

**Finding Aid for the
Black Riders Liberation Party Collection, 1997-2016
Los Angeles Public Library Special Collections**

OVERVIEW

Identifier/Call No.: LA MSS 0009

Creators: Black Riders Liberation Party

Title: Black Riders Liberation Party Collection

Dates: 1997-2016

Language: English

Scope and Content: This collection includes organizational documents, letters, publications, fliers, media, ephemera, visual materials, and reference materials related to the Black Riders Liberation Party (BRLP). BRLP was founded in 1996 in Los Angeles by Mischa Culton as a "New Generation Black Panther Party for Self Defense." Culton sought to unite gang members and to transform them into Black revolutionaries willing to confront a system of racism and capitalist exploitation of the Black community.

Quantity: 2.10 cubic feet (2 boxes), 10.95 gigabytes

Location: Digitization & Special Collections. South Stacks, Los Angeles Public Library Special Collections,
630 W. 5th Street, Los Angeles, California 90071.

ADMINISTRATIVE/BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

The Black Riders Liberation Party (BRLP) is "the new generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense." Co-founder and "chairman-general" Mischa Culton says he formed the group in 1996 when he and other youths incarcerated in Youth Transformation Services (YTS; later known as Stark Juvenile Prison) became unified in their concern for the well-being of Black communities.

After being released from YTS, Culton joined the New African American Vanguard Movement (NAAVM; later known as the New Panther Vanguard Movement), an organization formed by former Black Panther members following the 1992 Los Angeles Uprising. However, Culton differed with the group's level of militancy, and left to focus on BRLP.

Under the aliases of General T.A.C.O. (Taking All Capitalists Out) and Wolverine Shakur, Culton explained that BRLP was formed to create Black liberation and Black Revolution. The group advocated intra-gang solidarity to destroy capitalism. BRLP's ideology was built on several key ideas of the Black Panther Party, and articulated as the "Black Commune Program," which paralleled the BPP's Ten-Point Platform. BRLP's Program borrowed ideas and language from BPP's Platform, particularly in its advocacy of advancing the material conditions of Black people and its condemnation of capitalism. BRLP's Program also differed in several ways, notably in its emphasis on Black people, as opposed to Black and poor oppressed peoples, and its advocacy of environmentalism.

That said, BRLP borrowed Huey P. Newton's theory of intercommunalism, or an international solidarity movement. Newton described the concept in his eponymously titled essay from 1974:

We say that the world today is a dispersed collection of communities. A community is different from a nation. A community is a small unit with a comprehensive collection of institutions that serve to exist a small group of people. And we say further that the struggle in the world today is between the small circle that administers and profits from the empire of the United States, and the peoples of the world who want to determine their own destinies.

We call this situation intercommunalism. We are now in the age of reactionary intercommunalism, in which a ruling circle, a small group of people, control all other people by using their technology.

As such, BRLP launched an Inter-Communal Solidarity Committee to provide means to overcome ideological and cultural differences, and bridge common issues among "Afrikan, Native American, Mexicano/indigenous, Asian and anti-imperialist white masses." The ultimate goal was to build a united left that could dismantle capitalism, fascism, and imperialism. To achieve this, BRLP created several programs:

- Hood Health, to provide food and medical services
- Break the Lock, to provide solidarity with the imprisoned by sending literature and providing transportation for visitors to the imprisoned
- George Jackson Freedom School, an after-school program with cultural activities

Later, BRLP developed a Kourt Watch program to provide legal aid, the BOSS Black-on-Black violence prevention and intervention program, a Squeeze the Slumlord project, free food giveaways, a boot camp, and a gang truce football games. The group also attempted to form a Brown Riders Liberation Party for Latine allies.

BRLP also coordinated with other activist groups, particularly prison abolition initiatives. One such program was the Jericho Amnesty Movement, an effort to win amnesty and freedom for American political prisoners. In recognition of Black August, the annual commemoration of Black political prisoners on the anniversary of the deaths of imprisoned activists Jonathan P. Jackson and George Jackson, BRLP was invited to a national convening to develop a five-year strategy plan for the liberation of all political prisoners held in the United States. BRLP also allied itself with campaigns to free incarcerated individuals, such as Herman Bell, who was convicted of the 1971 murder of two New York City police officers and subsequently served over forty years in prison before being successfully paroled.

