

Angela Davis in Cuba as Symbol and Subject

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When Angela Davis visited a childcare center in Havana in early October 1972, a young girl, mistaking the visitor's traveling companion and fellow US Communist Party member Kendra Alexander for Davis, proclaimed there were "two Angelas." There were in fact many Angelas at the Cuban daycare that morning, as the children greeted Davis holding placards of her visage.¹ The images of Davis were adapted from one of countless photographs taken of the activist-scholar after she was targeted by the US government in 1970 and in turn defended by socialist countries and leftist activists worldwide as a global symbol of repression and resistance. Yet the Cuban Revolution did embrace "two Angelas" in the late 1960s and early 1970s: the symbol and the person. More than other African American activists who encountered the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s through visits or exile—major figures from the black liberation movement such as Robert F. Williams, Stokely Carmichael, Huey P. Newton, and others—Davis was exalted in Cuba both through her iconic image and her physical self.

In this essay, I explore how gender facilitated the encounters between Angela Y. Davis and the Cuban Revolution. Davis has written that her identity as a "black woman Communist" precipitated the US government's actions against her.² This identity in turn strengthened Davis's relationship with Cuba, where its socialist state, large black population, and purported egalitarianism toward women drew the scholar and activist several times beginning in 1969. Specifically, Davis's gender,

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operating in tandem with her socialism and blackness and membership in the American Communist Party (CPUSA), provided a stage not afforded the range of prominent, noncommunist, black male activists and intellectuals who allied with the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. The institutional platforms created by the Federación de Mujeres Cubanas (Federation of Cuban Women, or FMC) and the Partido Comunista de Cuba (Cuban Communist Party, or PCC) gave Davis officially sanctioned and highly visible platforms from which to speak and be seen. The visibility the Cuban state provided helped solidify Davis as a symbol of US repression, and her freedom a victory for international solidarity.

As part of the broader transnational and hemispheric turn in historical scholarship of the “long” 1960s, a growing number of works have examined connections between the US Left and Cuba after the triumph of the revolution of 1959. This ranges from the Beats’ fascination with Castro and the multiracial Fair Play for Cuba Committee’s work in the early 1960s, to the New Left Venceremos Brigade delegations that began in 1969 and the Cuban American Antonio Maceo Brigades that followed.³ A few scholars have focused on questions of gender and sexuality.⁴ More have centered race, suggesting that the Cuban revolutionary state’s economic egalitarianism lessened racial disparities and Fidel Castro’s pronouncements against racism inspired both African Americans and Afro-Cubans in support of the revolution, but that racial equality in Cuba ultimately remained unrealized and black nationalism repressed.⁵ Yet studies focusing on African American and Cuban connections remain piecemeal, and no scholarship has thoroughly engaged with Angela Davis’s encounters with Cuba.⁶

Davis was part of a broader network of African American activists who encountered the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷ Delegations from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the *Black Scholar* journal, and the Black Panther Party visited the island; Robert F. Williams, Eldridge Cleaver, and Huey P. Newton all lived there in political exile, while Stokely Carmichael enjoyed a standing offer to take refuge there. Some of these figures, and many others lesser known, grew disillusioned with Cuba; others lodged critiques but remained supportive of the revolutionary project. Most felt frustrated by their inability to publicly connect an affirmative blackness with support for the revolution. While many African American women traveled to Cuba or were inspired by the revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, Davis was the only woman in the pantheon of iconic figures of the black liberation movement who sought solidarity or refuge in Cuba.⁸ And while African American radicals provided perhaps the most consistent solidarity with the Cuban Revolution of any community over several decades, no one else was treated in quite the way Davis was.

Davis has had a singular presence on the United States Left and in Cuba. She is singular and, yet, of course, multifaceted: in addition to being an African American woman and a one-time member of the CPUSA, Davis is an accomplished

professional academic and public intellectual who spent sixteen months in jail after being accused and ultimately acquitted of murder. She is an historic figure who continues to have impact, a public persona who is not immune to objectification, yet is wary of her idolization and private about her personal life. Yet Davis's personal attributes—her education, cosmopolitanism, and appearance—attracted widespread interracial interest.⁹ Her combined anti-imperialism, antiracism, and Marxist orientation appealed particularly to Cuban leaders as well as everyday Cubans. Taking an intersectional approach to understanding how Davis's identity and ideology were expressed in Cuba and interpreted by the Cuban state—and focusing on the role of gender within this mix—teaches us not only about Davis's unique positionality, but also about the complexities of transnational solidarity and the Cuban revolutionary project.

Becoming Angela Davis

Davis's upbringing laid the foundation for her activism: her dedication to racial justice, her membership in the CPUSA, and her advocacy of gender equality. Born to a politically engaged middle-class family in 1950s Birmingham, Alabama, family friends included black CPUSA members James Jackson and Esther Cooper Jackson and the family of Carole Robertson, who was killed in the 1964 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. Intent on leaving the segregation and racial terrorism that gave the city the nickname "Bombingham," Davis finished high school at the progressive Elisabeth Irwin School in New York City, where she lived with a politically engaged family in Brooklyn and participated in the city's Marxist youth culture.¹⁰

The Cuban Revolution played an important role in Davis's burgeoning cosmopolitan internationalism. In 1962 Davis traveled abroad for the first time to Helsinki, Finland, for the Eighth World Festival for Youth and Students, where her interaction with a Cuban youth delegation had a lasting influence. Founded as an antifascist international friendship organization in 1945, the festivals brought youth from around the world to countries within the Soviet sphere. In Helsinki it was the Cubans, wearing pins of doves with machine guns and embodying the revolution's youthful exuberance—who took their delegation's conga line from the stage into the audience and then the street—that struck Davis as the festival's "most impressive event."¹¹ Davis later studied abroad in Paris during college at Brandeis University, a period in which she befriended immigrant women from Martinique, protested the afterlives of French colonialism in Algeria, and pursued graduate studies with Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno in Germany. She attended the Dialectics of Liberation Conference in London in 1967, where she heard Stokely Carmichael speak about the Third World before he flew to Havana for the Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (Organization of Latin American Solidarity, or OLAS) conference. These travels and interactions helped Davis form a global philosophy of liberation. "The new places, the new experiences I had

expected to discover through travel turned out to be the same old places,” she wrote in the early 1970s, “the same old experiences with a common message of struggle.”¹² These formative experiences informed and were reinforced by decades of public life, from her transnational approach to scholarship and speaking engagements to her activism around Palestine and continued solidarity with Cuba.¹³

