

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND BROWN BERETS: THOUGHTS OF
MULTIRACIAL ALLIANCES, COALITIONS AND THIRD WORLDISM

AS
36
2014
ETHST
.T78

A Thesis submitted to the faculty of
San Francisco State University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree

Master of Arts

In

Ethnic Studies

by

John Lorenzo Trujillo III

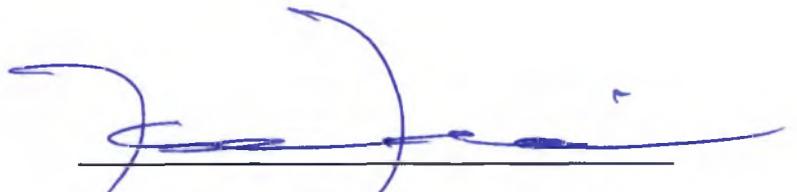
San Francisco, California

April 2019

Copyright by
John Lorenzo Trujillo III
2019

CERTIFICATION OF APPROVAL

I certify that I have read *The Black Panther Party and Brown Berets: Thoughts of Multiracial Alliances, Coalitions, and Third Worldism* by John Lorenzo Trujillo III, and that in my opinion this work meets the criteria for approving a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree Master of Arts Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University.



Jason Ferreira, Ph.D.
Associate Professor



Katynka Martinez, Ph.D.
Associate Professor

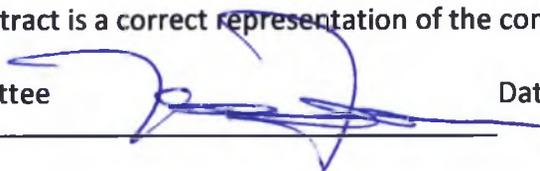
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND BROWN BERETS: THOUGHTS OF
MULTIRACIAL ALLIANCES, COALITIONS, AND THIRD WORLDISM

John Lorenzo Trujillo III
San Francisco, California
2019

This study is an in-depth content analysis of the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets primary newspapers, *Black Panther* and *La Causa*. It will focus on how each organization discussed ideas surrounding multiracial alliances, coalitions, and Third Worldism within their respective newspapers. This thesis will review the literature surrounding Black and Brown social movements, the methods of the study, findings and a discussion of the results.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.

Chair, Thesis Committee



Date

5/15/19

PREFACE AND/OR ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wouldn't be here without the support of family, professors, and fraternity brothers who constantly supported me along this journey. A special thanks to both my mentors in El Paso, Dr. Chew and the late Dr. Maceo Dailey Jr who I will forever be indebted to for sharing both their knowledge and support in my academic and professional career. To Dr. Jeung who helped me take my thoughts and create a bigger picture which later would become this thesis. To my chair Dr. Ferreira, who constantly pushed me, questioned me, believed in me and demanded me to create my best work with this thesis. To Sabrina, who stayed up with me countless nights during this process listening to my thoughts and constantly supported me. Lastly, to my mother and sister who this work is dedicated to.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	12
Methods.....	20
Findings/Discussion.....	27
Reference	54

Introduction

Growing up in a predominately Black and Brown community both my family and my neighbors faced similar hardships with the educational and political system, as well as the police. In college I joined the Black Student Union where we would host joint events with other campus organizations, such as the LGBTQ student organization to bring more awareness to Black, Brown, and LGBTQ communities. Seeing how different organizations come together as a coalition or alliance to work towards a common goal, and how they achieve such goals has always intrigued me. It is within these efforts that we see how these organizations hold true to their mission statements, either by uplifting their communities by achieving a seat in the political arena or creating a sense of community with other organizations fighting against a system that has held them both down.

It was not until I began my undergraduate at the University of Texas at El Paso, that I began to learn more about organizations such as the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets. What struck me was that each of these organizations rose up and demanded change in the communities in which they lived. They wanted change surrounding education for their youth, more political access, and an end to police brutality to name a few of the issues these communities were facing. Not only did they demand these things, but they also demanded basic human rights such as food for their people, medical services, and quality housing. One question that I was left with was how did the Black Panther Party work with other organizations across racial lines? And if they did, how did

they go about it? These were a few of the questions that I was left with, that drove me to contemplate how Black and Brown organizations such as the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets discussed multiracial alliances, coalitions and Third Worldism within their organization and their newspapers.

When we look back into history, some of the most concrete changes made throughout the United States and the larger world came through social movements. Although many social movements have been discussed and researched, some only shed light on the demands these social movements wanted, and the outcomes of such social movements such as the Black Power Movement, the Civil Rights movement, and the Third World Liberation Front strikes of 1968 at San Francisco State University. Some of these social movements, as the ones mentioned above have been spurred due to oppressions brought on by the state. Communities of color have suffered such oppressions politically, socially, and economically and have risen to fight them. Not only have they risen to fight these oppressions, but they chose to provide for their communities the needs that were not being met by the state.

In the early 1960s, communities of color began to demand change within their communities and the larger society. There was still much racial tension between white Americans and Black Americans within the south, but also throughout the rest of the nation. There began to be a cry for power, or self-determination within one's community. That is, to have full control over the decisions that will affect one's community, neighborhood and people. For example, those within the Black community began to call for Black Power. According to Robert Allen, he describes this as "the creation of power bases from which black people can work to change statewide or nationwide patterns of

oppression through pressure from strength instead of weakness.”¹ Organizations began to form to bring about concrete changes within their communities.

One organization dedicated to political change for their community was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Due to the racial hostilities within the south, Black voters were not able to get to the polls and express their opinions politically even in places where they made up most of the population. One example of this was in Arkansas where SNCC was able to organize its efforts to create voter registration drives. For instance Stokely Carmichael noted, “SNCC helped thirty Negroes to run for school board elections; all but one were defeated.”² He would go on to note “all of these efforts were attempts to win Black Power.”³ Not only was the Black community beginning to organize, but those within the Mexican American community began to as well, and were redefining their own identity.

The Chicano Movement grew out of similar circumstances as did the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement. As Mario Garcia notes in his book *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the 21st Century*, “this movement was expressive of U.S. born Mexicans who knew more about what their rights were and how through racism, discrimination, and segregation they had been denied those rights.”⁴ There were many organizations that had formed prior to the Chicano Movement while others were established at later dates within the Mexican-American community, some of which were

¹ Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc, 1992), 49.

² Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2007), 20.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mario T. Garcia, *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the 21st Century* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the American G.I. Forum, and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA). Some of the things these organizations formed around focused on not only the desegregation of Mexican schools but also desegregating “restaurants, hotels, parks, swimming pools, beaches, movie theatres.”⁵ Garcia then goes on to argue that the Chicano Movement did not call for “integration as had the Mexican American Generation, with integration meaning breaking down obstacles to equal opportunities with other Americans but instead it called for the Chicano community to be able to control its own resources and determine its own future.”⁶ This notion correlated within the Black community calling for Black Power, whereas the Chicano community called for Chicano Power which interpreted to mean “self-determination”.⁷ This idea of self-determination stems from the Chicano community being able to control what happens to their community and people. It was clear that each of these communities had become fed up with the situations in which they lived and began to demand change, even if they had to take matters into their own hands.

Two organizations that rose out of common oppressions were the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets. The Black Panther Party was founded on October 15, 1966 by two founding members, Bobby Seale who was the first chairman and Huey Newton the first minister of defense.⁸ The Black Panther Party would later serve communities around the nation, for example, their Free Breakfast for Children Program served “135 children

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Hugh Pearson, *The Shadow of the Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 1994), 112.

daily at St. Augustines Church in Oakland within its first week of opening.”⁹ Similarly the Brown Berets grew out of a common oppression and came about during the Chicano Movement in the late 1960s. They were founded in “April of 1966 when the group was known as the Young Citizens for Community Action.”¹⁰ The Brown Berets were founded by Carlos Montes and, “the group were advocates for their community, focusing on issues such as lack of quality education, facilities, and police brutality within their communities.”¹¹ Much of the Ethnic Studies research focusing on Black and Brown communities involved in social movements has focused primarily on the reasons these movements occurred, however not much has been explored on how these organizations discussed ideas about multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism. The question that will be addressed within this research is “How did both the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets discuss multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism within their newspapers, *Black Panther* and *La Causa*?”

When it comes to the notion of an alliance, it can take many forms. However, I will be defining an alliance as a mutually beneficial relationship that develops based on the identification of common goals. These goals can be political, social, and economical. I define a coalition as George Mantler states a “political coalition between two groups, whether there were ideologies based on race or class were reinforcing and not antithetical, that the possibility of such alliance was mainly due to the oppression under

⁹ Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr., *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of The Black Panther Party* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2014), 182.

¹⁰ Jennifer G. Correa, “The Targeting of the East Los Angeles Brown Berets by a Racial Patriarchal Capitalist State: Merging Intersectionality and Social Movement Research,” *Critical Sociology* 37 (1) (2010), 89.

