationalism's political goals might range from a call for Black people to take control of their own communities' politics and economies to the formation of a distinct black nation in North America or a return to Africa. Because of the difficulties involved with black existence in the United States, it was to be expected that the common goal of the Black Nationalist movement would be to liberate black people from oppression, even though the convictions of Black Nationalism have crossed a vast spectrum.

The earliest expressions of this ambition occurred during the Classical Black Nationalism period, which lasted from the 1800s until the 1930s. It can be defined as African Americans' attempt to establish a sovereign nation-state and construct an ideological foundation for a national culture notion. Classical Black Nationalism's objective of establishing a national homeland in Africa or elsewhere symbolized something far beyond simply dissatisfaction with conditions in the United States. It indicates a desire for independence as well as a determination on the part of black people to prove their abilities to establish a republican government. Slave revolts were among the earliest forms of Black Nationalism. Returning to Africa had been one of the major thrusts of the nationalist movement throughout slavery and even after it ended, but with the arrival of the 1960s, the Black-to-Africa movement gave way to what can be described as the beginning of Contemporary Black Nationalism and a new wave of other forms of nationalist attitudes. During the period of contemporary Black Nationalism, four major groupings of Black Nationalism seemed to have emerged. They include educational nationalism, religious nationalism, cultural nationalism, and revolutionary nationalism.

The first group was educational nationalists. Educational nationalism functions primarily within the context of educational institutions, and its proponents considered traditional American education as destructive to African Americans because it miseducates children and thus fails to prepare them for liberation. The various black studies programs in high schools, colleges, and universities across the country, as well as the establishment of autonomous schools whose mission is to educate African Americans about themselves, fall under this category of nationalism. The center for black education in Washington, DC, the institute of the black world in Atlanta, Georgia, Malcolm X College in Chicago, Illinois, and Nairobi College

in California are examples of such independent schools. Therefore, the importance of religion in black life in the United States lends a special significance to another sort of Black Nationalism, religious nationalism. Religious nationalism can be divided into three categories and are as follows

- 1) Black rejection of Christianity in favor of other world religions such as Islam or a more traditional African religion such as "Yoruba".
- 2) Black unity within traditional Christianity, such as the National Committee of Black Churchmen.
- 3) A separate black church in which God is viewed as a Black man, as illustrated by the Shrine of the Black Madonna.

Another group of black nationalists was cultural nationalists, who believe that black people all over the world have a separate culture and that black liberation in the United States must come first. Blacks had to reassert their cultural heritage, which is essentially different from that of the rest of society, particularly white society. Cultural nationalists argue that before African Americans can command the solidarity needed to revolt effectively against their oppressors, a cultural revolution in the black community is required. Maulana Karenga's US Organization, for instance, exemplifies the idea of cultural nationalism, as a group that fought the panther's revolutionary political nationalism from the cultural-political standpoint.

Finally, the form of Black Nationalism that has clashed with cultural nationalism, and the most controversial form of nationalism of all, was revolutionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism maintains that African Americans cannot achieve liberation in the United States within the existing political and economic system. As a result, they advocate for revolution to eliminate capitalism, imperialism, and racism from society. The concept that all countries, especially the Black Community of the United States, have a right to self-determination is at the heart of the Black Power era and the ideology of revolutionary nationalists. African Americans must take control of land and political power through national liberation, with revolutionary socialism as their operative creed, in order to stop their exploitation.

Because a nationalist revolution focused solely on the issues of a particular group would be regarded as retrograde, control of the Black nation-state must be understood as part of a global, multi-racial anti-capitalist liberation movement. Revolutionary nationalists believe that there can be no separate racial peace with the oppressor. Instead, alliances will be formed with

individuals from the Third World, and then, after due consideration, with white radicals. The black laboring or underclass would form a leadership vanguard within these working relationships, and the oppressed would eventually eliminate or reduce social class distinctions, banish neo-colonial imperialists from the globe, and usher in an era of unprecedented human gains through revolutionary struggle. This concept is Afrocentric in its promotion of black Americans as the liberating vanguard, despite its international scope. This core theory was adaptable enough to fulfill the interests of all those who saw the Black Nationalist fight as a struggle of both race and class.

3. Black Panther Party (1966-1971)

The Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale and peaked four years later in the 1970s. Despite its brief existence and small membership, the organization had a significant impact on American history and culture.