In addition to her internationalism and interest in socialism, gender drove Davis to find a political community that would ultimately lead her to Cuba. A longing to participate in the black liberation movement brought Davis back to the United States, where she resumed graduate studies with Herbert Marcuse at the University of California, San Diego, and became active on campus and in Los Angeles. Davis grew frustrated with the gender politics of groups like the largely autonomous West Coast branch of SNCC, as well as their resistance to Marxism and internal dissent. Men she encountered tended to “confuse their political activity with an assertion of their maleness.”¹⁴ In search of an intellectual and political collective, she joined the CPUSA in the summer of 1968.¹⁵ In particular, the Party’s new Che-Lumumba Club, affiliated with the Southern California chapter, beckoned. An all-black collective started by Charlene Mitchell and Franklin and Kendra Alexander the previous year, the club taught Marxist ideology and engaged with college students, workers, and community members in Los Angeles. The Che-Lumumba Club reflected the political flexibility of the California Communist Party under the leadership of women such as Mitchell and Dorothy Healy, in contrast to a more centralized, doctrinaire ideology in New York.¹⁶ As Black Power came into ascendance and the CPUSA struggled to remain relevant, Mitchell, the Alexanders, and above all Davis offered ties between the Old Left and the New. These ties would prove crucial to connecting with the Cuban Revolution.

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In the summer of 1969, Davis embarked on a transformative visit to Cuba. Traveling with a CPUSA delegation for the annual July 26th Cuban independence celebration, the group traversed the island and worked in coffee and sugarcane fields as part of the *gran zafra* (great harvest) campaign to cut ten million tons of sugarcane for the 1970 season as an economic and symbolic victory for the revolution. Davis participated in the official political and cultural activities common to visiting delegations in Cuba, getting to know the Cuban residents of a small town on the eastern end of the island where they lived and worked.¹⁷ We “began to feel as if we had taken root in this small village in Oriente,” she recalled. Despite not speaking Spanish, or perhaps because of this, she felt particularly accepted by Cuban children. Davis called the trip “a great climax in my life. Politically I felt infinitely more mature.”¹⁸ The energy of the Cuban Revolution—first encountered as a conga line through the Helsinki streets—and its defiance of the United States had a profound effect. “The Cubans’ limitless revolutionary enthusiasm” left “a permanent mark” on her existence.¹⁹

Davis's 1969 visit came at an important moment for Cuba's relationship to the world. As the revolution completed a decade in power, some of its allies shifted. As it embarked on a period of cultural repression that came to be called the *quinquennio gris* (gray period) by 1971, it lost previous supporters in the global arena, particularly European intellectuals. Yet the same period witnessed the rise of new forms of solidarity: 1969 inaugurated the Venceremos Brigade (VB), interracial delegations of Americans who traveled to Cuba to work and tour the island. Members of the VB came to assist with the gran zafra. Although the harvest failed, the brigades and the model they established with the Cuban state have continued to this day. Davis recounted that Castro himself had explained the Cuban state's shift from "emphasizing armed struggle to mobilizing mass movements," and hosting delegations rather than exalting individuals.²⁰

The late 1960s also reflected a new strategy regarding the Cuban leadership's search for African American allies. As the revolution's most experimental phase ended, the visible solidarity it had expressed with individuals in the black liberation movement also came to a close. But African Americans continued to look to Cuba's shores, and Cuban leaders embraced black communists, organized delegations, and a quieter hosting of subsequent exiles as part of the turn toward institutionalizing the revolution.²¹ In an extraordinary statement Davis delivered privately to fellow CPUSA members after her visit in 1972, Davis claimed that Castro had told her that the government was increasingly interested in working with African American communists after previous encounters with black activists had soured.²² Naming Robert F. Williams, Stokely Carmichael, and Eldridge Cleaver, Davis recalled Castro saying that when these figures "turned on Cuba and criticized the Cuban Revolution, criticized socialism," the Cuban state "felt that they had been in error by establishing such strong relationships with them at that time."²³ The Cuban government never spoke out publicly about these interactions, making this admission, as reported by Davis, quite unusual. Yet the summer of 1969 encapsulated this shift: as Cuban leadership sent the controversial Black Power movement figure Eldridge Cleaver off of the island on a plane bound for Algeria, it welcomed the Venceremos Brigade, Davis's delegation, and a separate delegation by black CPUSA leader Henry Winston.

Like many other black visitors in the CPUSA and other groups, Davis focused much of her attention on the racial politics of the revolution and its convergence with socialism. As one of three people of color on her delegation, she recounted the trio discussing it "incessantly." Davis lauded the revolutionary state for opposing segregation in Cuba upon their seizure of power in 1959—which occurred through laws such as land redistribution and free healthcare, and an anti-discrimination campaign announced by Fidel Castro.²⁴ Moreover, she emphasized the revolution's gains toward "the destruction of the material base of racism." Davis wrote of seeing black Cubans in the workforce in "factories, schools, hospitals and

wherever else we went.” She lingered in particular on a lesson from a sugarcane worker whose craft she admired. “The business of cutting cane was work not fit for human beings,” she remembered him telling her, and would hopefully be eliminated in the future. With that she determined that poverty and underdevelopment were “nothing to be utopianized,” even as the future of harvesting sugarcane in Cuba persisted. Davis never declared racist practices in Cuba over. But she wrote that she was “immensely impressed” by Cuba’s efforts to eradicate racism, and convinced that “only under socialism could this fight against racism have been so successfully executed.”²⁵

Davis wrote less about women following her 1969 visit, but recognized the roles Cuban women played in the revolution and the challenges they faced. On one hand, she had long been impressed with the militancy of Cuban women, writing admiringly to the incarcerated activist and close friend George Jackson after her first trip to the island of “women patrolling the streets with rifles on their backs—defending the revolution.” On the other, she alluded to sexism in Cuba, describing “young *compañeras* educating their husbands and lovers—demythologizing *machismo*.”²⁶ Many white women who traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade struggled with feelings of alienation from Cuban women and their gender roles in society—which they perceived as objectifying.²⁷ But Davis, along with members of the Third World Women’s Alliance, who also traveled with the Venceremos Brigade, wrote about Cuban women more from a vantage point of kinship than distance.²⁸ As the 1970s progressed, Davis increasingly viewed gender as a crucial variable for the Cuban revolutionary project.