¹¹ Ibid.

the white power structure.”¹² When I am discussing Third Worldism, I will use the definition argued by Jason Ferreira. He notes Third Worldism as “a set of politics that were rooted within a particular community, yet simultaneously open outwards to embrace struggles of others.”¹³ I will also be defining Third Worldism as an understanding amongst communities of color and how struggles are inherently related not only within the United States but on a global level as well. Taking this a step further, I am arguing that throughout both the Panthers and Berets newspaper they illustrated to their communities that they were all apart of a larger struggle. A world struggle against what scholars have articulated as domestic colonialism, and that both the Panthers and Berets set out to break free from the colonial grip the United States government had on their communities and the larger world.

Third Worldism also focuses on interrelated histories of colonization, racial oppression, economic exploitation, and collective resistance. Third Worldism is an argument that stresses the interwoven struggle of individuals, and those individuals then look to support struggles not just in the United States but the larger world as well. Jason Ferreira argues that Third Worldism “subverted the hegemonic notion that different races existed as separate, fixed, competing interest groups, by instead calling attention to the parallel and interrelated histories of colonization, racial oppression, economic exploitation, and collective resistance.”¹⁴ Again, it is the understanding of these

¹² George Mantler, “Multiracial Efforts, Intra-racial Gains” in *Power to the Poor: Black and Brown coalition and the fight for economic justice, 1960-1974*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013),

¹³ Jason Ferreira, “No Longer a World Without Us: Third World Social Movements in the 1960s” in *All Power to the People: A Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco, 1968-1974*, (2004), 9.

¹⁴ Ibid.

oppressions communities of color faced and how historically they are related to one another that led them to understand their fight was one of the global level and not just within their immediate communities.

In the text *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, Robert Allen articulates the notion that Blacks within the United States represented a domestic colony within the United States. Allen first mentions the definition of domestic colonialism when he refers to J.H. O'dell. O'dell argues that domestic colonialism can be defined as "a people may be colonized in the very territory in which they have lived for generations or they may be forcibly uprooted by the colonial power from their traditional territory and colonized in a new territorial environment so that the very environment is "alien" to them."¹⁵ Allen then goes on to exclaim that "O'Dell's central point is that colonialism consist of a particular kind of institutional or social system, and this system does not necessarily have to be tied to a specific disposition of territory."¹⁶

Drawing from both O'Dell and Allen, I am stating that the Panthers and the Berets and their communities were all prisoners of domestic colonialism, of which they were attempting to free themselves and their people. It was in their respective newspapers *Black Panther* and *La Causa* that both organizations used these platforms to illustrate to their communities and the larger world that were all inherently connected through the struggles they faced under the hands of the United States capitalistic system. This echoes the statement made by Jason Ferreira, about communities of color in the United States in the late 1960s beginning to see themselves as a new community. Ferreira argues that "no

¹⁵ *Freedomways*, Vol. 7, No. 1 in Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1990), 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

longer were communities of color in the United States simply a domestic “minority” instead they were conceived as part of a global “majority”.¹⁷

The Panthers and the Berets began to see themselves as a new community, a community connected to others in the states as well as the Third World. Jason Ferreira draws from Benedict Anderson’s term “imagined communities” when he discussed the Third World identity that was formed in the San Francisco in the late 1960s. He argued that “a new ‘community’ was formed a new ‘identity’ imagined as activists re-oriented themselves not only to one another but also in relation to the country and the rest of the world.”¹⁸ I argue that both the Panthers and the Berets saw themselves as part of a new interconnected community that was striving to rid themselves of the domestic capitalistic system of the United States.

By creating a new sense of community an interconnectedness both the Panthers and the Berets drew attention and understanding to the commonalities between their communities and communities throughout the Third World. Sri Lankan Marxist scholar A. Sivanandan noted this interconnectedness as a Third World identity that was being formed, which I argue was being formed in the communities of the Berets and the Panthers. Sivanandan exclaimed,

“That to come to consciousness of one's own individual oppression... is to open one's sensibilities out to the oppression of others, the exploitation of others, the injustices and inequalities and unfreedoms meted out to others - and to act upon them, making an individual/local case into an issue, turning issues into causes and causes into movements

¹⁷ Jason Ferreira, *Third World Social Movements and the 1960s in All Power to the People a Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco 1968-1974* (2004), 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

and building in the process a new political culture, new communities of resistance that will take on power and Capital.”¹⁹

The Panthers and Berets both indicated the United States capitalist system as the enemy but also drew connections to other communities throughout the U.S. and the larger world based on understanding. This basis of understanding was cemented in racism, economic and political exploitation, police brutality all intertwined into what scholars such as J.H. O’Dell coined as domestic colonialism. It was through both *La Causa* and *The Black Panther* that the Panthers and Berets showcased these injustices by the United States that intertwined their communities into a new Third World identity and understanding connecting them with other communities of color throughout the nation and world.

I will be taking a comparative approach with my research looking at the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets organizations and their newspapers. It is imperative to have a comparative approach when conducting research in Ethnic Studies. The reason being is to show comparisons between different communities of color to showcase how the overarching structures within society have oppressed various communities. When I think about my own research topic, I believe that I am accomplishing this aspect by taking a comparative approach. I am looking at two different communities, both the Black and Brown community. When discussing Ethnic Studies research, it’s imperative that the research brings knowledge back to the community. For example, there have been many articles and books written about both the Black Panther Party and the Brown Berets. However, not much has been written about how these organizations discussed

¹⁹ A. Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance: Writings on Black Struggles for Socialism* (London: Verso Press, 1990), 58. in Jason Ferreira, *Third World Social Movements and the 1960s in All Power to the People a Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco 1968-1974* (2004), 20.

ideas about alliances, coalitions, and even Third Worldism. Doing research on how these organizations discussed these ideas will bring something different to the table that hasn't already been discussed on both organizations. I am not simply conducting a comparative study, but I am looking specifically at how these organizations discussed multiracial alliances, coalitions and Third Worldism within their individual papers.

Using the organizations' primary newspapers, we can see firsthand what they believed to be critical issues faced by their communities at these specific times. Also, not only do we see the critical issues they saw facing their community, but we also see how they perceived the world. What I mean by this is that they identified these important issues such as police brutality and provided insight on how to confront these issues. This insight may have been in the form of an article explaining one's rights when stopped by the police, or an image showing how the police are treating individuals within their community.

The use of imagery within the organizations' newspaper also would speak for itself. The images used can portray one's message sometimes better than writing an article on the same subject. They may also be used to stand in solidarity with other groups outside the organization within the same city, or even go as far to show solidarity and support for others around the world. Lastly, using newspapers may have been the easiest way to get an organization's word out to the surrounding community. It also would serve as a source of income for the organization as well.

Also, when I think about my own research I feel that my topic is very important in terms of the political climate in which we live today. Regarding the political climate I

believe that communities of color can forge alliances especially when it comes to voting on important issues to ensure that our communities needs are met, and not overlooked by politicians who do not feel our communities' needs are important. To be more specific it is my hopes that organizations that focus on creating better living conditions, and social, economic and political attainment for their communities can draw from my research. Not only do I hope they can draw from my research, but I hope they will see what both organizations were discussing as important issues for their communities during those times in the late 1960s, and maybe find empowerment to address similar issues that are still occurring today.

In the pages to follow, chapter two will review the literature focusing on themes and theories surrounding Black and Brown social movements. This chapter examines the theory of Third Worldism, and alliances and coalitions as they relate to Black and Brown social movements. Chapter three outlines the methods employed within this study and describes my coding schedule used to organize my findings. Chapter four encompass the findings of this study, providing an in-depth breakdown of how each organization discussed ideas of multiracial alliances, coalitions and Third Worldism. Finally, this chapter will also include a discussion of the results from this study and reasons as to why this research should be continued within the next five to ten years.

Literature Review

Much of the Ethnic Studies research focusing on Black and Brown communities involved in social movements has focused primarily on the reasons these movements occurred, however not much has been explored on how these organizations discussed ideas about multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism. The theoretical framework that will be explored in this literature review is Third Worldism. Third Worldism applies to Black and Brown social movements in that it illustrates how individuals come to understand how similar struggles amongst diverse groups can be used to fight back against oppressive situations and or the state.

By comparing Black and Brown activist communities one can gain a better understanding of the similarities between the two, in terms of how they understood their multiracial relationships. The question that will be addressed within this literature review is “How did both the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets discuss multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism within their newspapers, *Black Panther* and *La Causa?*” By doing so, this literature review will address the importance of forming multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism. It will also review the theoretical literature surrounding social movements within Black and Brown communities. I will look at how different scholars have drawn either directly or indirectly from coalition building, forming alliances and Third Worldist approaches when discussing Black and Brown social movements. I will also illustrate the ways in which different organizations discussed multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism.

When looking at Black and Brown coalitions there tends to be a particular frame of thought that looks at such movements surrounding Black and Brown communities and that is Third Worldism. Third Worldism believes that the overarching structures such as the judicial, prison and educational systems that are in place is what continues to keep communities of color oppressed. Third Worldism is described as something that “existed as a counter-hegemonic organizing tool which provided a concept of political unity and allowed diverse racial groups to understand unequal circumstances and history as being related.”²⁰ The definition draws attention to the fact that organizations and communities did not have to set aside racial differences to understand the history of oppression each of them has faced to come together as one while not forgetting their differences to fight against these overarching structures. By understanding others differences it allowed for a unique blend of community between communities of color.

This theoretical framework suggests that the racialization of certain groups and how they are treated by the overarching structures of the state, spurs the creation of alliances or coalitions with other marginalized groups. Regarding how these oppressed peoples form alliances, or multiracial coalitions Michael Omi and Howard Winant introduce the term racial despotism. They note “just as racial despotism reinforced white supremacy as the master category of racial domination, so too it forged racial unity among the oppressed.”²¹ This correlates with Third Worldism in that those who have

²⁰ Jason Ferreira, *Third World Social Movements and the 1960s in All Power to the People a Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco 1968-1974* (2004), 22.

²¹ Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States, Third Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 131.

been oppressed in this case racially, have found community with others who have also faced similar circumstances.

Omi and Winant also note this idea of panethnicizing in their book which relates to Third Worldism. They state, “they compromise not only the shared experience of suffering and the unifying pressure it brings to bear, but also the concerted self-activity of the oppressed to confront their tormentors and change their conditions.”²² Stef Craps articulates the idea of trauma within the beginning of their work, about Eurocentrism. Craps notes that trauma theory can create a bond between different communities, organizations, and cultures. Craps then states that “listening to the trauma of another can contribute to cross-cultural solidarity and to the creation of new forms of community.”²³ Both Omi and Winant as well as Craps, highlight through understanding how situations, struggles, oppressions, or trauma can create a bond between cultures that would enable them to come together to fight for change against a system that has oppressed their communities. It is within these multiple traumas, struggles, and oppressions that communities of color can find understanding in that these are related due to the fact of the common oppressor they all share, and in this case that oppressor is the state.

Lauren Araiza discusses the importance of using one’s newspapers to advocate for others within her text about the Panthers and United Farm Workers. Within her historical analysis, she looks at the collaboration between both the Black Panther Party and United Farm Workers which crossed racial lines and focused on a common oppressor

²² Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States, Third Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 131.

²³ Stef Craps, “Beyond Eurocentrism,” *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Gert Buelens, Sam Durrant, and Robert Eaglestone (New York: Routledge, 2014), 46.

which was the capitalist society. One of the strengths within this piece was the author used the *Black Panther* to help formulate her analysis. Araiza uses multiple archives when researching her piece, focusing on different newspapers. Araiza uses both *El Malcriado* which was the United Farm Workers primary newspaper, and the *Black Panther*. She uses these papers and the articles within them to compare the two organizations and showcase the intersections between the two organizations. She also uses the newspapers to show how the two organizations supported one another with each other's struggles, thus showcasing more of coalitionist framework. For example, she notes the *Black Panther* paper urged its members to support the UFW boycott, to help them bring victory to the struggle they face in fascist America. She uses different excerpts from the Black Panther Party's paper to show how both organizations supported each other's struggles, showing the Black Panther Party supporting the boycott of iceberg lettuce and the UFW supporting the Panthers protest of Safeway grocery stores.

The use of the newspaper allows the reader to see exactly what was being discussed at the time and allows them to see the differences between mainstream newspapers and papers such as the one by the Black Panther Party. Lastly, Araiza exclaims the importance of multiracial coalitions by stating "working class people of all colors, must unite against the exploitive, oppressive ruling class we believe our right is a class struggle, not a race struggle."²⁴ Although she does not address a direct coalition between the Black Panther Party and the United Farm Workers, it does highlight the importance of coalition building. Ariaza shows the interconnectedness between racial

²⁴ Lauren Araiza, In common struggle against a common oppressor: The United Farm Workers and the Black Panther Party 1968-1973, *Journal of African American History*. (2008), 201.

groups who have been oppressed by the government and who come together in a common struggle by supporting one another. By supporting for example another organizations boycott, is simply put a coalition, because after such support nothing comes of the organizations continuing their work to take down the common oppressor for example.

Another text that reflects the approach of coalition building, is noted in George Mantler's chapter about the poor people's campaign. His main argument within this chapter is that class struggle brings those within both the Black and Brown community together to fight for their communities. One of the strengths within this chapter is the use of personal narratives by the author. These interviews were conducted one on one with the author and those who participated in the Poor People's Campaign (PPC). Lastly, the author expresses the importance of the Poor Peoples Campaign and illustrated how the organizations came together to fight for better conditions of the poor and brought together different communities. Mantler exhibits that it is economic exploitation that was felt by these communities who formed the PPC. Mantler notes this campaign brought about concrete changes and established "a 100 million dollar program for free and reduced price lunches for poor children."²⁵ Although this chapter does not highlight the alliance between the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets specifically it points to the importance of multiracial coalitions between Black and Brown communities and their power to bring about change for the betterment of their communities.

²⁵ George Mantler, "Multiracial Efforts, Intra-racial Gains" in *Power to the Poor: Black and Brown coalition and the fight for economic justice, 1960-1974*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 103.

Lastly, George Mariscal also notes the importance of multiracial coalitions in his chapter “Brown and Black Together”. His main argument within this piece is the notion of looking past the slogan of “Mi Raza Primero” (my people first). Mariscal notes that “looking past Mi Raza Primero allowed large numbers of Chicano/a militants to negotiate between their commitment to serving local communities and allowed them to forge alliances with Puerto Ricans, Black groups, and to express their solidarity with anticolonial movements in the developing world.”²⁶ This statement is strength within itself because it relates back to the idea of coalition building and alliances in that we have to set aside our racial differences and look at the interrelated oppressions to fight back against a common oppressor. However, this does not relate to Third Worldism since nothing else came out of these alliances or coalitions such as forming another organization together across racial lines for example to take down the state.

Not only does the literature surrounding Black and Brown social movements discuss ideas about multiracial alliances and coalitions, but others have argued the importance of these movements’ newspapers. For example, Colin Gunckel illustrated the power behind the photography used by the United Farm Workers in their paper *El Malcriado*. Gunckel noted that the “*El Malcriado* worked to visualize a cross-ethnic, cross-class community of solidarity that at times was international in scope, while also

²⁶ George Mariscal, “Brown and Black Together” in *Brown-Eyed children of the sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement. 1965-1975*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 172.

visualizing a more localized, place-based notion of community comprised largely of Mexican-farmworkers.”²⁷

He then goes on to state that the United Farm Workers used the newspaper to showcase to the community the work they were doing. The community that was included within the distribution of the paper was not only the farm workers, but those who supported the cause around the nation and even the white middle class as it was printed in both English and Spanish. Gunckel noted that the paper “served as a means of recruiting others to the cause, of generating solidarity or support and altering external awareness of the plight and struggles of farmworkers”²⁸ To showcase an example of generating support, the newspaper published a piece where “two photographs were used to compare worker paystubs before and after agreements were struck with major growers.”²⁹ *El Malcriado* felt it was important to reach a variety of communities and publish specific pieces as the ones listed above to garner support for their organization and possibly gain coalitions or alliances with others.

All three authors from Araiza, to Mantler and Mariscal employ a coalitionist or alliance theoretical framework within their research. Araiza showcases the positive effects of using one’s organizations newspaper to fight for others and their struggles. Mantler on the other hand, illustrates the positive effects to bring about change when working with others across racial lines, but does not speak to these organizations’ specific ideologies. Finally, each work is missing a key factor and that is they did not discuss

²⁷ Colin Gunckel, “Building a Movement and Constructing Community: Photography, The United Farm Workers, and El Malcriado” in *Social Justice* Vol 42, No. 3-4 (2015), 31.

²⁸ *Ibid.*,34.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

what happens with these “alliances” once a common goal is met, do they simply part ways, or continue to work with one another or even support the others struggles in the years to come? What I am pointing towards is that are these coalitions just interest group politics, in that they are conservative and only looking for the benefits of a coalition? Or are they really Third Worldist in that they see a common struggle across racial lines both politically, economically and socially? This literature review was an attempt to describe how scholars discuss Black and Brown social movements as they relate to these theoretical frameworks. It also addressed how those within the Black and Brown community drew from these frameworks and implemented them within their own organizational practices.

Methodology Chapter

Population

My population or the unit of analysis that I will be looking at is archival information, primarily texts such as newspapers. I will be reading the newspaper articles from both the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets during these specific time periods such as 1969 and 1970.

Sample

The sample that I will be using is specific newspapers, of both the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets. They will include *La Causa* and *Black Panther*.

Sample Frame

My sample frame that I will be focusing on are specific dates surrounding these organizations', particularly dates ranging from 1969 which was the founding date of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, and 1969 with the origins of the Brown Berets all the way to 1970. The reason I have chosen these dates is to focus on the emerging themes throughout each organizations' paper at the beginning of their formation. Also, to showcase how the Panthers and Berets discussed the United States during these times, and other people of color struggles throughout the world. The Ethnic Studies library at UC Berkeley has some of *La Causa* on microfilm with two issues from 1969 and 1970, while they also had various issues of the *Black Panther* newspaper.

Research Method

The main methodology that I will be using when conducting my research for my thesis is a content analysis using a qualitative technique. According to Serie McDougal a content analysis is “a research technique that allows one to systematically analyze the hidden and visible content in messages.”³⁰ My investigation consisted of analyzing both *Black Panther* and *La Causa* primary newspapers of the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets, respectively. I will use these newspapers to detail what they tell us about their ideologies, to political stance and more importantly how they discussed multiracial alliances, coalitions and third worldist approaches across racial lines.

Appropriateness

Using this method of content analysis will allow me to explore both organizations, looking directly at their newspapers which are a primary source. I will be able to look at what McDougal describes as visible content as well as hidden content. He notes that visible content is the “obvious and apparent meaning or messages in communication” while hidden content refers to “the latent, subtextual, or beneath-the-surface meaning in texts.”³¹ McDougal notes that content analysis can also be used to “identify aspects of texts and communications that are difficult to see or may go unnoticed through ordinary reading, viewing, or hearing.”³² One example of visible content is a title of an article calling for a boycott of Iceberg Lettuce, in support of the United Farm Workers. Another example of visible content would be a piece in the *Black*

³⁰ Serie McDougal III, *Research Methods in Africana Studies* (New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 2014), 164.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

Panther titled “Boycott Safeway Stores” in their June 14th, 1969 newspaper. An example of latent content would be a speech given by a member of the organization, or a letter written by one of the organization’s members who were incarcerated. He then goes on to state that this method can also be applied to study “trends in newspaper coverage, and the ideological tone of newspaper articles on a particular topic.”³³ This discovery of trends directly correlates with my research question that I will be addressing in my research, as I hope to see emergent patterns of how the two organizations related, and how they discussed ideas surrounding multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism within their newspapers.

Along with using a content analysis within my research, McDougal also notes the importance of coding in research. I created a coding schedule which allowed me to record my findings from the newspaper sources. The coding schedule is broken down by first including the title of the paper and then the citation of the source. Following the citation, I have check boxes for each multiracial alliances, coalitions, and Third Worldism. I also will note whether they speak in a positive or negative tone about societal issues and if there were any parallels between other organizations. Finally, after each of these I will have whether it was manifest coding or latent coding.

McDougal specifically notes manifest coding as it “relates to analyzing what different documents are clearly about. In manifest coding the researcher counts the number of times specific words, images, or characters appear in a document.”³⁴ For instance, one thing that I will code for is how many times the words multiracial

³³ Ibid., 165.

³⁴ Ibid., 168.

coalitions, and alliance pops up within the organization's newspapers and specific articles. I will also use latent coding as well, something pointed out by McDougal. He notes latent coding refers "to coding for the deeper meanings that lie beneath the surface of the text."³⁵ Along with these methods there may also be key words within the newspapers such as helping, working together, and collaborate that could signal the ideology and practice of alliances, coalitions. By using these different coding methods, I aim to explore the themes of multiracial coalitions, alliances, and Third Worldism within the texts of these organizations.

Strengths and Weaknesses

There are many advantages in using a content analysis over other methods specifically for my research. Some of these strengths are that the information provided within the newspapers is viable, the newspapers are non-reactionary, and I have flexibility in reviewing them. As well as these strengths the newspapers also are reliable and valid because I am looking specifically at primary source material from the organizations. The newspapers represent their organizations direct outlook on certain subjects discussed within the text. Looking at these newspapers also offers us insight into how these organizations defined their own identity, and how they saw themselves. They also allow one to frame their identity, and freedom with their use of imagery. The use of newspapers also allows us insight into what the organizations were discussing during the specific time of 1969 and 1970. Another strength of using a content analysis is that it is non-reactionary. McDougal notes that "its data are less likely to be affected by the

³⁵ Ibid.

reaction bias that occurs when people know they are being studied.”³⁶ Lastly, they also serve as aspiration for the organization and the community.

One recent piece of work on the Black Panther Party included a content analysis of the organizations paper, *Black Panther*. Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr’s book *Black Against Empire* takes both a content analysis method approach and includes interviews with living members of the party. They used archival information on the party which included 520 of the 537 issues published from the Panthers. They note that the *Black Panther* “offers the most comprehensive documentation of the ideas, actions and projections of the Party day to day, week to week.”³⁷ They also used another archive which was composed of thousands of fliers and over 30,000 hours of recordings on both the Panthers and other social movements within the Bay Area in the 60s-70s to complete their book.

The text *The Revolutionary Minds of Greater Mexico: Chicano/a Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, and Latin American Social Movements* which used a mix methods approach was conducted by Alan Eladio Gomez, where he discussed the Chicano Movement and organizations within it and how they related to the Third World movements in Mexico and Latin America. He too looked at archival information, and primary newspapers from specific cities involved with the Chicano Movement and organizations newspapers as well. One downfall of his research is that he didn’t look at

³⁶ Serie Mcdougal III, *Research Methods in Africana Studies* (New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 2014), 165.

³⁷ Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr, *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2013),10.

many organizations' newspapers involved in the Chicano Movement. He did however address this limitation by doing interviews with individuals from the Chicano Movement.

However, although content analysis has key strengths there are also some weaknesses. For one, these newspapers may not be representative of the entire organization. Although these newspapers are the organizations explicit words and they represent the organizations ideologies, they do not represent each individual member's ideology or stance on the specific subject being discussed. The aspiration aspect of the newspaper also has its own downfalls. For example, there may be a gap in what the organization is aspiring to be, what they saw themselves doing and how deep those connections truly were. They may portray themselves being connected to those within the Third World through use of imagery, but those connections may not be as strong or correct as they depict within their papers.

Along with choosing this method of research, another pitfall is that some of the members of this organization are still alive today. Conducting interviews of these members would allow one to see if what they put in their papers back then still holds true or if their ideologies on specific subjects such as Third Worldism have changed over time. Another weakness of using this method is that some scholars specifically from the field of Anthropology would call it just a "snap-shot" in time. That it doesn't allow the researcher a full picture of the organization but just a specific subject, article, and time within the newspaper. In conclusion, this chapter addressed the method used for this research on the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets and how they discussed multiracial alliances, coalitions and Third Worldism within their organizations papers. It

also included the strengths and weaknesses behind this approach and the coding schedule used. The following chapter includes the findings of this study, and a discussion of them.

Findings/Discussion

During the late 1960s dynamic shifts in the way in which people of color would communicate with the dominating U.S. system began to change. For generations people of color struggled politically, economically, and physically at the hands of a system that was not built for them, or rather a system not built in their best interests. Long before the 1960s organizations began to form to fight for the best interests of people of color and give to them what had been denied to them for so many years. Some of which included access to voting, shared spaces such as classrooms and movie theatres, all the way to fair and equal benefits after serving in the U.S. military. Many of these organizations that came to be at the forefront of these issues were the League of United Latin American Citizens, American G.I. Forum, the N.A.A.C.P, Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the United Farm Workers.

Many of these organizations which had their own newspapers such as the N.A.A.C.P *The Crisis* or Frederick Douglass's *The North Star*, were able to convey their ideals and give voice to their struggles to the rest of the community and nation. It would be here that many of these organizations would gain strength and support from the communities in which they served as more and more began to read their papers. Not only did organizations' gain support from the communities but they also were able to counter the information that was coming out of the regular media such as sources like the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*. By countering the media, these organizations could provide to the people real and factual information about their communities, but also what was going on around the world as well. They would highlight the clear racial discrimination of people of color by the police, the brutality that these communities

faced, and the atrocities other communities of color went through at the hands of their tyrannical government officials.

In an article by Colin Gunckel about the UFW, he argues the benefits of community-based organizations use of their own newspaper. He argues that organizations' newspaper serves to not only gain support but also show those who were in opposition to them and other similar movements what they were really doing in terms of activism and social justice for their people. Randy Ontiveros illustrated in his piece that during the late 1960s and 1970s the media would portray the Chicano Movement and the Brown Berets for that matter as menaces to the city of Los Angeles and the larger nation. Ontiveros illuminates the importance of having another media outlet other than the main newspapers.

Ontiveros would exclaim that "corporate-owned networks largely ignored Mexican-American activism during these decades and when they did cover it they didn't represent the movement as a complex campaign for equality, but as one of several forces destroying America from within."³⁸ He would also note that many network television newsrooms would ignore Chicano activism because the U.S. was more concerned with the Black-White binary at this time in the late 1960s-70s. This would be why many organizations such as the Brown Berets and Black Panther Party would resort to creating their own mediums, to voice their true concerns about the system which had long held them and their people down. They wanted to portray their selves and their community work for what it was, and not for what the larger American society should see it as. The

³⁸ Randy Ontiveros, "No Golden Age: Television News and the Chicano Civil Rights Movement," *The American Studies Association*, 898.

Panthers would break away from the black-white binary and focus their vision through a global lens looking at how their community is interconnected to others throughout the Third World. The Panthers would do this by showing others struggles throughout the Third World within their own paper.

In his article about the United Farm Workers, Colin Gunckel also portrays the importance of the photographs and the impact they had within the United Farm Workers newspaper. He states “the photography and artwork printed alongside the text elements were consistent with expectations of visual culture produced within the social justice movement.”³⁹ He then goes on to add that these photographs “illustrated news stories, visualized political positions, presented documentary evidence, or functioned as a call to action.”⁴⁰ Not only were these organizations such as the UNIA and UFW using photographs within their papers to voice their stance on political issues, struggles, and achievements, they were also speaking to others outside of their communities.

Colin Gunckel illustrated that the UFW’s newspaper “served as a source of information for those already with the UFW as a social movement across the country, a way of communicating among a diverse membership, and of sustaining morale and enthusiasm for *la causa*.”⁴¹ He also goes on to illustrate the importance of having this newspaper source printed in both Spanish and English. By having two versions of the paper the UFW would create their own subaltern couterpublic highlighting the working conditions of the workers in the field to be able spread their message to communities who may not have been aware of the conditions in the fields.

³⁹ Gunckel, 33 in *El Malcriado* 1974a.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 34.

Interesting enough is that the United Farm Workers knew they needed to gain support from those outside of their community who may not have known the conditions in which they worked. This is something that both the Brown Berets and the Black Panther Party strove to do within their own papers. They wanted the world to know what they were doing and the impact they were making within their communities. In noting the purpose of the UFW's *El Malcriado* as a form of outreach the editors exclaim "*El Malcriado* must contribute to the spirit of unity that moves such a vast number of unions, churches, community groups, to back our strikes and boycotts. To do this *El Malcriado* must cover other struggles of liberation in this country."⁴² Not only did these organizations discuss other struggles around the world, they created their public sphere. It was within this counterpublic that the UFW was able to express their own interpretation of current events, their community needs as well as spread their own message to the world.

In his piece on race, media, and multiple publics Ronald Jacobs argues the importance of the Black Press in creating their own public spheres within American society. Jacobs noted "subordinate groups need to develop what Fraser has called "subaltern publics" in order to invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs."⁴³ By creating these public spheres as he notes the organizations created "a place for counteracting the effects of hegemony by constructing alternative narratives which contain different heroes and

⁴² Gunckel, 34. In *El Marciado* 1974a.

⁴³ Ronald Jacobs "Race, Media, Multiple Publics." *Race Media and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.

different plots.”⁴⁴ Both the Brown Berets and the Black Panther Party worked to create their own narratives of their community, and created their own spaces to point out the wrongs of the larger American society. Not only did the Panther and Berets discuss the wrongdoings but they also discussed different issues that the mainstream media would not publish, while showing a global connection to other communities of color throughout the world.

It would be in these spaces that Jacobs argues that “these groups are able to discover common interests, to develop arguments which could more effectively engage white civil society and to provide deliberate spaces that could nurture the development of new public leaders.”⁴⁵ Jacobs also exclaimed that these spaces were “designed to encourage continuous discussion about matters of common concern, to develop arguments for later engagement in the majority public spheres, and to correct the prejudices and misrepresentations that resulted from engagement in those other public spheres.”⁴⁶ Lastly, something very important that pertained to the power of owning your newspaper was noted by Jacobs towards the end of his piece. He argued that by having ownership over your own newspaper allowed organizations’ the power to record their own stories, that may have been brushed to the side by the mainstream media.

In doing this research on the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets newspapers, I have found that they both strove to accomplish these things. They each created a platform to voice their community’s concerns that had long been overlooked and even disregarded. They voiced their opinions on political issues from the time and showed support to others

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.,29.

in their struggles in the U.S. and around the world. Their use of imagery throughout their papers was very creative and powerful in that they both understood that it was not just a fight against one person or one race, rather it was a fight against the U.S. system that seemed to have its hand in multiple countries as if they were a puppet master. Both organizations spoke about issues surrounding multiracial alliances, coalitions and Third Worldism within their newspapers in their own unique ways. The Black Panther Party spoke about Third Worldism and cross-ethnic alliances more than the Brown Berets. However, the Brown Berets did not just stick to issues surrounding Mi Raza, they too showed signs of Third Worldism within their newspapers and various articles.

In one of the most recent texts about the Black Panther Party, Robert Malloy discusses the importance of the party's newspaper and how the Black Panthers related to those within the Third World. In *Out of Oakland*, Malloy notes that the "*Black Panther*" newspaper became the primary vehicle for a colorful anticolonial vernacular that combined third-world inspired imagery and rhetoric with a Marxism and distinctive verbal and visual style influenced by urban African American idioms and argot."⁴⁷ Not only does Malloy illustrate the importance of the Panther's newspaper but he also noted the importance of connecting with those of the Third World. Quoting Che Guevara, he states "solidarity among peoples does not now come from religion, customs, tastes, racial affinity or its lack but from a similarity in economic social conditions and from a similarity in desire for progress and recuperation."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Sean Malloy, *Out of Oakland* (Cornell University Press, 2017), 71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

Similarly, those within the Chicano movement too saw themselves as connected to those outside the larger United States. In his text, *The Revolutionary Minds of Greater Mexico* Alan Eladio Gomez argues this key point. Gomez notes that “participants within the Chicano/a movement saw themselves as part of a larger hemispheric and global political community.”⁴⁹ He then went on to state “that political perspective led them to intentionally look outside the borders of the U.S. to create connections with political movements, artists, and revolutionaries that were anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist.”⁵⁰ From these organizations newspapers it was clear that each were connecting with other struggles from various parts of the world.

For example, there is one article within the *Black Panther* that directly relates to those within the Third World and exhibits a supportive tone to those in Vietnam. In the article “Power to the People” Larry Jones argues that the people in Vietnam who are fighting back against the U.S. are winning against what he calls an “imperialist regime”. He argues that “what is of relative importance here is Vietnam’s example to the remainder of Asia’s oppressed peoples as Cuba has been to Latin America.”⁵¹ He then goes on to state “the U.S. can not contain the Vietnamese revolution in its fervor of geographically. The revolution shall be exported throughout non-communist Asia without

⁴⁹ Alan Eladio Gomez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico: Chicana/o Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, & Latin American Social Movements* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Larry Jones, “Power to the People of Viet Nam!” *The Black Panther* July 26, 1969, 16.

a single Viet Cong going beyond the boundaries of his own soils.”⁵² Interesting enough he then says that the struggle in Vietnam is internationalist.

Jones stated that “the war in Vietnam and all contemporary socialist revolutions are marked with internationalism treating national boundaries with the contempt that does the capitalist beneath the sophisticated ‘crack’ of the imperialist whip, have evidenced that united armed struggle and a political ideology relative to the consequences of the masses makes liberation inevitable.”⁵³ Lastly, towards the end of the article Jones makes it clear that America’s presence in Vietnam is not turning out to be what they thought. He stated “yet, America lingers on, knowing that here victory is not feasible militarily or politically and her business venture improbable the U.S. sees the inevitability of withdrawal, which is in fact the most difficult maneuver.”⁵⁴

This piece by Jones within the Panthers paper is very telling for many reasons. To begin with, it shows a direct contradiction of what the U.S. set out to do in Vietnam. It also illustrates to people back home in the U.S. the real intentions of America in Vietnam, and how they are essentially being stopped. Not only does it show America’s true intentions in Vietnam it also shows the importance of the Panthers to the community. It shows their importance to the community because they are not holding back with what they put in their paper, or sugar coating material as the mainstream media would have done during the time.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Another piece which relates to the one by Jones, is written by a prisoner in the Denver County Jail who argues the correlation of America's presence in Vietnam to that of the Black colony in the U.S. The prisoner who was not named exclaimed that "the reported massacres of Vietnamese people have direct bearing on the people in the Black Colony here in Babylon."⁵⁵ They then go on to note that "the right to self-determination by the Vietnamese people was stifled by U.S. aggression; the right to self-determination in the Black colony was also stifled by U.S. aggression."⁵⁶ They then state, "the build-up of troops in Vietnam went right along with the build-up of troops (pigs) in Babylon."⁵⁷ They then illustrate that "the Black Colony is an occupied territory with hostile troops (pigs) as in Vietnam" and finally that "Pigs have been killing Black people for years under the guise of being a 'protective force' they are killing the Vietnamese under the same pretense."⁵⁸ This echoes the definition of domestic colonialism referenced by J.H. O'Dell earlier. The Panthers are correlating the troops in Vietnam to the pigs (cops) in their community each terrorizing and creating hostile environments. The author argued that the "Black Colony" being an occupied territory mirrors that of the United States troops in Vietnam. It is very important to note here that the Panthers are articulating this interconnectedness of communities through a Third World lens and illustrating to its community that they are in a larger struggle, a struggle related and connected to communities throughout the Third World.

What is striking about both articles is that they are putting America's contradictions into the hands of the people. Publishing information such as this gives the

⁵⁵ "Vietnam and its relation to the Black Colony" *The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

people first-hand knowledge of the wrong doings of the state, not just here in the United States but elsewhere. This is not to say that individuals within the communities in which the Panthers passed out their papers did not already know about these wrong doings, but the Panthers would make this information known and for good reasons. One of these reasons may have been to show support to those in other countries as we can see from both articles, but also to get the people thinking about these issues. For example, towards the end of the article by the Denver County Jail prisoner they note “as the Vietnamese have shown, only those willing to fight and die deserve to be free, and freedom comes out the barrel of a gun.”⁵⁹

Not only did the Black Panthers discuss solidarity with those in Vietnam, they also wrote about supporting other people of color being abused by the system in Mexico. In the article, “Solidarity with Mexican Students” Bobby Seale addressed the importance of the Mexican student’s struggle, and the need to support them in their efforts. Seale is noted stating “the Black Panther Party is in solidarity with the Mexican students in their struggles for self-defense and self-determination for themselves and their community.”⁶⁰ He then goes on to declare that “we support their demands for the removal of racist, decadent school administrators and their policies, and for the immediate removal of the fascist, tactical pig forces in Mexico which storm their communities and college campuses with their show of force and reign of terror.”⁶¹

One thing that Seale addresses within this article is something that directly correlates to this idea of Third Worldism. It relates to Third Worldism in that he does not

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ “Solidarity with Mexican Students” *The Black Panther Paper* July 26, 1969, 18.

⁶¹ Ibid.

blame the country of Mexico or specific college presidents but rather the system which is the problem. Seale quotes Eldridge Cleaver stating, "it's the entire social structure we're struggling against, the capitalist system which organized itself in such a way that purchases our lives, that exploits us, and forces us into a position where we have to wage a struggle against the social organization in order to survive."⁶² Lastly, Seale notes that the Mexican student's struggles along with their people's struggles should "serve as an example to all students involved in the fight for liberation now being waged on the college campuses the world over."⁶³ This piece is quite interesting in that it shows both signs of Third Worldism but also a hint of alliances with others around the world. Although it may not be a direct alliance with these Mexican students, them offering support shows those who are reading this article that others around the world are facing similar struggles, and to continue fighting against the system.

Going along with the theme of education, the Panthers also had a piece that included Roger Alvarado speaking about education at the Third World Liberation Front. In this piece, Alvarado addressed the importance of students and teachers and the role that they play within the larger realm of education. Alvarado noted first that "we must understand that from the beginning that any institution must serve primarily the needs of the people."⁶⁴ He then goes on to note that "our purpose in life and as revolutionaries is to take up the struggle of the people in the street against the common oppressor, the fascist dog who rides around in his pig car or the capitalist who is giving him his instructions

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ "Roger Alvarado speaks to Intellectuals" *The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969, 5.

sitting at the top of the of the Bank of America building.”⁶⁵ Alvarado then stated in regards to the oppressor that “all of them must be eliminated, all of them must be eliminated by the people.”⁶⁶

Roger Alvarado then goes on to discuss the importance of the students and teachers’ roles within this fight against the system that has its hands in many nations throughout the world. He noted that “we must understand that we are involved in the struggle not just on a state level, not on a national level, but on an international level.”⁶⁷ He then stated “we must understand that we are talking about raking all the resources of the world and putting them back into the hands of the people to protect themselves.”⁶⁸ Towards the end of the article Alvarado makes the final statement to the crowd “we must take up the gun in order to protect the people and ourselves against those who are not ready and never will be ready for us to have the power that we need in order to be a self-determining and all powerful people.”⁶⁹

Again, this piece by Alvarado that the Panthers published is very intriguing in that he is showcasing to the people that they need to abolish the system. The Panthers also touched upon the interconnectedness with others’ struggles throughout the nation and the Third World by including this piece in their paper. It sheds light on the Third World community that the Panthers were forming in the Bay Area at the time and the larger nation. By placing this piece within their newspaper, the Panthers are speaking not only to the communities in which they sold their papers, but also to others who may be outside

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

of their community such as those on college campuses and even some within the white community. Regarding getting their message out to the masses, the Panthers also discussed the struggles of others here in the United States to their readers and community.

The Panthers included material about injustices occurring to people of color in the United States and how the media tried to gloss over real issues affecting people's lives. In the article "Fascist California Grape Growers Use Mass Media to Combat A Living Wage," the Panthers show their support to the farm workers who were being harassed and cheated out of a living wage in California. They noted that the mass media is playing ads that are completely misleading the people and trying to get them to side with the grape growers rather than the workers. The article stated that "Boycotts and politics have no place in Americas food distribution."⁷⁰ The Panthers then note "this is an old fascist tactic they resort to trying to turn the masses against the oppressed."⁷¹ Lastly, what is very important within this article is that they shine light on somewhat of an alliance with those in the Brown community. They do so by stating "The Black Panther Party urges all consumers to support the farm workers boycott and to do everything possible to bring victory to them in their struggle for Survival here in fascist America."⁷² It is clear to see with this article that the Panthers are not only worried about their own people and their own struggles, but they too recognize that any injustice needs to be called out and taken care of. This resembles the statement made by Assata Shakur when she stated, "any community seriously concerned with its own freedom has to be

⁷⁰ Bigman, "Fascist California Grape Growers Use Mass Media to Combat a Living Wage" *The Black Panther* July 26, 1969, 18.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

concerned about other people's freedom as well, each time one of imperialism tentacles is cut off we are closer to liberation."⁷³

Not only did the Panthers cover issues and struggles surrounding other people of color in the U.S. they also had an international section where they published the wrongdoings around the world such as in Bolivia and South Africa. In one article within their newspaper they published material demanding the release of Bolivian prisoners. The piece was originally published by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Bolivia, or the Revolutionary Workers Party. It is within this section of their paper, communities of color would garner more information of how others around the world were being treated unjustly by their government as well. This would create a sense of community among readers, who could see that that they were not alone in their fight.

They noted how members of their organization and the Ejericto de Liberacion Nacional are being tried as guerrillas and wrongly thrown in prison. They stated, "now when imperialism is threatening us with the Hickenlooper Amendment, the real anti-imperialist fighters are imprisoned and being hunted while the counter-revolutionary lackeys are free to engage in their intrigues."⁷⁴ Here we see how the Black Panther Party addresses how the U.S. and imperialism affects other countries in negative ways. By mentioning the Hickenlooper Amendment which states the U.S. government can cut aid off to any country, and in turn those who are fighting against the government are targeted unjustly.

⁷³ Shakur, *Assata*, 267 in Jason Ferreira, *Third World Social Movements and the 1960s in All Power to the People a Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco 1968-1974* (2004), 29.

⁷⁴ "Free Bolivian Prisoners", *The Black Panther* March 7, 1970.

This article directly correlates with the theme of Third Worldism that the Panthers continually had within their paper. The Panthers show other organizations addressing how the U.S. affects other people of color throughout the world and not just in one nation. It also resembles Robert Allen's take on J.H. O'Dell's definition of domestic colonialism, in that domestic colonialism can represent a social or institutional system and not just a dispossession of territory. The Panthers are pointing to this institutional system which is imperialistic in nature that is the enemy and keeping communities of color throughout the nation and the Third World colonized.

In another piece within the section titled "International News" the Panthers included an article that was originally published in *Korea Today*. Within this piece they too are pointing out the wrong-doings in Africa of imperialists which they identified as the U.S. and Great Britain. They exclaim "the Korean people extend their warm militant solidarity to the Zimbabwe people who are fighting against colonialism and racism and for national liberation and genuine independence."⁷⁵ They then go on to exclaim that "the sacred struggle of the Zimbabwe people to achieve national liberation and independence is an important link in the chain of the struggles for liquidating colonialism and racism in Africa once and for all."⁷⁶ Again, we see the depictions of Third Worldism and this breaking away from domestic colonialism within this article showing support to those around the world in their struggles against the imperialist system.

They clearly do this when they included the personal statement of Kim II Sung "our people extend support to the struggle of the Zimbabwe people against the

⁷⁵ "Final Victory Belongs to the Fighting Zimbabwe People" *The Black Panther* reprinted from *Korea Today*, *Pyongyang*, no. 153, 1969.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

'independence' of Southern Rhodesia unlawfully and arbitrarily concocted by the Smith clique and to the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination."⁷⁷ Lastly they noted that "the Korean people are convinced that the Zimbabwe people will win final victory in their just struggle to wipe out the Smith racists who are aided and abetted by the U.S.-British imperialist."⁷⁸ By including articles such as these they showed support to others around the world while also attacking the institutional system of imperialism that continued to tighten its grip on communities of color in the Third World. They were showing their community again that this fight for freedom was not just here in Oakland or the U.S. but to truly be free the imperialistic and capitalistic system of the United States needed to be abolished.

The Panthers also showed support to fallen heroes within the United States who made positive impacts in other communities of color. In an article published in 1972, they shed light on the atrocities that affected Native Americans throughout the U.S. while highlighting the death of Richard Oakes. The Panthers wrote "the American Indians, a dehumanized and oppressed people have suffered perhaps more than any other group of people. The brunt of the 'American experience'."⁷⁹ The Panthers then proclaimed that "unlike Black people who were brought to this country as slaves and to make white men rich, the Indian people were at home this is their homeland no attempt at enslavement was made by the intruding white man, his only desire was to destroy the Indian people and rob them of their land."⁸⁰ This statement relates back to the definition of domestic

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Richard Oakes, A Native American: Native American Leader Killed By Racist Caretaker" *The Black Panther*, September 30 1972, 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

colonialism by O'Dell in that it exhibits how both Native Americans and the Black community have suffered at the hands of the U.S. capitalistic system. Towards the latter half of the article the Panthers leave a final note about the importance of Richard Oakes life in the hearts of oppressed people. The Panthers noted "his life was a clear testimonial of the suffering of his people. He will live on as long as the desire for freedom lives, as long as the hope for a New America is sacred in the hearts of poor and oppressed people."⁸¹

Not only did the Panthers discuss supporting other people of color struggles in the U.S. and throughout the world, their paper spoke to and for the people. They captured the voice of so many who were not able to have their voice heard in a country where they seemed to be invisible. In an article by Roy Wilson he noted the importance of revolutionaries and their role to the people. In the article, "Letter to the Panthers", Wilson stated "the true revolutionary must hold, he must have a deep love for the people above all else, for if he does not, the place he holds in the revolution is meaningless, the work he thought he accomplished, was not even begun."⁸² Lastly, Wilson argued that "I believe that the Black Panther speaks for the people."⁸³ The Panthers understood the people because they lived and breathed what the people were going through each and every day. Although not all Black Panther Party members experienced the same hardships as one another they could relate to the people and the struggles they faced whether it be police harassment, lack of education, or lack of housing and healthcare. This statement made by

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Roy Wilson "Letter to the Panthers" *The Black Panther*, July 19 1969.

⁸³ Ibid.

Jones is very important because the Panthers did speak for the people, and they cared for the people just as the Brown Berets spoke for the people in the issues of *La Causa*.

In an issue from *La Causa* in 1969 the Brown Berets noted the importance of community, and the reasoning behind someone joining the Brown Berets. At the beginning of the piece, the Berets discussed how the Chicano has become fed up with his treatment of society. The Berets noted, “they have become tired of being oppressed for his mere existence and finally has become to the realization that life is worthless unless he struggles for his survival because he also realizes that his RAZA is faced with extermination.”⁸⁴ The Berets then go on to exclaim why many have joined the Berets and their movement was because they “loved the people and they were not afraid to die for them.”⁸⁵ Lastly, they pointed to the growing awareness of being a Beret when they noted “you are willing to discipline yourself for your people and with that discipline give your life if necessary to help your people survive and liberate themselves.”⁸⁶ The Brown Berets showed a commitment to their people, and just like the Panthers were willing to die for their people by serving them to the best of their abilities.

In an article titled “We are servants to the people” the Berets discussed what it truly meant to be a servant. At the beginning of the piece they made the notion clear that many who called themselves revolutionaries were not truly serving the people, rather they were only looking out for themselves. They stated, “being a servant of the people means just that, you must serve the people (not your own selfish individual

⁸⁴ “Why a Brown Beret formed or emerged in the Southwest” *La Causa*, September 16, 1969, 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

interests).”⁸⁷ They then went on to argue that “all of your actions must be for the people, the ideas and feelings of the people must be considered first.”⁸⁸ The article then goes on telling the reader that everyone including yourself needs to be held accountable. They end the piece when they stated, “nothing can be worse than knowing what is right and doing nothing about it.”⁸⁹

Being a servant for the people was one of the most important aspects of the Berets and the Panthers. But it wasn’t enough just to serve your own people, that is the Black or Brown community but to really truly care and serve all people who are in the struggle. In one specific article from 1970, the Brown Berets applauded the heroic efforts of one of its members saving what they called their “Black brother”. They started the article when they noted, “Danny Rodrigues never hesitated in his commitment to and love of the people.”⁹⁰ They went on to exclaim that “he related to everyone in the barrio, the older people, the very young, the tecatos, the winos, and the black community.”⁹¹ More importantly they showcased how he related to those he served. They mentioned “all of them respected his sincerity, dedication, and huevos in fighting against the oppressive conditions imposed by the indifferent, exploitive ruling class.”⁹²

The Berets then stated, “Danny understood that the only salvation for oppressed people was through revolution.”⁹³ Towards the end of the article they finally mentioned

⁸⁷ “We are servants to the people” *La Causa*, 1970.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ “Brown Beret Captain Danny Rodrigues dies trying to save Black brother” *La Causa*, 1970.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

his heroic act when they noted “Danny’s unselfish act in trying to save Michael Williams was a natural outcome of his total dedication and love for his people.”⁹⁴ One of the key points within in this article is the Berets showcased one of their members and how he helped others outside of his immediate community. Again, it was not just about the Brown community or Raza but it was about helping and in this case serving all the people or todas las razas. However, this article does not directly fall under Third Worldism, it does however shed light on a formation of a coalition or an alliance made by Danny Rodriguez with those within the Black community.

Similarly, the Berets wrote an article where they discussed coming together as one Raza, against a tyrannical system that has long held Chicano and other people of color down. In the article, “All Power to the People” the Berets attacked the U.S. system that did not treat everyone as equals as the United States government said they did. The Berets stated, “does law and order mean peace and quiet to Chicano people? No!”⁹⁵ The Berets then argued, “the whiteman’s law means the same law that murders Chicanos on the streets and lets their pig murderers go unpunished, the law that sends young children to Vietnam and to their death, yes the law that locks up Chicanos in jails like an animal.”⁹⁶ The Berets then changed their tone within the same article, asking all Chicanos to come together to fight back against the tyrannical system that was in place. This article is important as it relates to both O’Dell’s definition of domestic colonialism and previous articles in the *Black Panther*. The article is directly attacking the U.S. capitalistic system to illustrate to Raza that it is the system that is corrupt and needs to be overthrown for the

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ “All Power to the People.” *La Causa*, 1970.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

betterment of their community. Although they do not draw connections to others throughout the Third World it highlighted that the U.S. political, educational, health care systems needed to be torn down and replaced with institutions that represented the people.

The Berets also shed light on others around the world fighting back against their government even though they did not have the numbers to do so. The Berets stated, “but look at the people of Vietnam who are defeating the best equipped army in the world.”⁹⁷ The Brown Berets exclaimed “the Brown Berets are asking the Chicano people to stop fighting, stabbing, and killing each other off for the mere street name, and start fighting, shooting and killing this piggish racist society.”⁹⁸ This was a very important statement made by the Brown Berets, because they were tired of being murdered at the hands of the police. No justice was being served and they wanted to take matters into their own hands. Not only that, but they wanted their brothers and sisters to understand that what they should be focusing their anger and energy on was to find ways to defeat a system that was imperialistic in nature, racist, capitalistic and to take it down. It was not enough to reform certain aspects of society that held their community down, but to destroy the entire system and create a new way of life for the betterment of all people of color.

The Brown Berets then went on to state “but now a lot of Chicanos are realizing they are not amerikans because they haven’t been enjoying the fruits of being amerikan, though when Chicanos have worked the most and when war came they also fought the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

hardest.”⁹⁹ Lastly, they noted that “for if Chicano people back us up the pigs would soon find out the costly truth of destroying a single REVOLUTIONARIO is that they have to destroy the entire RAZA.”¹⁰⁰ They ended this article by exclaiming all power to the people, the same cry that was made continuously throughout the Panthers paper. Not only did they discuss similar things as the Panthers in their articles and papers, but they also called out a system that did not treat Chicanos or Blacks equally. Both the Panthers and the Berets understood that police brutality, racial discrimination, and unjust wars around the world were all inherently related to the overall demise of poor people of color. By demise, they knew that without abolishing their own government and forming new avenues for their people to live better lives, they along with others around the world would continue to face oppression at the hands of the U.S. government.

Another piece that discusses similar points came in an issue of *La Causa* and argued destroying the white mind. The article understood destroying the white mind as in ridding oneself of a colonial mindset to be free of oppression. They argued that one needed to wake up and understand that the U.S. government was using people of color for their own gain. The article noted that as one’s education level began to grow they began to understand the oppressive lives they had been living in. For example, the Berets stated “the first thing that we noticed was that this system only wanted to use us.”¹⁰¹ The article then went on to argue that “no matter how hard we tried to prove our loyalty to the U.S. it only used us for its own gain.”¹⁰² They then exclaimed that they needed to focus

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ “Destroy the White Mind.” *La Causa*, 1969.

¹⁰² Ibid.

their attention on what really was the key factor of their oppression. They claimed that “was it all white men that kept us down or was it only some white men.”¹⁰³

Towards the end of the article they mentioned that it was not all white men that had held them down, but it was as they stated the “white mind”. They noted “is it the white man we are fighting or the white mind?”¹⁰⁴ What I found very interesting was when they exclaimed that “the system that oppresses us is an inhuman, brutal system of competition and greed.”¹⁰⁵ They argued that the capitalistic system was a place where only a few men are free, and that Chicanos and other people of color are taken advantage of by this system and the institutions it controls. They reiterated that “the capitalistic mind is the true oppressor of our people, and millions of other people around the world.”¹⁰⁶ This is particularly important because here we see a glimpse of the Brown Berets addressing a connection to those around the world. The connection they touch upon is the interconnectedness of people of color from around the world through their exploitation under the hands of capitalism. The Berets then go further to argue that the people needed to break away from the capitalistic mindset or as they call the “white mind” and shift towards a community built around helping one another and lifting each other up rather than taking advantage of one another.

The Berets noted that “this is where we must understand that it is the white capitalistic mind that we must destroy in order to have freedom.”¹⁰⁷ They ended the article when they stated, “we must replace this system with our own culture of humanism,

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

where men share and respect each other.”¹⁰⁸ Most importantly, they also shined a light on maintaining their own cultural identity when they exclaimed “we must also see to it that the Chicano people control their identity whether it be the schools or factory’s.”¹⁰⁹ One of the key points taken from this article is that the Brown Berets illustrated that it was not one specific person who was oppressing their people, but it was the system. This was something that both the Black Panther Party and Brown Berets continuously pointed to, that it was the United States and its capitalistic system that was oppressing people of color in the U.S. and throughout the world.