3.1 Origins of the Black Panther Party:

Originally known as the Black Panther Party for self-defense, the organization started through the campus organizing of Seale and Newton. They met in Oakland California in 1961 while they were both students at Merritt College. In the tense atmosphere following the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X, Newton and Seale and other student activists organized the Black History Fact Group. The latter was founded in part as a response to the University failing to acknowledge the role of African Americans in settling the American West in the 1800s. Among their goals was to urge the school to offer courses in Black History and to establish a Black Studies Department. Newton and Seale both became members of the college's Soul Students Advisory Council, which claimed goals included developing black student leadership, advocating for a more inclusive curriculum, and connecting the university to the community. Newton and Seale finally resigned as a result of internal conflicts. However, their fight to keep the work of radical black political organizing going did not stop there. Rather than joining another political organization, Newton and Seale shifted their ambitions and chose to start their own. Following the assassination of unarmed teenager Matthew Johnson by San Francisco police, they created the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (later known as the Black Panther Party) in 1966. (Black Panthers” The Columbia Encyclopaedia 2008).

According to historian Robyn C. Spencer, Newton and Seale based their new organization's beliefs on the idea that black Americans lived in an internal colony within the

greater mother country of the United States. They argued, drawing on the Black Nationalist and post-colonial movements of the time, that the relationship between the Black colony and the mother country constituted "pure exploitation of labor and resources," according to Spencer. As a result, they intended to liberate the black colony through self-determination as part of a greater mission to "change America and eventually the rest of the globe," which coincided with their bigger vision of racial and class inequalities being addressed. Seale and Newton were also interested in how black liberation battles around the world were linked to black liberation struggles in the United States. They believed that guerrilla warfare might be an effective strategy for social change and that small groups of armed people could lead the change. They were passionate readers of Marxist theory and researched anti-colonial movements from around the world. Their politics were also influenced by fights for self-determination in countries such as Vietnam and South Africa. (Baggins, Brain. History of the Black Panther Party. Marxists Internet Archive).

3.2 Ten-Point Program and Platform:

After the Black Panthers were founded, Newton and Seale outlined the group's agenda, philosophical views, and political objectives in their ten-point program. The Program's objectives state:

- 1) We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our black and oppressed communities.
- 2) We want full employment for our people.
- 3) We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities.
- 4) We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
- 5) We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society, we want education that teaches our true history and our role in the present-day society.
- 6) We want completely free wealth care for all black and oppressed people.
- 7) We want an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of black people, other people of color, and all oppressed inside the United States.
- 8) We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.

9) We want freedom for all black and oppressed people now held in US federal, state, county, and military prisons and jails, we want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.

10) We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace, and people's community control of modern technology.

After creating this ten-point platform, they decided on a name, borrowing from the Lowndes County freedom organization in Lowndes County Alabama, a political group that used the image of the Black Panther in their materials and was led by activists including Stokely Carmichael who popularized the black Power movement. In addition to their ten-point program, the panthers were also actively engaged in their community through several social programs that looked to pool collective resources to support the black community. This group of programs served as a rallying cry and human rights manifesto, aiming to correct centuries of harm inflicted on all oppressed people.

The Black Panthers' vision was at once practical, demanding things like healthcare, and housing while simultaneously being revolutionary in its scope. Among their most popular programs were the establishment of free health clinics in 13 African American communities across the country and the implementation of free breakfast programs for school children in different parts of the US. The free breakfast program started by the Black Panthers became an inspiration for the breakfast programs that still exist in schools across the country. They were also known for carrying unconcealed, loaded weapons and monitoring the activities of local police in black neighborhoods. As they continued to engage in political activism and social change, their popularity grew across the country, especially in urban centers with large minority communities like Los Angeles, New York City, and Philadelphia.

3.3 Black Panther Chapters:

Additional chapters were established in places like Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, Des Moines, New Jersey, and Kansas. By 1968, approximately 2 years after they were founded, the panthers had roughly 2,000 members across the country (Clint Smith. Author). But the burgeoning political movement that sought to guarantee the rights and freedoms of Black people also attracted a fair amount of controversy, especially as it relates to their interactions with the US government and the police. For instance, in October of 1967 Newton allegedly killed Oakland police officer John Frey. This followed a period of armed interactions with

police officers since one of the principal tenets of the Black Panthers was the right to self-defense in the face of white supremacist violence. Newton had dispatched more than two dozen armed panthers to the California State Capitol in Sacramento in May 1967 to protest the passage of a bill that would restrict their freedom to openly bear arms. At the time, Ronald Reagan was the governor of California, and he was an ardent opponent of the panthers, whom he saw as a threat to his "law-and-order" campaign. The Panthers were portrayed as a militant group and the new leaders of the Black Power Movement as a result of the subsequent news coverage.