Davis’s initial trip to Cuba coincided with her catapult into the public sphere. Around the time of her visit in the summer of 1969, a student and FBI informant writing for the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) newspaper mentioned the Communist Party membership of a newly hired philosophy professor. The *San Francisco Examiner* picked up the article, naming Davis, and also publishing her home address and information related to a recent legal gun purchase.²⁹ The UCLA regents then sought to terminate Davis immediately, a decision she successfully appealed amid ongoing threats, but her teaching contract was not renewed. A year later, in August 1970, the state of California implicated Davis in the deaths of a judge, district attorney, and jurors taken hostage during courtroom proceedings against one of the three “Soledad Brothers” accused of killing a guard at a central California prison.³⁰ Davis was far from the courthouse that day, but authorities charged her with conspiracy, kidnapping, and murder. Proclaiming her innocence and questioning her ability to receive a fair trial, Davis went underground for two months before her apprehension in New York in October 1970.³¹ She spent sixteen months in jail in New York and California and endured a highly publicized seven-month trial that at one point sought the death penalty. Ultimately, she was acquitted of all charges.

Davis's connection with Cuba helped solidify ideological sentiment and US government action against her. While the press did not report on her visit to the island during the summer of 1969, a lengthy article published in the *Los Angeles Times* while Davis was underground suggested a connection between her visit and her alleged role in the subsequent events in Marin County. Claiming "the pattern is clear," conservative columnist Georgie Anne Geyer and foreign correspondent Keyes Beech characterized Castro's Cuba as a "revolutionary factory for the processing and refining of American radicals for export back to the United States."³² The media also repeatedly suggested that Davis had fled there, particularly when her sister Fania Davis was identified on a Canadian boat bound for the island with the Venceremos Brigade in the summer of 1970.³³ Fania Davis was still in Cuba when Angela Davis was captured.³⁴ While Davis wrote that she had considered the idea of fleeing there or elsewhere abroad and ruled it out, her connection to Cuba nevertheless helped cast her as a subversive enemy of the United States.

Icon of Repression

During the course of her imprisonment and trial, Davis became a contested symbol of persecution. The black liberation movement expressed widespread support for and identification with Davis. James Baldwin wrote in a letter to her in prison, "We must fight for your life as though it were our own—which it is," while the *Black Scholar* echoed in an editorial, "Her struggle is our struggle, and her victory shall be our victory."³⁵ Groups such as the Third World Women's Alliance and Harlem Black Women to Free Angela Davis rallied around Davis during her imprisonment and trial. White women also participated in the Free Angela Davis campaign, including Gloria Steinem, who served as national treasurer of Davis's defense fund, but Davis's case became a wedge issue in the burgeoning US women's movement. The recounting of Betty Friedan asking the Third World Women's Alliance to put down signs supporting Davis at the 1970 Women's Liberation Day March in New York spread far and wide. Third World Women's Alliance founder Frances Beale's experience of being told that "Angela Davis has nothing to do with women's liberation," and her response that Davis had "everything to do with the kind of liberation we're talking about," reflected the conflicts that defined the women's movement in the United States.³⁶

Under the leadership of Fania Davis and fellow CPUSA member Franklin Alexander, the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis (NUCFAD) sustained a highly organized campaign that framed Davis's fight as part of a larger struggle of incarcerated and oppressed people in the United States and beyond.³⁷ A range of global solidarity groups, less divided by US debates, called for Davis's freedom.³⁸ Women across the globe mobilized for Davis through the Women's International Democratic Federation. Davis received particular support from Germany and France, where she had lived.³⁹ John Abt, a CPUSA member on Davis's legal team,

found that, like African American communities in the United States, internationally “people everywhere not only identify with her but see her freedom struggle as indissolubly linked with their own aspirations.”⁴⁰ Fania Davis emphasized, “It’s up to the entire world to save her.”⁴¹

Cuba played an integral role in the global campaign to free Davis. As it had done with other global solidarity campaigns, the Cuban state apparatus mobilized various sectors around her liberation. The Cuban press provided extensive, continuous coverage, often with visual elements. A government-led multiagency committee formed devoted to her release. Two songs, “Por Ángela,” by the prominent Cuban songwriter Tania Castellanos, and “Canción para Ángela Davis,” written by Pablo Milanés on a record by Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez (Cuba’s two largest names in Nueva Trova), reflected her prevalence in popular culture. Advocates ranging from schoolchildren to government leaders spoke out in her defense.

Cuban women’s initiatives spearheaded by the Federation of Cuban Women formed to proclaim Davis’s innocence and free her from prison. A petition for Davis was a central component of the March 8, 1971, International Women’s Day Conference in Havana, which brought together women from around the world. Elizabeth Catlett, the African American artist based in Mexico City who attended the conference, characterized the petition as a unifying gesture for disparate women, “one way of joining together in a common cause.”⁴² In June of that year the Federation of Cuban Women convened a meeting to form the Comité de Solidaridad con Angela Davis, or Solidarity Committee with Angela Davis, devoted to her release.⁴³ The woman chosen to lead the committee of representatives from a range of Cuban groups had long-standing ties to revolutionary leadership: Telma Bornot, of the ministry of armed forces, had participated in Castro’s July 26th Movement and the founding of the FMC in Oriente Province. The committee denounced the incarceration of Davis to the international community, and sought to channel existing solidarity in Cuba.⁴⁴ FMC publications *Mujeres* and *Romances* published a stream of coverage of Davis’s imprisonment and trial.⁴⁵

Moreover, Cuba helped cement the image of Davis as a global signifier for repression and anti-US sentiment. The Cuban state’s seasoned propaganda arm went into full effect, creating posters and pamphlets, including perhaps the best-known poster of Davis worldwide. Her photograph nearly always accompanied Cuban newspaper articles covering her case, while other publications featured original graphics. Catlett wrote in a letter to the scholar Bettina Aptheker, a longtime friend of Davis’s who worked on her defense, that “her picture is seen in remote places” on the island, and that no one “had not heard of her struggle.”⁴⁶ Davis acknowledged the effects of her support around the world. The movement abroad “exerted serious pressure on the government,” she affirmed in her autobiography, and “stimulated the further growth of the mass movement at home.”⁴⁷

