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Abstract:
Stokely Carmichael's visit to Cuba for three weeks in the summer of 1967 illustrates a convergence in the transnational routes of the African American freedom struggle and the Cuban Revolution. African American activists saw Cuba as a model for resisting US power, eradicating racism, and enacting societal change, while the Cuban government considered African Americans allies against US imperialism and advocates of Cuba's antiracist stance. Amidst racial violence in the United States and Cuba's efforts to inspire revolution, Carmichael's presence at the Organization of Latin American Solidarity conference in Havana—and in particular his interactions with Fidel Castro—caused ripples worldwide. A shared "tricontinental" vision that promoted unity in the

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Global South against imperialism, capitalism, and racism facilitated Carmichael's solidarity with Castro. Yet divergent views on the role of race in fighting oppression limited their solidarity. Carmichael and Castro's spectacular alliance demonstrated their personal affinity and ideological commonalities but did not result in an institutional alliance between the black liberation movement and the Cuban state. Instead Carmichael's connection with the Cuban Revolution left an underexplored legacy. Examining Carmichael's visit to Cuba illustrates the possibilities and pitfalls of transnational solidarity and furthers our understanding of postwar struggles for change.

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Tricontinental Routes of Solidarity: Stokely Carmichael in Cuba

SARAH SEIDMAN

In the summer of 1967, black freedom movement activist Stokely Carmichael and Cuban leader Fidel Castro captured worldwide attention as they denounced racism from the shores of Cuba. "Because our color has been used as a weapon to oppress us, we must use our color as a weapon of liberation," Carmichael declared during the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) conference in Havana.[1] Castro, in turn, suggested, "We must reject—as injurious and slanderous—that attempt to present the Negro movement of the United States as a racial problem."[2] While both men criticized racism and lauded struggles against it, their conceptions of the centrality of race itself diverged. Yet Castro affirmed, "Our people admire Stokely for the courageous statements he has made in the OLAS Conference," while Carmichael described his three weeks in Cuba as "eye-opening, inspiring, and mind-blowing."[3] Carmichael's visit to Cuba contained contradictions in both form and content. The potential of this alliance rested on visions of freedom for those oppressed by imperialism, capitalism and racism; its limitations pointed to the lived realities of race and the hegemony of top-down leadership structures in Cuba and the United States. While Carmichael's trip received an extraordinary amount of attention, his visit to Cuba encapsulated the possibilities and shortcomings that have characterized solidarity between African Americans and the Cuban Revolution for more than fifty years.[4]

Castro and Carmichael formed a dramatic alliance that prioritized their personal connection and ideological commonalities over their substantive differences. Carmichael followed in the footsteps of other African American activists who looked to Cuba as a model for defying U.S. power, enacting fundamental societal change, and abolishing racism. The Cuban government, in turn, regarded African Americans such as Carmichael as allies against U.S. imperialism and as advocates of Cuba's egalitarian program. Carmichael's trip to Cuba to attend the OLAS conference solidified the convergence of African American and Cuban internationalist politics through a shared anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist

"tricontinental" ideology. Tricontinentalism, with its emphasis on anti-imperialism, espousal of anti-racism, and its goal of cultivating a vanguard of Third World leaders, served as an effective vehicle of solidarity for Carmichael and Castro. Differences regarding the centrality of racial consciousness to the struggle against racism and exploitation, however, limited their solidarity. Carmichael came away from Cuba "deeply impressed" and "*inspired* by the humanistic idealism of their revolution," yet ambivalent about the veracity of Cuba's racial democracy.[5] Further, incongruity between Carmichael's roots in the anti-hierarchical Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and his welcome by Fidel Castro as a fellow world leader resulted in a personal affinity less fruitful for their respective mass movements. Carmichael and Castro's shared charisma rendered their connection in spectacular yet narrow terms. Despite their many intersections, the African American freedom struggle and the Cuban Revolution occupied distinct spaces.

Solidarity between African American activists and post-1959 Cuba occupies a pivotal yet under-explored nexus in the transnational routes integral to both black radicalism and the Cuban Revolution. Examination of Carmichael's trip to Cuba adds to the growing emphasis on African American internationalism during the "long civil rights" movement.[6] Likewise, scholars have increasingly placed Cuba and the 1959 Revolution in transnational contexts.[7] The spate of recent works by Cuban scholars of race in post-1959 Cuba demonstrates increased governmental acceptance of dialogue about continuing racism.[8] While Fidel Castro abolished segregation and other forms of legalized racial discrimination by decree in 1959, the government subsequently discouraged discussions of racism, prohibited demonstrations of racial consciousness, and banned organizations based on race.[9] Recent Cuban texts have helped to weaken the silence on race and racism in revolutionary Cuba, and have facilitated further scholarship in the United States.[10] Yet neither Cuban nor U.S. scholarship examines Carmichael's trip to Cuba in depth.[11] Works exploring the long history of African American and Cuban interactions tend to focus on the first half of the twentieth century or the initial years of the Revolution.[12] Moreover, literature on Cuban and African American convergences is often either explicitly celebratory or deeply critical.[13] Acknowledging the ambivalence that characterized African American and Cuban connections deepens our understanding of Cuba's revolutionary project and the African American postwar struggle for change.

SNCC, the Cuban Revolution, and the Tricontinental

A shared tricontinental ideology facilitated solidarity between Stokely Carmichael and Cuba. A political construct akin to Third Worldism, Cuba's concept of tricontinentalism emphasized unity across Latin America, Africa, and Asia against racism, capitalism, and in particular, western imperialism spearheaded by the United States.[14] The Cuban revolutionary government's abolition of racial discrimination in 1959, its identification as socialist in 1961, and above all its definition of the 1959

Revolution as a triumph against U.S. imperialism laid the basis for tricontinentalism's tenets. Inspired by a long line of anti-colonial gatherings such as the Afro-Asian alliance's meeting in Bandung in 1955, the Cuban government had pursued the idea of a three-continent conference since the early years of the Revolution.[15] The resulting Tricontinental Conference in January 1966 drew over five hundred delegates from eighty-two countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to Havana.[16] Tricontinentalism defined Cuba's foreign policies supporting insurgent groups in Latin America, opposing the war in Vietnam, and intervening in Africa in the 1960s. It also doubled as a nationalist project intended to unify the Cuban people.[17] African Americans did not travel from the U.S. to participate in the Tricontinental Conference, but the documents, organizations and publications that emerged from the meeting demonstrated pronounced solidarity with the black freedom struggle.[18] In turn, tricontinentalism's emphasis on anti-imperialism and its inclusion of a critique of racism elicited the interest of African American internationalists.[19] Carmichael called the conference's permanent organization, the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), "one of the most important organizations for the development of the struggle of the Negroes in the United States," and years later dubbed the *Tricontinental* magazine "a bible in revolutionary circles."[20] The conference served as a model for future international conferences in Havana attended by at least nine members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, including Carmichael.[21] African Americans represented a core constituency of Cuba's tricontinental vision.

