The influence of the US Black Panthers on indigenous activism in Australia and New Zealand from 1969 onwards

Angelique Stastny and Raymond Orr

The University of Melbourne

'When the White man hears of Black Power, he shudders — just think what black people have been through all those years under white power.'

(Eric Onus, Chairman of the All-Aboriginal Council of Victoria, in Baker and Mitchell 1969)

Abstract: *The means by which ideologies are spread is of growing interest to scholars. In comparative indigenous studies, much attention has been given to the political links that developed throughout the mid to late-twentieth century between activist organisations that sought greater freedom and rights for indigenous or racially marginalised populations. This paper looks at the early contact between American Black Panthers and indigenous activist organisations in Oceania in the 1960s and '70s. It illustrates how various ideological frameworks, such as colour consciousness, and confrontational strategies, such as takeovers, were exchanged during this period. This interaction suggests that Australian and New Zealand indigenous organisations, borrowing from American activists, adapted ideologies and strategies that worked within their local political contexts.*

Introduction

By the late 1960s *colour consciousness* or *black consciousness*[1] was not new to indigenous politics. For instance, in the 1920s the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association in New South Wales, influenced by black activists in the United States such as Marcus Garvey, had fought for land restitution and the right to enjoy Australian citizenship and to determine their own life direction (Foley 2011). By the 1930s a new organisation in Victoria — the Aborigines Advancement League — led the struggle for justice and the empowerment of Aboriginal Australians. Around this period in New Zealand, the Ratana movement emerged, which advocated equality between Māori and non-Māori, greater Māori representation in the New Zealand Parliament and access to social services. This early-twentieth century activism focused on land rights and civil equality, and activists advanced their cause through similar strategies to those used by non-indigenous

activists, such as petitions, letters to the editors of newspapers and pamphlets (Petray 2010:413).

The indigenous activist organisations that emerged in the 1960s marked a break from these older political methods. Eric Onus' comment is emblematic of a shift in indigenous voice towards greater dissent and defiance after the 1960s. Activist groups adopted more confrontational methods and advocated self-determination, liberation, organisation separatism and cultural pride, which pressed the indigenous rights debates through both urgency and fear. These new and more radical political directives and means reflected the circulation of Black Power ideology internationally. In Australia and New Zealand this circulation intensified in the late 1960s with engagements between American civil rights movement leaders — including those who advocated more militant Black Power ideology — and Indigenous leaders in Australia and New Zealand.

Emerging first in the United States, Black Power had split from the black civil rights movement and, under the guidance of prominent figures such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, advocated more *direct*, *faster* and *bolder* political actions. The aim was to achieve sovereignty through independent community organisations, rather than integration through existing white-run institutions. White oppression and institutionalised racism were to be eroded in the Black Power perspective by increasing political unity based in colour consciousness that reached across differences of social status, religious affiliation and ideology within black African-American communities (Breitman 1965; Carmichael and Hamilton 1966). Black Power ideas of colour-conscious unity and political separatism were also adapted by American Indian communities (Deloria 1969; Smith and Warrior 1966) and quickly reached other indigenous activists internationally. Black Power broadened the spectrum of articulations within black consciousness from a domestic American political geography to that of international exploitation while simultaneously making the consciousness more racially conscious and exclusive. *Black* became a political phrase pertaining to many forms of colonial discrimination and injustice, but also to an identity that sought to combat such processes.[2]

Within the contact between Black Power leaders in the United States and emerging indigenous leaders in Oceania, we highlight two specific developments: (a) the importance of colour conscious ideology and (b) the adaptation of this ideology to the local context. In Oceania this shift towards further colour conscious indigenous activism was witnessed through the emergence of groups such as the Australian Black Panthers, and Nga Tamatoa and the Polynesian Panthers in New Zealand. We posit Black Power and race/black consciousness from the 1960s and '70s as having significant influence on the structure and functioning of a sample of indigenous organisations in Australia and New Zealand. We specifically attend to how Black Power in the United States during this period impacted political action and the redefinition of *indigenous identity* in Oceania. Shifts in colour consciousness in organisations in Oceania paralleled developments in the United States and included replacement in leadership and new criteria for membership and methods of political confrontation. We also expand upon recent works by Robert Self (2005) and Daniel Crowe (2000) on how Black Power, although a national or international movement, could also be defined by its local context. In other words, this paper engages how ideas with foreign and international sources might inspire a national ideological movement but how such ideologies might *also be adapted* at the local level.

Black Power in Oceania — a background

Jane Rhodes (2007:266) has argued that the United States Black Panthers (US Black Panthers) became a 'transnational unity' that provided an ideological and organisational template for later race-based social movements (see Biko 1987 in South Africa as one example). Studies have focused on movements in Europe, Asia and Latin America, borrowing from the organisational and ideological tenet popularised by the Black Panthers (Alleyne 2002; Jones 1998; Rhodes 2007). Compared to the residual political impression that the Black Panthers had on other major geographic regions, the South Pacific region (referred to sometimes as Oceania) is comparatively less studied in political scholarship. There is little reference on the influence of the US Black Panthers on activist groups for indigenous rights

in Australia or New Zealand. Noted exceptions are Foley (2001), Lothian (2005), Shilliam (2012) and Attwood (2003), who have made a considerable contribution to the corpus of studies on forms of indigenous activism and struggles in Australia and New Zealand.[3] And though they are valuable assessment on the influence of Black Power, each attends his or her respective national context. This paper calls for integrating these two geographical areas — Australia and New Zealand — as concomitant trends of *black consciousness* into a more inclusive analysis of *Black Power* activism in Oceania. The particularities of indigenous activism and the replication of US Black Panthers ideology in Australia and New Zealand would help explore a lacuna between the many studies on indigenous social movements post-1960s. In 1969 the Aborigines Advancement League stated that it 'support[ed] the principle of black power, without necessarily condoning all the ways by which it expresses itself in various parts of the world, or indeed, in Australia'. Likewise, Jennifer Clark (2008:12) has argued that 'the Australian experience of the sixties must be seen as the local expression of a transnational phenomenon that was strongly characterised by a changing racial discourse'.

Australian and New Zealand messages took local forms based on templates of their United States counterparts.[4] Black Power and colour consciousness has encapsulated a wide array of people, discourses, theories and actions over time and space. We focus on the US Black Panthers in particular and their formulation of the Black Power ideology. The reasons behind this choice are that the Black Panthers' specific representation, action within local communities, international legacy and the distorted image fashioned by outsiders provide one of the best contradictions and interrogations on contemporary activism and power struggles. The impact of the Black Panthers' ideology on indigenous politics in Australia and New Zealand justifies greater inquiry than currently exists.