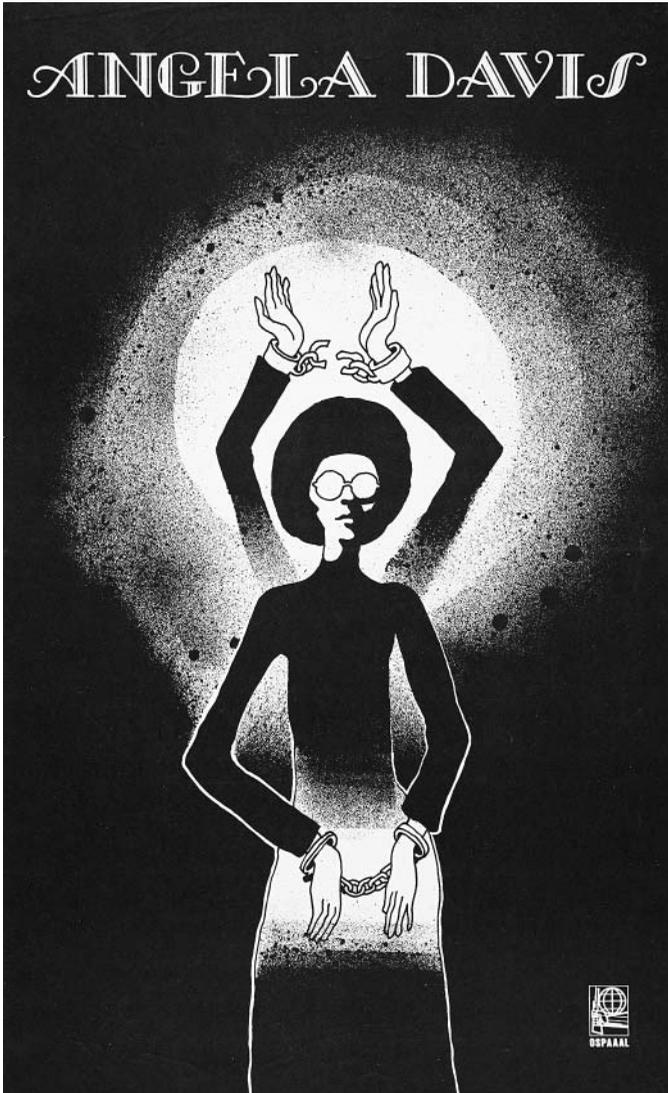


Figure 1. Alfredo Rostgaard, *Angela Davis*, OSPAAAL, 1970. Courtesy Lincoln Cushing / Docs Populi archive

Two black-and-white images from the United States and Cuba in 1970 illustrate how Davis became not just a symbol of repression, but also a visual icon. The first, a reprint of a somber photograph of her wearing round sunglasses, a dashiki, and her signature halo Afro, appeared alongside another photograph on the “Wanted” flyer for Davis issued that August by the FBI. The second image (fig. 1), a poster drawn by Cuban artist Alfredo Rostgaard folded and shipped internationally as part of the *Tricontinental* magazine created by the Organización de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de África, Asia, y América Latina (Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, or OSPAAAL), also depicted Davis with

round sunglasses and an Afro.⁴⁸ Yet Rostgaard's poster, perhaps created in response to the FBI flyer, depicted Davis with two sets of arms, one in handcuffs and the other raised above her head breaking her chains. A halo of light encircled these second arms, exaggerating her Afro and invoking religious icons. Both images, created respectively by US state and Cuban state-sanctioned organizations and widely circulated, helped not just to propagate but to craft Davis as an icon. Yet if the FBI flyer intended to facilitate her capture and imprisonment, Rostgaard's image, and a range of Cuban solidarity works, sought to set Davis free.

The most well-known image of Davis emerged from Cuba. More than Rostgaard's 1970 poster, Felix Beltrán's 1971 *Libertad Para Angela Davis* (Freedom for Angela Davis) helped make her image instantly recognizable around the world. As head of the propaganda department for the Cuban Communist Party, Beltrán was supplied with photographs of Davis and asked to create a poster. The poster he produced likely used a photograph taken at a New York press conference in 1969, which appeared on many of the New York Committee to Free Angela Davis's flyers.⁴⁹ Davis's profile appeared in stark outline with red skin and black hair against a deep blue background; the red and blue were intended, according to Beltrán, to invoke the American flag.⁵⁰ The rounded edges of her features reflected his approach to a pop art aesthetic. Beltrán had created other unused prototypes of Davis, and another poster he created from a *Newsweek* childhood photograph, declaring "ever since she was a girl she suffered discrimination," was used for International Children's Day.⁵¹ But it was the blue, black, and red poster, originally printed in a small run in the thousands, that was reproduced in Cuba and elsewhere, and ended up in poster collections around the world. Variations of the image appeared on magazine covers, postcards, and billboards in Havana (fig. 2).⁵² Beltrán's image became the most important image of Davis worldwide.

The proliferation of Davis's image in Cuban iconography far surpassed the visual presence of other African American radicals. Aside from Richard Nixon, no other living individual from the United States had a dedicated OSPAAAL poster.⁵³ While Cuban artists created several posters to express solidarity with the black liberation movement and groups such as the Black Panther Party, the only other person represented was George Jackson, in a 1971 poster by Raphael Morante, after he was killed in prison earlier that year. SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael's 1967 visit elicited a tremendous amount of press coverage featuring his photograph, but no posters.⁵⁴ Robert F. Williams's exile preceded the revolution's graphic apex, but his presence in Cuban discourse emerged through pronouncements or through cultural forms such as "Radio Free Dixie" created by Williams himself. Huey Newton, who appeared in graphic form in publications like the *Tricontinental* magazine and bulletin—referred to by Carmichael as a "bible in revolutionary circles"—never appeared on an official poster and received no Cuban press coverage during his exile on the island in the mid-1970s.⁵⁵



Figure 2. Felix Beltrán's 1971 graphic of Angela Davis on a billboard in Havana, photograph by Rudy Suwara, 1971. Courtesy of the Tamiment Library, New York University

A postcard-writing campaign shows how Cubans further crafted a global iconography of liberation for Davis. Several countries sent mail to Davis in jail. France shipped postcards featuring a black-and-white photograph of a rose and the words “Angela Davis” on the front, with cursive prose printed on the back that left room only for a personalized signature. East German children created their own unique cards. The Cuban postcards featured a pink-and-black version of Beltrán’s image of Davis, with the words “*Libertad para Angela Davison y sus hermanos de lucha,*” or “freedom for Angela Davis and her brothers in struggle” on the front, and personalized messages written or typed on the back. Several called Davis a sister and ally. Cecilia Silveira Cabrera explained that she used the familiar “*tú*” form of “you” because “we consider you a sister,” while art school student Angelina D. Garcia invited Davis to Cuba upon her release so that they could “get to know you personally.”⁵⁶ Among the global campaigns for Davis, Cuba’s stands out as particularly engaged in a unified visual iconography as well as a consistent ideology—one that foregrounded gender.