Carmichael embodied and promoted black internationalism. Born in Trinidad in 1941 to a pan-Caribbean family, Carmichael immigrated to New York at age eleven and moved to Guinea in 1969. He spent the better part of the 1960s with SNCC, joining as a student at Howard University and participating in the Freedom Rides in 1961, the Freedom Summer project in Mississippi in 1964, the independent voting project in Lowndes County, Alabama, in 1965, and other projects that sought to empower local African Americans to dictate the terms of their lives. As SNCC Chairman beginning in spring 1966, Carmichael reiterated the group's position against the war in Vietnam and traveled to Puerto Rico to establish an alliance with the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence in 1967.[22] While Carmichael's popularization of the term "Black Power" made him a household name, he was also a main proponent of conceptualizing black communities in the United States as internal colonies.[23] He attended the Dialectics of Liberation Conference in London in July 1967, where he joined Herbert Marcuse, C.L.R. James, and other critical theorists, political activists, and countercultural figures to discuss "new ways in which intellectuals might act to change the world" and create a revolutionary consciousness.[24] Declaring at the London conference that "Black Power, to us, means that black people see themselves as part of a new force, sometimes called the Third World," Carmichael tied the struggle of the Global South to the very definition of Black Power.[25] Carmichael resigned as SNCC Chairman before his global

crisscrossing took him to London, Havana, Moscow, China, Hanoi, and the African continent. Yet his international renown caused discomfort within the non-hierarchical SNCC, and perhaps contributed to his expulsion from the deteriorating organization in 1968.[26]

SNCC's internationalist outlook increased throughout the 1960s and endeared the group to Cuba. SNCC emerged from the Southern sit-in movement in 1960 as a fiercely autonomous, grassroots organization as seventeen African countries proudly became independent nations. The gains and continuing violence that comprised the "Year of Africa" inspired SNCC to declare at its founding conference "that we identify ourselves with the African struggle as a concern of all mankind."[27] SNCC never characterized itself as a socialist organization and exhibited suspicion of centralized leadership. Yet SNCC maintained a policy of open association at home and abroad, individual members such as Carmichael demonstrated a vacillating interest in Marxism, and critics accused it of communist ties.[28] After 1964, SNCC workers traveled across the African continent and visited Vietnam, Japan, and the Soviet Union.[29] SNCC also protested apartheid throughout the decade, declared its opposition to the Vietnam War in January 1966—long before other civil rights groups—and generated controversy for supporting Palestine in its 1967 conflict with Israel.[30] In turn, the organization drew visiting activists from around the world and inspired "Friends of SNCC" groups from Paris to Jamaica. In 1967 SNCC established an International Affairs Commission and affirmed its focus on *human,* not solely civil, rights.[31]

By 1967, SNCC had further centralized its internationalist outlook, yet its programs no longer mobilized masses of people. The 1964 Mississippi Summer Project fulfilled its mission to attract widespread media attention to the poverty, racism, and violence in Mississippi at a high cost to SNCC's internal cohesion. The limits of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act, along with the suppression of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's efforts to gain delegate seats at the 1964 Democratic National Convention, left the group convinced of the futility of working with the political establishment. Carmichael's popularization of the phrase "Black Power" in 1966, which the media characterized as racist, separatist, and violent, led to persistent distortion and government surveillance.[32] The decision to make SNCC an all-black organization the same year, and encourage white activists to combat racism in white communities, alienated many supporters.[33] Carmichael and successor H. Rap Brown's attempts to combat SNCC's fundraising nosedive with speaking engagements resulted in the message—and messengers—overshadowing the program. What began as an avowedly anti-hierarchical organization became perceived as one dominated by individual personalities instead of programs. Rifts increasingly plagued SNCC's familial closeness, and the vestiges of the organization that embodied the arc of the decade held its last meeting in 1969.[34] SNCC workers who began traveling to Cuba in 1967 came less as members of a unified organization than as individuals affiliated with a culture that was fading away.

Despite SNCC's increased emphasis on blackness as a category and Cuba's aversion to it, Cuban institutions lauded SNCC at mid-decade. In July 1965 the Cuban Mission in New York invited John Lewis, SNCC chairman at the time, to visit Cuba during the annual July 26 commemoration of the origins of the Cuban Revolution.[35] After the Watts rebellion in 1965, the Cuban media—as an arm of the state apparatus—shifted its emphasis from black victimization to black resistance.[36] A special insert in a June 1967 issue of the Cuban daily newspaper *Granma* on "reformist, nationalist and black power" leaders suggested the Cuban state's preferences for African American proponents of internationalism and Black Power.[37] The Cuban press scorned both the NAACP's legal efforts at integration and the Black Muslims' separatist initiatives. Instead, *Granma* supported SNCC's "militant stand in favor of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for liberation" and lauded Carmichael as the organization's "outstanding leader."[38] SNCC workers such as Carmichael shared critiques of imperialism, capitalism, and racism with Cuban leaders, even as they diverged on their commitments to Marxism, and, more notably, on fighting racism by focusing on race. When Carmichael arrived in Cuba in 1967, SNCC was the African American organization favored by the Cuban state.

Carmichael and Castro in Cuba

While Carmichael was one of four SNCC members in Cuba during the summer of 1967, his visit received a singular amount of attention. The OLAS invitation sent to SNCC specifically requested Carmichael's presence at the conference.[39] SNCC instead proffered singer, writer and photographer Julius Lester, who had already committed to travel to Cuba for the concurrent Canción Protesta folk festival.[40] Meanwhile, Cuba proved to be an inevitable stop on Carmichael's 1967 world tour. With SNCC campus organizer George Ware in tow, Carmichael traveled from London to Havana on July 25 upon the invitation of Cuban delegates to the Dialectics of Liberation Conference.[41] There he joined Lester, along with Elizabeth Martinez—at the end of her time running SNCC's New York office—and SNCC campus organizer George Ware. Carmichael's recent tenure as SNCC chairman provided a high-profile platform that he utilized to criticize the United States, declare solidarity with Cuba, and interact with Fidel Castro. As unrest exploded in Detroit in July 1967, the war in Vietnam raged and Cuba encouraged revolution worldwide, attention to Carmichael's visit reached a frenzied fever pitch. Although by all accounts Carmichael traveled to Cuba as an individual, Cubans considered him, however fleetingly, not only as the spokesman for SNCC but as "the leader of the North American Negro movement."[42]

The opportunity to witness each other's allure firsthand solidified the bond between Carmichael and Castro. Carmichael had admired Castro since the latter's trip to Harlem in 1960. As Carmichael recalled, "[d]uring my youth Castro was the most controversial—admired as well as demonized—political figure on the world stage.