James Baldwin (in Johnson 2003:1) suggested that 'color, for anyone who uses it, or is used by it, is a most complex, calculated and dangerous phenomenon'. This is true of Australian and New Zealand politics since the 1960s. If a total understanding of all variants and impacts that the US Black Panthers had on New Zealand and Australia constitutes a complete study, this is not a complete study. We narrow the empirical phenomena we are interested in by attending to activist groups and programs in Australia and New Zealand and their interactions with the US Black Panthers. Although this paper is not an exhaustive study of social movement groups during this period, we explore the Aborigines Advancement League (Melbourne), the Australian Black Panthers (Brisbane), and Aboriginal activist groups in Redfern (Sydney) for the Australian perspective, and the two Auckland-based activist groups, Nga Tamatoa (The Young Warriors) and the Polynesian Panthers, for the New Zealand perspective.[5]

This paper has five further sections. The first provides a background to the ideology and activities of the US Black Panthers. The second outlines the political and social context in Australia, New Zealand and the United States that made Black Power ideology attractive to racial minorities. The third explores the early transnational links that developed between activist groups in Australia, New Zealand and United States Black Power activists. The fourth looks at the effect of Black Panther ideology on organisational change in indigenous activist groups in Australia and New Zealand. The fifth examines the dissemination of community programs by indigenous groups in Australia and New Zealand at the onset of Black Power activism. We conclude by discussing the complex legacy of Black Power ideology in Australia and New Zealand.

US Black Panthers

In 1966, frustrated about what was understood as ineffective efforts by the civil rights movement to advance African-American rights[6], Bobby Seale and Huey P Newton founded the Black Panthers for Self Defence in Oakland, California. The Black Panthers delineated its program in ten points, with the principle objectives revolving around black empowerment, equality in the provision of jobs and services (such as education and housing), an end to injustice and capitalist abuses, self-defence against police brutality and freedom (Black Panther Party 1966).

Under the leadership of Newton, the Black Panthers ideology merged ideas of class and race

and fought to 'destroy the conditions that generated the twin evils of capitalism and racism' (Hayes and Kiene 1998:165). Influenced by Frantz Fanon's writings on colonisation, Newton advocated *intercommunalism* by 1970 (Epps 1970). This term emphasised the analogousness of minority experience and recognised 'the existence of exploited and oppressed global communities and their need for collective revolutionary emancipation' (Hayes and Kiene 1998:171).

Concomitantly, United States black activists such as Harold Cruse (1968) took on and developed the idea of *internal colony* (first used to describe the economic subordination of indigenous people in Latin America's societies) to denounce the subordinate status of black American populations in the United States. This colony analogy gained momentum in the 1960s and 1970s in the Americas, and infiltrated liberation movements worldwide (Carmichael and Hamilton 1966). The idea of domestic colonisation particularly resonated with indigenous black activists in Australia and New Zealand. The idea that an internal colonial relation existed between indigenous people and the rest of society in Australia and New Zealand, and that racism and oppression were not only personal but also structural and institutional, was prevalent in the denunciations made by black activists. From this recognition and understanding of internal colonial relations emerged black activists' advocacy for self-determination and sovereignty for indigenous people, coming together and organising as nations within larger nations (Fleras 1992).

The broader expansion of recognised forms of exploitation turned Black Power into a movement for liberation and justice with international consequences. This larger scope, which elevated the similarities between minority communities, advocated an international black consciousness into a paradigm that encapsulated a whole set of feelings and behaviours around the situation of black Americans. *Blackness* applied to more than simply descendants of African slaves in North America. In the new paradigm of global exploitation, *blackness* was shorthand for subjection by colonialism and capitalism in which Black Power was a new source of pride, alliance, struggle and re-empowerment. Distinct symbols included the panther, the black beret, the 'afro hairdo' and the clenched black fist, along with aggressive ideological commitments to early and widespread domestic recognition of the Black Panthers in the United States. The Black Panthers ideological position spread through self-run media (such as the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service[7]), activists' accounts, and the promotion of philosophical and political writings on decolonisation. Belief in black empowerment and self-determination through radical means appealed to marginalised groups in foreign indigenous peoples who were leading their own struggles for empowerment; among these were the indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand.

Predicaments of Black Power in Oceania

Aboriginal people in Australia and Māori and Pacific Island peoples in New Zealand became increasingly aware post-1960s regarding the commonalities of their political, social and economic situations (Foley 2001; Stastny 2012a, 2012b). The socio-economic, political and cultural predicaments that plagued Aboriginal, Māori and Pacific Island communities in Australia and New Zealand were mainly land alienation, destitution, racial prejudices and oppressive political systems.

In Australia and New Zealand, struggles for the return of native lands long predated the advent of Black Power politics[8] but the cultural and spiritual attachment to the land was a commonality between United States black activists and Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand. For Koori people in south-east Australia, and Māori and Pacific Island people in Aotearoa (New Zealand), land — in addition to providing resources — had fundamental spiritual, ancestral and cultural significance.[9] For indigenous people in Australia and New Zealand, land had been usurped, tribes relocated and natural resources unfairly taken away; in the United States black activists' connections to their ancestral lands had been severed by the displacement of people from one continent to another along colonial trade routes. Thereupon, Malcolm X's advocacy of a return to Africa (whether it be physical or philosophical) resonated among indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand. In this respect the concept of black 'developed the idea of common origin founded on an organic and

mutual relationship with the land' (Greenland 1991:98).

Being black comprised an attitudinal dimension. It stressed people's spiritual and ancestral connection to the land. Land became the basis of a more all-embracing attack on the values and institutions of colonial societies. Indigenous people set their emotive and communal relationship to the land in opposition to the colonial approach to land that they perceived as artificial and exploitive (Greenland 1991:93–4). It was understood that 'although the Black American is not indigenous to the American soil, the focus of oppression that [has] been used against them, to dehumanise them and make them believe they are inferior [is] no more different from the forces of oppression that have been used against Aboriginal Australians' (Black Resource Centre 1975a:12). By being transplanted into a foreign land, black Americans had been 'completely cut off from all their tribalism, traditionalism and religious way of life, as Africans, and indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand had been' (Black Resource Centre 1975a:12).