The intersectional depiction of Davis in Cuban visual culture reflected her multifaceted identity as a radical black woman. Cuban solidarity discourse

emphasized Davis's antiracist and anti-imperialist struggles: OSPAAAL declared that the charges against her were "against the entire black movement," while the magazine *Romances* later echoed that Davis had come to symbolize the African American freedom struggle and the fight against US imperialism.⁵⁷ Yet Davis's gender is also intrinsic to her representation in Cuban culture. Images of Davis routinely rendered her as regal, strong, determined, and feminine. A 1972 article in *Cuba* magazine cited Cuban posters of Davis as contributing to an artistic tradition of portraying women as integral to the Cuban Revolution.⁵⁸ Davis's representation defies easy categorization into fetishization or exaltation; Cuban images served not simply to lionize her or objectify her, but to exonerate her.

Cuban press coverage of Davis, however laudatory, took a specific interest in her appearance. One maudlin article in the *Granma* described her physique admiringly and at length. The author emphasized her tall and elegant stature, her light-skinned "bronze" coloring and, most of all, her "large" naturally styled hair, described as cascading over her temples and partially covering her long neck.⁵⁹ The FMC-run *Romances* ran a political article on Davis alongside the rare fashion spread of a young black Cuban model and performer.⁶⁰ The cover juxtaposed the two faces, Davis drawn in outline, and Mayda Limonta with processed hair styled in a way that referenced but did not fully promote the Afro. Media coverage of Davis in the United States also emphasized her physical appearance, commenting on her hair, her clothing, and her overall "glamorous revolutionary" aesthetic.⁶¹

While Davis's hair also elicited reactions and scrutiny in the United States, appearance in Cuba was more closely regulated by the state. Davis herself has critiqued the way history has depoliticized her struggle to render her "remembered as a hairdo," yet in Cuba, just as in the United States, the Afro attracted political as well as aesthetic interest.⁶² Americans in Cuba in the late 1960s recounted receiving or witnessing hostility and discrimination toward the style's adherents.⁶³ Both counter-cultural long hair and overt symbols of blackness were discouraged on the island, and the Afro falls squarely into both subversive categories.⁶⁴ Davis's revolutionary credentials and Cuban institutional affiliations with women's groups and communists rather than disaffected Afro-Cubans, however, obfuscated public criticism of her hairstyle. In addition to remembering her because of it, some suggested that she made the style more acceptable.

Davis worried about becoming a symbol, yet she also acknowledged the power of her own image in determining her fate.⁶⁵ "The circulation of various photographic images of me," she later wrote, "played a major role in both the mobilization of public opinion against me and the development of the campaign that was ultimately responsible for my acquittal."⁶⁶ Upon her release, the Cuban Committee to Free Angela Davis admitted, "With [good] reason we feel like participants in this great triumph." The group reiterated its invitation to Davis to visit Cuba, given the "extraordinary admiration of our people."⁶⁷

Davis, Gender, and Cuba

Davis's representation in Cuban visual culture as a heroic and symbolic figure continued to rise when she responded to the Cuban state's invitation to return to the island for a second visit following her acquittal in the fall of 1972. Davis and fellow black CPUSA members Kendra and Franklin Alexander traveled to the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and Chile, six countries that had played large roles in the campaign to secure her freedom. In Cuba the three friends and comrades traveled the length of the island meeting with political and cultural leaders, encountering mobs of supporters at every turn. During a trip to Cuba's Isle of Youth, young student inhabitants "offered their young hearts to the beloved visitor" by flocking to Davis, prompting her to abandon her motorcade and lead a parade through the streets in the torrential rain.⁶⁸ Full-page spreads in the *Granma* and other publications chronicled her weeklong visit.⁶⁹ The Cuban state showered Davis with honors, including, in a solemn ceremony with President Osvaldo Dorticós and Fidel Castro, the *Orden Playa Girón* (Order of the Bay of Pigs)—the highest decoration bestowed by the Cuban government.⁷⁰ Publications called Davis "Our Angela" and repeatedly characterized her interactions with the Cuban people as an "incredible phenomenon."



Figure 3. Davis at the Plaza de la Revolución with Osvaldo Dorticós, left, Fidel Castro, right, and others, 1972. From the photo collection held at the Tamiment Library, New York University, by permission of the Communist Party USA

Davis reciprocated Cuba's enthusiasm and support. Speaking to a crowd estimated at three-quarters of a million people in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución during the events surrounding the twelfth anniversary of the Comités de Defensa de la Revolución (Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, or CDRs), Davis stated that the reception upon her arrival in Cuba was the warmest and most enthusiastic of any place she had yet traveled.⁷¹ On the dais with Castro (fig. 3), she described the Cuban Revolution as the "greatest inspiration" for the struggle for socialism and against racism and imperialism in the United States, and even referred to Cuba as her "true home."⁷² Upon her departure, Davis thanked the Cuban people for receiving her with "such fervor."⁷³

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Davis's gender offered a particularly effective platform in Cuba from which to be seen. The FMC, the state-supported national women's organization active in Davis's solidarity campaign, hosted the CPUSA delegation of three. Further, the FMC provided an institutional structure for Davis not available to African American men in Cuba, as there was no male equivalent to the group and organizations based on race had been dissolved and banned in the early years of the revolution. The apparatus of gender provided Davis a stage for her to engage with Cuban audiences approved by the highest echelons of government.⁷⁴ Gender also continued to determine her representation in the Cuban press, in particular ways that both objectified and valorized. Davis's mobilization against the American criminal justice system, and her involvement in antiracist, anti-imperialist, and anticapitalist struggles qualified her as a feminized warrior in the existing framework of Cuban revolutionary culture.