And clearly the boldest and most charismatic."[43] Scholars have argued that Cuba's political climate, Castro's leadership skills, and his appropriation of the island's Catholic and African-influenced religious symbols facilitated a messianic charisma.[44] Mesmerized—despite his limited Spanish—by Castro's speech commemorating the origins of the Cuban Revolution on July 26, Carmichael characterized Castro's facility with the audience as palpable.[45] Carmichael's own ability to connect to a range of audiences had earned him the name "Starmichael" within SNCC. Castro introduced Carmichael to the crowds as "one of the most distinguished pro-civil rights leaders of the United States" when he spoke of his sympathy "most particularly with that sector of the population that is criminally discriminated against and oppressed, the black sector of the U.S. people."[46] Following the July 26 festivities in the eastern part of the island, SNCC members rode with Castro's motorcade and Carmichael rode with Castro in his jeep.[47] Carmichael and Castro were master performers who utilized their convergence for their respective goals, but their proximate interactions cemented their mutual admiration.

Carmichael and Castro further fortified their alliance through the tricontinentalism on display at the meeting of the OLAS. Like the Tricontinental Conference, the OLAS sought to bring revolutionary leaders together to create a vanguard organization. With the slogan "the duty of the revolutionary is to make revolution," the OLAS conference convened in Havana on July 31, 1967, with the purpose of unifying Latin American leaders against imperialism and fomenting revolution in the hemisphere.[48] Conceived at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana the previous year and reflective of tricontinental ideology, the OLAS was intended to serve as a Latin American complement to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and an alternative to the Organization of American States.[49] The OLAS drew 150 delegates from political parties and insurgent groups in 27 Latin American countries, 100 guests and observers from additional organizations and governments and 150 international journalists to the Havana Libre hotel.[50] International luminaries such as Ho Chi Minh and Bertrand Russell sent messages of support.[51] Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the ultimate icon of the tricontinental revolutionary vanguard, presided over the meeting in absentia as president of honor.

Mobilization for the OLAS reflected the import the Cuban state placed on international conferences as sites for domestic and foreign policy. International conferences enabled the Cuban state to subvert the physical and intellectual blockades imposed by the United States and to advocate the Cuban Revolution as a model for change worldwide.[52] While delegates from Uruguay, Guatemala, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic formed the vice-presidency of the organization, Cuba retained unambiguous leadership of the OLAS.[53] The conference's staging immediately following the July 26 Cuban independence celebrations suggests that it doubled as a means to showcase and commemorate the ongoing Revolution. Constant press coverage, televised roundtables, and educational meetings led by neighborhood Committees for the Defense of the Revolution served to educate and

unite the Cuban population around the conference themes.[54] In the opening address to the conference, Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado characterized the meeting as a challenge to imperialism and thus a form of resistance unto itself.[55]

Cuba used the OLAS to assert its support for armed revolution and to propagate a "Havana line" apart from Cold War powers.[56] The OLAS treaded on slippery Cold War terrain when it called for a revolution in the Americas characterized by socialism in theory and fueled by guerilla warfare in practice. In accordance with the Kremlin's stance of peaceful coexistence, Julius Lester described Soviet observers in Havana as espousing the "go-slow" approach to fomenting change. Cuba, on the other hand, stood "as a symbol of triumph of the armed revolutionary movement."[57] Although Cuba depended on the Soviet Union for material resources beginning in the early 1960s, its ideological similarities to China remained explicit until at least 1967. Tension also reportedly arose between Latin American delegations at the OLAS over the role of traditional Communist parties in Latin America, particularly the absent Venezuelan Communist Party deemed "rightist" by Castro.[58] The OLAS affirmed Cuba's attempt to assert its own geo-political importance and vanguard position while walking a political tightrope between the Soviet Union and nonalignment. Cuba's increased closeness with Moscow, solidified by Che Guevara's death in late 1967 and the failure of the 1970 sugarcane harvest to reach lofty production goals, ultimately limited the scope of its tricontinental project.[59]

A key part of Cuba's assertion of power was Castro's emphasis on solidarity with African Americans. The OLAS agenda, approved in October 1966 by the conference's organizing committee, affirmed OLAS solidarity with national liberation struggles and specifically cited "support of the Negro people of the United States in their struggle against racial segregation and in the defense of their right to equality and freedom."[60] The text of the final OLAS declaration proclaimed "that the Latin American struggle strengthens its ties of solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa and those of the socialist countries, the workers of the capitalist nations, and especially with the black population of the United States which suffers class exploitation, poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination and the denial of their most elementary human rights, and which constitutes an important force within the revolutionary struggle."[61] The attention paid to African Americans at the OLAS exceeded any other non-Latin American focus except the war in Vietnam. The State Department noted that a French government official found solidarity with African Americans the "most striking result" of the conference.[62] Alliances with African Americans formed part of the institutional agenda of the Cuban-led OLAS and its long-range vision of hemispheric solidarity.

Carmichael's persona and positions facilitated his prominence at the OLAS conference. On the meeting's first day the OLAS organizing committee changed Carmichael's status from observer to "delegate of honor"—a role afforded to no other individual.[63] The following day Carmichael accepted the designation "in the name of the Negroes in the United States who are awaiting the revolutionary

movement for our liberation."[64] In his subsequent press conference with Lester and Ware, he purportedly excluded American journalists, threatened U.S. leaders, and lauded Cuba's version of communism.[65] He also defined Black Power as international, as both "the union of the Negro population of the U.S. with the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world" and "the struggle against capitalism and imperialism that oppress us from within and oppress you from without."[66] In his speech to the OLAS, Carmichael urged African Americans to identify as "African-Americans of the Americas" and called for the coming of "a true United States of America . . . from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska."[67] His speech connected the African American liberation movement to tricontinental struggles against capitalism, imperialism, and racism: "We share a common struggle, it becomes increasingly clear; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white Western imperialist society. Our struggle is to overthrow this system that feeds itself and expands itself through the economic and cultural exploitation of non-white, non-Western peoples—of the Third World."[68] Carmichael's statements caused an uproar in the U.S., where the media cast Carmichael as an arbiter of violence and hate during the "Summer of Love," but in Cuba, Carmichael became the latest induction to its pantheon of political celebrities.[69] Lester wrote in the Friends of SNCC newspaper, *The Movement*, that Carmichael's presence at the conference "played no small role in the final resolutions."[70]

Castro's concluding speech at the OLAS further exalted the laudatory dialogue with Carmichael reverberating across the globe. Castro decried U.S. racism and called African American and Latin American solidarity "the most natural thing in the world."[71] He read aloud and responded to specific criticism by the U.S. of this solidarity, in particular to a *New York Daily News* editorial entitled, "Stokely, Stay There," which read, "We suggest that he remain in Havana, his spiritual home. . . . If Carmichael returns to the United States we think that the Department of Justice should throw the book at him."[72] Castro responded, "We would indeed be honored if he wishes to remain here . . . but he is the one who doesn't want to stay here because he considers it his fundamental duty to fight. But he must know that whatever the circumstances, this country will always be his home."[73] Further, he called on others to support Carmichael: "We believe that the revolutionary movements all over the world must give Stokely their utmost support as protection against the repression of the imperialists, in such a way that everyone will know that any crime committed against this leader will have serious repercussions throughout the world. And our solidarity can help to protect Stokely's life."[74] Castro's speech solidified Carmichael's standing in Cuba as a renowned leader, spokesman, and symbol.

Carmichael and Castro avoided dwelling publicly on their articulated differences regarding race. Castro demonstrated an understanding of the constructed nature of race when he explained in his OLAS speech that U.S. racism "does not arise from that sector because of race problems, but arises because of social problems, because of exploitation and oppression."[75] Castro also rejected the

idea that the black freedom struggle's efforts to fight racism constituted racism in reverse.[76] Yet he downplayed the category of race in relation to class by explaining that the struggle against racism was not a "racial problem," a stance reflected in his own country's policies toward racial discrimination. In his speech to the OLAS, on the other hand, Carmichael characterized racism as a distinct category. He rationalized that "even if we destroyed racism, we would not necessarily destroy exploitation; and if we destroyed exploitation, we would not necessarily end racism. They must both be destroyed; we must constantly launch a two-pronged attack."[77] Julius Lester recalled that after discussing race while riding through the Sierra Maestra with Castro, "Stokely was unnaturally quiet when we reached a camp at the top of the mountain. He would only say that Fidel did not understand racism, but from Stokely's sullenness, I had the distinct impression that the meeting had not gone well."[78] Author Carlos Moore wrote that Carmichael had expressed doubts about Cuba's overwhelmingly white leadership when they met in Paris the year following his visit, and Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver later maintained that Carmichael discouraged him from fleeing to Cuba as a political fugitive in 1968 because of ongoing racism on the island.[79]

Carmichael's statements on Cuba suggest that, despite more complex reactions and divergent views, he maintained a united stand with Cuba because he saw commonalities between the struggles of black Americans and the Cuban people against U.S. power and believed in the tricontinental goals of the Cuban Revolution. Carmichael accepted Castro's assertion that Cuban racism resulted from colonialism and that "the government was 'doing everything possible to fight it.'"[80] In his memoir he wrote: "Nowhere did I see signs of racism or of extreme poverty. Be clear now, I did see signs of the lingering *effects* of racism and poverty. Those couldn't be eliminated in eight years, but no signs of *present* racism."[81] In particular, Carmichael repeatedly expressed approbation for Cuba's land expropriation and redistribution in the first years of the Revolution.[82] Carmichael later suggested that his work with African Americans in the South who risked eviction or violence from landlords for acts such as voting made him understand the power of land:

> Castro had been giving people land. People had no land before. They took it, gave the land to the people. These things were very close to me because of my early organizing work in Mississippi with peasants there where the land did not belong to them. The people in Mississippi could be victimized in so many different ways, just kicked off the land at the whim of the landlord or plantation owner. So, what I saw in Cuba made a deep impression.[83]

Carmichael's support of the economic and anti-imperialist attributes of both tricontinentalism and the Cuban revolutionary project overrode his observations of

what he saw as vestigial racial inequality on the island. While local interests may have motivated Castro and Carmichael, overlapping ideologies facilitated their solidarity's display.

Aftermath and Legacy

The dramatic show of support between Carmichael and Castro prompted a cacophony of voices to opine about the performative dimension of their interactions. James Reston of the *New York Times*, reporting from Havana, accused Carmichael of "playing a miserable game" and Castro of "obviously using" Carmichael.[84] Reston argued that a desperate Carmichael, no longer part of the SNCC leadership, lacked support from African Americans and turned to Castro to the detriment of the black movement. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP emphasized performance when he compared Castro's alliance with Carmichael to a blackface routine.[85] SNCC veteran Ekwueme Michael Thelwell posited in Carmichael's memoir that Castro, Guinea's Sékou Touré, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and other "revolutionary elders" sought to mentor Carmichael and protect him from the violence that befell other black leaders, while SNCC's James Forman opined that Carmichael, widely noted as a skilled speaker with a range of audiences, simply told Cuban audiences what they wanted to hear.[86] While Castro rejected the claim that he and Carmichael were using each other in his OLAS speech, Carmichael himself acknowledged this element when he recalled his honorary delegate status: "Of course, they probably wished to mess with the US government, but that was secondary and I had no problem with it. What else could it have been? Of course, I understood clearly that this wasn't about Stokely Carmichael, or even SNCC. I understood that I was there for one primary reason: the Cubans' respect for the historic struggle of our people."[87] Despite Carmichael's suggestion to the contrary, Castro's show of support *was* about Stokely Carmichael, as well as the visibility the two leaders together engendered.

Widespread outrage in the U.S. government regarding Carmichael's trip overseas reinforced his position that an international black consciousness threatened the United States "more than anything else."[88] The U.S. State Department admitted that Castro's alliance with Carmichael against U.S. racism exposed "an obvious sore spot in his mortal enemy."[89] Carmichael's equating mounting racial unrest to guerilla warfare and his rhetoric against Lyndon Johnson prompted letters to government agencies accusing him of inciting riots and sedition.[90] Many Americans called for his deportation despite his U.S. citizenship. African American veterans critical of Carmichael's foreign policy positions received prominent media coverage.[91] Democratic and Republican congressmen introduced resolutions condemning Carmichael's trip in defiance of legal restrictions barring U.S. travel to Cuba, and later subpoenaed and questioned him.[92] Although Lyndon Johnson himself requested briefings on Carmichael and SNCC "at least several times a week" beginning in 1966, the FBI stepped up targeted coverage of Carmichael through its counterintelligence

program (COINTELPRO).[93] While Carmichael escaped significant retribution, he realized the import of civil rights leader Bayard Rustin's advice years earlier that "the one thing you cannot do is criticize America from a foreign country."[94]

Carmichael's presence in Cuba and participation in the OLAS fueled longstanding accusations of communism in the black freedom struggle.[95] The nuances of Carmichael's oscillating support for and criticism of socialism that would soon jeopardize his relationship with Castro mattered little. "To the liberals Stokely Carmichael had, once again, hurt the 'cause' of the Negro," Julius Lester wrote, while "to the right-wing it was all the 'proof' they needed that SNCC, Black Power and the rebellions were Communist."[96] Syndicated columnists Robert Novak and Rowland Evans built on their longstanding accusations of communist elements in SNCC by characterizing its trajectory toward communism as "inevitable" and declaring that "there is no longer any doubt that SNCC today is Fidel Castro's arm in the United States."[97] The *National Review* agreed: Carmichael's new organizing project "most definitely came from Havana."[98] Both government agencies and media outlets suggested that SNCC received material aid, in the forms of guerilla training and funding, from Cuba. The State Department speculated that Castro made financial contributions to groups like SNCC, and *U.S. News and World Report* accused Castro of training SNCC members in guerrilla tactics.[99] Cuba did aid insurgent groups in Latin America and Africa, but limited its financial assistance for African Americans to paying for travel or living expenses in Cuba. Carmichael and Castro forged a personal affinity through a shared tricontinental ideology rather than an institutional alliance through the apparatus of communism.

Carmichael's trip also fomented existing tensions within SNCC. James Forman complained that Carmichael traveled to Cuba without SNCC permission and that he went beyond the group's articulated position on the OLAS conference.[100] While SNCC's International Affairs Commission agreed that, "We see our struggle in the United States as closely related to struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America," it advocated further education about their distinct, respective struggles. To defeat racism, it suggested, "The best approach is a pragmatic approach based on the particular circumstances of a particular struggle and on a broad principle of political non-alignment."[101] Elizabeth Martinez also admitted to being "personally disturbed by certain aspects" of Carmichael's visit, despite her agreement with his stated positions.[102] Julius Lester recalled that they learned of the U.S. press attention Carmichael's remarks had garnered when they "received an angry telephone call from the SNCC Central Committee demanding that Stokely keep his 'damned mouth shut.'"[103] Lester too remembered his time with Carmichael in Cuba with bitterness. Carmichael's face time with Castro, his polemical rhetoric on the island, and his perceived status—as Lester put it—as "that strangest of anomalies, a revolutionary celebrity," perpetuated the notion that SNCC embraced a top-down hierarchy at the expense of mass struggle.[104]

Tension between Carmichael and SNCC was mutual; a letter from Carmichael sent shortly after leaving Cuba read: "I hope my trip and future trips will make things HOTTER for you all. . . . Those of us who are serious will carry on. I wish most of you would wake up and catch up with your people. They are ahead of you."[105] Carmichael's forced resignation from SNCC in July 1968 illustrated the increased conflict that marked the organization, specifically its perpetual grappling with questions concerning the nature of individual leadership in an avowedly mass struggle.

Regardless—or perhaps because—of conceptual differences with Castro regarding race, Carmichael's visit had a significant impact on black Cubans. In the late 1960s Afro-Cubans were repressed by the Cuban state and harassed by other Cubans for an array of cultural and religious activities that demonstrated overt racial consciousness, ranging from wearing their hair in Afros to practicing forms of African religions.[106] Subjected to continuing economic disparities and racial prejudice, they held doubts about the tricontinental colorblind policies that the Cuban government espoused.[107] "The Revolution says that Cubans and Vietnamese and black Americans are united in a common struggle. But we are not there yet," a young Afro-Cuban told Elizabeth Martinez.[108] Martinez observed how Carmichael's visit to Cuba stirred racial consciousness among Cubans of African descent: "Black Cubans demonstrated a special response to his visit and concurrent events in Detroit and Newark. Never before, they said, had they had contact with a young fire-eating black leader like Stokely. . . . Blacks said they felt inspired by Stokely and sometimes torn, for he made them race-conscious and race-proud in a country where such attitudes were not encouraged."[109] Despite potential ramifications, Afro-Cuban intellectuals convened to discuss issues of race in the 1960s, read Carmichael's writings, and by some accounts met with Carmichael when he visited Cuba.[110] Carmichael and subsequent visitors such as Angela Davis also motivated Afro-Cubans to wear their hair in natural styles and embrace other visual manifestations of Black Power and black pride, all of which caused uneasiness in the Cuban government. Carmichael's visit thus reverberated through both formal government channels and among the Cuban population, including those that the Cuban government repressed.

Carmichael left Havana in mid-August 1967 to continue his travels, but his presence in Cuban society remained. Martinez described Carmichael's continuing popularity at the rally for the second anniversary of Watts and the first Cuban "Day of Solidarity with the African American People" on August 18, 1967: "Carmichael had left by then, but some sixty thousand Cubans showed up on two or three days' notice. They waved printed posters and also many homemade signs saying 'Carmikel, we are with you!' or 'With our solidarity, we will protect Stokelis.'"[111] *Granma* printed blurbs regarding his whereabouts in Asia and Africa while Cuban foreign correspondents recorded interviews with him abroad.[112] The Cuban media continued to place Carmichael on equal footing with Cuba's leaders when it distributed a letter he wrote after Che Guevara's death in October 1967, where Carmichael penned: "I never met

Che Guevara in person but I do know him. I still know him now." [113] His writings and speeches on Black Power helped initiate the *Tricontinental* magazine, were reviewed by the venerable journal *Casa de las Américas*, and appeared prominently in Cuban filmmaker Santiago Álvarez's scathing documentary *LBJ*.[114] Ubiquitous press coverage of a sunglasses-clad Carmichael ensured his role as an icon and heartthrob.[115] Jamaican writer Andrew Salkey recalled two Cuban girls asking if he knew Carmichael when attending the Havana Cultural Congress in January 1968, and journalist Arlene Eisen Bergman recounted in January 1969 that on a recent trip to Cuba she "met several Cuban girls, black and white, who carry his picture in their wallets."[116]

An ideological rupture limited, but did not terminate, Carmichael's solidarity with Cuba. At an Oakland rally in February 1968 for imprisoned Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton, Carmichael characterized communism as an ideology not applicable to black people. "Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period. Period. Socialism is not an ideology fitted for black people, period. Period," he shouted.[117] That African Americans were colonized rather than exploited as workers and that, "in their present form neither communism nor socialism speak to the problem of racism," reflected Carmichael's turn to black nationalism.[118] When in Cuba, Carmichael had not identified as a communist, but described Cuba as the socialist system "we like best."[119] Carmichael, who had interacted with socialists since high school in New York City and who considered the socialist Bayard Rustin a mentor from his days at Howard, consistently showed both an interest in socialist principles and a frustration with Marxist-Leninism. Yet his assertion was controversial enough to be omitted in the speech's printing, and, coming six months after Castro's public defense of him, to have allegedly disappointed the Cuban leader.[120] Eisen Bergman wrote of the subsequent frustration with Carmichael she encountered among Cubans, quoting one as explaining: "To say that communism isn't relevant to black people is to say that black people ain't human."[121] The *Casa de las Américas* journal illustrated Cuban intellectuals' willingness to partake in the growing factionalism in the U.S. movement by translating a scathing letter written to Carmichael by Eldridge Cleaver in 1969.[122] Carmichael's remarks, and rumors that he and his wife, South African singer Miriam Makeba, were CIA agents, hurt his relationship with Castro.

Yet the conflict receded over time, leaving Carmichael's personal connection to Cuba intact. In his memoir, he took pains to affirm that his support for the Cuban Revolution "has never wavered over the years. Never wavered."[123] In a 1976 letter reflecting upon his own aging, Carmichael mentioned Castro as a model of a leader who became more revolutionary with age.[124] Carmichael later worked as a liaison to the Cuban embassy in Conakry; his assertion that "Africans have a lot to thank the Cubans for" demonstrated his support for Cuba's policies in Africa.[125] Likewise, Carmichael's name has not been erased from Cuba's historical memory like other onetime African American allies. Carmichael also traveled back to Cuba on more than one occasion, triumphal returns that he characterized as "the political expression of

our complete rapprochement, the final failure of the FBI's campaign of slander and character assassination some years earlier."[126] He attended the thirtieth anniversary of the OLAS in Havana in 1997. He also spent time in Cuba receiving free medical treatment for what proved to be fatal cancer in the late 1990s. Carmichael's trip to Cuba in 1967 helped chart his life's course, and he never recanted his favorable opinion of the Cuban state.

The contradictions inherent in Carmichael's trip abroad illuminated challenges in the U.S. and Cuba not only to create and maintain mass-led movements, but also to ally them. African American activists read, wrote, and spoke about the Cuban Revolution, traveled to the island, and lived there in exile over the next four decades. Six months after Carmichael's Cuban sojourn, five additional members of SNCC attended the Havana Cultural Congress. While Castro and Carmichael established a connection that suggested the possibilities of an alliance forged through an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-racist tricontinental ideology, differences regarding the centrality of race in fighting oppression marked Carmichael and other black activists' Cuban experiences. Carmichael's personally transformative convergence with Castro did not lead to financial backing for U.S. black movements or the acceptance of racial consciousness in Cuba, but rather a space for Carmichael in a program of imagined, vanguard, tricontinental leadership that never fully blossomed. Their alliance ultimately remained more personal than institutional; their respective movements remained more separate than conjoined. Yet exploring Carmichael and Castro's convergence illuminates the transnational routes of the black freedom struggle and the Cuban Revolution, conveying both the possibilities and the pitfalls of such well-worn paths.

Notes

[1] Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Random House, 1971), 107. Carmichael later changed his name to Kwame Ture; here I refer to him as Stokely Carmichael.

[2] Fidel Castro, *Speech by Major Fidel Castro at the Closing of the First Conference of OLAS: Revolución, Revolución, OLAS, Solidaridad* (Havana: Instituto del Libro, 1967), 17.

[3] Castro, *Speech by Major Fidel Castro*, 17; and Stokely Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 583.

[4] Other participants in the black freedom struggle who have spent time in Cuba include Amiri Baraka, Robert F. Williams, Eldridge Cleaver, Angela Davis, Huey Newton, and Assata Shakur.

[5] See Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 584.

[6] See Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 6; and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1235.

[7] See Damián Fernández, ed., *Cuba Transnational* (Miami: University Press of Florida, 2005).

[8] See *Temas 7* (July-September 1996); *Catauro* 6 (July-December 2002): 52-93; Sandra Morales Fundora, *El Negro y su Representación Social* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2001); Tomás Fernandéz Robaina, *Cuba: Personalidades en el Debate Racial, Conferencias y Ensayos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2007); and Esteban Morales Domínguez, *Desafíos de la Problemática Racial en Cuba* (Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2007).

[9] See "A Ganar la Batalla de la Discriminación," *Revolución,* March 26, 1959; and Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, And Politics In Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[10] See Morales Domínguez, *Desafíos de la Problemática Racial*, 189, 202; De la Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 280; Mark Q. Sawyer, *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Devyn Spence Benson, "Not Blacks, But Citizens! Racial Politics in Revolutionary Cuba, 1959-1961" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009).

[11] See Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 274-76; Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 191-93; Mark Q. Sawyer, *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*, 90-93; and John Gronbeck-Tedesco, "Reading Revolution: Politics in the U.S.-Cuban Cultural Imagination, 1930-1970" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2009), 287-89. Cuban scholarly publications have not addressed African American interactions with the Cuban Revolution.

[12] See Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (New York: Verso, 1993); Rosemari Mealy, *Fidel & Malcolm X: Memories of a Meeting* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1993); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 285-97, 304-10; Lisa Brock and Digna Casteñeda Fuertes, eds., *Between Race and Empire: African Americans and Cubans Before the Cuban Revolution,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 18-53; and Frank Guridy, *Forging Diaspora:*

Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[13] Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, 1988); and Ruth Reitan, *The Rise and Decline of an Alliance: Cuba and African American Leaders in the 1960s* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

[14] See Besenia Rodriguez, "Beyond Nation: The Formation of a Tricontinental Discourse" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2006), iv-viii; Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 211-216; and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007), 105-15.

[15] The Chairmanship of the International Preparatory Committee of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Cuban National Committee, *Towards the First Tricontinental Conference* 1 (October 1965); and Thomas J. Hamilton, "Cuba Calls off World Aid Talks: Roa Says Havana Parley of Under-Developed Nations is Indefinitely Postponed," *New York Times*, July 28, 1960.

[16] The General Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, ed., *First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America* (Havana: O.S.P.A.A.A.L., 1966), 183.

[17] See John Gronbeck-Tedesco, "The Left in Transition: The Cuban Revolution in US Third World Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40, no. 4 (2008): 662.

[18] General Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, ed., *First Solidarity Conference*, 79-80; "Declaración del Secretariado Ejecutivo de la OSPAAAL Sobre el Movimiento de Lucha de la Población Negra de los Estados Unidos," *Secretariado Ejecutivo de la OSPAAAL, Habana, Cuba*, sec. 9 A-9-PE, p. 1-4, OSPAAAL materials, Tricontinental Archive, Havana, Cuba; and George Murray and Jordan Major Ford, "Black Panthers: the Afro-Americans' Challenge," *Tricontinental* 10 (January-February 1969): 96-111. Josephine Baker traveled from France to partake in the conference. See "Encuentro con Josephine Baker," *Granma*, January 5, 1965.

[19] William Worthy, "William Worthy Reports," *The Realist* (April 1966): 13; James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Open Hand Publishing, 1985), xxii; Robert Carl Cohen, *Black Crusader: A Biography of Robert Franklin Williams* (Secaucus, NJ: L. Stuart, 1972), 302-3; and John Clytus and Jane Rieker, *Black Man in Red Cuba*, (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970), 43. Williams and Clytus were in Cuba and wished to attend the conference, but did not participate.

[20] "Stokely Carmichael in Cuba to Attend OLAS Conference," *Granma Weekly Review*, July 30, 1967, 7; and Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 697.

[21] Stokely Carmichael, Julius Lester, Elizabeth Martinez, George Ware, Ralph Featherstone, Robert Fletcher, Jennifer Lawson, Willie Ricks, and Chico Neblett traveled to Cuba to attend international conferences between July 1967 and January 1968.

[22] Carmichael to Friend, undated, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers, 1959-1972 (microfilm, 73 reels, Microfilming Corporation of America, 1981), reel 2 (herafter cited as SNCC Papers); and "Text of the Joint Statement Signed by the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, Federation of University Students for Independence and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," January 26, 1967, SNCC Papers, reel 3.

[23] See Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967), 2-32.

[24] David C. Cooper, ed., *To Free a Generation: The Dialectics of Liberation* (New York: Collier Books, 1968), 11.

[25] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 97.

[26] C. Gerald Fraser, "S.N.C.C. Breaks Ties with Stokely Carmichael," *New York Times,* August 23, 1968.

[27] See Fanon Che Wilkins, "The Making of Black Internationalists: SNCC and Africa Before the Launching of Black Power, 1960-1965," *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 4 (2007): 467-490; and "Recommendations of the Findings and Recommendations Committee are as Follows," April 15, 1960, SNCC Papers, reel 11.

[28] Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Inside Report: Danger from the Left," *Washington Post*, March 18, 1965; and Carson, *In Struggle*, 181-83.

[29] See A.K.P. Kludze to John Lewis, November 1, 1963, SNCC Papers, reel 30; Betty Garman to Flora C. Meijer, June 7, 1965, SNCC Papers, reel 30; and Carson, *In Struggle*, 135-36, 272.

[30] See "Statement by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on the War in Vietnam," January 6, 1966, SNCC Papers, reel 30; "American Civil Rights Workers Arrested in Anti-Apartheid Demonstration," March 25, 1966, SNCC Papers, reel 58; and Carson, *In Struggle*, 267-69.

[31] "Resolutions Passed by Us on Sunday, May 7, 1967," 8 May 1967, reel 3, SNCC Papers.

[32] Carmichael's writings, in contrast, characterized Black Power as self-determination among black individuals and communities, and self-defense against violence. See Ture, *Black Power*; and Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want," *New York Review of Books*, 1966.

[33] See Hasan Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 179-81, 188. Jeffries argues that

Black Power emerged from a clear program of black consciousness, solidarity, and independent politics.

[34] See Wesley Hogan, *Many Minds One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 254; and Carson, *In Struggle*, 295-98. Hogan dates SNCC's demise to as early as 1966.

[35] Miguel J. Alfonso to John Lewis, July 9, 1965, SNCC Papers, reel 1.

[36] Felix Pita Astudillo, "Controversy on Strategy: Negro Quietists in the U.S.A.," *Granma Weekly Review*, July 7, 1966; and "Nueva Etapa de la Lucha de los Negros en EE. UU.," *Cuba Socialista* 6 (September 1966): 126-36.

[37] "Poder Negro ¡NOW!," *Granma*, June 21, 1967; and "What Road Will U.S. Negroes Take Now? Three Answers: Reformism, Nationalism, or Black Power," *Granma Weekly Review*, June 25, 1967.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Haydée Santamaría to Stokely Carmichael, June 19, 1967, SNCC Papers, reel 51.

[40] James Forman to Haydée Santamaría, July 10, 1967, SNCC Papers, reel 51.

[41] *Ready for Revolution*, 579; Elizabeth Martinez to Jean Wiley, August 9, 1967, SNCC Papers, reel 52; "Second S.N.C.C. Aide is Losing Passport," *New York Times*, August 25, 1967.

[42] Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "Special Memorandum: Reportage and Comment on Stokely Carmichael's Activities and Statements Abroad From 6 October to 12 December 1967," December 15, 1967, 15.

[43] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 585.

[44] See Nelson Valdés, "Fidel Castro, Charisma, and Santería: Max Weber Revisited" in Anton Allahar, ed. *Caribbean Charisma: Reflections of Leadership, Legitimacy, and Populist Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2001), 212-41; and Lillian Guerra, "'To Condemn the Revolution is to Condemn Christ': Radicalization, Moral Redemption, and the Sacrifice of Civil Society in Cuba, 1960," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (February 2009): 73-109.

[45] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 585-86.

[46] Fidel Castro, speech on the 14th anniversary of the attack on Moncada Barracks, Havana, Cuba, July 26, 1967, accessed April 29, 2011, http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1967/19670726.html.

[47] Julius Lester, *All is Well* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 143.

[48] *Primera Conferencia de la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad* (Havana: OLAS, 1967), 7.

[49] The Organization of American States expelled Cuba from its membership in 1962.

[50] See *Primera Conferencia*, 107. Formerly the Havana Hilton.

[51] "Repercutirá Durante Muchos Años en E.U. la Primera Conferencia de OLAS, Pronostica Periodista Norteamericano," *Granma*, June 27, 1967; and *Granma Weekly Review*, August 13, 1967.

[52] See Laura Bergquist, "Cuba," *Look*, December 12, 1967, 37.

[53] *Primera Conferencia*, 29.

[54] "Transmitirán por TV Programa Sobre la OLAS," *Granma*, July 18, 1967; and "Será Sometido a Discusión de Todo el Pueblo el Folleto Qué es la OLAS?" *Granma,* May 15, 1967.

[55] Organization of American States, *Special Consultative Committee on Security Against the Subversive Action of International Communism: The First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO)* (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1967), 183.

[56] James Reston, "Havana: Cuba's Defiant Mood," *New York Times*, July 26, 1967.

[57] See Julius Lester, "'Black Revolution is Real': Stokely in Cuba," *The Movement,* September 1967; *Primera Conferencia*, 103; and "Proclamation of the General Declaration of the First Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity," *Tricontinental* 1 (July-August 1967): 34.

[58] Castro, *Speech by Major Fidel Castro*, 29.

[59] See Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Cuba in the 1970s: Pragmatism and Institutionalization*, 2nd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 6-9.

[60] "Complete Draft Agenda for Solidarity Conference of Latin American Peoples," *Granma Weekly Review*, October 9, 1966.

[61] "Proclamation of the General Declaration," 34.

[62] U.S. Embassy, Paris to U.S. Department of State, Airgram, 25 August 1967, Political Affairs and Religion Cuba, Central Foreign Policy Files 1967-1969, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

[63] "Por Aclamación, Presidente de la Conferencia de la OLAS; Che, Presidente de Honor," *Granma,* August 1, 1967; and *Primera Conferencia*, 29.

[64] "First Solidarity Conference of Latin American Solidarity Begins in Havana: Carmichael, Honorary Delegate, Speaks," *Granma Weekly Review*, August 6, 1967.

[65] John M. Goshko, "Carmichael Lauds Cuban Communism," *Washington Post*, August 2, 1967; and "Stokely Hints Assassinations," *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1967.

[66] "Press Conference with Stokely Carmichael," *Granma Weekly Review*, August 13, 1967.

[67] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 104-5.

[68] Ibid., 101.

[69] "Soviet is Assailed at Parley in Cuba," *New York Times*, August, 4, 1967.

[70] Lester, "'Black Revolution is Real.'"

[71] Castro, *Speech by Major Fidel Castro*, 17.

[72] Ibid., 15.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., 18.

[75] Ibid., 17.

[76] Ibid., 16.

[77] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 107.

[78] Lester, *All is Well*, 143.

[79] Moore*, Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, 260-261; and Eldridge Cleaver, "Slow Boat to Cuba," undated, p. 15, folder 31, carton 2, Eldridge Cleaver Papers, BANC MSS 91/213 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[80] Carson, *In Struggle*, 275.

[81] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 584.

[82] See Luis Baez, "Entrevista a Stokely Carmichael: El Coraje de Fidel y del Pueblo Cubano Enfrentándose a los E.U., es Admirable," *Juventud Rebelde*, July 27, 1967.

[83] Kalamu ya Salaam, "Stokely Speaks: A Luta Continua," *Black Collegian,* January-February 1976, 35.

[84] James Reston, "Havana: Stokely Carmichael's Game," *New York Times*, August 2, 1967.

[85] Roy Wilkins, *New York Post*, August 19, 1967.

[86] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 624-25; and James Forman, *Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 520.

[87] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 588.

[88] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 110.

[89] Thomas L. Hughes to Acting Secretary, "Cuban Involvement with the US Radical Left," Intelligence Note, 7 October 1968, U.S. Department of State, Declassified Documents Reference System.

[90] "Militant's Travel Speeches Blasted," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 10, 1967.

[91] "A Negro Colonel in Danang Scores Carmichael Stand," *New York Times*, August 11, 1967; "Carmichael Rejected," *New York Times*, August 13, 1967.

[92] See H.R. Res. 477, 90th Cong., (1967); "Two in House Urge Action on Carmichael," *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1967; and United States Senate, *Testimony of Stokely Carmichael: Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary*, 91st Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 25, 1970).

[93] See Peniel E. Joseph, "Revolution in Babylon: Stokely Carmichael and America in the 1960s," *Souls* 9, no. 4 (2007): 281-301; and C.D. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson, August 10, 1966, section 1, Memorandum, Federal Bureau of Investigation, HQ 100-446080.

[94] Kunstler to Director, Passport Office, U.S. Department of State, undated, SNCC Papers, reel 51; and Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 588.

[95] Organization of American States, *Special Consultative Committee*, 4, 12, 29-32.

[96] Lester, "'Black Revolution is Real.'"

[97] Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "SNCC in Havana," *Washington Post*, August 3, 1967.

[98] Paul D. Bethel, "Black Power and Red Cuba," *National Review,* May 21, 1968.

[99] See "Final Report—Cuba/Red China Involvement in Promoting Violence in the United States," Memorandum, 26 July 1967, U.S. Department of State, Declassified Documents Reference System; Thomas L. Hughes to Acting Secretary, "Cuban Involvement with the US Radical Left;" "Is Castro Behind Guerrilla War in U.S. Cities?" *U.S News and World Report*, August 14, 1967; and "Castro Plans September Speech Before U.N.: Cuban Dictator Expected to Call for Revolution by Negro Militants," *Allen-Scott Report*, 1967, Box 5, The Stokely Carmichael- Lorna D. Smith Papers, Green Library, Stanford University (hereafter cited as Stokely Carmichael-Lorna D. Smith Papers).

[100] Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 521.

[101] "Statement on Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization," undated, SNCC Papers, reel 51.

[102] Elizabeth Martinez to Jean Wiley, August 9, 1967, SNCC Papers, reel 52.

[103] Lester, *All is Well*, 140-41.

[104] Ibid., 140.

[105] Stokely Carmichael to SNCC, undated, SNCC Papers, reel 51.

[106] See Moore *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, 259-260; and De la Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 18.

[107] See Morales Domínguez, *Desafíos de la Problemática Racial*; and Elizabeth Sutherland, *The Youngest Revolution: A Personal Report on Cuba* (New York: Dial Press, 1969), 149-53. Sutherland goes by the surname Martinez and is referred to in the text as such.

[108] Sutherland, *The Youngest Revolution*, 151-52.

[109] Ibid., 154-55.

[110] Sutherland, *The Youngest Revolution*, 149-153; Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, 306-16; Edmundo Desnoes, ed., *NOW: El Movimiento en Estados Unidos* (Havana: Instituto del Libro, 1967); Alberto Pedro, "Poder Negro," *Casa de las Américas* no. 53 (March-April 1969): 134-44; and El Ambia, interview by author, November 2009, Havana, Cuba.

[111] "Llama la OSPAAAL a Apoyar la Lucha del Pueblo Negro de EU," *Granma*, August 17, 1967; and Sutherland, *The Youngest Revolution*, 154.

[112] "Llegó a Hanoi Stokely Carmichael," *Granma*, August 30, 1967; "Dice Carmichael que es Amenazado por Diplomáticos Norteamericanos en Guinea," *Granma*, October 7, 1967; and Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "Special Memorandum," 1-5, 12, 14-18, 23, 25.

[113] Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "Special Memorandum," 12, 16-17; and "This is not the Time for Tears but for Combat, States Carmichael in Message on the Death of Che Guevara," *Granma Weekly Review*, November 26, 1967.

[114] Stokely Carmichael, "The Third World – Our World," *Tricontinental* 1 (July-August, 1967): 15-22; and Pedro, "Poder Negro."

[115] See "No Tenemos Otra Alternativa que Tomar las Armas, Afirmó Stokely Carmichael," *Granma*, August 3, 1967; "Entrevista Radio Habana Cuba a Stokely Carmichael," *Granma*, August 5, 1967; and "Hacer la Revolución: Hablan los Dirigentes," *Cuba* (August 1967), 40.

[116] Arlene Eisen Bergman, "Red and Black in Cuba: Venceremos Means We Shall Overcome," *The Movement*, January 1969; and Andrew Salkey, *Havana Journal* (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), 235.

[117] Stokely Carmichael, "Free Huey," February 17, 1968, transcript and RealPlayer audio, 76:47, Pacifica Radio/UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project, Pacifica Radio Archive BB 1708, accessed April 29, 2011, http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/carmichael.html.

[118] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 121.

[119] John M. Goshko, "Carmichael Lauds Cuban Communism," *Washington Post*, August 2, 1967.

[120] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 633-34; Carson, *In Struggle*, 282; and Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 110-30.

[121] Bergman, "Red and Black in Cuba," *The Movement*, January 1969.

[122] Eldridge Cleaver, "Carta Abierta a Stokely Carmichael," *Casa de las Américas* no. 58 (January-February 1970): 59-62.

[123] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 584.

[124] Carmichael to Lorna Smith, December 11, 1976, folder 1, Box 4, Stokely Carmichael-Lorna D. Smith Papers.

[125] Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 636.

[126] Ibid., 731, 761-64.

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