This land and cultural alienation had been accompanied by acute socio-economic destitution. After the dramatic post-war migration to cities, the economic destitution and social paucity of indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand became starkly visible. Indigenous people were neglected and discriminated against by mainstream society. In Aotearoa, for instance, Māori tribes lost 95 per cent of their lands between 1840 and 1950, and between 1950 and 1980, 60 per cent of the Māori population moved from rural to urban areas (Taonui 2011). In cities they lived mainly in the poorest areas — for example, in Ponsonby and Grey Lynn, and later in Otara and Otahuhu as well. They faced discrimination in education, social services and the workforce.[10] Former Nga Tamatoa member Rawiri Paratene recalls, 'Growing up in Otara, you'd look around and see people struggling…There was a feeling that we'd been dumped there and not given much thought…there were the haves and the don't haves, and that was pretty clear that the don't haves were Māori and Pacific Islanders (*Nga Tamatoa: 40 Years On* 2012).

In Australia, Indigenous peoples lived in similar situations. In 1976, 57 per cent of the working population in Indigenous communities was jobless (Margison 1976:3). The Indigenous magazine *The Koorier* noted that there were 'insufficient opportunities for a Koorie to advance himself in Victoria' (*Koorier* 1969:6). Poor housing and a lack of hot water and appropriate bedding were reported in New South Wales (Black Resource Centre 1975b). Likewise, in Queensland, poor living conditions and an acute lack of freedom were reported. Issues ranged from low wages, bad housing conditions, and inadequate medical and education services to strict restrictions on people's movement and their way of living. As an example, Indigenous people living on reserves needed permission to use electrical goods and to swim in waterways. They were not allowed to own houses, they could be displaced at the manager's will and their funds were entirely managed by the director of the reserve. The director had full power over land and resources and could allow companies to mine the land (Black Resource Centre Collective 1976a:5–8, 19, 36). Experiencing such injustices and precarious social conditions helped politicise and radicalise part of these populations.

Aboriginal people in Australia and Māori and Pacific Island peoples in New Zealand shared a sense of alienation, injustice, and a feeling of frustration and disappointment. Black Power politics were nurtured by international exchanges of ideas but were grounded in local contexts of injustices and racism. The sense of destitution and discrimination among indigenous people became more acute with the deep disillusion that stirred communities in both Australia and New Zealand in the late 1960s. In Australia, for instance, many had seen the 1967 referendum as the opening of a dialogue, an act of recognition. The referendum had advocated a unifying and overarching Commonwealth legislature to govern Indigenous affairs for the benefit, it was hoped, of Indigenous people, and had eventually included Indigenous people in the population count. Many non-Indigenous people, however, saw it as a measure to facilitate assimilation and mainstream inclusion (de Costa 2006:93). The absence of effective changes after the 1967 referendum engendered the same feeling of frustration and impatience for justice that had broken out in the United States after the passing of the Civil Rights Bill and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. This greater awareness of a political stalemate heralded

a new stage in indigenous struggles. The alienated urban populations felt this discrimination more acutely, opposed it more strongly and became more receptive to black activism. It is on this receptiveness to Black Power among indigenous communities in these two countries, and on the ways it crossed over such distances, that we now focus our interest.

Black Power networks

Black consciousness was introduced to Australia and New Zealand by three intellectual channels. The first was international and stemmed from contact with the United States/Caribbean and the South Pacific spheres. The second was regional and occurred from transnational interaction within Oceania. The third was intra-national and resulted from engagement between various indigenous tribes and communities. Black consciousness was tri-dimensional and the development of new identities came from receptiveness from multiple channels.

At the international level, the dissemination of ideology occurred through political pamphlets and the increased awareness of seminal black consciousness monographs. Former Polynesian Panther Reverend Mua Strickson-Pua was aided by the writings of Dubois and Malcolm X, which had a dramatic influence on his own political ideology. In an interview, Reverend Mua Strickson-Pua explained that these seminal works marked a turning point when he adopted 'black' as a 'political phrase' and as a call for social change (Stastny 2012b).

In Australia urban Aboriginal people had come to greater awareness of black consciousness in the late 1960s following the arrival of black American soldiers serving in Vietnam on 'rest and recuperation' ('R and R' in military argot) in Sydney. Aboriginal scholar and activist Gary Foley identifies the interactions between black American servicemen and Sydney Aboriginal populations as interactions that expanded political awareness (Foley 2011). Indigenous Australian and New Zealand activists in the late 1960s adopted the United States Black Power rhetoric and image. Slogans such as 'black is beautiful' and 'power to the people' were incorporated into indigenous activism, and symbols such as black berets, clenched black fists and afros became commonplace. Those opposed to Black Power were pejoratively referred to as 'Uncle Toms' for being accommodationist (Lothian 2005:184). A collaborative discourse developed between black activists in the United States and indigenous activists in Oceania. McGuinness had visited the United States in 1970 and encountered multiple forms of black activism. Along with other leaders such as Gary Foley, Gary Williams and Paul Coe, McGuinness emphasised the analogous conditions of black Americans and Aboriginal Australians (Bell 1998:81–106), arguing that both had 'suffered oppression for two hundred years… both [knew] the full significance of squalor, hunger and degradation' (McGuinness in Stevens 1972:155).

Conclusions from shared racial plight worked both ways. An article sponsored by the US Black Panthers referred to two Polynesian Panthers as '*Brothers* Will Ilolahia and Billy Bates of the Polynesian Panther Party' (Black Panther Party 1974, our emphasis).[11] Solidarity formed through this shared sense of adversity and transnational networks were established between the US Black Panthers and activist groups in Australia and New Zealand (Anae 2006; Black Panther Party 1974; Foley 2001). These activist groups now operated within a transnational intellectual context of the power struggle against the enduring colonialist thinking and system: 'In a few short years,' scholar Jane Rhodes (2007:276) commented, 'the Black Panthers helped to forge a global community of the aggrieved that crossed class and racial barriers. These disparate groupings, united in their struggles against imperialism, capitalism and racism.' Similar conditions went beyond a recognised history and became grounds for a shared political response. Put simply, in the face of similar issues, similar tactics should be adopted.

In September 1970 four Aboriginal leaders were invited to the Black Power Conference held in Atlanta in the United States. This meeting served as an opportunity to formulate their rights and claims before an international audience (Richardson 1970) and coincided with five Aboriginal representatives who began a study tour in the United States. The study's objective was to analyse the functioning of self-help programs, social and community organisation,

and the liberation struggle for future implementation in Australia (Northcote Leader 1970b).

When it comes to communities at large, urban indigenous populations engaged with Black Power philosophy through popular culture, media and their community leaders, who were disseminating Black Power ideas and strategies adapted to their own culture. Inspired by their United States counterparts, Australian and New Zealand Black Power activists adopted a pragmatic and co-operative approach to the fight against discrimination and injustice built around the local community. Activists sought to inform national populations and indigenous people of abuse and oppression.