Several BRLP members aside from Culton appear throughout the group's documented history. Kalifa or Khalifa Olugbala and Shango Abiola are credited with directing a short film, *Let Um Hear Ya Comin'!*, about the creation of the Bay Area chapter of BRLP. Abiola also wrote articles about BRLP, and Olugbala received correspondence from several imprisoned individuals.

BRLP received press coverage from Michael Novick, a Los Angeles-based anti-racist activist and editor of the leftist publication *Turning The Tide*. The relationship between Novick and BRLP was close until Culton's removal from the Party. In 2014, the Afrikan Peoples Liberation Tribunal investigated Culton on several charges, including deception, abuse of trust, physical and sexual abuse, and torture. Based on

their findings, the Tribunal issued sanctions that same year against Culton which effectively barred him from participating in activist circles of Black communities. Four years later, Novick wrote a “self-criticism” of his relationship with Culton and BRLP in *Turning the Tide*.

BRLP continues to operate without Culton, though General T.A.C.O.’s name continues to be regularly mentioned on the group’s Facebook page.

Sources

Abiola, Shango. (2013, January-March). Unitary conduct: building the Inter-Communal Solidarity Committee. *Turning the Tide*, Vol. 26. No. 1.

Anon. (2015, Spring). The US Government War Against the Black Riders. *Fire to the Prisons*. No. 12.

Central Committee of the Black Riders Liberation Party. (2010, Summer). General T. A. C. O. Gets Assassinated by the Police! *African Intercommunal News Service*. Vol. 3 No. 1, pp. 1-2/

Gallegos, Emma E. (2012, May 4). Black Riders Liberation Party Says Authorities Targeted Its Headquarters After May Day Protests. *LAist*. <https://laist.com/news/black-riders-liberation-party-say-t>

Jeffries, B. S. (2020). Prioritizing Black Self-Determination: The Last Strident Voice of Twentieth-Century Black Nationalism. *Genealogy*, 4(4), 110. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy4040110>

Law, Victoria. (2019, February 26). Police Unions Fight To Rescind Parole For Former Black Panther. *The Appeal*. <https://theappeal.org/police-unions-fight-to-rescind-parole-for-former-black-panther/>

Moore, Solomon. (2005, February 16). Hundreds Go to Funeral for Slain Teenager: A Time for Mourning. *Los Angeles Times*. p. IEA1

Musgrove, George Derek. (2019, Fall). There Is No New Black Panther Party: The Panther-Like Formations and the Black Power Resurgence of the 1990s. *The Journal of African American History*. Volume 104, Number 4. <https://doi.org/10.1086/705022> (pdf)

Newton, Huey P. (1974), *Intercommunalism*. Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation Inc. Collection, Box 50, Folder 2-3.

Novick, Michael. (undated). *On the Black Riders, Revolutionary Intercommunalism and the Way Forward*.

Novick, Michael. (2018, January-March). *Self-Criticism & Rectification*. *Turning the Tide*. Vol. 30, No. 1. p. 7.

soynoise. (2006, June 14). Interview with Taco from Black Riders Liberation Party. [Video]. YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dkNikCJNegM&list=PLIAdaDFkWgZYck136DWqvb1g_uu-8g1qM.

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

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Access Restrictions

This collection is open for research by appointment only in the Rare Books reading room. Information about setting appointments can be found on the Library's website at lapl.org/branches/rarebooks. Appointments can also be arranged by sending an email inquiry to [specialcollections \[at\] lapl.org](mailto:specialcollections@lapl.org).

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- LAPL uses the [Library of Congress Subject Headings](#) (LCSH), [Thesaurus for Graphic Materials](#) (TGM), [Getty Art and Architecture Thesaurus](#) (AAT), and the [Rare Books and Manuscripts Section \(RBMS\) Controlled vocabularies](#) to standardize searching across our catalog and digital library.

We are aware that some terms in these vocabularies are outdated and/or harmful, and we support the various efforts underway within library and archives communities to update and change these terms.

The Los Angeles Public Library is engaging in ongoing work to generate ethical and inclusive description for special collections in a way that balances the preservation of histories with sensitivity to community representation and how materials are presented to users.

Provenance/ Source of Acquisition

Purchased from D. Anthem, Bookseller. The collection came from a storage unit belonging to either Mischa Culton or another BRLP member. The collection came to the bookseller with some material damaged and/or incomplete.

