

Bibliography

Archives

A La Izquierda Microfilm Collection, Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY.

Amiri Baraka Papers, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Clemente Soto Vélez Papers, Archives of Puerto Rican Diaspora, Center for Puerto Rican Studies Library and Archives, Hunter College, City University of New York.

Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, Inc. and Black Panther Party Collections, Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Eldridge Cleaver Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Harold Cruse Papers, Tamiment Library, New York University.

James and Grace Lee Boggs Papers, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.

Jesús Colón Papers, Archives of Puerto Rican Diaspora, Center for Puerto Rican Studies Library and Archives, Hunter College, City University of New York.

Publications Relating to the Black Panther Party, Tamiment Library, New York University, New York, New York.

Other Materials Used as Primary Documents

Baraka, Amiri. *S O S: Poems 1961-2013*. Grove Press, 2016. N. pag.

_____. *Raise, Race, Rays, Raze: Essays since 1965*. New York: Random House, 1971.

_____. "SOS." *Black Magic: Sabotage, Target Study and Black Art, Collected Poetry, 1961-1969*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1969. N. pag.

Burgos, Julia de. "Ay, Ay, Ay de La Grifa Negra"/ "Ay, Ay, Ay, of the Kinky-Haired Negress." In *Song of the Simple Truth: Obra Completa Poética: The Complete Poems*, 32–33. Willimantic, CT: Curbstone Press, 1997.

Cleaver, Eldridge. *Gangster Cigarettes*. Stanford, CA: C.P. Times, 1984.

- _____. "The Land Question and Black Liberation." *Eldridge Cleaver: Post-prison Writings and Speeches*. New York: Random House, 1969. 67-69.
- Cleaver, Kathleen. "Back to Africa: The Evolution of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (1969–1972)." *The Black Panther Party (reconsidered)*. Ed. Charles E. Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic, 1998.
- Colón, Jesús. *A Puerto Rican in New York, and Other Sketches*. New York: International Publishers, 2002.
- _____. *The Way It Was and Other Writings*. Houston, TX: Arte Publico Press, 1993.
- Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership*. New York: New York Review Books, 1967.
- _____. *Rebellion or Revolution?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968.
- _____. *Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960.
- El Pueblo Se Levanta*. The Young Lords Party. Third World Newsreel, 1971.
- Guzmán, Pablo. "Before People Called Me a Spic, They Called Me a Nigger." *Palante: Young Lords Party*. By Michael Abramson and The Young Lords Party. McGraw-Hill, 1971.
- _____. "La Vida Pura." *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*. By Andrés Torres. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1998. 155-72.
- Hilliard, David, and Lewis Cole. *This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panther Party*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1993.
- Jones, LeRoi. *Cuba Libre*. New York: Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 1961.
- _____. *Home: Social Essays*. New York: Akashi Classics, 1966.
- Morales, Iris, and Denise Oliver-Velez. "Why Read the Young Lords Today?" Foreword. *The Young Lords: A Reader*. By Darrel Enck-Wanzer. New York: New York UP, 2010. ix-xiii.
- Morales, Iris. "¡Palante, Siempre Palante!" *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*. By Andrés Torres. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1998. 210-227.
- Newton, Huey P. *Revolutionary Intercommunalism and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Ed. Amy Gdala. Newtown: Superscript, 2006.

_____. *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton*. Random House, 1972.

_____. "We Are Nationalists and Internationalists." *The Coming of the New International: A Revolutionary Anthology*. Ed. John Gerassi. New York: World, 1971. 563-68.

Newton, Huey P., and Fredrika Newton. *Revolutionary Suicide*: Reprint edition. New York: Penguin Classics, 2009.

Pietri, Pedro. "Puerto Rican Obituary" *Puerto Rican Obituary*. Monthly Review, 1973. n. pag.

Sanchez, Sonia. *Homecoming*. Detroit: Broadside, 1969.

Seale, Bobby. *Seize the Time; the Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. New York: Random House, 1970.

The General Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. *First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Havana: O.S.P.A.A.A.L., 1966.

Newspapers and Periodicals

"A United Front Against Fascism." *Black Panther* 28 June 1969: n. pag.

"Cleaver and Black Panther Group Attend Hanoi Observance." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 19 Aug. 1970: 13.

"Cleaver and Seale Accept Algiers Bid." *New York Times Magazine* 14 July 1969: n. pag.

"Esta Revolución No Se Hizo." *Noticias De Hoy* [Havana, Cuba] 26 Mar. 1959: n. pag.

"Interview with Assata Shakur." *Talking Drum* 2001.