By the early 1970s there were greater resources directed towards indigenous rights causes. In 1970 the first Australian legal aid centre for Aboriginal populations was opened in Sydney (Foley 2001). Two years later, a state-specific legal aid centre was established in Melbourne — the Victorian Legal Service. Through newspapers, television, books[12] and music, as well as by attending public debates and taking part in community programs, urban indigenous people were familiarised with the ideologies of colonial subjection, cultural pride and self-empowerment. Māori Nga Tamatoa activist and film director Barry Barclay collaborated in the production of *Tangata Whenua* (1974), a six-part TV documentary broadcast primetime in 1974, which introduced a different Māori *iwi* (tribe) in each episode. A third of the New Zealand population watched the program. Historian Michael King later declared that *Tangata Whenua* 'broke the monocultural mould of New Zealand television. It gave Māori an opportunity to speak for themselves about their lives…and whetted a Māori audience's appetite for more documentaries reflecting Māori viewpoints' (Diamond 2009).

In short, the influence of Black Power ideology and tactics on indigenous activism was channelled through international contact between central figures of activism but also penetrated the urban indigenous communities at large. These international links developed between United States activists and indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand but also between the indigenous peoples of these two countries.

Black Power and consciousness developed a sense of shared or pan-indigeneity between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders peoples in Australia and indigenous people in New Zealand. Aboriginal, Māori and Pacific Island activists mutually supported and participated in indigenous struggles on either side of the Tasman. Many Polynesian Panthers joined Australian Aboriginal activists on land rights marches and at meetings (Stastny 2012b). Syd Jackson, the leader of Nga Tamatoa, visited Australia in 1970 and developed close bonds with indigenous activists in Sydney and Melbourne. Two years later, Will Ilolahia, one of the founding members of the Polynesian Panthers in New Zealand, showed his active support during the Tent Embassy protest in Canberra (Foley 2011). Indigenous support crossed the Tasman Sea the other way, as well. Aboriginal activists participated in land marches and demonstrations in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s, such as during the 1975 Land March for Māori land rights and the 1981 Springbok Tour protests against apartheid and racism (Foley n.d.).

In addition to these international interactions, commonalities, solidarities and co-identification were also articulated at the intra-national level as various indigenous activist groups in Australia and New Zealand were forming coalitions and uniting their efforts behind common actions, leading to pan-indigenous actions and collaborations within each of these countries. This level of articulation — pan-indigeneity — was a key element that buttressed the promotion and accomplishment of Black Power-inspired initiatives.[13] The black condition and struggle became a unifying commonality between varieties of indigeneity. Jay T Johnson (2010) has identified this dynamic as the creation of a:

> corresponding identity among peoples who, despite often considerable cultural divergence, share significant symmetries that have evolved from the common experiences of European colonialism. These similarities are founded in an ancestral birthright in the land, a common core of collective interests, and the *shared experience of dispossession precipitated through the colonial projects* perpetrated against their communities by colonial *and neocolonial state administrations*. (italics in original text)

The sense of brotherhood that had emerged between black and indigenous activist groups endorsed de facto pan-indigenous identification by urban, indigenous populations that had previously mainly considered each other as culturally different.

Aboriginal activists in Redfern (Sydney) established contacts with fellow activists such as Kath and Denis Walker and Don Brady in Brisbane, and Bruce McGuinness and Bob Maza in Melbourne (Foley 2001). Maza (1969:4) even declared, 'When all the black people of this country are nationally welded together, the integrates will soon have to identify themselves. To deny your brothers and sisters is treason of the highest degree.' This solidarity was tremendously consolidated during the 1972 Tent Embassy in Canberra, which gathered Aboriginal people from all over Australia.

In New Zealand the 1975 Land March was to the Māori what the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy was for Aboriginal people in Australia. The Land March unified a wide array of tribally diverse indigenous people in a common struggle for land rights (Belich 2001:475). For many in New Zealand, being indigenous was extended to encompass not only Māori but also Pacific people. New Zealand was typically understood as one of many Pacific islands (a particularly large atoll). The Polynesian Panthers encouraged co-operation and kinship between Māori and other Pacific people to help establish pride in their shared cultural heritage. A Polynesian Panther remarked, humorously, that 'the only difference between you Maori and the rest of us Pacific Islanders was that you came on a *waka* (Māori canoe) and we came on a jet' (Anae 2006:88). This sense of brotherhood regenerated and consolidated indigenous activism, and fundamentally reshaped the relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people. Black Power politics advocated a positive redefinition of their identity and of their role for their community, reflected in the emergence of a new kind of indigenous activism.

New activist groups and organisational change

Black Power was articulated as a process of understanding and as a strategy for change. Black activists shared a strong desire for immediate action, hostility towards authorities and re-empowerment. Black Power announced a move away from previous integration measures to a new focus on self-empowerment. Hence, Black Power ideology impacted the establishment and functioning of indigenous activist groups in Australia and New Zealand and the tenor of the political debate.

In 1969 Aborigines Advancement League members Bob Maza and Bruce McGuinness invited United States activist and civil rights leader Dr Roosevelt Brown to Australia. An Aborigines Advancement League member described Brown's speech at a Melbourne conference as 'throw[ing] into the open a matter which was due for public airing, "black power"' (AAL 1969a). In criticising Australia's white-only immigration policy, Brown called for Indigenous Australians to develop forms of self-governance. To Indigenous Australian activists, his comments were interpreted as Black Power in Australia (*Bermuda News* 2011). In December 1971 Denis Walker founded the Australian Black Panthers and gathered support from other Aboriginal activists.

In New Zealand, following a Young Māori Leaders Conference in Auckland, a group of student activists inspired by Black Power formed Nga Tamatoa in 1970. A year later, in Auckland's activist suburb Ponsonby, the Polynesian Panthers emerged under the direction of Polynesian activists — Māori and Pacific people from Samoa, Tonga and Niue. Influenced by the US Black Panthers, the Polynesian Panthers mobilised against inequality and discrimination. The New Zealand movement gained in popularity and chapters opened in South Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. The Polynesian Panthers' first year of existence pursued a Māori and Pacific exclusive policy. Yet those associated with the movement, such as Nigel Bhana, a Panther of Indian origin who was first involved as an honorary member, argued that such a policy was counterproductive, which led to the acceptance of non-Polynesian members (Anae 2006:71; *Polynesian Panthers* 2010). The ultimate composition of the Polynesian Panthers drew from wide social and ethnic backgrounds[14] and included university students, inner-city dwellers, Pacific peoples, the *tangata whenua* ('the people of the land', the Māori people), South and East Asians, gangs such as Ponsonby gangs and the Stormtroopers, and future heads of government

Helen Clark and David Lange (who would both later become Prime Ministers of New Zealand). Though Black Power inspired these groups and their critics, the ultimate organisational product did not resemble 'a Black (or brown) supremacist group as many people supposed' (Anae 2006:62).

In the case of pre-existing indigenous activist organisations, reforming the discriminatory system and re-appropriating their identity and resources started from within. Black consciousness was easily apparent in transfer of organisational leadership to indigenous individuals away from the traditional control of these organisations by non-indigenous activists for indigenous causes. Indigenous staff replaced non-indigenous staff in many activist organisations and especially in the higher positions of management. For instance, on 17 September 1969 the Victorian Aborigines Advancement League passed a new resolution to reform its decision bodies and asked that 'the Aboriginal people of Victoria displace all these non-Aboriginal members on the Advancement League Committee and all paid positions within the League…and that immediate steps be taken to locate Aboriginal personnel for these positions' (AAL 1969b). By 1970 the Victorian Aborigines Advancement League was largely run by indigenous individuals and the Australian Aborigines' League became the all-Aboriginal branch of the Aborigines Advancement League. In a newsletter, the Aborigines Advancement League (AAL 1969a) stated the organisation's commitment to indigenous leadership:

> the League exists for the benefit of Aboriginal people. Its Aboriginal members are in a position to tell the League what it should be and do to best serve the interests of the Aboriginal people. Its non-Aboriginal members will stand back while those decisions are being made, and will work to put them into effect in collaboration with the Aboriginal members.

The changes were sudden and somewhat unprecedented. League Director Bruce Silverwood, a non-indigenous member, underlined that, throughout its history, the Aborigines Advancement League had 'been working eagerly towards the appointment of Aboriginal people to key posts in the League' and this was the completion of this long-standing project. Silverwood claimed that the staff had 'changed from 4 non-Aboriginal and 4 Aboriginal people to 8 Aboriginal and 2 non-Aboriginal' (AAL 1985:92). He concluded that what was new was 'seeking an All-Aboriginal organisation with non-Aborigines taking a supporting role, and that not by a process of training and phasing but by a sudden act' (AAL 1985:92). Staff replacement by indigenous individuals occurred at the higher positions within activist groups. Non-indigenous members were, however, not completely excluded. The grassroots level was often ethnically heterogeneous and relied on the help of people from different backgrounds.

Whereas the one aspect of the Aborigines Advancement League before Black Power was to facilitate a positive and peaceful relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, the Black Power period perceived non-Indigenous activists instrumentally to achieve overall Indigenous betterment. Take, for instance, a statement about race relations pre-Black Power that was memorialised on the inaugural plaque for the opening of the Indigenous Doug Nicholls Centre in Northcote in 1966: 'This centre is erected to honour humble Australians and to provide a meeting place for those who believe that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood' (Broome and Manning 2006:123).

Four years later the tone of the discourse shifted. The 'spirit of brotherhood' was replaced by an instrumental approach to non-Indigenous Australians among Indigenous activist groups. Black Power advocate and Aborigines Advancement League leader Bruce McGuinness also favoured co-operation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to move towards the ultimate 'right of Aborigines to control their own affairs but to get to this goal with the help, support and goodwill of the European community' (*Northcote Leader* 1970a).

Black activists in Australia and New Zealand encouraged co-operation while also emphasising exclusionary cultural boundaries. The Polynesian Panthers established alliances with other organisations fighting racism such as the Citizen's Association for Racial Equality (CARE), Amnesty Ahora, New Zealand Race Relations Councils,

Nga Tamatoa, and Matakite o Aotearoa, which were staffed by both Māori and non-Māori. The Polynesian Panthers were 'quick to form collaborations and synergies with other community resources…exposing racist attitudes and practices of both the system and individuals…and successfully galvanising a true multicultural community spirit in Ponsonby' (Anae 2006:60).

Within the commitment to indigenous betterment, non-indigenous individuals with expert knowledge became more accepted once indigenous activist organisations developed community services and programs. In activist groups, legal aid programs were offered to the community. These programs were structured around receiving help and advice from non-indigenous lawyers such as David Lange for the Polynesian Panthers in Auckland, and Eddie Newman and Peter Tobin in Sydney. Both in Australia and New Zealand, community programs and services rested on alliances between indigenous and non-indigenous people and were a fertile terrain for co-operation towards addressing discriminatory systems.

We now turn to how Black Power informed activists' outreach to urban indigenous communities and their implementation of community programs.

Dissemination of community programs within Black Power networks

New Zealand and Australian Black Power activists during this period borrowed heavily from United States Black Power activists but the process was flexible. Lothian (2005:187) suggests that the 'adoption of the Panther program did not represent an imported politics but a call for very basic human freedoms'. In both Australia and New Zealand the US Black Panthers' ten-point program became a template to social movement goals. The overall principles shared sentiments of self-determination, but New Zealand and Australian Black Power activists differed from the points US Black Panthers advocated. The Polynesian Panthers dropped the section on the right to be armed for self-protection, which was in the US Black Panthers program, and added the notion of distinct regional culture by emphasising the connection back to Pacific islands.

A significant appropriation from the Black Panthers by these activist groups was the adoption and implementation of community-based initiatives and programs (initially termed 'survival programs' by Black Power activists). As activist and scholar RJ Walker (1984:275) noted, while 'the Maori Council and the Maori Women's Welfare League were a continuation of elitist leadership' and 'were the conservative expressions of Māori activism, pursuing Maori rights within the framework of the parliamentary system', since the 1970s 'Maori activism ha[d] become the concern of a more diverse group of people, including Maori youth'. Community actions for self-defence and self-empowerment encouraged a grassroots approach.

In 1969 Aboriginal activists in Australia, including figures such as Coe, Williams, Billy and Lyn Craigie, and Foley, followed US Black Panthers tactic by monitoring and recording police harassment of Aboriginal Australians. A notorious location for this harassment was in the Sydney suburb of Redfern, where many Koori people gathered (Foley 2001). In New Zealand a similar tactic of counter-pressure was implemented to deal with police groups. In 1974 the Polynesian Panthers, the Ponsonby People's Union, the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD), CARE, and Nga Tamatoa set up Police Investigation Group (PIG[15]) patrols to follow and monitor the oppressive tactics of the Police Task Force. In an effort to highlight the illegitimacy of white oppression in New Zealand, a group of Polynesian Panthers protested at the house of the Minister of Immigration Bill Birch at dawn with loudhailers and spotlights, shouting 'Bill Birch, come out with your passport now!' and 'We're members of the Aotearoa Liberation movement. You have 24 hours to prove that you are rightfully allowed to stay in this country' (Anae 2006:67). Polynesian Panthers contend that about two weeks after such actions, the dawn raids finally stopped.

Parallel to these defensive measures, Black Power activists in Australia and New Zealand adopted a pro-active approach as well. Modelled on the US Black Panthers, they sought material improvements through community programs.[16] In addition to public talks, leaflets and booklets, groups set up welfare community programs such as food provision with vegetable co-operatives and food banks (Stastny 2012a, 2012b),

medical care,[17] bus services to prisons, fundraising, outings for senior citizens and homework centres for students.[18] Nga Tamatoa had also been active among the Māori population by fighting for the revival of Te Reo Māori (the Māori language) and taking part in the Māori Language Petition for Te Reo Māori to be offered in all schools in the early 1970s. It is in this mindset that Black Power became a dramatic driving force for social change. It opened up possibilities for indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand to build connections and run initiatives towards achieving decolonisation and freedom for their people.

Yet while the sense of black brotherhood regenerated and consolidated indigenous activism, and community programs considerably lifted indigenous populations towards self-empowerment, a fundamental recalibration of the relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people — fuelled by stigmatising and sensational press coverage — resulted in a split between indigenous activist groups and the wider community.

Despite good will and concerted initiatives, the shift from non-indigenous to indigenous leadership and the emergence of indigenous activist groups and self-empowerment initiatives were portrayed as white-alienating processes by the media (*Age* 1970; *Hobart Mercury* 1969).[19] When asked to report on the Polynesian Panthers' relations with the larger community in New Zealand, a member answered that 'generally [they felt] that some Pakehas [were] against [them] because they [did] not understand what [they were] doing' but that 'the relations with the Polynesian community [were] pretty good' (Black Panther Party 1974). Indigenous representation in the media was a contested point in the Oceania region. Newspapers and televisions often reflected entrenched attitudes. An interview with Polynesian Panther Tigilau Ness went down the following lines:

> *Interviewer*: Polynesians and Maori have got a bit of a reputation for violence, for breaking bottles over people's heads and for sticking their boot in and that sort of things. Do you really not believe that this happens?
>
> *Tigilau Ness*: It happens yes but the fact that news media like yourselves really blow it out of proportion…it's something to get to the public, hey? (original footage in *Polynesian Panthers* 2010)

Similarly, a 1975 National Party advertisement fuelled prejudice and used Polynesian people as scapegoats:

> People said there were nice places to grow up children but the cities grew alarmingly [image of a house window being smashed by a soccer ball]; people were brought in, not just from the country but from other countries as well [picture of boats and planes completely blocking the Auckland harbour views]. Then one day there were not enough jobs either [picture of a brown-skinned, big-lipped man wearing an afro], so people became angry, and violence broke out, especially from people who had come from other places expecting great things. (original footage in *Polynesian Panthers* 2010)

No matter the circumstances, indigenous activists were primarily depicted as violent, disruptive factions in society, and the media coverage gave more attention to social unrest than to their efforts towards, and positive impacts on, the community.

Likewise, in Australia, Black Power activists faced the same bias. Print media reported Roosevelt Brown's speech in Melbourne in 1969 as provocative and disruptive (*Australian* 1969). The conflict between Australian activists Doug Nicholls and black Caribbean activist Roosevelt Brown following that speech was dramatied at the time as the advent of a violent revolution, 'Black dictatorship' and conflict about that dictatorship (AAL 1985:89). The subsequent division within the Aborigines Advancement League between Aboriginal Doug Nicholls and non-Aboriginal Bruce Silverwood over the League objectives was portrayed in newspapers as a racial feud (Richardson 1969), while it was actually understood as generational, with Elders tending to support Nicholls (AAL 1985: 93).

Conclusion

The legacy of indigenous Black Power activism in Australia and New Zealand is undoubtedly complex. As this paper has shown, this activism embraced a larger Black Power ideology from abroad but also adapted it for the local context. In

understanding Black Power's legacy in Australia and New Zealand, we can consider its ideological contribution to activism but also the organisations this activism created.

Black Power's ideological contributions are many. Colour consciousness framed identity to allow for greater mobilisation and recognition of shared indigenous and racial fates. This sense of shared fate was now not only recognised between peoples within a single nation such as Australia but also transnationally between indigenous peoples in Oceania and Black Americans in the United States. In this way, the exchange of Black Power ideology was essential to activism post-1969.

There were limits to the analogousness of Black Power ideology. Though many strategies that came from United States forms of the ideology were adopted in Oceania, not all strategies were appropriate. For instance, the intense radicalism of Black Panther activities, which was comfortable utilising violence, was typically not present in indigenous movements in Australia and New Zealand. Despite such differences, the commonality of strategies of contestation between these groups is striking.

Another legacy left from this interaction is its institutions. Community service organisations created by Black Power activists in Oceania also followed many of the United States strategies. These organisations sought to provide multiple necessary services to indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand. Such needs were often basic, such as food, education, legal services and health.

The lack of outsider support and the tenets of the ideology also limited Black Power. Ideologically, Black Power was 'unable to promote the building of relationships on equality' because it was portrayed as 'not seek[ing] to build relationships but to completely sever relationships' (Yancey 1996:155). The disinterest, as well, from the wider community from Black Power media coverage and the little financial support from outsiders limited the scope of Black Power organisations. Mentioned in this paper are the shifts towards indigenous leadership in organisations, which were often followed by a reduction in financial support. For instance, following the reshuffle of the Aborigines Advancement League in Melbourne, voluntary public support 'shrank to a trickle, imposing severe restrictions on the organisation's welfare activities' (AAL 1985:98). Similarly, the stigma against protesters that existed in New Zealand society at the time greatly impaired Polynesian Panthers' financial support (Stastny 2012a).

Despite the costs associated with Black Power ideology in Oceania, the communities have understood it as a necessary step towards self-empowerment. For instance, the Aborigines Advancement League drew the conclusions that the Black Power era 'had been a destructive one in terms of the organisation's base of public financial and moral support, but it was a necessary step in the progress towards self-determination and a necessarily turbulent change in the whole basis of Aboriginal thinking on issues directly affecting their lives' (AAL 1985:100). The legacy that Black Power ideology left is perhaps most easily identifiable when considering the organisations created by it, as Lothian (2005:180) has argued: the 'most lasting influence of the [Black Panthers] has [been] in the Aboriginal adaptation of their community survival programs'.

US Black Panthers inspired indigenous activism in Australia and New Zealand, which is evident in the ideology and organisations that shape the indigenous political landscapes of these countries. Interactions with US Black Panthers provided an intellectual and organisational template for adaptation by Australian and New Zealand activists. In both countries, the period post-1960s witnessed self-empowerment at the forefront of indigenous activist ideology. Such efforts shaped the political and social agendas of Australian and New Zealand indigenous organisations. Though many of these organisations were short-lived, they demonstrated that the Black Power-inspired tenets of political contestation, self-empowerment and community service provision by indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand were possible.

NOTES

1. By 'colour consciousness' or 'black consciousness' we mean the use of race as a proxy for marginalised experience among minorities. We use the term 'black' not as a classification according to skin

colour but as a social and political construct as identified and used by the activists at the time.

2. See Marx 1998 as example of Black Power movements in the development of national race relations.
3. See, for instance, Attwood 2000, 2003; Attwood and Markus 1999, 2004; Foley 2001; Lothian 2005; Shilliam 2012.
4. See, for instance, the writings by Dr Robbie Shilliam and Kathy Lothian.
5. Other indigenous organisations such as the Koorie Club — the first black-owned and -run organisation directed exclusively for Aboriginal people — emerged at the time as well. The aim of this paper, however, rather than making an exhaustive survey of indigenous activism, is to analyse the connections and commonalities between a sample of activist groups to better comprehend the influence of Black Power.
6. Huey P Newton (1995[1973]:110) asked, 'What good…was nonviolence when the police were determined to rule by force?'
7. For more details, see Davenport (in Jones 1998:193–209).
8. For more details on Māori resistance, see, for instance, Walker 1990.
9. In Aotearoa land is *turangawaewae* (a place to stand). As Māori leader Te Haahi Ratana said, 'the Māori is like a potato, without the land he will not grow' (Black Resource Centre Collective 1976b). In Indigenous cultures in Australia, land and its natural features are the foundations of the creation stories — the Dreaming. The Dreaming is the creation of life and geographic features by the Ancestral Beings. Dreaming stories, told from one generation to the next, pass on knowledge about cultural values, belief systems and law systems.
10. Endemic unemployment hit the Māori population. Māori unemployment in some rural areas reached 50 per cent and even 70 per cent of the population (Walker 1990:291) and the majority of indigenous communities lived in substandard houses.
11. There was, however, a greater awareness of, and readership for, the black American struggle in the United States by indigenous activists in Australia and Aotearoa than the other way around. From our own readings, there is, for instance, no mention of the indigenous struggles for justice in Australia and New Zealand in United States black activists' autobiographies such as Carmichael and Hamilton (1966), Hilliard (2006) and Brown (1992).
12. Among these authors were Stokely Carmichael and Hamilton (1966), Malcolm X (1965), Franz Fanon (1965, 1967) and Bobby Seale (1970).
13. See Cornell 1990.
14. Among such activists where Melani Anae, Etta Scmidt, Lyn Doherty, Miriama Rauhihi, Tigilau Ness and Nigel Bhana.
15. The term 'PIGS' had become a common term among the United States Black Panthers to refer to the police.
16. The Black Panther Party (1969) had initiated community programs such as free breakfast for children, free health clinics and liberation youth schools, as well as patrols to defend Black Americans from police harassment (Hayes and Kiene 1998:161–2).
17. In July 1971 an Aboriginal Medical Service opened in Redfern.
18. Most of the children who attended homework help provided by the Polynesian Panthers passed the exams (Black Panther Party 1974).
19. An *Age* newspaper headline announced 'Aborigines preferred' (*Age* 1970). Newspapers also used rhetoric and topographic style (such as contentious points in bold letters) to exacerbate the situation, and fuelled white resentment towards the indigenous management of their own affairs.

REFERENCES

AAL (Aboriginal Advancement League) 1969a 'International contact force thinking on "black power"', *Newsletter*, 25 October.

—— 1969b Management Committee minutes, 3 October.

—— 1985 *Victims or victors?: the story of the Victorian Aborigines Advancement League*, Hyland House, Portland, Vic.

Age 1970 'Aborigines preferred', 31 January, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb30.html> accessed 13 September 2014.

Alleyne, Bain 2002 *Radicals against race: black activism and cultural politics*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI.

Anae, Melani 2006 *Polynesian Panthers: the crucible years, 1971–74*, Reed Publishing, Auckland.

Attwood, Bain 2000 'The articulation of "land rights" in Australia: the case of Wave Hill', *Social Analysis* 44:3–39.

—— 2003 *Rights for Aborigines*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW.

—— and Andrew Markus 1999 *The struggle for rights for Aborigines: a documentary collection*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

—— and Andrew Markus 2004 *Thinking black: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Australian 1969 'Black Power move "unwise"', 15 November, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb27.html> accessed 13 September 2014.

Baker, Ian and Neil Mitchell 1969 'Yes, Black Power — but not violent,' *The Age*, 30 August, <www.koori

web.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb13.html> accessed 13 September 2014.

Belich, James 2001 *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, Auckland.

Bell, Roger 1998 '"Race"/ethnicity' in Roger Bell and Philip Bell (eds), *Americanization and Australia*, UNSW Press, Kensington, pp.81–106.

Bermuda News 2011 'National hero profile: Roosevelt Brown', 30 April, <http://bernews.com/2011/04/national-hero-profile-roosevelt-brown> accessed 1 November 2011.

Biko, Steve 1987 *I write what I like*, Heinemann, Oxford.

Black Panther Party 1966 *Ten point platform & program: what we want, what we believe*, Black Panther Party, West Oakland (US), October.

—— 1969 'To feed our children,' *The Black Panther*, 26 March, <www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/1969/03/26.htm> accessed 13 September 2014.

—— 1974 'Polynesian Panther Party works for humane society', *The Black Panther*, 28 September, p.16.

Black Resource Centre Collective 1975a *Black News Service* 1(1), 3 April, p.12.

—— 1975b *Black News Service* 1(4), 14 July, p.5.

—— 1976a *The Queensland Act and regulation 1971 — so that anyone can read and understand these Acts*, Globe Press, Melbourne.

—— 1976b 'Māori land march', *Black News Service*, 23 February, pp.16–17.

Breitman, George (ed.) 1965 *Malcolm X speaks: selected speeches and statements*, Pathfinder, New York.

Broome, Richard and Corinne Manning 2006 *A man of all tribes: the life of Alick Jackomos*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Brown, Elaine 1992 *A taste of power: a black woman's story*, Doubleday, New York.

Carmichael, Stokely and Charles Hamilton 1966 *Black Power*, Berkeley, CA.

Clark, Jennifer 2008 *Aborigines & activism: race, Aborigines & the coming of the sixties to Australia*, UWA Press, Crawley, WA.

Cornell, Stephen 1990 *Return of the native: American Indian political resurgence*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Crowe, Daniel Edward 2000 *Prophets of rage: the black freedom struggle in San Francisco, 1945–1969*, Garland Pub., New York.

Cruse, Harold 1968 'Revolutionary nationalism and the Afro-American' in *Rebellion or Revolution?*, William Morrow & Co, New York, pp.73–91.

Deloria, Vine Jr 1969 *Custer died for your sins: an Indian manifesto*, University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma City, OK.

Diamond, Paul 2009 'Whenua: a gift to the future', New Zealand On Screen, 21 April, <www.nzonscreen.com/title/tangata-whenua-waikato-1974/background#critique_0> accessed 10 April 2011.

Epps, Garrett 1970 'Huey Newton speaks at Boston College, presents theory of "intercommunalism"', *The Harvard Crimson*, 19 November, <www.thecrimson.com/article/1970/11/19/huey-newton-speaks-at-boston-college> accessed 13 September 2014

Fanon, Frantz 1965 *The wretched of the earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington [1961], MacGibbon & Kee, London.

—— 1967 *Black skin, white masks*, trans. by Charles L. Markmann [1952], Grove Press, New York.

Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliott 1992 *The nations within: Aboriginal–state relations in Canada, the United-States, and New Zealand*, OUP, Toronto.

Foley, Gary 2001 'Black Power in Redfern 1968–1972,' The Koori History Website, 5 October, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html> accessed 1 November 2011.

—— 2011 Gary Foley speaks on the history of Aboriginal resistance, Trades Hall, Melbourne, 28 July.

—— n.d. 'Martyrs in the struggle for justice: a gallery in tribute to heroes of the political struggle for Aboriginal Rights: 1900–2000: Syd Jackson — Māori warrior, 1939–2007', The Koori History Website, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/heroes/sjackson.html> accessed 30 October 2011.

Greenland, Hauraki 1991 'Māori ethnicity as ideology' in P Spoonley, D Pearson, and C Macpherson (eds), *Nga Take — ethnic relations and racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, pp.90–107.

Hayes, Floyd W III and Francis A Kiene III 1998 '"All power to the people": the political thought of Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party' in Charles E Jones (ed.), *The Black Panthers reconsidered*, Black Classic Press, Baltimore, MD, pp.157–76.

Hilliard, David (with Keith Zimmerman and Kent Zimmerman) 2006 *Huey: spirit of the panther*, Thunder's Mouth Press, New York.

Hobart Mercury 1969 'Black Power — Victorians are in for "shock"', 30 August, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb17.html> accessed 13 September 2014.

Johnson, Patrick 2003 'Sounds of blackness down under,' *Appropriating blackness, performance*

and the politics of identity, Duke University Press, Durham and London, pp.160–218.
Johnson, Jay T 2010 'Indigeneity', *Encyclopedia of geography*, <http://sage-ereference.com/view/geography/n622.xml> accessed 29 October 2011.
Jones, Charles (ed.) 1998 *The Black Panthers reconsidered*, Black Classic Press, Baltimore, MD.
Koorier 1969 *The Koorier* 1(5), January, p.6.
Lothian, Kathy 2005 'Seizing the time: Australian Aborigines and the influence of the Black Panther Party, 1969–1972,' *Journal of Black Studies* 35(4):179–200.
Margison, Sarah 1976 'Black unemployment in Australia', *Black News Service* 2(6), 23 August, p.3.
Marx, Anthony W 1998 *Making race and nation: a comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil*, University Press, Cambridge.
Maza, Bob 1969 'The Koorie's disillusionment', *Smoke Signals* 8(1):4.
Newton, Huey P 1995[1973] *Revolutionary suicide*, Writers and Readers Publishing, New York.
Nga Tamatoa: 40 Years On 2012 documentary, Māori Television, New Zealand.
Northcote Leader 1970a 'Bruce hits the headlines over "Black Power"', 17 June, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb31.html> accessed 13 September 2014.
—— 1970b 'Aborigines to study in the U.S.A.', 2 August, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb33.html> accessed 13 September 2014.
Petray, Theresa 2010 '"This isn't a black issue": homophily and diversity in Aboriginal activism', *Social Movement Studies* 9(4):411–24.
Polynesian Panthers (2010), documentary, dir. N. Ilolahia Rogers, Māori Television, New Zealand.
Rhodes, Jane 2007 *Framing the Black Panthers: the spectacular rise of a black power icon*, New Press, New York.
Richardson, Michael 1969 'A.A.L. leaders split on race', *The Sunday Observer*, 16 November, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb28.html> accessed 13 September 2014.
—— 1970 'Aborigines to attend Black Power talks', *The Age*, 1 August, <www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1960s/aalbp/rb32.html> accessed 13 September 2014.
Seale, Bobby 1970 *Seize the time: the story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*, Random House, New York.
Self, Robert O 2005 *American Babylon: race and the struggle for postwar Oakland*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
Shilliam, Robbie 2012 'The Polynesian Panthers and the Black Power Gang: surviving racism and colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand' in N Slate (ed.), *Black Power beyond borders*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp.107–26.
Smith, Paul Chaat and Robert Allen Warrior 1996 *Like a hurricane: the Indian movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, New Press, New York.
Stastny, Angelique 2012a Personal interview with Rev. M Strickson-Pua, Auckland, New Zealand, 31 August.
—— 2012b Personal interview with Tigilau Ness (transcript held by author), Auckland, New Zealand, 1 September.
Stevens, Frank S (ed.) 1972 *Racism: the Australian experience: a study of race prejudice in Australia*, Taplinger Publishing Company, New York.
Tangata Whenua 1974 documentary, dir. Barry Barclay, Don Selwyn, Lee Tamahori, prod. John O'Shea, writ. Michael King, New Zealand.
Taonui, Rawiri 2011 'Ngā tuakiri hou — new Māori identities: urban identifiers', Te Ara the encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <www.teara.govt.nz/en/nga-tuakiri-hou-new-Māori-identities/2> accessed 11 October 2012.
Walker, Ranginui J 1984 'The genesis of Māori activism', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 93(3):267–82.
—— 1990 *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou — struggle without end*, Penguin Books, Auckland.
X, Malcolm (as told to Alex Haley) 1965 *The autobiography of Malcolm X*, Grove Press, New York.
Yancey George A 1996 *Beyond black and white — reflections on racial reconciliation*, Baker Books, Grand Rapids, MI.

Angelique Stastny is a doctoral candidate in Political Science at The University of Melbourne. She holds a BA in English Studies and a MA in History with First Class Honours from the University Paris Denis Diderot (France).

<a.stastny@student.unimelb.edu.au>

Raymond Orr is a lecturer of politics and Indigenous studies at The University of Melbourne. He holds a PhD and MA in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley, and an AB from Cornell University. He is an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in Oklahoma.

<Raymond.Orr@unimelb.edu.au>