Preferred Citation

[Item], Black Riders Liberation Party Collection. Los Angeles Public Library Special Collections.

PROCESSING INFORMATION

Archival processing was completed at the Los Angeles Public Library by Dan Nishimoto, Digital Collections Librarian, with assistance from Juan Avalos, Administrative Clerk, in October 2025.

The collection included books and booklets from BRLP's reading library covering antiimperialism, Black history, the Black Panther Party, Pan-Africanism, prison, and guerrilla warfare, as well as periodicals. These items are separated from the archival collection, **cataloged [IN PROCESS]**, and shelved in Digitization & Special Collections, North Stacks.

Books and booklets:

Adams, Barbara Eleanor. *John Henrik Clarke: The Early Years*. Hampton, Virginia: United Brothers and Sisters Communications, 1992.

Anon. *Guerrilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations*. El Dorado, AR: Desert Publications, 1978

Anon. *Kwame Nkrumah* (Panaf Great Lives). London: Panaf, 1974.

Anthony, Earl. *Spitting In the Wind: The True Story Behind the Violent Legacy of the Black Panther Party*. Malibu, CA: Roundtable Publishing, Inc., 1990.

Aptheker, Herbert. *American Negro Slave Revolts*. New York: International Publishers, 1963.

Brown, H. Rap. *Die Nigger Die!* New York: The Dial Press, 1969.

Cabral, Amilcar; Richard Handyside (translated and edited by). *Revolution in Guinea: Selected Texts by Amilcar Cabral*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969.

Carmichael, Stokely. *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism*. New York: Random House, 1971.

Cleaver, Eldridge. *The Land Question and Black Liberation*. n.p., n.d. Zine format, excerpts from Cleaver's book *Post-Prison Writings and Speeches*. Booklet.

Davidson, Basil. *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Debray, Regis. *Revolution in the Revolution?: Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967.

Duiker, William J. *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1995.

Friedly, Michael. *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The FBI File*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc. 1993. Uncorrected proof, 700+ pages.

Hilliard, Asa, Larry Williams and Nia Damali (eds.). *The Teachings of Ptahhotep: The Oldest Book in the World*. Atlanta: Blackwood Press, 1987.

Lockwood, Lee. *Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970.

Lomax, Louis E. *When the Word Is Given*. New York: New American Library, Inc., 1964.

Marine, Gene. *The Black Panthers*. New York: New American Library, Inc., ©1969. Fifth printing.

McKown, Robin. *Lumumba: A Biography*. Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1969.

Messenger, The. *Poetic Truth*. Self-published, poetry, from an ex-prisoner writing as a channel for God.

Morgan, Robin (editor). *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Obafemi, Ahmed. *The Legacy of Malcolm X and the Struggle to Defeat the Ku Klux Klan*. Los Angeles: John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, n.d. Booklet.

Shakur, Tupac. *The Rose That Grew from Concrete*. Pocket Books (?), 1999.

Taylor, Clyde (editor). *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973.

Turner, Lou and John Alan. *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*. undated reprint. Booklet.

Various. *From Attica to Abu Ghraib: Reflections By Political Prisoners in the U.S.* n.p.: [Jericho Amnesty Movement (?)], 2005? Booklet.

Wallace, Herman and Albert Woodfox. *Notes from Inside Angola Prison*. n.p., n.d. Booklet.

White, Joseph L. *The Psychology of Blacks: An Afro-American Perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Books, 1984.

Woddis, Jack. *Introduction to Neo-Colonialism*. New York: International Publishers, 1967.

Periodicals:

Change-Links: March 1998

Fire to the Prisons: No. 12 Spring 2015

L.A. Watts Times: Vol. XXVI, No. 554 January 29, 1998

Turning the Tide: Vol. 12, Nos. 1-3; Vol. 13, Nos. 3-4; Vol. 14, Nos. 1-3; Vol. 15, No. 1; Vol. 17, No. 2; Vol. 18, No. 2; Vol. 19, No. 3; Vol. 21, No. 1; Vol. 25, Nos. 1-3; Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2; Vol. 26, No. 4; Vol. 27, Nos. 1-2.

ARRANGEMENT

Materials are arranged chronologically within folders by date of creation.

The materials are organized in the following series:

Series 1: Administration

Series 2: Solidarity actions

Series 3: Correspondence

Series 4: Visual Materials

INDEXING TERMS

The Los Angeles Public Library used both Library of Congress Subject Headings and the Library of Congress Thesaurus for Graphic Materials (TGM) as sources for subject headings for cataloging. In addition, TGM was used for genre and format terms.

Topics:

African Americans--Civil rights--21st century.

African Americans--Politics and government--21st century.

Black militant organizations--United States--21st century.

Black nationalism--United States--21st century.

Black power--United States--History--21st century

GENRE / FORMAT

Books

Documents

Ephemera

Fliers (Printed matter)

Newspapers
Pamphlets
Posters

CONTAINER LIST

Series 1: Administration

Box : Folder Description

1 : 1 Administration - Organizational documents, undated

File contains documents that outline the political education format of the BRLP (Voice of the People), a statement from the Central Committee of the BRLP (To the Afrikan Intercommunalist Youth), a Mini-Manual, statements on discipline, codes of conduct, ideology, organizational charts, handwritten notes, an afterschool program proposal, and writings by Michael Novick describing the BRLP.

1 : 2 Administration - Notes, undated

File contains handwritten notes regarding activities, lists, current events, research, draft statements, and drawings.

1 : 3 Administration - Literature, c. 1997 - 2004

File contains a completed membership form, a sign-in sheet, and a list of contacts.

1 : 4 Administration - Communications, undated

File contains draft and completed letters to colleagues and members, and a memo.

1 : 5 Administration - Newsletters, 2009-2013

File contains issues of African Intercommunal News Service: Volume 2 Number 1 (Summer 2009); Volume 4 Number 1 (Fall 2012); and Volume 5 Number 1 (Spring 2013).

1 : 6 Administration - Fliers, 1998-2013

File contains fliers for a police brutality protest (10/22/1998), a KKK counter-protest (4/17/2010), the Band for unity concert (7/24/2010), the Overturn the Ban of Revolution Newspaper forum (12/12/2010), Free the LA2 planning meeting and film screening (12/14/2010), a protest about the murder of Kevin Wooten (1/27/2011), a solidarity action with a hunger strike for prisoners' rights (7/18/2011), an Inter-Communal Solidarity Committee fundraiser (5/19/2013), a SU/LU event Sexism: Enemy of the Working Class (6/23/2013), a Hands off Africa Movement rally (7/31/2013), Black August Commemorations (unknown year), and a Chicago action (unknown year).

1 : 7 Administration - Black August, c. 2010-2011

File contains a statement from BRLP to imprisoned persons, a proposed five-year plan, details of a national strategy session for developing a five-year plan for liberation of political prisoners, and a draft proposal for a National Confederation.

1 : 8 Administration - Art, undated

File contains song lyrics, poetry, coloring sheets, a photocopied collage, and an anonymously created 'zine dedicated to the Black Panther Party, Black Liberation Army and Black Riders Liberation Party titled *Break the Lock* (Issue 01. n.p.: Underground Publications, n.d.).

1 : 9 Administration - Media, undated

File contains three DVD-Rs, titled Black Riders Doc, Let em' hear ya comin', Let em hear ya comin Chapter 3. Khalifa Olugbala and Shango Abiola are credited with directing a 2013 or 2014 short film, *Let Um Hear Ya Comin'!* about the creation of a Bay Area chapter of BRLP.

1 : 10 Administration - Members and contacts, undated

File contains a completed membership form, a sign-in sheet, and a list of contacts. Contains PII.

Series 2: Solidarity actions

Box : Folder Description

1 : 11 Solidarity actions - Miscellaneous conferences, 2010-2011

File contains the September 16, 2010 orientation agenda for the Black Student Union at LATTTC (2 pages); a registration form for the Pre-Summit Desert Jam for the International Council for Urban Peace, Justice and Empowerment and West Coast Coalition on November 13, 2010 (1 page); and a member list for the National Confederation Against Unjust Incarcerations and for the Liberation of Political Prisoners (4 pages).

1 : 12 Solidarity actions - National Jericho Amnesty Movement, 2011-2013

File contains a letter to Jericho via the Southern California Library regarding a political prisoner (4 pages); an agenda for an event from August 19-21, 2011 (2 pages); and a flier announcement for the 2013 Annual Jericho Conference Meeting (1 page).