"Interview with Cha Cha Jimenez." *Black Panther* (7 June 1969): 17.

"Message from Anti-Imperialist Delegation of American People While Still Enroute to D.P.R.K." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 8 Aug. 1970: 18.

"Panther Political Prisoners for U.S. Prisoners of War." *Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 22 Nov. 1969: 3.

"Puerto Rican Obituary." *Palante* 2.10 (28 Aug. 1970): n. pag.

"Cuba Calls!". *The Chicago Defender* [Chicago, IL] 7 May 1960: 44.

"Racial Integration Advances in Cuba". *The Chicago Defender* [Chicago, IL] 10 May 1960: 12.

- Bentacourt, Juan. "Castro and the Cuban Negro." *The Crisis* 68.5 (1961): 270-74.
- Cleaver, Eldridge. "Transcript of Broadcast Over Voice of Vietnam Radio." *Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 26 Sept. 1970: 14.
- Cruse, Harold. "Cuba y el negro Norteamericano," *Casa de las Américas*. Aug-Sept 1960: 65-67.
- De Gramont, Sanche. "Our Other Man in Algiers." *The New York Times Magazine* [New York, NY] 1 Nov. 1970: 28.
- Egan, Leo. "Kennedy Assails Nixon Over Cuba." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 7 Oct. 1960: 1.
- Executive Secretariat of the OSPAAAL. "OSPAAAL on Black American Revolution." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 7 Sept. 1968: 10.
- Frankel, Max. "Castro Remains Out Of Spotlight." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 25 Sept. 1960: 36.
- _____. "Cuban Delegation Is Pleased By Attentions from Russia." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 21 Sept. 1960: 17.
- _____. "Cuban in Harlem." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 20 Sept. 1960: 1. Print.
- Guillén, Nicolas. "Conversación Con Langston Hughes." *El Diario De La Marina* 9 Mar. 1930: 6.
- Hamilton, Thomas J. "Cuba Calls off World Aid Talks: Roa Says Havana Parley of Under-Developed Nations Is Indefinitely Postponed." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 28 July 1960: n. pag.
- Hughes, Langston. "My Early Days in Harlem." *Freedomways* Summer 1963: 314.
- Lewis, Raymond. "Montreal: Bobby Seale- Panthers Take Control." *Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 21 Dec. 1968: 5.
- Lukas, J. Anthony. "Cleaver Is Said to Seek War Prisoner Trade for Jailed Panthers." *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 22 Oct. 1969: 18.
- Mason Murray, George. "Panthers' Fight to the Death Against Racism." *Rolling Stone* 5 Apr. 1969: 14.
- _____. "Untitled OSPAAAL Speech Transcript." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 12 Oct. 1968: 14.

- Moore, Carlos. "Le Peuple Noir A-t-il Sa Place Dans La Révolution Cubaine?" *Presence Africaine* 4 (1964): 228.
- Newton, Huey P. "Fear and Doubt." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 15 May 1967: n. pag.
- _____. "A Functional Definition of Politics." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 17 Jan. 1969: n. pag.
- _____. "Uniting Against the Common Enemy." *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 23 Oct. 1971: n. pag.
- Print Advertisement with No Title. *The Chicago Defender* [Chicago, IL] 7 May 7 1960: 45.
- Sell, Ted. "The Ratio of Negroes Killed in Vietnam Tops Whites." *Los Angeles Times* 10 Mar. 1966: 16.
- Untitled Photo Essay. *The Black Panther* [San Francisco, CA] 9 Aug. 1969: 14.
- White, Alvin. "Historic Theresa in News Again." *The Washington Afro-American* [Washington, D.C.] 24 Sept. 1960: 2.

Secondary Sources

- Acosta-Belén, Edna, and Virginia Sánchez Korrol. "Introduction." In *The Way It Was and Other Writings*, by Jesús Colón. Houston, TX: Arte Publico Press, 1993.
- Aparicio, Frances. "From Ethnicity to Multiculturalism: An Historical Overview of Puerto Rican Literature in the United States." In *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, edited by Francisco Lomeli, 19–39. Mont Alto, PA: Arte Público, 1993.
- Appelbaum, Nancy P., Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, eds. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. New edition edition. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Benston, Kimberely. "Amiri Baraka: An Interview." *Boundary 2*. Winter (1978): 306-307.
- Black Theater: Interviews*. Dir. Woodie King. Perf. Amiri Baraka. Insight Media, 1995.
- Bloom, Joshua, and Waldo E. Martin. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Berkeley: U of California, 2013.
- Candelario, Ginetta E. B. *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to*