The Brown Berets also showed similarities to the Panthers within their papers by having an international section, highlighting others struggles throughout the Third World. In one specific article the Brown Berets highlighted a trip that was taken by a Chicana Alicia Escalante, and her stories working with others. Escalante mentioned that she was the only Chicana working among other women helping communities throughout South East Asia. She mentioned more than once throughout the piece that she felt the other women did not understand those they were helping, because they simply could not relate to their struggle. She stated “I believe that I knew more about hunger than the other women who are middle class professionals. I feel that in order to really feel for the hungry you need to have gone hungry yourself to know how it feels.”¹¹⁰ Lastly, she noted that whenever she had the chance she talked about issues facing Chicanos in the U.S. She exclaimed “in every way I could I rapped Chicano, I also showed the ladies one issue of

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ “Alicia Escalante”, *La Causa*, September 16th, 1969.

La Causa” and finally stated “whether this was effective or not I don’t know but I know one thing Carnales we need to expand all over and we need to be seen and heard.”¹¹¹

Along with discussing personal experiences of others within the Chicano community, the Brown Berets also showed signs of disgust towards the U.S. government putting their hands in other countries’ business. For example, one specific article in the Brown Berets paper relates their struggle to that of people in Asia, Latin America and Africa. They noted that people within these regions of the world “are engaged in a struggle for freedom and self-determination against the U.S. government and its puppets.”¹¹² The Berets then go on to exclaim that “their struggles are against the same enemy that oppresses the Chicanos in the U.S.”¹¹³ Something that is very important to note here is when the Berets then go on to argue that they should first take care of their own here in the United States. I found this interesting because it makes them seem more cultural nationalist in the last part of the article. However, this article seems to place the Berets within the international stage as they discussed how their struggle within the U.S. can relate to their counterparts around the world specifically in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The Berets mentioned “we should also realize that millions of people around the world suffer the agonies of oppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.”¹¹⁴ They then go on to show their support and solidarity when they stated “we must be ready to support and stand in solidarity with these peoples. For there will never be true world peace where

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² “Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win,” *La Causa*, 1970.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

men can live in freedom until the U.S. capitalistic system is destroyed.”¹¹⁵ The article then goes on to discuss colonialization and how Chicanos have been taken advantage of by the U.S. They stated, “Chicanos have been subject to this colonialization just as our brothers in other country’s[sic]” and then went on to exclaim “we are a conquered people, occupied by a foreign power, just as the people in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.”¹¹⁶ The key point in this article is the Berets are showing their solidarity with others around the world, but also making a connection with their brothers and sisters around the world to illuminate themselves as part of larger global struggle. They also directly related their struggle to that of others in the Third World by showing the connection through their oppression of being a colonized people by the U.S. which also relates to the definition of domestic colonialism.

One of the most important things to note from these findings is that each organization was facing similar issues within their communities. Whether it was poverty, discrimination, lack of housing, lack of quality education, and even police brutality both the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets fought back against a system that had kept their people down for generations. They expressed what their communities dealt with on a day to day basis within their organizations’ newspapers, because many of the issues or at least the truth was not being showcased in the mainstream media. Furthermore, while researching these organizations there was not any mention of mutual campaigns between both the Panthers and Berets working with one another within the Bay Area or Los Angeles. Each organization only showcased their struggle on the global level with others throughout the world. I believe that a more comprehensive study of both organizations’

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

and their newspapers would be necessary to determine if these acts of solidarity existed between the Black Panthers and Brown Berets.

By creating their own platform by way of their newspapers both organizations were able to illuminate to the larger world the issues and circumstances that their people faced. I found this tremendously important, while doing the research and looking at each of their newspapers both pointed to bigger picture issues that people around the world could relate to. These issues stemmed from police brutality, racism, lack of natural resources, all the way to capitalism taking advantage of people of color. By having others around the nation, across racial and cultural lines, and around the world being able to relate to one another created this notion of Third Worldism. Third Worldism allowed communities regardless of where they lived to understand they were interconnected in a struggle against a system, that needed to be torn down for the betterment of the people. The Panthers and the Berets also established that people of color throughout the nation and larger world were interconnected through the oppression they faced by the U.S. and were attempting to break away from domestic colonialism.

When I began this research, I believed that the Black Panthers would have discussed more about other struggles throughout the world in their papers than the Brown Berets. After completing this research, I found that both the Black Panthers and Brown Berets spoke equally to other issues around the world, and although did not speak directly to forming alliances with others or coalitions supported other struggles against the U.S. capitalistic system. This system was mentioned more than once within their papers and its destruction was the only thing that would bring true freedom to people of color.

Ultimately each of these organizations created something that during the late 1960s and 70s was ahead of their time. They delved into issues that the larger media and society would not dare to address, for fear of backlash or uprisings from communities that were being suppressed. I found that although the Black Panthers and Brown Berets did not discuss multiracial alliances, and coalitions directly within their papers they still exhibited how they were interconnected to those communities throughout the Third World and how they understood their connection to them, directly relating to Third Worldism. The Berets made it clear that they stood with other struggles here in the U.S. and around the world when they stated, “for there will never be true world peace where men can live in freedom until the U.S. capitalistic system is destroyed.”¹¹⁷ While the Panthers expressed similar sentiments such as these throughout their papers, on a weekly basis and specifically in their international section. In conclusion, both the Panthers and the Berets left behind a legacy that many still hold high till this day and draw from to combat the social issues for people of color that are very much still alive today as they were back in the late 1960s-70s. In the end, we must learn from the Panthers and Berets and continue the fight against the system, in the words of the people: ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

¹¹⁷ Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win,” *La Causa*, 1970.

References

- “All Power to the People.” *La Causa* 1970.
- Allen, Robert. *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* Trenton: New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc, 1992.
- “Alicia Escalante.” *La Causa* September 16th, 1969.
- Araiza, Lauren. In common struggle against a common oppressor: The United Farm Workers and the Black Panther Party 1968-1973, *Journal of African American History*, 2008.
- Bigman. “Fascist California Grape Growers Use Mass Media to Combat a Living Wage.” *The Black Panther* July 26, 1969.
- “Brown Beret Captain Danny Rodrigues dies trying to save Black brother.” *La Causa* 1970.
- Carmicheal, Stokely. *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism*, Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2007.
- Correa, Jennifer G. The Targeting of the East Los Angeles Brown Berets by a Racial Patriarchal Capitalist State: Merging Intersectionality and Social Movement Research, *Critical Sociology*, 37 (1) 2010.
- Craps, Stef. “Beyond Eurocentrism,” *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Gert Buelens, Sam Durrant, and Robert Eaglestone, New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Bloom, Joshua and Martin Jr, Waldo E. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of The Black Panther Party*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014.
- “Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win.” *La Causa* 1970.
- “Destroy the White Mind.” *La Causa* 1969.
- Ferreira, Jason. *All Power to the People: A comparative history of third world radicalism in San Francisco, 1968-1974*, 2004.
- “Free Bolivian Prisoners.” *The Black Panther* March 7, 1970.
- “Final Victory Belongs to the Fighting Zimbabwe People.” *The Black Panther* reprinted from *Korea Today*, Pyongyang, no. 153, 1969.
- Garcia, Mario T. *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the 21st Century*, New York, New York: Routledge, 2014.

- Gomez, Alan E. *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico: Chicana/o Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, and Latin American Social Movements*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2016.
- Guinier, Lani and Torres, Gerald. *The Miners Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy*, Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Gunckel, Colin. Building a Movement and Constructing Community: Photography, The United Farm Workers, and El Malcriado” in *Social Justice* Vol 42, No. 3-4 (2015).
- Jacobs, Ronald. “Race, Media, Multiple Publics.” *Race Media and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 28.
- Jones, Larry. “Power to the People of Viet Nam!” *The Black Panther* July 26, 1969.
- Malloy, Sean. *Out of Oakland* Cornell University Press, 2017.
- Mantler, George. *Power to the Poor: Black and Brown coalition and the fight for economic justice, 1960-1974*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Mcdougal III, Serie, *Research Methods in Africana Studies*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 2014.
- Omi, Michael and Winant, Howard. *Racial Formation in the United States, Third Edition*, New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Ontiveros, Randy “No Golden Age: Television News and the Chicano Civil Rights Movement.” *The American Studies Association*, 898.
- “Richard Oakes, A Native American: Native American Leader Killed By Racist Caretaker.” *The Black Panther*, September 30, 1972.
- “Roger Alvarado speaks to Intellectuals.” *The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969.
- “Solidarity with Mexican Students.” *The Black Panther Paper*, July 26, 1969.
- “We are servants to the people.” *La Causa* 1970.
- “Why a Brown Beret formed or emerged in the Southwest.” *La Causa*, September 16, 1969, 4.
- Wilson, Roy. “Letter to the Panthers.” *The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969.
- “Vietnam and its relation to the Black Colony.” *The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969.