Davis's vaunted reception in Cuba occurred in the context of long-standing veneration for the figure of the revolutionary woman warrior in Cuban society. The Cuban trope of militant heroines traces back to the nineteenth century, where *mambisas*, women fighters for Cuban independence, risked their lives and those of their family members to obtain freedom from Spain.⁷⁵ The *mambisas* enshrined as symbols in Cuban popular culture and nationalist discourse exuded bravery without sacrificing femininity. Their roles as mothers and sisters were emphasized, suggesting a willingness to risk their bodies, as well as their children and family, for a nationalist cause.⁷⁶ Black and white Cuban women had served as such symbols: Afro-Cuban Mariana Grajales Cuello reportedly sent ten of her eleven sons into battle against Spain, one of whom became the Cuban independence leader Antonio Maceo, and was immortalized as the mother of Cuban independence.⁷⁷

Nearly one hundred years later, women played important roles in the Cuban Revolution's fight against Batista. A small group of women, including Celia Sánchez and Haydée Santamaría, joined Castro's group of rebels in the Sierra Maestra and were immortalized as fighters alongside the *barbudos*, or bearded rebels.⁷⁸ Many more women—an estimated 10 to 20 percent of members—joined urban

underground networks in the late 1950s, where they strategized; printed and relayed messages; provided safe houses; and transported materials with minimal visibility.⁷⁹ Cuban women purposefully engaged the trope of maternalism in their fight against Batista, emphasizing their status as mothers, daughters, and wives of martyrs and insurgents.⁸⁰

In the year after the revolution's victory, women mobilized in support of it, creating "Women's Revolutionary Brigades" and women's sections of the July 26th Movement, which provided a presence at rallies, organized other women at the grassroots level, and generated support for government initiatives.⁸¹ While these individuals and groups have only just started to be recognized, archetypes of women warriors, such as prominent Cuban photographer Alberto Korda's 1960 image *Miliciana*, depicting a young woman wearing a beret and carrying a gun looking askance with a pensive yet determined gaze, remained visible in Cuban revolutionary culture.

The Federation of Cuban Women arose from the dismantling of these groups. While other organizations based on race, religion, or other markers of identity were prohibited after 1960, the state continued to view women as an interest group to be mobilized for the revolution. Founded that year upon the directive of Fidel Castro, the FMC was led for nearly five decades by Vilma Espín, who fought with the July 26th movement against Batista and married Raúl Castro. With nearly two million members and fourteen thousand employees in the mid-1970s, the organization played a major role in Cuban society. It provided job programs, educational opportunities, childcare, and women's health initiatives that sought to improve the conditions of women's lives.⁸² It also followed a hierarchical structure and served to harness Cuban women to the mostly male-led Cuban revolutionary project.⁸³

Like the grassroots groups that preceded them, as well as women's organizations in other socialist states, the FMC emphasized capitalism's exploitative practices against women rather than gender discrimination by men. It explicitly rejected a feminist approach to gender equality and left little room for dissent. Espín claimed, "We have never had a feminist movement."⁸⁴ She also asserted, "We hate the feminist movement in the United States," and called women who mobilized against men "absurd" and anything but revolutionary.⁸⁵ Women on the Venceremos Brigade recounted similar reactions from Cuban women in nonleadership positions.⁸⁶

The FMC provided little space for public disagreement, or even slight variations of opinion, on this question before the mid-1970s. But recent scholarship has shown that Cuban women were not monolithic by examining black Cuban women in the cultural sphere, such as documentary filmmaker Sara Gómez, who highlighted challenges for women under the revolution in her largely obscured body of work.⁸⁷ The FMC did provide spaces for women to come together, as well as some opportunities for interactions with women such as Davis, Catlett, and others from around

the world at conferences and events. Yet overall the FMC precluded the possibility of an openly grassroots women's activism.

The FMC was a logical group to host Davis. As a women's organization in a state apparatus without many women leaders, it made sense to arrange the visit of the highest-profile woman from the United States to visit Cuba since the revolution. Davis's own ambivalence about the US women's liberation movement made the question of feminism a moot point. Moreover, the FMC's position as an arm of the socialist state particularly influenced by the Old Left made it a fitting choice to host a woman affiliated with the CPUSA. Women were prominent members of the prerevolutionary communist organization, the Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist Party, or PSP), where they had articulated a platform of gender equality, and after the revolution they reemerged to occupy prominent positions within the FMC.⁸⁸ Given that the PSP had not initially opposed Batista or supported Castro, July 26th members reacted to PSP involvement in the FMC and across the Castro government by 1960 with skepticism or sometimes disdain.⁸⁹ But the Old Left roots of many FMC members, and their familiarity with both organizing and centralized hierarchy, provided a fitting institutional base for Davis at the intersection of gender and communism—one uniquely accepted by the Cuban state.

Gender not only shaped the institutional reception of Davis in Cuba, but it also continued to shape her representation in public discourse. Depicted as both feminine and a fighter, the nature of the coverage of Davis differed from that of male visitors. An extensive spread in the *Granma* epitomizes this dual charge. In addition to the photograph of children at daycare holding placards of Davis's face mentioned at the beginning of this article, a second photograph showed Davis reaching into a crib and smiling at an infant, while a third showed her in a hard hat speaking to a large crowd of workers and students in the new Alamar housing complex. The journalist entitles Davis's visit to Cuba as "Entre la Arcilla y la Obra," or "Between Clay and Work."⁹⁰ Felix Pita Astudillo, who often covered the visits of American visitors to the island, compared Davis's engagement with children, the clay that could be shaped to lead Cuba's revolutionary future, with the hardness and necessary belligerence of Cuban workers—pillars already of Cuba's ongoing struggle. In addition to dwelling on Davis's interactions with children, Astudillo depicted Davis's visit as "indescribable" and "emotional," words seldom used to describe African American men visiting or living in Cuba.

Davis elaborated on her 1972 visit to Cuba at a CPUSA meeting upon her return. Like she did in 1969, Davis lauded Cuba's fight against racism, reporting, "We were extremely impressed by the way in which racism is being dealt with on a continual basis in Cuba."⁹¹ But in the same meeting, an official, private gathering for party comrades that was recorded, Davis acknowledged that "there were substantial problems in the area of women" in Cuba.⁹² She provided no comments about her own treatment on the island, nor about the FMC who hosted her visit. Yet Davis and

Kendra Alexander noted the absence of women in leadership positions in government and the Cuban Communist Party. She also emphasized a “deeply ingrained male supremacist” attitude on the island, and, relative to the Soviet Union and other countries they visited in 1972, a lack of awareness or intent about combating this supremacy. Davis recounted to ensuing laughter several discussions where their delegation raised the issue and found enthusiastic allies in Cuban women, along with polite men who “thanked us for the criticisms and suggestions.”⁹³ Despite the humor she employed, Cuban gender relations troubled Davis.