3.4 FBI Participation in the Decline of the BPP:

Troubles with law enforcement continued to plague the black panthers, first Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter in 1968 and sentenced to 2-15 years in prison. However, on May 29th, 1970, the California Court of Appeals overturned the conviction and the next few trials ended with deadlocked juries. The black panthers he turned to, even after just a few years, had shifted dramatically in some ways from the organization that he had founded with Seale. Additionally, the group faced inner turmoil, in 1969 Alex Rockley was murdered by other members of the Black Panthers who suspected that he was an informant. Seale and other panthers faced charges in New Haven Connecticut for the alleged murder. But it wasn't only internal issues plaguing the organization, external forces also impacted the group, such as the assassination of Black Panther Party member Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by the FBI and local police in Chicago in 1969.

The FBI was under its first director J. Edgar Hoover who declared the panthers a communist organization and an enemy of the United States government. In 1968, Hoover had called the panthers "One of the greatest threats to the nation's internal security" because of this, the panthers became the target of the FBI's COINTELPRO a secret counterintelligence program used to surveil politically progressive groups. Yet, the organization continued to function, with Elaine Brown serving as chairwoman of the Black Panther Party from 1974 to 1977, she was the only woman to hold this role and often faced discrimination for asserting herself and leading the party. Gender roles within the party were often quite restrictive, but women such as Brown, Kathleen Cleaver, Assata Shakur, and Ericka Huggins (the notable women that participate in the party) held relationship positions within the organization including as editors of the party's newspaper.

Still, cointelpro agents managed to infiltrate events and the personal lives of prominent members of the party. In the 1970s, the Senate committee led by Frank Church, a Democrat from Idaho, exposed the FBI and cointelpro. As scholar Penial E. Joseph has described it, the FBI and cointelpro had a "clandestine role in the dismantling of the Black Power, New Left, and anti-war movements" and revealed, "Further evidence of the pitfalls of unchecked government power" (Causes of the Downfall of Black Panther Party, History essay). Under the weight of internal strife and external pressures and surveillance, the organization officially dissolved in 1982. Finally, the Black Panther Party helped to bring black power to national and international prominence and raised important questions about black people's right to fair treatment, equality, and self-defense. Their contribution to the black freedom struggles of the 1960s and 1970s was profound.

Conclusion

The demise of the Black Panther Party was caused mostly by the FBI operation COINTELPRO. Many efforts were made to encourage a division between essential leaders of the party, the FBI's main goal was to have different factions fight against themselves. Therefore, many members of the Black Panther Party were arrested, murdered, and forced into exile. Eldridge Cleaver was a member who had joined the Black Panther Party in 1966 and took over as the new leader of the party while Newton and Seale were both under police custody in 1967. Cleaver married fellow Black Panther Party member Kathleen Neal, he critically acclaimed his 1968 memoir "Soul on Ice" which told the story of his life and time in prison, following works such as Thomas Paine²², Karl Marx²³, and Richard Wright²⁴ which influenced Cleaver's philosophies and political writings. However, Cleaver was involved in a shoot-out in Oakland between Black Panthers and police that left one panther dead and Cleaver and two police officers wounded, faced with reimprisonment after the shoot-out, Cleaver jumped bail in November 1968 and fled first to Cuba and then to Algeria.

²² Thomas Paine was an English-born American political activist, philosopher, political theorist, and revolutionary.

²³ Karl Heinrich Marx FRSA was a German philosopher, critic of political economy, economist, historian, sociologist, political theorist, journalist and socialist revolutionary. His best-known titles are the 1848 pamphlet *The Communist Manifesto* and the three-volume *Das Kapital*.

²⁴ Richard Nathaniel Wright was an American author of novels, short stories, poems, and non-fiction. Much of his literature concerns racial themes, especially related to the plight of African Americans during the late 19th to mid-20th centuries suffering discrimination and violence.

Chapter Three

Algeria... Mecca of Revolutionaries (1969)

Introduction

This chapter will discuss how the Algerian revolution had an impact on the foundation of the Black Panther Party. Frantz Fanon's vision for independence and revolutionary philosophy not only inspired the Algerian warriors but rather inspired many revolutionary movements around the world, such as the Black Panther Party in the United States. However, this chapter tackles the global impact of Gillo Pontecorvo's movie "The Battle of Algiers" on how different freedom fighters in different countries got influenced by the messages behind the movie as well as the tactics used in the Algerian War of Independence, and how successful it was. Also, this section sheds light on the Black Panther Party's members who fled to Algeria when they were exiled, and why they chose Algeria specifically.

1. "The Wretched of The Earth" and Paths to Freedom

The Black Panther Party for Self-mostly Defense's youthful members were familiar with the name Fanon. Every Panther was told they had to read "The Wretched of the Earth," which some referred to as their "Bible." It did not matter that it was difficult to understand because it was translated from the original French to English. Fanon, a revolutionary psychiatrist, had a strong urge to view the world via his professional knowledge and its related jargon-based mental and psychological lenses. Fortunately, Bobby Seale, a co-founder of the Black Panther

Party, made the early decision to provide Huey P. Newton his copy of "The Wretched of the Earth". Huey, who almost completed high school while still being an active reader, was so impressed by the piece that he read it six times (Abu Jamal Mumia, Chapter 1 "Frantz Fanon and his influence on the Black Movement"). If a person has spent his formative years as an illiterate and does so secretly, he must rely on his memory to piece together what has happened in his life and relationships. When a person learns to read and write later in life, that remarkable recall does not fade away; rather, it is increased. As a result, Fanon's text was seen as a valuable resource, and it was incorporated into the Party's canons, as well as the foundation of BPP ideology and political philosophy.

Fanon was a deep thinker who contemplated the future of neocolonial African and global societies and attempted to implant his insights into revolutionary and post-colonial nations so that they might defend and protect themselves against imperial penetration and economic exploitation. BPP cadre gained enormous insights about the notion of considering Black communities as colonies of an external, repressive white state power from Fanon's work. These ideas, as well as the justification for using paramilitary action to resist the empire, were built on by Newton. Newton undoubtedly gained this crucial insight from Fanon that the African American society was an oppressed colony of the empire, but it was not Newton's alone. Dr. James H. Cone, a late theologian, activist, and scholar quotes Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as saying: "The Black ghetto is a system of internal colonialism... The slum is essentially a domestic colony, with residents who are ruled politically, exploited economically, segregated, and humiliated at every turn"(Chapter 1, "Frantz Fanon and his influence on Black Revolt", Abu Jamal Mumia).

However, few observers perceived points of agreement between King, the avatar of peace, and Newton, the advocate of revolution, but the two are nearly indistinguishable when it comes to the actual state of black America and its most populated communities. Who could deny that the vast majority of black Americans lived in a profoundly different living space, reflecting Fanon's observations on the Manichaeian contrasts between the places inhabited by the colonizer and the colonized? These recognitions imply that Fanon was read by far more people than the average black militants in imperial cities. BPP Central Committee member and Communications officer, Kathleen Neal Cleaver has written widely about the "profound" influence of Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth". In her article, "Back

to Africa,” an exposition on her times as a leader of the International Section of the BPP in Algiers, she writes:

“The crucible of civil war forged the writings of Frantz Fanon, the Black psychiatrist from Martinique who fought alongside Algerian revolutionaries for independence from France. His books became available in English just as waves of civil violence engulfed the ghettos of America, reaching the level of insurrection in the wake of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr in 1968. Fanon died in 1961, a year before Algeria obtained the independence he had given his life to win, but 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”. (Kathleen Cleaver, Back to Africa: the evolution of the international section of the Black Panther Party).

2. Gillo Pontecorvo’s “The Battle of Algiers”: Cinema of Resistance (1966)

One of the most influential political films in history, Gillo Pontecorvo's *Battle of Algiers* which was released in 1966 remains a cinematic classic. The film's stark depiction of guerrilla warfare waged against French forces occupying Algiers was celebrated worldwide for both its creativity and its uncompromising political message. Shot in black and white with handheld cameras to blur the line between documentary and feature, the film is a tense immersive experience that takes the viewer deep into the worlds of both the Algerian resistance and the French colonial forces. Released only a few years after Algeria gained independence, the film featured a cast without professional actors including many who had been part of actual resistance. After its release, the film could not be screened for another five years in France where it was finally released in 1971, and protests continued at theatres that actually showed the film. In his book "50 Years of the Battle of Algiers": Past as Prologue, Professor Sohail Daulatzai describes the film as a template for anti-colonial resistance movements worldwide. (Cine Qua Non: The Political Import and Impact of the Battle of Algiers).

For the first 30 years of its release, the film became a touchstone for leftists all over the world, where it was embraced by Iraq, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the Tamil Tigers, and leftist groups throughout Latin America, as well as being required for viewing for

the Black Panther Party and other leftists in the US in the late 1960s and early 70s including white radicals and Arab students. Howbeit, Daulatzai argues that the themes of the film are urgent and pressing as ever, saying:

"The Battle of Algiers raised some fundamental issues about self-determination for Black people worldwide that have yet to be fully realized. So that as long as the conditions of racism, occupation, and empire continue to exist, The Battle of Algiers will always be relevant and people will always find inspiration in it because those are the same issues that made the film's creation such an urgent necessity". (Fifty Years of the Battle of Algiers: Past as Prologue by Sohail Daulatzai).

Daulatzai also argued that the reframing of armed resistance as 'terrorism' has fundamentally altered the way the film can be viewed. Whereas the film once had a universal appeal that captured the mood and urgency of various movements for self-determination. Daulatzai says that now the danger is that the film is seen as a celebration of specifically Muslim violence and triumph over western forces, a scenario that he says is not only palatable but seen as threatening and worthy of death. While The Battle of Algiers served as a template for liberationists the film's realistic depictions of French counterinsurgency tactics also meant it was keenly studied by security agencies and law enforcement worldwide. (Fifty Years of the Battle of Algiers: Past as Prologue by Sohail Daulatzai).

The guerrilla warfare waged by the people of Algiers was the first time such tactics had been used in an urban environment. Not surprisingly, after the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the Pentagon held a special screening of the film and it has since become an almost mandatory training tool in US army war colleges. "The Battle of Algiers is still being waged, only now on a planetary scale"(Political import and impact of the Battle of Algiers). However, Pontecorvo's documentary influenced the black warriors. After watching the classic film and how successful the guerrilla tactics were among revolutionaries, Black Panthers tried to investigate revolution using armed self-defense and blood shots just as the Algerians did, they imitated them and used the same tactics in which they implemented arms and violence into their programs. "This is the day of the guerrilla," Malcolm X confidently announced in 1964:

"Algerians... took a rifle and sneaked off to the hills, and de Gaulle and all of his highfalutin' war machinery couldn't defeat those guerrillas. Nowhere on this earth does the white man win in guerrilla warfare." (Cine Qua Non: L'impact de La Bataille d'Alger).

3. Algeria as a Haven for the Black Panthers

In the 1970s, Algiers became a haven for African Americans who were forced to depart the United States due to racism there. In the 1950s and 1960s, as airline travel became more prevalent, hijacking planes became more common as well. Nearly 160 high jacking cases had happened by the early 1970s (Africa is a Country.com). Brendan Koerner's book "The Skies Belong to Us" traces some of the histories of the golden age of airline hijacking and links it to the activities of the Black Panther Party and the party's international office in Algiers. However, Koerner's account of skyjackings in the United States throughout the 1960s and 1970s is odd. Passengers were not subjected to Transportation Security Administration checks, there were no scanners, they were not required to present boarding passes or IDs, and they sometimes paid for their tickets after arriving at their destination. In the 1950s, skyjacking was not even illegal, and high-jacking planes had little to do with political causes.

Therefore, next to Cuba, Algeria was one of the preferred destinations for hijackers. Algeria had a strong sympathy towards revolutionaries as a recently independent nation. Houari Boumédiène, the second president of Algeria and a leading figure in the country's revolution, declared his unwavering support for the Palestinian cause and the independence of Western Sahara. He also maintained close ties with Nelson Mandela²⁵ and the South African liberation movement, Yasser Arafat²⁶ and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and Fidel Castro²⁷ and the Cuban revolution. He also endorsed initiatives like the Canary Islands Independence due to its support for revolutionary forces around the globe, Boumédiène has earned a reputation for Algeria as revolutionary heaven and a Mecca of revolutions.

The two planes hijacked by Black Panther members Roger Holder and George Wright and commandeered to Algiers in 1972 had to be one of the most spectacular incidents of plane hijackings in history. By that time, the Black Panther Party had established an international chapter in Algiers, commanded by Eldridge Cleaver, who had decided to seek exile in Algeria when Cuba no longer appeared to be a haven. Eldridge was accompanied by numerous members of the Black Panther Party who were very active out of the Panther headquarters in Algiers.

²⁵ Nelson Rolihlahla was a South African anti-apartheid activist who served as the first president of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was the country's first black head of state and the first elected in a fully representative democratic election.

²⁶ Mohammed Abdel Rahman Abdel Raouf al-Qudwa al-Husseini, properly known as Yasser Arafat was a Palestinian political leader. He was Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization from 1969 to 2004 and President of the Palestinian National Authority from 1994 to 2004.

²⁷ Fidel Alejandro Ruz was a Cuban revolutionary and politician who was a leader of Cuba from 1959 to 2008, serving as the prime minister of Cuba from 1959 to 1976 and president from 1976 to 2008.

Holder chose Algiers as the destination of his hijacked jet because Donald Cox, Pete O'Neal, and Kathleen Cleaver were based there. "In 1969, Eldridge Cleaver, a leader of the Black Panther Party, fled murder charges in the US and ended up in Algiers not an unusual place for radical activists to find themselves in the 1960s.", "Once independence was achieved, no one forgot," writes Elaine Mokhtefi in her beautiful new memoir of the period, (*Algiers, Third World Capital: Freedom Fighters, Revolutionaries, Black Panthers*). "Algeria adopted an open-door policy of aid to the oppressed, an invitation to liberation and opposition movements and personalities from around the world. Everyone was welcomed." As the newly triumphant country tried to repay the debts of those who helped it in the war, the Algerian capital became home to liberation movements from all over the world. It dispatched medical personnel to Cuba, China, and Lebanon, as well as welcoming other resistance groups ranging from Palestinians to anti-Vietnam War protesters. "We overestimated what we were capable of doing," she says. "It was all so new and so extraordinary and so eventful." (Elaine Mokhtefi, *Algiers, Third World Capital, Black Panther Chapter in Algeria*).

When Cleaver arrived, Elaine Mokhtefi assisted him in establishing a Black Panther headquarters-in-exile. Their fight against racial injustice in her nation, the United States, struck a chord with her, and she became an important ally. They lost support in Algiers as a result of their overreach and lack of organizational direction, and Cleaver was forced to depart in 1972. Mokhtefi, who was working around President Houari Boumediene's increasingly oppressive government, was deported two years later with only her bag. Her apartment was emptied by the police, according to an upstairs neighbor, and she has no idea what happened to her belongings. Mokhtar Mokhtefi, her husband, arrived in Paris a few weeks later and the two never returned to Algiers. It is feasible to provide a more sensationalist portrayal of her period. She assisted in the smuggling of passports between the Black Panthers and the Baader-Meinhof organization for a planned hijacking, and she unwittingly assisted in a murder. Cleaver admitted to her that he had slain another Black Panther, whom he suspected of attempting to seduce his wife Kathleen. She was also a participant in Cleaver's other misdeeds, facilitating Kathleen's meeting with his Algerian mistress and assisting Cleaver's exit from Algeria when the government ceased funding the Panthers.

4. The First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers (1969)

The spectacular event took place on July 21, 1969, in Algiers, Algeria's capital city. The majority of African countries took part to exhibit their affection and appreciation for their

diverse cultures. From 7th July to 21st August, the ancient and battered citadel of Algiers was turned into a cosmopolitan center of Africa, with Touareg horsemen charging down the streets firing off their rifles, the rhythmic beat of drums, beautiful black dancers from Mali and Senegal delighting their predominantly Moslem hosts, and throngs from all over the world struggling to get into overcrowded exhibitions. Algiers itself was bedecked with African symbolism from the Sub-Sahara and black Africans, English and French-speaking. Transformed this North African city into a pan-African center, giving the impression that Algeria turned its back upon Europe and was looking toward the heart of the African continent.

Quite a number of the blacks mingling with the crowds were not Africans, but were Americans, though it was often difficult to tell them apart because of the new vogue in afro hairstyles and Dashikis²⁸. This American presence at a Pan-African event was a new type, and may well signal a new phase in African American relations. These were not, on the whole, the Afro-American intellectuals such as Langston Hughes and Mercer Cook, who were prominent at Dakar in 1965 and other similar gatherings and who drew inspiration from Africa's past greatness. These were primarily militant black intellectuals with an interest in the political connections as well as the culture of Africa. Eldridge Cleaver's presence at the conference was well-publicized in the American press. Cleaver and Kwame Ture lobbed barbs at each other, from their respective hotel balconies for the benefit of the folks back home, as well as their admiring and attentive audience from the far corners of Africa in Algiers. The fact that the Afro-American center at the Algiers conference was primarily a Black Panther exhibit was reflective of two major developments.

First, the Black Panthers felt the establishment of connections with African cultural and political groups was important enough to mount a major effort behind a significant exhibition in Algiers. But perhaps more important is the Algerian recognition of them and the other organizers of this conference, as the major representatives of Afro-America. Apparently, the organizers had made little attempt to obtain a more representative group of Afro-American intellectuals. The Algerian government particularly, to some extent, was clearly establishing a direct political link between Africa and the American continent. Cleaver's and Carmichael's predominant presence at Algiers indicated that American Black militants are viewing Africa as

²⁸ Dashiki is a colorful garment that covers the top half of the body, worn mostly in West Africa. It is also known as a kitenge in East Africa and is a common item of clothing in Tanzania and Kenya. It has formal and informal versions and varies from simple draped clothing to fully tailored suits.

a source, not only of cultural inspiration but also perhaps even direct support, in what is a paradoxical reversal in roles of the earliest phases of Pan Africanism.

This is probably not translatable in terms of material support of significance as yet. More important to them is the dignity of recognition and the sense of pride that they have in identifying with African cultural achievements. Most importantly, the association with a revolutionary spirit that has liberated itself frequently by violent revolution, from white domination and colonialism. These are a new breed of alienated Americans. It is of symbolic significance that the major organizer of the Afro-American center in Algiers was Richard Wright's daughter. The black American role in world politics is no longer that of the exile but has become that of the revolutionary who solicits support and inspiration abroad for the installation of a new order at home. Some Americans may find this very threatening, others will welcome the prospect of change that it reflects.

Conclusion

Algeria's history of backing worldwide revolutionary causes may still be evident in the country's support for the Palestinian and Western Sahara. Yet, given its track record on race and attitudes toward black people, particularly as manifested in its treatment of migrants and refugees from Mali and Niger, it is difficult to imagine a time when Black Panthers roamed the Casbah or the spirit of the famous Pan-African festival of 1969 flooded the streets of Algiers. "Algiers was rapidly becoming a thriving diplomatic hub for all the revolutionary currents of the wider world." (Jacobin Magazine, the Algerian Revolution Changed the World for the Better).

General conclusion

General Conclusion

The Algerian Revolution was a prime example of how the Black Liberation Movement was impacted by international events. The struggle for independence from France (1954-1962), and the subsequent formation of a socialist government, had a profound impact on the Black Panther Party members. Stokely Carmichael, who was a member of both organizations (BPM&BPP), saw similarities between their struggles and became more radicalized as he spent time in Algeria. He came back to America with new ideas about how to organize people and fight for their rights.

In addition, Fanon's book "The Wretched of the Earth" gave clues for Black Revolutionaries, Fanon was not only black in fact but black in thoughts. His experience in the Algerian revolution did raise his hatred for colonialism to a fever pitch, his theories were not limited to the Algerian experience yet to all blacks around the world. Stokely Carmichael has made Fanon a "patron saint". This adoration is typical, it helps to make clear why militant Black Americans regard themselves as part of an oppressed colonial system. The exit from which is lighted by Fanon's theory of "Decolonization". Therefore, Fanon wanted to snap the bonds of European culture, collective violence alone makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths, as fanon sees the truth. At a personal level, violence is a "cleansing force", freeing the third world from an inferiority complex, despair, and inaction.

In the 1960s, Algeria became the crossroads of independence movements in Africa, it was called the "Mecca of Revolutionaries". However, Black Panthers were among the welcomed parties in the heart of Algeria, after they were exiled by the FBI. The next destination for Black members was Algeria and here lies where the bounded international relationship between FLN leaders and the Black Panther Party leaders was created, providing much support and assistance not only from the Algerians but rather from all freedom movement leaders. Finally, the Algerian Revolution not only gave clues for independence movements at that time, yet it helped to boost the hope for all oppressed people to reach their will and gain their ultimate freedom.

Work cited

- Youcef, Abdeldjalil Larbi. “The Algerian Army Made Me a Man.” *Transition*, no. 116, 2014, pp. 67–79.
- Fois, Marisa. “Algerian Nationalism: From the Origins to Algerian War of Independence.” *Oriente Moderno*, vol. 97, no. 1, 2017, pp.
- Salah el Din el Zein el Tayeb*. “The Europeanized Algerians and the Emancipation of Algeria.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1986, pp. 206–35.
- Ernest, Gellner*. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1983, p.55.
- Paul, Christopher, et al*. “Algerian Independence, 1954–1962: Case Outcome: COIN Loss.” *Paths to Victory: Detailed Insurgency Case Studies*, RAND Corporation, 2013, pp. 75–93.
- Kebede, Messay*. “The Rehabilitation of Violence and the Violence of Rehabilitation: Fanon and Colonialism.” *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 31, no. 5, 2001, pp. 539–62
- Wallerstein, Immanuel*. “FRANTZ FANON: REASON AND VIOLENCE.” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 15, 1970, pp. 222–31.
- Burke, Edmund*. “Frantz Fanon’s ‘The Wretched of the Earth.’” *Daedalus*, vol. 105, no. 1, 1976, pp. 127–35.
- Mireille Fanon-Mendès France, and Donato Fhunsu*. “The Contribution of Frantz Fanon to the Process of the Liberation of the People.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 42, no. 3–4, 2012, pp. 8–12.
- Geiss, Imanuel*. “Pan-Africanism.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1969, pp. 187–200.
- Ake, Claude*. “Pan-Africanism and African Governments.” *The Review of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 4, 1965, pp. 532–42.
- Perlstein, Daniel*. “Minds Stayed on Freedom: Politics and Pedagogy in the African-American Freedom Struggle.” *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2002, pp. 249–77.
- Joseph, Peniel E*. “The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field.” *The Journal of American History*, vol. 96, no. 3, 2009.
- Peniel E. Joseph*, *Waiting ’Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006).
- Malcolm X*, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, with the assistance of Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine, 1992).

Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York: Viking Press, 2011). Ilyasah Shabazz, *Growing up X: A Memoir by the Mother of Malcolm X* (Penguin, 2003).

Robyn Spencer, *The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland* (Duke University Press, 2016).

Vatikiotis, P. J. "Tradition and Political Leadership: The Example of Algeria." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1966, p.330.

Farnia, Navid. "State Repression and the Black Panther Party: Analyzing Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin's *Black against Empire*." *Journal of African American Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2017, pp. 172–79.

Bignardi, Irene. "The Making of 'The Battle of Algiers.'" *Cinéaste*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2000, pp. 14–22.

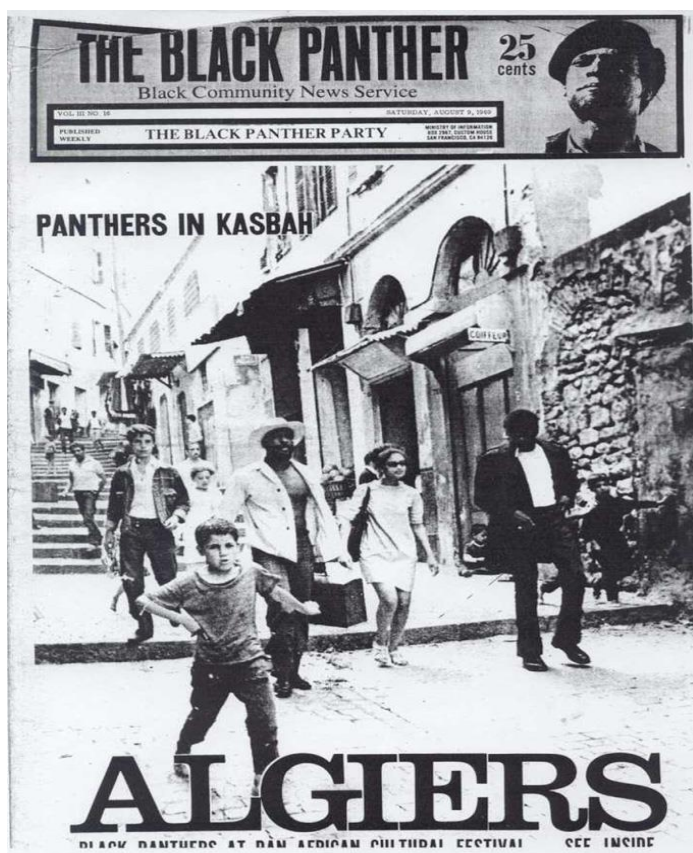
Algiers, Third World Capital, an iconic memoir by Jewish American Elaine Mokhtefi, book review.

White, Ray Lewis. "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER'S 'SOUL ON ICE': A BOOK REVIEW DIGEST." *CLA Journal*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1978, pp. 556–66.

HARE, NATHAN. "A REPORT ON THE PAN-AFRICAN CULTURAL FESTIVAL." *The Black Scholar* 1969.

"*New Day in Babylon*": *The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* by William L. Van Deburg.

Appendix



Appendix 01: August 9, 1969, Black Panther Community News Service cover.

Source: Black Panther guide to Algiers, Roads, and kingdoms



Appendix 02: Stokely Carmichael (civil rights activist and Panthers' "Honorary Prime Minister") and Eldridge Cleaver at Hotel St. George, July 23, 1969.



Appendix 03: Huey. P Newton and Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party Founders.

Source: Wikipedia.



Appendix 04: American Time in Algeria, Elaine Mokhtefi & Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers.

Source: Wikipedia.



Appendix 05: The Black Panther Party & a Palestinian delegation at the first Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers, 1969.

Source: Wikipedia.