1 : 13 Solidarity actions - Herman Bell, 2015-2016

File contains a sticker, two pieces of artwork, a letter from Herman Bell's family requesting support for the campaign to free Herman Bell, and a statement by Anti-racist Action Maine and Hellbillies for Herman

Series 3: Correspondence

Box : Folder Description

1 : 14 Correspondence - Individual 1, 2012

File contains three letters on yellow lined-paper with images of Tupac Shakur and quotes from 2Pac's songs (4 pages total).

1 : 15 Correspondence - Individual 2, 2013

File contains a letter to BRLP member Etana Shakur. Discusses meeting another BRLP member and about creating a BRLP chapter in Charlotte, NC (2 pages).

1 : 16 Correspondence - Individual 3, 2013

File contains a letter to the Inter-Communal Solidarity Committee about membership (1 page).

1 : 17 Correspondence - Individual 4, 2016

File contains a letter to BRLP member Artavea Smith (Khalifa) about updates and music requests. Also contains a response letter from Khalifa (2 pages).

1 : 18 Correspondence - Individual 5, 2016

File contains a letter regarding a change of address (1 page).

1 : 19 Correspondence - Individual 6, 2011

File contains a letter to BRLP member Etana Shakur requesting literature, and discussing updates and current events (2 pages).

1 : 20 Correspondence - Individual 7 2013

File contains two letters to BRLP (2 pages total, 2 pages of photocopied excerpts from Henderson's books) about the author's self-published books and requesting correspondence.

1 : 21 Correspondence - Individual 8, 2013

File contains a booklet from the Committee to Free Alvaro Luna Hernandez (1 sheet folded into 4 pages).

1 : 22 Correspondence - Individual 9, 2013

File contains a letter to BRLP with an introduction of the author, a request for membership and literature (1 page).

1 : 23 Correspondence - Individual 10, 2013

File contains a letter to BRLP with a request for membership (1 page).

1 : 24 Correspondence - Individual 11, 2015

File contains a letter to Michael and fellow brothers about recent learnings(1 page).

1 : 25 Correspondence - Individual 12, 2016

File contains a letter to BRLP member Khalifa Olugbala with a request to pass on a message and check on another individual (2 pages).

1 : 26 Correspondence - Individual 13, March to May 2016

File contains 32 letters to BRLP member Khalifa Olugbala. Topics include Islam, prison life, BRLP administration, requests, and the relationship between Individual 13 and Olugbala (107 pages).

1 : 27 Correspondence - Individual 13, June to October 2016

File contains 16 letters to BRLP member Khalifa Olugbala. Topics include Islam, prison life, BRLP administration, requests, and the relationship between Individual 13 and Olugbala (63 pages, 1 photograph, 1 pack of Swan rolling papers).

1 : 28 Correspondence - Individual 14, 2012

File contains a typed letter to BRLP with a request to read the individual's book (1 page).

1 : 29 Correspondence - Individual 15, 2014

File contains a letter to BRLP with an introduction and observations (1 page).

1 : 30 Correspondence - Individual 16, 2015

File contains a letter to BRLP with photocopied photos and discusses networking and current events (3 pages).

1 : 31 Correspondence - Individual 17, 2013

File contains a document describing the individual's wrongful conviction, an announcement of the individual's new book, a photocopy of a letter from Nation Time Newspaper Publisher Herman Ferguson to Clinton Correctional Facility Warden Daniel Senkowski regarding concern for the individual, and a letter from Yuri Kochiyama to several notable imprisoned persons about a pending visit from Sister Chinosole (4 pages total).

1 : 32 Correspondence - Individual 18, 2015-2016

File contains two letters and assorted clippings and paperwork (4 pages of letters, 4 pages of clippings, 6 pages of forms).

1 : 33 Correspondence - Individual 19, undated

File contains a document sent to the Inter-Communal Solidarity Committee titled "The Black Imprisonment Factor" (4 pages).

1 : 34 Correspondence - Individual 20, 2013

File contains a letter to BRLP requesting they visit the individual's website of political cartoons (2 pages).

Series 4: Visual Materials

Box : Folder Description

2 : 1 Visual materials - Miscellaneous, undated

File contains a "Free General TACO" poster, and three brown paper bags stamped with the BRLP logo.