- Beauty Shops*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007.
- Cruse, Harold. *Rebellion or Revolution?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968.
- Dávila, Arlene. *Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race*. New York: NYU Press, 2008.
- Davis, Ossie. "Eulogy for Malcolm X." Faith Temple Church Of God, New York, NY. 27 Feb. 1965.
- de la Fuente, Alejandro. *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. 2001.
- Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Falcon, Angelo. "A History of Puerto Rican Politics in New York City." In *Latinos and the Political System*, edited by James Jennings and Monte Rivera. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Flores, Juan. *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity*. Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon, 1990.
- _____. *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*. New York: Picador, 2003.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*. Reissue edition. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Guridy, Frank Andre. *Forging Diaspora Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Hall, Stuart. *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*. n.p.: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.
- _____. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- _____. "The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media." *Silver Linings: Some Strategies for the Eighties: 12th Annual Meeting: Papers*. By George Bridges and Rosalind Brunt. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1981. 28-52.
- Harper Brian Harper. "Nationalist and Social Division in Black Arts Poetry of the 1960s," in *Is It Nation Time? Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism*, ed. Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., 2002, 165-166.

- Harris, Cheryl I. "Whiteness as Property." *Harvard Law Review* 106.8 (1993): 1707-791.
- Herrera, Georgina, and Daisy Rubiera Castillo. *Golpeando la Memoria: Testimonio de una Poeta Cubana Afrodescendiente*. El Vedado, Ciudad de La Habana: Ediciones UNIÓN, 2005.
- Hilliard, David, and Lewis Cole. *This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panthers*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1993.
- Holton, Adalaine. "'Little Things Are Big': Race and the Politics of Print Community in the Writings of Jesús Colón." *Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States* 38, no. 2 (2013): 5-23.
- James, Winston. *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America*. Verso, 1998.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon, 2002.
- _____. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York; Toronto; New York: Free Press ; Maxwell Macmillan Canada ; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994.
- "La Voz De La Revolución: Un Reportaje De La Sección En Cuba." *Bohemia* 52.39 (1960): n. pag.
- Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1998.
- Lowe, Lisa. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2015.
- Melendez, Miguel. *We Took the Streets: Fighting for Latino Rights with the Young Lords*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 2005.
- Moore, Carlos. *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, 1988.
- Moten, Fred. "The Case of Blackness." *Criticism* 50.2 (2009): 177-218.
- Newton, Huey P., David Hilliard, and Donald Weise. *The Huey P. Newton Reader*. New York: Seven Stories, 2002.
- Ogbar, Jeffrey O.G. "Puerto Rico En Mi Corazón: The Young Lords, Black Power, and Puerto Nationalism in the U.S.. 1966-1972." *Centro Journal* 18.1 (2006): 149-69.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2 edition. New York: Routledge, 1994.

- Perez Rosario, Vanessa. *Becoming Julia de Burgos: The Making of a Puerto Rican Icon*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015.
- Pérez Sarduy, Pedro, Jean Stubbs, and Center for Cuban Studies. *AfroCuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture*. Melbourne, Vic.; London; New York, NY, USA: Ocean Press ; Latin American Bureau ; Distributed in the USA by the Talman Co., 1993.
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle. "Castro in Harlem: A Watershed Moment." *Rethinking the Cold War*. Allen Hunter, ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.
- Pulido, Laura. *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: U of California, 2006.
- Rhodes, Jane. *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon*. New York: New, 2007.
- Rivero, Yeidy M. *Tuning out Blackness: Race and Nation in the History of Puerto Rican Television*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.
- Román, Miriam Jiménez, and Juan Flores, eds. *The Afro-Latin@ Reader: History and Culture in the United States*. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010.
- Rose, Gillian. *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge by Gillian Rose*. Polity, 1647.
- Sawyer, Mark Q. *Racial Politics in Post-revolutionary Cuba*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Singh, Nikhil Pal. *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.---. "Culture/Wars: Recoding Empire in an Age of Democracy." *American Quarterly* (1998): 471-522.
- _____. "The Black Panther Party and the "Undeveloped Country" of the Left." *The Black Panther Party (reconsidered)*. By Charles E. Jones. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic, 2005. 57-105.
- Thomas, Lorrin. *Puerto Rican Citizenship: History and Political Identity in Twentieth-Century New York City*. Historical Studies of Urban America. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Torres, Andrés. *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1998.
- Vega, Bernardo, and César Andreu Iglesias. *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York*. Monthly Review Press, 1984.
- Von Eschen, Penny M. *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1997.

Young, Cynthia Ann. *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left*. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.