Davis returned to Cuba in 1974 at a moment of reexamination of the roles of Cuban women. She came to attend the second congress of the FMC, which included nearly two thousand members and delegates from fifty-five international women’s organizations.⁹⁴ Attendees broke into commissions on the topics of Cuban housewives, workers outside of the home, rural women, families, children living under socialism, and international solidarity. The conference anticipated the upcoming International Year of the Woman in 1975 and the UN Decade for Women from 1975 to 1985. Other Latin American women’s organizations had a particular influence on Cuban women at these gatherings, creating a slightly larger opening for new conversations about feminism and gender equality.⁹⁵ The FMC Congress also occurred amid a series of significant domestic events heralding changes for women in Cuba, most of all the February 1975 passage of the Family Code, modeled on East Germany, which mandated equal housework and childcare responsibilities for Cuban husbands and wives. Although the Family Code did not usher in gender equality, its passage and the Congress heralded a more active role by the Cuban state and the FMC regarding women’s rights.

While the FMC Congress suggested the possibility of change, Davis’s presence confirmed her steadfast, special position in Cuban revolutionary culture. It also signaled Davis’s increased attention to gender on the island. In her speech at the Congress, Davis reiterated her support for the Cuban Revolution and her belief that socialism lent itself to women’s rights, declaring that “the example of Cuba has confirmed that there cannot be true emancipation for women without a socialist revolution,” just as there couldn’t be “socialist revolution without the participation and emancipation of the woman.”⁹⁶ Conference leaders bestowed upon her the prestigious Ana Betancourt award, named for a Cuban fighter in the war of independence against Spain, and designated Davis as a conference President of Honor. Five years after her first visit to Cuba, she continued to be seen as a militant yet feminine ally; an enduring symbol of anti-imperialism, anticapitalism, antiracism, and women’s rights.⁹⁷

Conclusion

Angela Davis became more than a heroic woman in Cuba; she became a visually iconic revolutionary ideal. During her time on the island Davis emphasized her

role not as an individual, but as part of a larger struggle and a symbol of what fruit grassroots movements could reap. When traveling with Communist Party delegations in 1969 and 1972, she accepted Cuban accolades in the name of the CPUSA, and claimed to speak not as an individual but in the name of “the other America.”⁹⁸ The Cuban press echoed this designation in describing events such as Davis’s reception at the Alamar housing construction site in familial and collective terms, where workers “received their sister in struggle as the most pure revolutionary ideal, as the representative of the other United States.”⁹⁹ Like NUCFAD, she saw her role as a representative, not a cult of personality. This inescapably gendered position helped make Davis a lasting name, and face.

Did Cubans get to know Davis “personally,” as Cuban student Angelina D. Garcia had requested on her postcard?¹⁰⁰ In addition to those she met on her first trip, some Cubans forged a connection with Davis through the campaign for her freedom and her subsequent presence in Cuban culture—youth in particular. Yet her 1972 visit was orchestrated under high-level auspices of the state. Cubans recall Davis’s visit as occurring in an official capacity. Davis’s multipronged identity and ideological affiliations provided her with accepted structures of credibility, security, and visibility on the island not often afforded to other black liberation activists, who had no corresponding organization to bolster their goals for the United States or international movement, nor to shape their reception in Cuba. The Cuban Revolution’s embrace of Davis continued its pattern of solidarity with African American activists, but Davis’s gender combined with her race and communist affiliation made her both an accepted individual and a beloved icon.

Davis also never openly criticized Cuba. The Cuban state extended refuge to African American activists for a range of reasons, including a shared opposition to US policies, Cold War pragmatism, and overlapping anti-imperialist, antiracist, and anticapitalist ideologies. Yet it would not be surprising, given the resources the Cuban government expended on black radicals on the island and the low tolerance for criticism of the revolution of any kind, for Cuban leadership to become wary of extending solidarity and refuge to African American activists who ultimately levied critiques. Undoubtedly Davis felt grateful to the revolutionary state and the Cuban people for supporting the campaign for her freedom, and for welcoming her repeatedly to the island. Her global philosophy of liberation may have prioritized US aggression toward Cuba over the revolution’s shortcomings, or steered her toward a position of support for the radical vision of the Cuban struggle even if it had not come to pass. Further, her continued adherence to socialism precluded a denunciation of the Cuban Revolution along those grounds. But if socialism helped ensure Davis’s relationship with Cuba, gender elevated it.

Furthermore, Davis’s encounters with Cuba must be considered within the revolution’s broader global politics. In the aftermath of the failed *gran zafra* sugarcane harvest that Davis witnessed in the summer of 1969, the revolutionary state turned increasingly to the Soviet Union for economic support and the apparatus

of communism to structure Cuban society. These turns had ideological impact. Davis's communist affiliation rather than a perceived black nationalism made her attractive for Castro. But she also reflected a larger shift from the more experimental era that characterized the Cuban Revolution's first decade to the greater institutionalization of the 1970s, and became a transitional figure who was embraced as an individual but represented a centralized organization. Davis may have been different than those that came before her, but she also proved to be the last of the exalted icons from the United States.

Davis eventually dropped her CPUSA affiliation, although she remains an advocate of socialism. In the decades following her initial visit to Cuba, she wrote increasingly about women. Her seminal work *Women, Race, and Class* examined the racism and class divisions between US women from slavery into the twentieth century, while *Women, Culture, and Politics* incorporated women around the world.¹⁰¹ In the short introduction to the 1988 edition of her autobiography, Davis wrote more about the women's liberation movement than in the first edition, expressing regret that "I was not able to also apply a measuring stick which manifested a more complex understanding of the dialectics of the personal and the political."¹⁰² Studies of women's liberation have changed precipitously since 1988. Yet thinking through Davis's encounter with the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s also benefits from a dialectic: one that positions Davis's political symbolism alongside her multifaceted personhood.

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Notes

1. Astudillo, "Un día inolvidable con nuestra Angela."
2. Joe Walker, "Angela Davis," undated pamphlet, *Muhammed Speaks*, section 2, box 2, folder 18, Communist Party of the United States of America Records (old processing system), Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University (hereafter CPUSA Collection).
3. Gosse, *Where the Boys Are*; Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*; Young, *Soul Power*; Tietchen, *The Cubalogues*; Gronbeck-Tedesco, *Cuba, the United States, and Cultures of the Transnational Left*; Rojas, *Fighting over Fidel*; and Latner, *Cuban Revolution in America*.
4. Lekus, "Queer Harvests"; and Tice, "The Politics of US Feminist Internationalism and Cuba."
5. Reitan, *The Rise and Decline of an Alliance*; de la Fuente, *A Nation for All*; Sawyer, *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*; Seidman, "Tricontinental Routes of Solidarity"; and Benson, *Antiracism in Cuba*.
6. Davis donated her papers to the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at Harvard University in 2018, which will be made available to researchers by 2020, paving the way for new research.

7. For more on this broader topic, see Seidman, “Venceremos Means We Shall Overcome.”
8. For more on the later exiles of Assata Shakur and Nehanda Abiodun, see Latner, *Cuban Revolution in America*. Earlier visits by Sarah Wright, Jennifer Lawson, Alice Walker, and Elaine Brown have not been fully explored, nor has the exile of Mabel Williams, who was married to Robert F. Williams.
9. Gore and Aptheker, “Free Angela Davis.”
10. Bhavnani and Davis, “Complexity, Activism, Optimism,” 66.
11. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 123.
12. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 122, 125.
13. Regarding the controversy over the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute’s rescinding of an award for Davis in early 2019, reportedly due to her support for the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement, Davis told journalists she was glad the incident had led to a “conversation on internationalism.” See Ramanathan, “Angela Davis is Beloved, Detested, Misunderstood.”
14. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 161.
15. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 182.
16. Slutsky, *Gendering Radicalism*, 154.
17. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 209.
18. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 216.
19. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 203, 216.
20. “National Committee Meeting. Reports on Angela Davis Delegation to Cuba, Chile, USSR, GDR, etc.,” October 17, 1972, box 62, disc 1–2, CD 93, Communist Party of the United States of America Audio Collection, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University (hereafter CPUSA Audio Collection).
21. Mesa-Lago, *Cuba in the 1970s*.
22. “National Committee Meeting,” CPUSA Audio Collection.
23. “National Committee Meeting,” CPUSA Audio Collection. See also Robert F. Williams to Fidel Castro, *The Black Power Movement Part 2: The Papers of Robert F. Williams*, August 28, 1966, 25, reel 2 (microfilm); Cleaver, *Soul on Fire*, 108; and Carmichael and Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, 633–34.
24. Benson, *Antiracism in Cuba*, 6.
25. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 210.
26. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 371.
27. Tice, “The Politics of US Feminist Internationalism and Cuba,” 8.
28. Tice, “The Politics of US Feminist Internationalism and Cuba,” 5–6.
29. Divale, “FBI Student Spy”; Montgomery, “Maoist Prof Poses Problem for Regents.”
30. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 6.
31. Charlton, “F.B.I. Seizes Angela Davis in Motel Here.”
32. Geyer and Beech, “Parade of Radicals to Havana.”
33. *Los Angeles Times*, “Alabama Press Search for Angela Davis”; *Chicago Defender*, “Says Angela’s Sister Aboard Ship to Cuba.”
34. Van Gelder, “The Radical Work of Healing.”
35. Baldwin, “An Open Letter to My Sister”; and *Black Scholar*, “Angela Davis: Black Soldier,” 1.
36. Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 89.
37. “One Million People Sponsor Freedom for Angela Davis,” box 4, folder 15, Angela Davis Legal Defense Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

38. Mitchell, *The Fight to Free Angela Davis*, 4–5. See also All India Students Congress, “Youth Accuses Imperialism”; and United Coalition for Angela Davis Day, “End Racism and Repression,” section 2, box 2, folder 18, CPUSA Collection; and “Luckacs’ Statement,” box 4, folder 15, Angela Davis Legal Defense Collection.
39. Kaplan, *Dreaming in French*, 210–14.
40. Gore and Aptheker, “Free Angela Davis.”
41. Gore and Aptheker, “Free Angela Davis.”
42. Catlett to Aptheker, March 12, 1971, in Gore and Aptheker, “Free Angela Davis.”
43. *Granma*, “Mensaje de la FMC al Comité de Solidaridad con Angela Davis.”
44. *Granma*, “Constituyen Comite por la Libertad de Angela Davis.”
45. *Mujeres*, “Declaración del Comite por la Libertad de Angela Davis”; and Casteñada, “¿Por qué Angela?,” 70–71.
46. Catlett to Aptheker, in “Free Angela Davis.”
47. Davis, *Angela Davis*, 398.
48. Carmichael and Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, 697.
49. The photograph was taken by F. Joseph Crawford at a September 9, 1969 press conference. See Marks, “Trailing Angela Davis.”
50. Marks, “Trailing Angela Davis.”
51. Marks, “Trailing Angela Davis.”
52. See *Mujeres*, August 1971; and postcards to Angela Davis, box 138, folder 19, CPUSA Collection.
53. Frick, *The Tricontinental Solidarity Poster*.
54. *Granma*, “No Tenemos Otra Alternativa que Tomar las Armas,” and “Entrevista Radio Habana Cuba a Stokely Carmichael.”
55. Newton, “Cultura y Liberación,” 100.
56. Garcia to Davis, box 138, folder 19, CPUSA Collection.
57. *Black Panther*, “OSPAAAL Supports the Afro-American People”; M. S., “Angela Davis,” 15.
58. De Juan, “Cuba: La Mujer Pintada.”
59. Astudillo, “No podría haber sido de otro modo, Angela.” See also Ford, *Liberated Threads*; and Craig, *Ain’t I a Beauty Queen?*
60. Casteñada, “¿Por Qué Angela?,” 70–71; and Yara, “Imagen y colorido de Mayda,” 24–25.
61. Nadelson, *Who Is Angela Davis?*, 22; and Petersen, “Movies: Angela Davis,” 22.
62. Davis, “Afro Images,” 37; and Kelley, “Nap Time,” 339.
63. Randall, *To Change the World*, 55–56.
64. Kelley, “Nap Time,” 339–52; and Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle*, 97–128.
65. Davis, *Angela Davis*, xv–xvi.
66. Davis, “Afro Images,” 39.
67. *Granma*, “Declarada Inocente Angela Davis”; and “Rieteran Invitación a Angela Davis.”
68. *Granma*, “Desbordamiento popular en la Isla de la Juventud”; and Astudillo, “Angela Davis en la Isla de Juventud.”
69. Rivero, “La otra Norteamérica.”
70. Astudillo, “Recibe Angela Davis la orden ