The Hidden Narratives: Recovering and (Re)Visioning the Community Activism of Men in the Black Panther Party

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The Hidden Narratives: Recovering and (Re) Visioning the Community Activism of Men in the Black Panther Party

Mary Phillips and Angela LeBlanc-Ernest

ABSTRACT: The iconography of furious Black men in uniforms prevails in the public's surface perception of the Black Panther Party (BPP). This article complicates this public image by uncovering the hidden story: one of nurturing male community workers. The authors excavate the lives of three rank-and-file members: Austin Allen, Reginald "Malik" Edwards, and Steve McCutchen, who were assigned to Survival Programs between 1968 and 1979. The authors utilize a range of primary and secondary sources, including interviews, to offer insight into their activism, BPP women's impact on their intellectual growth, and the ways they confronted gender role stereotypes. The interviewees' accounts are critical for providing multifaceted histories of their experiences and a nuanced perspective of their engagement with gender dynamics. Finally, connections are drawn between the BPP and the Black Lives Matter movement.

The imagery of angry men in black berets, powder blue shirts, black jackets, black pants, black socks, and black shoes with raised, clenched Black fists dominates the popular media narrative of the Oakland-based Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP) in news coverage, music, and film. This public representation constructs a threatening Black manhood that fails to recognize BPP men as nurturers and community builders. The hidden narrative tells another story; one of

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male activists performing the everyday hard labor necessary for a community to survive under institutional attack, and they did this alongside their female peers. In 1966, as a way to serve the practical needs of Black and poor communities, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale developed the BPP. In so doing, Newton and Seale became a part of a pivotal moment in history designed to address the plethora of experiences of second-generation youth in the Bay Area frustrated with police brutality and the criminal treatment waged against Blacks, especially in the inner cities. Functioning as a 24-hour operation, the BPP required a tremendous amount of community support and labor (from both men and women) to develop and maintain programs to meet the community's political, social, and economic needs. The organization's initial public display of guns during police patrols served as a powerful symbol of self-defense and protection for oppressed communities. Yet, this visual image remains a prominent one in mainstream society even while the BPP officially shifted its focus to community building rather than a visible presentation of arms in 1969 (See Bourne, 2006, p. 202). This public representation of enraged Black men neglects the multifaceted realities of BPP men who organized behind the scenes in various capacities in communities across the nation. The BPP understood the vital role of everyone, including men, women, and children, in sustaining the community.

We evoke the Black Panther Party's true spirit of collaboration to unearth the hidden stories of rank-and-file male Panthers who worked in non-traditional spaces within the Survival Programs (SPs). Members were nurturing their communities: feeding, educating, collaborating, serving, training, transporting, and providing health care. All of these actions are absent within the hypermasculine version of BPP men. These stories include the work that actually kept communities alive in the private sphere behind the scenes with women who were sometimes their managers, directors, and supervisors. The BPP created more than 50 community SPs between 1966 and 1982; however, they only recently have become the subject of BPP historiography (See A. Nelson, 2011; Murch, 2010; Huggins & LeBlanc-Ernest, 2009; Jones & Gayles, 2008; Hilliard, 2008; Witt, 2007; Doss, 2001; Jones, 1998). Reshaping the dominant narrative of BPP men as violent figures, we challenge this iconic and sometimes stereotypical image by providing case studies of three lesser-known members, including Austin Allen, Reginald "Malik" Edwards, and Steve McCutchen, locating them in community SPs to attach their names and faces to their labor. These men, although products of a male-dominated society, learned to defy social conventions. As revealed in their personal stories, they understood community building as not just carrying a gun, but engaging in survival program projects. We selected these individuals as an outgrowth of our documentary project on the Oakland Community School (OCS), the BPP's model elementary-level

institution. As we scoured resources for visual aids on OCS students and staff, we uncovered images of BPP men as fathers, husbands, teachers, cooks, announcers, artists, singers, and community activists in photographic essays, video footage, documentaries, and academic publications on the relationship of the BPP and the media (See Shames & Seale, 2016; Hilliard, 2007; Rhodes, 2007; Shames, 2006; Durant, 2006; Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, 1995; Baruch & Jones, 1970).[1] In rare footage of a television show, we observed McCutchen teaching martial arts to youth (Maldonado, 1978).[2] We saw several photos of a smiling Allen being swamped by kids as he laid across a bed (Shames, 2006, pp. 74–75). Finally, we came across artwork in *The Black Panther* newspaper, which reminded LeBlanc-Ernest of her 1996 personal interview with graphic artist Edwards, during which he reminisced about his interactions with his female BPP comrades (Edwards, personal communication, August 18, 1996).

Table 1. ***Black Panther Party Community Programs, 1967–1982***[3]

Alameda County Volunteer Bureau Work Site	Benefit Counseling
Black Student Alliance	Child Development Center
Consumer Education Classes	Community Facility Use
Community Health Classes	East Oakland CIL (Center for Independent Living) Branch
Community Pantry (Free Food Program)	Drug/Alcohol Abuse Awareness Program
Drama Classes	Disabled Persons Services/Transportation and Attendant
Drill Team	Employment Referral Service
Free Ambulance Program	Free Breakfast for Children Programs
Free Busing to Prisons Program	Free Clothing Program
Free Commissary for Prisoners Program	Free Dental Program
Free Employment Program	Free Food Program
Free Film Series	Free Furniture Program
Free Health Clinics	Free Housing Cooperative Program
Food Cooperative Program	Free Optometry Program
Community Forum	Free Pest Control Program
Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program	Free Shoe Program
GED Classes	Geriatric Health Center

GYN Clinic	Home SAFE Visits
Intercommunal Youth Institute (becomes OCS by 1975)	Junior High and High School Tutorial Program
Legal Aid and Education	Legal Clinic/Workshops
Laney Experimental College Extension Site	Legal Referral Service(s)
Liberation Schools	Martial Arts Program
Nutrition Classes	Oakland Community Learning Center
Outreach Preventative Care	Program Development
Pediatric Clinic	Police Patrols
Seniors Against a Fearful Environment	SAFE Club
Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation	Son of Man Temple (becomes Community Forum by 1976)
Sports	Senior Switchboard
The Black Panther Newspaper	Teen Council
Teen Program	U.C. Berkeley Students Health Program
V.D. Preventative Screening & Counseling	Visiting Nurses Program
WIC Program	Youth Diversion and Probation Site
Youth Training and Development	

Recognizing the sharp contrast between the perception of angry Black men and their actual lives, we decided to interview these individuals to better understand their experiences through their first-person accounts. We explore their childhood and examine the nature of their BPP activism. Next, we highlight their candid reflections regarding gender and womens' impact in general and on our subjects specifically. They share similar perspectives on women; therefore, we place their voices in conversation with each other. Not only do Allen's, Edwards's, and McCutchen's recollections contribute to the growing body of scholarship on the rank and file, but they also show men doing the everyday work of community building (See Joseph, 2012; A. Dixon, 2012; Conway & Stevenson, 2011; Jeffries, 2010; Bukhari, 2010; King, 2009; Spencer, 2008; McCutchen, 2008; Williams & Lazerow, 2008; Alkebulan, 2007; Jeffries, 2007; Hopkins, 2005; Abu-Jamal, 2004; Brent, 2000; Andrews, 1999; Njeri, 1991; Shakur, 1987; Balagoon & Burns, 1971). These three men represent examples of a subset of men critical to BPP projects who did not participate in macho bravado and maintained an openness to collaborating with women. Allen and McCutchen worked in a space that society

stereotypically associates with women's work: formal education, particularly in the OCS and the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), the BPP's programming space for the students as well as the community. Allen carried an attentiveness to coalition politics as a campus organizer and an awareness to gender in his interpersonal relationships with women while in the BPP. As a teacher, McCutchen played a critical role in the development of the OCS science curriculum and the OCLC martial arts program. Edwards's experience differs from Allen and McCutchen in that he served as an integral artist for *The Black Panther*. His position as a graphic artist is not what sets him apart; it is not unusual for a male to work on a newspaper. Edwards's story is significant in terms of the culture that existed at the BPP newspaper location, his workstyle, and his female comrades' effect on him intellectually and personally.

Allen, Edwards, and McCutchen, along with other BPP members, implement collaboration through their work in the SPs. Like so many Panthers, they labored vigorously, focusing on accomplishing their assigned tasks. Participating in the Free Breakfast Program served as a requirement for all BPP members. However, *The Black Panther*, published from 1967 to 1981, the OCS, OCLC, and the Black Student Alliance, an umbrella organization for student activists and community members across the Bay Area colleges, operated as SP's within which our subjects toiled. Each of these men embodies the motto of the OCS: "each one teach one" (EOTO), a horizontal structure of collaboration that insists on nurturing and building the community. The OCS staff used the motto to explain one of the ways they encouraged students to learn, students with a greater grasp of the course material explained it to their peers. EOTO requires equal responsibility for others in the classroom community and demands that each person work together for the benefit of the entire group. Additionally, the tuition club for the OCS, also named Each One Teach One, had a goal to generate funds for students through donations from community members in order to provide free education as well as food, health care, and after-school activities. EOTO emphasized serving and encouraging the community to participate in this engaging process (See Black Panther Party, 1974b, p. 9).

AUSTIN ALLEN

Allen's entry into the BPP was atypical, becoming involved with politics and grassroots organizing at an early age in Columbus, Ohio. He grew up in a family that highly regarded education and community activism, evident from their involvement in the Urban League and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). Although his father did not finish college, his mother amassed three degrees over time. As a teenager, he

developed a social awareness uncommon to many youth his age. He visited The Ohio State University as one of only a few high school students allowed to attend Black Student Union (BSU) meetings regularly; those visits influenced the evolution of his political consciousness (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). These interactions operated as essential elements in his evolution as a nurturer committed to community advancement.

His 1968 introduction to the BPP occurred at a BSU event via a quote on a flier, the essence of which undergirded his future activism (Allen, personal correspondence, April 23, 2016). The BPP's definition of "power" captured his attention: "power is, first of all, the ability to define phenomena, and secondly, the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner" (Newton, 2002, p. 227). For Allen, then a 17 year old, exposure to the concept of power as self-determination awakened within him a realization that it could ensure a thriving future for troubled communities. Exposure to this quote altered his perspective on activism and provided a framework within which Allen could interpret political conversations and his personal role in working with others to improve social, economic, and political conditions among oppressed people. He expressed a new awareness of "theorizing and practicing, and defining and redefining," which influenced the direction of his service work (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). He also better understood the interrelationship between education and activism and their connection to change over time. To this end, Allen joined the local Columbus National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) during fall 1968. The NCCF operated as a coalition for individuals sympathetic to the BPP as well as progressive organizations mobilizing to eradicate imperialism (See Big Man, 1969; "The Black Panther Party Calls," 1969).[4] Allen worked with them for a year, selling BPP newspapers and organizing youth throughout the community. This space provided him the opportunity to hone his organizing skills; unbeknownst to him, this collaborative experience prepared him for working with and learning from BPP women in the future.

He applied his understanding of theory and praxis to his activism during his January 1970 travel to Cuba with the Second Venceremos Brigade (Allen, personal communication, May 18, 2016). Formed in 1969, the Venceremos Brigade functioned as an organization designed to express solidarity with Cuban workers, despite the US economic embargo and travel ban to the country (See "Who We Are," n.d.). The brigade hosted political speakers, a number of whom Allen met during his stay in 1970. While in Cuba, he took advantage of the opportunity to interact with various international figures and students from the 1968 Paris revolts as well as individuals from African liberation movements (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016).

As a burgeoning activist, he constantly pondered strategies to improve the political and economic conditions for the Black community in Ohio. Therefore, once he returned from Cuba, Allen resumed his NCCF duties for a year and, during this time, observed participants' interest wane and fall apart, which motivated him to drive cross-country to the BPP national headquarters in Oakland, California, in 1971, where Phoebe Allen, his older sister and role model, already served as a BPP member.[5] He firmly believed in the emphasis the BPP placed on combining political ideas and implementing them through the SPs. Characteristic of the 24-hour nature of BPP activism, once Allen arrived in Oakland, leadership immediately assigned him to a work area. In true Panther fashion, community needs informed their activism. Since he owned a vehicle, a resource much needed in the BPP to travel throughout California communities and transport material as well as people, his first assignment included serving as a driver. Initially, he worked in the West Oakland Center, a BPP location under the direction of a woman, Millicient "Kim" Nelson. Allen recalls the efficiency and effectiveness with which Nelson presided over the all-male cadre (2008, p. 139; Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). This leadership structure, atypical in the BPP during 1972, resolved the party's practical need for someone who could manage the responsibility. Simultaneously, the gender dynamic in this section reified the dual role of men and women collaborating.

Allen's BPP accomplishments as a student activist resulted from the combination of his educational background and his organizing experience. Allen came to the BPP with one year of college prior to enrolling at Laney College in Oakland and several years engaged in outreach in both Columbus and the San Francisco Bay Area. From 1974 to 1975, Allen served as both president of the Black Student Alliance of Bay Area Schools and Universities (BSA) and as the student body president at Laney. The BSA's agenda included forming coalitions between students from all colleges and universities in the Bay Area based on common concerns and student needs, such as financial aid, child care, and increasing the number of faculty and courses. The BPP listed the BSA as an official SP, a concept not lost on Allen, who organized at Laney based on his assumption that the campus reflected the local community (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). Similarly, once he transferred to the University of California at Berkeley, from 1977 to 1979, Allen's peers elected him as a member of the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC), which allowed him access to a larger and more diverse student population. During his tenure, he advocated for student input in curriculum development, proposed initiatives to retain underrepresented student enrollment on the University of California campuses, and protested these institutions' financial investments in apartheid South Africa, a country then governed by white minority

rule (See "Laney College Students Angry," 1975; "Associated Students of Laney College Presidents," n.d.; "Black Student Alliance," 1974; "Vote Left Alliance," 1978a, 1978b).[6] As with the NCCF and the Venceremos Brigade, Allen's exercise of power through coalition-building as a BSA and ASUC leader resulted in him impacting local, national, and international networks.

Allen used his experiences working on local college campuses to bolster his responsibilities on the OCLC Programs Committee. He helped schedule political speakers and musical guests at the BPP's Sunday Community Forum and located movies for their film series (See "Son of Man Temple," 1974).[7] He utilized his BSA connections from Laney to recruit assistance with logistics at OCLC events. He saw a part of his job as bringing strengths from the academic world to OCLC's programming, hoping that the connection would be long-lasting (Allen, personal communication, May 21, 2016). Yet, his dedication to youth extended beyond college students, as he periodically corralled groups of OCLC children for unplanned field trips and drove them to areas of the city that exposed them to nature. The youth did not have an opportunity to spend a lot of time with their parents; therefore, Allen, on occasion, transported them to parts of the city they might not normally see due to their parents' full-time commitment to their BPP work areas. As often as possible, he spent time with his nieces who also attended OCS, since Phoebe tirelessly worked in the BPP (Allen, personal communication, May 21, 2016).

Allen's increased presence at the OCLC provided him the opportunity to work with many women, including Joan Kelley, Gwen Johnson, and Donna Howell. Many of them he knew since his transfer to Oakland in 1972; as such, he built on preexisting relationships (Allen, personal communication, May 22, 2016). In reflection, he recalled Audrea Jones, the BPP's Boston Area Captain, as someone who "could bring the argument to the table that women could do [the job that needed to be done]" (Allen, personal communication, May 21, 2016). He pointed out her strong work ethic and her clear articulation that there should not be any restrictions on women. Moreover, he admired BPP member Elaine Brown, who served as chairperson from 1974 to 1977, noting that she appointed large numbers of women to leadership positions particularly on the Central Committee. He appreciated her placing women in these various roles as he felt that it resolved the debates on women's abilities to lead. By doing this, she cultivated an environment of leaders who clearly articulated the BPP's goals and directions; as a result, he felt fully equipped to answer questions from the community. Allen arrived in Oakland during a time of great activity; however, by 1979 the women that influenced him, including Brown and Jones, left the BPP. He followed suit due to the Central Committee's unwillingness to make changes in the organization to meet the needs of the rank and file. Additionally, he felt

that Oakland residents no longer supported the BPP as a result of the unfavorable actions of some members and the media's negative coverage. In essence, the coalition work that provided him with purpose became unattainable (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016).

Reginald "Malik" Edwards

Raised in the very small southeastern Louisiana town of Phoenix, Edwards discovered an interest in drawing by second grade. He recalls imitating his father's sketches and the ways in which his father's friends helped him advance his skills, teaching him concepts such as shading with a pencil and his thumb. Shortly after he started drawing humans and superheroes, copying them from comic books and adding his own twist in his drawings of Superman and Batman. He explains, "I'd make a black Batman because I was seeing myself in these things and this was before anybody gave me this idea. But I just naturally wanted to see myself as Superman and wanted to see myself as Batman" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). As a child, Edwards engaged racial politics through his art. His ability to "see" himself as popular superheroes challenges a social construct that demonized Blackness. But the superheroes also turn out to be people who model the EOTO framework by serving breakfast, educating the people, and demonstrating a willingness to learn from women.

Although unanticipated, Edwards's artistic skills and political awareness advanced once he graduated from high school and joined the US Marine Corps (USMC) in 1963. In 1966, after returning from Vietnam, an officer assigned to Edwards's unit saw his artistic skills and determined that working as an illustrator was a good fit for him (Edwards, 1984, pp. 10–11). Suddenly, Edwards became immersed among a group of artists and illustrators, a military career he did not know existed in the corps. He illustrated USMC technical manuals and intentionally incorporated people with distinguishably Black features. Despite finally finding a community within which he felt comfortable as an artist, he became increasingly uneasy about the growing divide between his sociopolitical perspective and that of his fellow White Marines. With the growth of the Black Power movement, he interacted with an increasing number of Black enlistees, exchanging ideas about social movements. He gravitated toward the BPP while enlisted in the Marine Corps. His break with the Marine Corps came in 1970 when they discharged him, according to Edwards, "for my political beliefs" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016).

Edwards's artistic skills served as an advantage for community organizing in 1970 when he started working with the local Washington, D.C., NCCF (an eventual BPP chapter) until he left the Oakland chapter in early 1973. While involved

in the NCCF, Edwards worked as an illustrator. He recalls, "Once they saw I could draw and I was an artist, they sent me down to the basement to help make fliers" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). He utilized his skills to create artwork and layout brochures and posters in D.C. until he transferred in 1971 to the Northern California chapter to train as an apprentice for the Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas. Douglas taught Edwards the technical details of drawing, printing, and layout. Some of his additional tasks included writing articles and contributing his art to the cover, centerfold, and back page of the BPP newspaper (Edwards, personal communication, May 16, 2016). He recalls the grueling and tedious undertaking of typesetting, a process required after all of the artwork, articles, and advertisements were prepared for printing:

> typesetting changed in the 70s…. You'd tell [the typesetter] how wide [the articles] were, what font you wanted them in. They would just type it on this long strip and then we'd wax them…. You would wax the pictures and then you would lay it on these flats and they would photograph that… it sounds almost like antique when you talk about it… when we said cut and paste in those days, we really meant cut and paste…. It was some hard work because we didn't get a lot of sleep. We would be up all night. (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016)

Edwards's use of "we" represents the collaborative nature of the work, which allowed for short naps in-between work. His memory of the time-consuming nature of assembling the newspaper showcases their 24-hour commitment, as one issue of the BPP newspaper was printed and sent for distribution, work started on the next.

Edwards's recollection of the culture of the layout cadre reveals an environment ideal for his intellectual growth, as opposed to the alpha male, staunchly anti-women environment created by many men in his artistic circle in the Marine Corps.[8] The cadre operated primarily away from the rest of the BPP. Although he admits that he periodically thought about doing assignments in other cadres, he expressed his general appreciation for being away from the rest of the BPP in a protected space ripe for intellectual engagement. It functioned as an information hub, the center for gathering and sharing. In addition to the unusual concentration of female graphic artists in one location, almost all of the women (and men) had some level of college experience, including Brown and Ericka Huggins once they began editing the paper (See "Central Committee Info," 1973).[9] In fact, Edwards recalls frequent conversations between himself and the women in his cadre that challenged his thinking and sparked intense self-reflection.

The evolution of Edwards's artwork, political knowledge, and personal beliefs about gender relations were specifically due to his personal interactions

with women in his cadre. Women such as Gayle "Asali" Dixon, Gloria Abernathy, and Candy Robinson worked on various aspects of *The Black Panther* newspaper. Specifically, Asali's arrival from the Seattle, Washington, chapter in 1972 marks a shift in the way Edwards and others in his cadre created their art. He recalls,

> when she showed up, what she brought was her art… she brought a gift of artistic style…. She started to influence how we drew, 'cause I noticed my art changed almost immediately as a result of Asali's work… I just liked what she did and so I started drawing with pencil and crayon… to get a different graphic style. I started drawing differently, more realistic. (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016)

Cognizant of Asali's "gift of artistic style," Edwards positions her art as unparallelled to others in his cadre. He used her art as a model to strengthen his skills and credits her influence in making his work more "realistic." As a military artist, he already understood the theory behind the technique she used; however, he points out Asali's astuteness in utilizing it to generate a realistic representation of people in the community:

> I was still more of a cartoonist illustrator… her style made me look at more tone in the drawing [and] look at shading differently…. What she was doing I understood 'cause that was more of a traditional way of drawing. I learned traditional drawing, but I just wasn't do[ing] it anymore…. But using that traditional style in the realm of the Panther ideology…. That was the thing she brought. (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016)

Edwards admires her distinct application of a traditional form to capture "Panther ideology." Her attention to "tone" and "shading" in her art evokes the emotions and feelings of oppressed individuals and captured the weight of the struggle that the Panthers were fighting to eradicate in their activism. With Asali's influence, Edwards's art more directly reflected his relationship to the community as a BPP artist: to raise consciousness with the ultimate goal of liberation (See Edwards, 1972; Dixon, 1972a, 1972b).[10] In 1973, he left the organization after members beat his brother, Tyrone Edwards of the New Orleans chapter, for an alleged infraction of rules. This incident disrupted his sense of security and service to the community (See Arend, 2009, p. 177; "Central Committee Info," 1973).[11]

STEVE MCCUTCHEN

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, on October 21, 1949, McCutchen served as a rank-and-file member of the BPP from 1968 to 1979. However, prior to his BPP involvement, he became an active participant in the community survival strategy

of nurturing through teaching. During his elementary years he taught information he learned in class to his neighbors. Furthermore, women played a critical role in his intellectual development during these formative years. His interest in science and mathematics was shaped by a female teacher in junior high school, which influenced his decision to attend the prestigious Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, a high school known for its focus in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). She also inspired him to become a researcher or a teacher; he saw this profession as a viable avenue to continue to build his community. At 17 years old, during May 1967, McCutchen's (2008) introduction to the Panthers "began one step in a spiraling process towards a real political and social consciousness that addressed the realities of black people" (p. 12). For him, the exposure to the Panthers ignited a desire for knowledge that placed the histories and needs of oppressed communities at the center.[12]

Two years later, McCutchen purchased an issue of *The Black Panther* from Zeke Boyd, Field Lieutenant of the Baltimore branch of the BPP, and accepted his invitation to attend a political education class. McCutchen (2008) reflects, "I went through that is[sue] of *The Black Panther* as though I had stumbled into some new undiscovered country" (p. 14). His words emphasize the paucity of his exposure to political issues concerning Black and poor people. The quote also reflects the power of the BPP newspaper in assisting him in reclaiming his humanity in a society that renders Black people invisible. As he kept reading, he came across the BPP's 10-Point Platform and Program, taking notice of Point 6: "We want all black men to be exempt from military service."[13] He thought to himself, "I'll be damned.… This is where I need to be to get away from the draft" (McCutchen, 2008, p. 14). Determined not to enlist in the military, despite his father's insistence and the US government's requirement for all 18 year olds to register with the Selective Service, McCutchen believed that Point 6 provided him with immense solace, prompting him to join the BPP's Baltimore branch. In his diary he kept while in the BPP, he writes, "I didn't want to take the chance of going to Vietnam. If I have to take a stand and fight and maybe die, I'll do it here. I won't go" (McCutchen, 1998, p. 117). He did not want to fight and kill in the Vietnam War, one that places Black people in the service of colonial and unjust Eurocentric institutions and governments. Instead, McCutchen suggests an alternative revolution, one that centers his fight to serve the community.

While on the East Coast, McCutchen worked side-by-side with his BPP comrades, including women, to provide services to the community, which consisted of selling *The Black Panther*, cooking and serving meals to children in the Free Breakfast Program, and establishing a Lunch Program for children.[14] Promoted to Lieutenant of Information in 1969, he spoke at various Panther-related activities,

contributed articles to *The Black Panther*, and taught political education classes for the community, addressing pressing concerns from both neighborhood residents and BPP members. As a leading member, McCutchen recognized the need to make the BPP's outreach more effective; therefore, he recommended Constance "Connie" Felder for the administrative position of communications secretary. He concluded that the skills she possessed as a result of her non-BPP employment, her loyalty to the BPP, and inquisitiveness qualified her for the appointment (McCutchen, 2008, p. 75). According to him, Felder "held the strongest leadership position of any woman in the Baltimore chapter, and was better suited than many of the men to responsibly be in a position of leadership" (McCutchen, personal communication, June 26, 2016). Their combined efforts ensured greater efficiency in coordinating and managing news about the branch for BPP members and the community at-large as well as designing BPP leaflets, brochures, and writing press releases. He hoped that she would be promoted to coordinator but felt that "the old boy network was at work in the Party," preventing her from attaining that title (McCutchen, personal communication, June 26, 2016; see McCutchen, 2008, p. 75).[15]

Various modes of counterintelligence activities by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), including arrests and raids, inhibited the Baltimore Panthers. Judson Jeffries (2007) suggests that "Despite the small size of the Baltimore branch, it was subjected to an excessive amount of violent repression" (p. 34). McCutchen's experience in Baltimore consisted of periods of aboveground and underground activism, traveling to states including Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut as the police repeatedly harassed him. One of his noteworthy incidents with the police includes his arrest at his parents' home on January 13, 1971, on charges of murder, kidnap, and torture (See McCutchen, 2008, pp. 88, 112–126; McCutchen, personal communication, May 21, 2016). While incarcerated, McCutchen participated in several protests regarding unsanitary meals, poor health care, and the exclusion of physical activity. Their demonstrations and threat of a legal suit ended with their demands being rewarded. His activism while in jail reflects the tactics of the BPP as he supported the organized efforts of his community in addressing the practical needs of the prison population (See McCutchen, 2008, pp. 118–119). After his release from jail on November 3, 1971, he relocated to Oakland, California, in 1972, at the request of the Central Committee, thereby officially closing the Baltimore office in March (McCutchen, 2008, p. 134).

McCutchen arrived in Oakland during a critical turning point in the BPP's history. The leadership had decided to focus on community organizing and develop programs to meet the needs of Black and poor people. Point 5 of the BPP's

10 Point Platform and Program, "An education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society… [and] an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self…," specifically addresses the importance of culture and history in promoting a sense of self-efficacy and self-determination.[16] The BPP founded the Intercommunal Youth Institute (IYI) in January 1971 (renamed the Oakland Community School in 1975) to serve the educational needs of BPP members' children and, eventually, youth from the East Oakland community.[17] The school became one of the BPP's hallmark SPs. Women managed OCS and staffed the classroom with increasingly more female than male instructors.[18] At the IYI, Huggins served as director with Howell as assistant director when McCutchen joined the staff in 1973 (McCutchen, 2008, p. 149). Other women crucial to the operations of the school included Brown and Phyllis Jackson. They administered the non-profits, including the Educational Opportunities Corporation (EOC) and the Educational Opportunities Corporation-Service (EOC-S) used to run OCS and OCLC (Forbes, 2006, p. 158). McCutchen (2008) praised the conscientious skills of women, stating, "Phyllis had a damned keen organizational insight and control of operations, and managed the day-to-day business of EOC. She, Ericka, and Joan [Kelley] were the triumvirate that nurtured OCS and OCLC" (p. 157). He acknowledges their dedication and attributes their leadership to the success of the school. By 1977, OCS gained national and international attention from alternative schools as well as revolutionary organizations like the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and received commendations from both the Alameda County Board of Supervisors and from the California State Legislature.[19]

McCutchen understood that his work as a teacher functioned as a type of revolution intrinsically connected to survival. He took advantage of the opportunity to fulfill his long-held passion to pursue a career as an educator when he started teaching science and, later, math at IYI. His schedule included teaching math classes in the morning and physical education in the afternoon with martial arts twice a week. He cowrote the science curriculum and designed the martial arts program as part of the physical education curriculum at IYI. At the request of teenagers involved in the after-school programs at the OCLC, McCutchen expanded the martial arts program to meet the needs of the youth in the community. His completion of a Tae Kwon Do class at Grove Street Community College (later renamed Merritt College), training in Bruce Lee's martial arts method, *Jeet kune do*, and earning a black belt qualified him to teach martial arts. He integrated Bruce Lee's method in his teaching due to student interest in his films. Students competed in national tournaments with many winning trophies, including victories at the International Karate Championship in Long Beach, California, between 1975 and 1978. The martial arts classes at the OCLC received national and international attention

(McCutchen, personal communication, May 21, 2016; see McCutchen, 2008, pp. 141, 153, 155, 162, 175; Hoffman, 1975, pp. 38–41, 69–70). Similar to Allen, McCutchen made the decision to leave the BPP following the departures of many of his female comrades. The lack of a regeneration of workers for SPs as well as the adverse impact of a faction of BPP members on his martial arts students strongly influenced his decision to officially resign in 1979. Despite relinquishing his BPP membership, OCS staff honored McCutchen's request to continue teaching math, which exemplified his personal and political lifelong commitment to nurture the community (McCutchen, 2008, p. 229).[20]

MEN ON WOMEN AND GENDER

The men discussed in this article all share very similar perspectives of their interactions with women as intellectuals, problem-solvers, and strategists. They implemented EOTO in their collaborative efforts with women. Their work with women sharpened their intellect, honed their skills in their assigned areas, and enhanced the way they performed their duties. They insist that BPP women increased men's intellectual and personal development. Articulating a reverence for women, they argue that women joined the BPP with a high level of social management and organizational skills and that many operated with a conscientious attentiveness. As a graphic artist who began drawing pigs for *The Black Panther* in 1970, Edwards stressed the strategies of women as editors on the newspaper and their focus on content that addressed the theory and ideas of revolutionary leaders. Edwards captured the significance of Brown and Huggins's improvements of the BPP newspaper. He states, "the paper didn't take off until the women took over the paper.... The writing is solid. The articles are read, they're proofread. It's not just a bunch of stuff, thrown, slapped down and pictures of guns and 'Off the Pig.' You got serious articles with information and philosophy and ideas that are laid out" (McCutchen, personal communication, April 5, 2016). McCutchen notes the central role of BPP women's intellectualism, referring to them as having "a polishing effect" on him (McCutchen, personal communication, April 21, 2016). He acknowledges their ability to teach, noting that "Many of them had more of a historical grasp of events than I did, so I picked up not only in the historical aspects of the black struggle but some more depth on the political education issues of the black struggle" (McCutchen, personal communication, April 21, 2016). BPP women helped fill in the knowledge he lacked, thereby helping him form a sense of identity. Edwards agrees, "a lot of the brothers, they would just be spoutin' rhetoric. But the sisters really had a grasp for... what it really meant. So you could get deep and you knew what to read to enhance your understanding"

(Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). He discloses, "I was just repeating what was said. I didn't know what the hell I was talkin' 'bout half the time" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). Teachings from Huggins, Brown, Kelly, and Jones assisted him in gaining clarity on a variety of complex topics, including Marxist Leninist theory. He asserts, "I know brothers, we like the image of the male. But the real thing behind the scenes was always the sisters.... [T]hey were great teachers if you sat there.... Some guys did not take advantage of it" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). Impressed with their educational background, he declared, "most of them had been to college or had graduated from college, so they were really sharp women" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). Edwards and McCutchen expressed their awareness that, to become more effective community activists, they needed to garner as many skills from women as possible. Likewise, their female comrades understood the value of EOTO, utilizing their skills and knowledge to strengthen the collective.

The interviewees agree that BPP women often possessed a skills set that made them more adept at organizational management. Edwards, who ran the D.C. Chapter temporarily, recognizes the critical influence of his comrade Linda "Ukali" Wilson on his ability to be an effective leader. Wilson, a former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) volunteer, joined the Panthers in 1970.[21] He recollects,

> I was just a face and Ukali was the brains.... Guys used to think I was so cool because I used to be up there talking... and Ukali would come up and whisper in my ear... "wait a minute.... You can't say that. What you need to say is blah blah blah." ... I'd go up there and clean up whatever I was saying and she made sure I had it together. (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016)

He reached the point where he would check with Wilson ahead of time, noting that this type of relationship existed "in a lot of places" between men and women (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). Edwards privileges Wilson as a major player in his narrative. He asserts, "there were some fantastic women in the Party"; in particular, he notes the strength exhibited by Jones as leader of the Boston chapter (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). Additionally, he points out that women were critical to the BPP's Legal Department at central headquarters. He states, "It was basically women that ran the legal department, that got all those guys out of jail, that got the lawyers.... [T]hey were writing briefs and they were doing all kinds of stuff.... [T]hey were almost like lawyers... did the research and did all the stuff to help in our cases" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). He also acknowledges Brown's work as BPP chairperson

during Huey's absence and references various other women, including Jackson, whose organizational management was influential in electing Lionel Wilson as Oakland's first Black mayor (See Brown, 1992, pp. 417–436; Forbes, 2006, p. 141; McCutchen, 2008, p. 191).

ON MASCULINITY

As BPP members, Allen and Edwards challenged preexisting gender stereotypes. Allen credits his exposure at a young age to educated women leaders in the political and personal setting as a reason why he was not surprised to see BPP women having strong impacts on their comrades. He notes, "Intellectually, I always assumed that all human beings were very capable of doing what each other did… I think what happened was that the experience of being in the Party was just this quick reversal of all that understanding [of gender stereotypes]" (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). While he carried a progressive outlook on women and work, he acknowledges the struggle other men encountered as they worked beside and, in some cases, under the supervision of women.

Raised in the conservative South and spending more than six years in the all-male environment of the Marine Corps, Edwards admits internalizing "chauvinistic leanings" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). His personal investment in participating in a patriarchal power structure slowly dissipated once he joined the BPP, working more closely with women as his teachers and mentors. Expressing a sense of relief in not having to subscribe to traditional gender norms of masculinity, he proclaims, "it was liberating not to have to feel that way" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). His words symbolize the freedom he experienced while engaging BPP women in honest and open dialogue. He reveals the difficulty men faced trying to uphold a masculinity defined through dominance, stating, "it's hard… trying to control a[n] amazing mind…. Trying to control the storm in the name of your manhood… makes no sense" (Edwards, personal communication, April 5, 2016). His use of the term "amazing mind" refers to the creativity and talents in the organizing skills and intellectualism of BPP women. For him, trying to contain and restrain "the storm" of women's energy and power in an effort to maintain patriarchy was problematic and nonsensical (Edwards, personal correspondence, May 24, 2016). He believes that it "makes no sense" due to the unrealistic concept of gender roles.

Allen echoes Edwards in calling into question the discordance that resulted when gender norms were challenged. He states, "It was a struggle [to maintain gender balance] but it was definitely a stance that women [should be seen as equal comrades with]… the same expectations in terms of performance [and]

leadership" (Edwards, personal communication, April 23, 2016). Allen's usage of "the struggle" parallels Edwards's reference of the "storm" as it relates to preserving patriarchy. He adds, "Over those years I could see… the pain of what all that was when people could not accept those [progressive gender] ideas" (Edwards, April 23, 2016). For him, "pain" evokes the emotional struggles when men failed to recognize and respect women's significant contributions in the BPP and society at-large (See Brown, 1992). Adhering to gender-based societal norms seemed antithetical to a progressive revolutionary struggle. Like Edwards, Allen expressed "a freeing"; he did not have to "carry all of this baggage" that accompanied trying to conform to rigid masculine norms that assumed women and men were confined to specific types of work (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016). He clarifies he "easily could have fallen into the trap of buying into many stereotypical beliefs that 'women do this and men do that'" (Allen, personal communication, April 23, 2016).

The progressive minded men in this article worked tirelessly not for an image, but rather for their principles. Community activism remains at the core of Allen's, Edwards's, and McCutchen's lives. Their passion for educating, nurturing, and inspiring is evident in their current work as educators and activists. Allen completed his PhD and currently works as a filmmaker and a professor at Louisiana State University. Edwards earned a drug counseling certification, continues to create art, and works in Oakland as a restorative justice counselor at MetWest High School teaching youth ways to manage conflict and misbehavior to instill a sense of personal agency. Prior to his retirement from teaching, McCutchen received three degrees: an Associate of Arts in social sciences and Bachelor of Arts degrees in applied psychology and applied behavior science. All three men incorporate BPP principles in their ongoing work as community organizers.

The 50th anniversary of the BPP marks a significant opportunity for critical investigation and further scholarly research. It reminds us of the urgent need to capture stories of BPP members, as several of them have passed away taking with them their unspoken histories.[22] With so much "silence" surrounding the BPP, oral histories must be collected, as only participants can provide certain details about their lives. The necessity for academics and non-academics to uncover their accounts and encourage Panthers to document their first-person narratives is essential in maintaining the BPP legacy. With the lapse of time comes a trail of concrete evidence that can be found not only through the spoken words of BPP members, but also through a wealth of primary and secondary literature: photographs, archival records, court documents, poetry, artwork, newspaper articles, memoirs, and biographies. This is the time to engage the broad issues addressed by the BPP such as the variety of educational programs for youth and adults, economic programs designed

to meet the employment needs of communities, and the ways in which the BPP tackled injustice in the legal system.

Black Lives Matter: Then And Now

The relevance of detailing BPP history in today's era of increasing attacks against Blacks is grounded in the Panthers' confrontation of almost identical issues, including murder, police brutality, gender and sexual discrimination, educational inequality, rights of disabled individuals, and acute economic disparities. Their work serves as a precursor for the emergence of social and political contemporary movements such as Black Lives Matter (BLM). The founders, Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, and Patrisse Cullors, self-identified Black queer women, further the work of BPP women. They define BLM as "an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folk's contributions in this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression" ("A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement," n.d.).[23] Garza, Tometi, and Cullors's use of BLM as an "affirmation" to celebrate the "contributions" and "resilience" of Blackness encapsulates the BPP's focus on self-determination and personal agency. Their philosophy parallels the BPP's Point 1 of the 10 Point Platform and Program: "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and oppressed communities" ("10 Point Platform and Program," 1972). Operating in the spirit of the BPP, the BLM movement utilizes Assata Shakur's (1987) words, "It is our duty for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains," as a core organizing principle that shapes their activism (p. 52). Similar to the Panthers, men and women in BLM embrace gender and sexual diversity as they operate from a space of deep "love" and "support" in service of the liberation for communities under siege (See Newton, 1995). Huggins recognizes the enthusiasm exemplified by budding BLM activists, "All of the passion that we had is here today . . . young women and men who are speaking up and out about not only the police killing, but also about systemic racism" ("Former Black Panther Ericka Huggins," n.d.). For Huggins, BLM activists reflect the same drive BPP members embodied. The BPP included young men and women working to change the way law enforcement and society treated Black and other oppressed people.

Arguably, BLM resembles a SP in their efforts to build thriving Black communities. The 2012 murder of unarmed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida served as the impetus for Garza, Tometi, and Cullors to create BLM. Their spotlight on the violence against Black bodies parallels Point 7 of the BPP's

Platform and Program, which reads, "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people."[24] Shining the spotlight on the police murder of both men and women has generated public awareness and engaging conversations resulting in a reinvigorated passion for change similar to the impact of the Panthers during the 1960s. In addition to focusing on the assaults on Black life, BLM's guidelines address a multitude of areas that reflect a progressive platform that engages issues related to group cohesion, Black family units, ageism, gender and sexual discrimination, globalism, and restorative justice ("Guiding Principles," n.d.).[25]

From its 1966 inception, the BPP's 10 Point Platform and Program expressed a realization that revolutionary change required more than a theory surrounding guns. The BPP's practice in gaining long-term community support nurtured the movement. BPP researchers must engage in our own analysis of the BPP's historical relevance. As social movements continue to form, it is critical that the resources available are comprehensive, inclusive narratives that capture the essence of the participants' lives and the spirit of the Panthers' global perspective and humanistic approach to social change.

NOTES

1. The authors also searched issues of the *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, 1967–1980.* The authors also used the following film and television media: Nelson (2015).

2. *Rebop* was a public television show, hosted by LeVar Burton, aimed at audiences ages 9–13 to emphasize the variety of cultures, languages, and nationalities of minority children.

3. The information in Table 1 is based on research in *The Black Panther* newspaper from 1967 to 1980 and documents from the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation Inc. Collection (See Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation Inc. Collection, 1977). This list is not exhaustive due to the nature of ongoing research in local studies. Part of the richness and relevance of the growing body of BPP local studies lies in the researcher's ability to uncover community programs that may have been specific to individual cities.

4. Nationwide, NCCF offices were launched after the July 1969 NCCF conference in Northern California. NCCF offices were designed as a space for non-BPP members and non-Black organizations to form coalitions and mobilize to eradicate imperialism. NCCFs also served as entry points into the BPP for some Blacks who desired to work with the party but had no officially sanctioned local BPP chapter in or near their hometowns.

5. Allen indicated that his older sister, Phoebe Allen, joined the party in Dallas, Texas, but had relocated to Oakland before Allen decided to move there.

6. Austin Allen was student body president fall 1974 and spring 1975. Divestment would not happen until the late 1980s, long after Allen had graduated and moved to Ohio. The Black Student Alliance was founded during May 1972.

7. The Son of Man Temple opened on October 21, 1973 (McCutchen, pp. 184–185). As BPP leadership struggled with labor shortages in certain areas due to member departures

between 1974 and 1975, leadership made decisions about the most effective ways to use members. Therefore, Allen was not allowed to enroll as a student at Berkeley immediately after graduating from Laney in 1975.

8. There are no official lists of individuals who worked on the newspaper cadre prior to 1972. For the purposes of our study, the newspaper cadre we focus on are those individuals assigned to layout because they spent the most time together creating artwork and planning articles, while those in distribution and print worked at other locations. Records for BPP members performing layout during Edwards's tenure from 1972 to 1973 reveal a shifting gender composition. During January 1972 the gender breakdown was 50% women and 50% men. By May 1972, the composition shifted to 60% women and 40% men. As of August of the same year, the data indicates that cadre included 75% women and 25% men, with Edwards being listed as the only male. We include Emory Douglas as part of the layout cadre, with the exception of the August 1972 data, even though he is not listed as an official staff member ("Weekly Report," 1972; "Areas of Work," 1972; "Descriptions of Areas," n.d.).

9. The forms include information for several key Ministry of Information and layout members. It is not all-inclusive of each individual who worked for the party. Ericka Huggins (two years college), Michael Fultz (BA psychology and first semester graduate school), Gloria Abernathy (one year college), and Gayle (Asali) Dixon (five years college or more).

10. For the party's perspective on the role of art in the community, see Douglas (1972).

11. Edwards left the party in 1973 when his two brothers, Alton and Tyrone, departed after Tyrone had been beaten as a method of correction.

12. McCutchen first encountered the BPP after learning about the Panthers challenging the Mulford Act inside the state capital building in Sacramento, California. The Panthers brazen agitation efforts functioned as a direct objection to a law that threatened to overturn California citizens' right to bear arms publicly. The Panthers argued that Senator Mulford's proposed legislation strategically prevented the Panthers from continuing their armed community police patrols designed to protect the community from police violence. For more details, see Seale (1970, pp. 153–166).

13. See McCutchen (2008) where he refers to the October 1966 version of the 10-Point Platform and Program (p. 14). The original version of the 10-Point Platform and Program is in Newton (1973, pp. 129–132). The BPP altered the original platform (October 1966) during 1972 to reflect the party's new philosophy of intercommunalism, a philosophy recognizing the interconnectedness of all oppressed communities around the world. For Newton's discussion of intercommunalism, see Hilliard and Weise (2002, pp. 181–199).

14. McCutchen states that the Free Lunch Program substituted for the Free Breakfast Program during the summer months (See McCutchen, 2008, p. 21).

15. McCutchen recalled that Paul Coates was appointed branch coordinator instead of Felder despite the fact that Coates was a community worker instead of a party member.

16. For the full text of Point 5 of the 10-Point Platform and Program, see Seale (1970, p. 67).

17. The name change from Intercommunal Youth Institute to Oakland Community School became official during the 1975–1976 school year (See "Oakland Community School," 1975).

18. The gender composition of teachers in the party is difficult to determine conclusively for all academic years because of a lack of comprehensive records. The gender

breakdown during 1973–1974 was 50% male and 50% female. During the 1977–1978 academic year the gender breakdown was 18.75% male to 81.25% female. In the 1979–1980 school year the gender breakdown was 42.85% male to 57.14% female. The final year of the school, 1980–1981, reflected the largest percentage of male teachers: 60% male to 40% female. The teacher list for 1973–1974 is compiled from *TBP* articles (See "Youth Institute Teachers," 1974; "Group 1 Education," 1974; "Group 2 & 3," 1974; "Group 4," 1974; "Group 5," 1974; "Group 6," 1974; "Group 7," 1974; "Science Classes," 1974; "Art in Service," 1974; "Political Education Class," 1974, p. 4; Educational Opportunities Corporation, 1977, 1979, 1980). The OCS instructor total for the 1975–1976 academic year ranged from 22 to 27 instructors. The gender breakdown is unknown (See "Oakland Community School," 1975; Lucas, 1976).

19. See "Intercommunal Youth Institute" (1974) for the date the school was founded. See the notice for the name change to Oakland Community School (*The Black Panther* August 15, 1975, p. 2). For information regarding national and international interest in OCS, see "Interview with Ericka Huggins, Director (1975), "County Supervisors" (1976), "O.C.S. Director Ericka Huggins" (1976), "Ericka Huggins Speaks" (1976), and Huggins (1978). The citations for the Newton Foundation Collection are based on the original archival numbering system when the collection was first organized in 1997. The original box numbers and folder names are correct. The folder number might not be an exact match. All other document information is accurate (See "State Award, Radiothon," 1977; "Text of Resolution," n.d.).

20. McCutchen worked at the OCS from January 1979 to November 1980 and left once his position was defunded (McCutchen, personal communication, June 25, 2016; Educational Opportunities Corporation, 1979, 1980).

21. Linda D. Wilson is also known as Ukali Bethea (Trescott, 1988; "Remembering Marco Bethea," n.d.).

22. Many Black Panther Party members, such as Afeni Shakur, Ronald and Roland Freeman, Lula Hudson, and Geronimo Pratt, to name only a few, have passed away within the past decade. As we consider recovering party history, we should also consider the various individuals and groups with whom the party worked and formed coalitions. It is critical to gather this information from supporters as well.

23. The #BlackLivesMatter movement presents a host of guiding principles, including LGBT issues. The #SayHerName movement is an example of another movement that focuses on gender and the invisibility of women. It was formed to draw awareness to Black women who have been killed by police (See Crenshaw, Richie, Anspach, Gilmer, & Harris, 2015; Crenshaw, Ocen, & Nanda, 2015).

24. The quote is taken from the original "October 1966 10 Point Platform and Program." The 1972 version expands Point 7 by adding "… other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States" ("10 Point Platform and Program," 1972).

25. For a current discussion of Black Lives Matter, see Grant (2016).

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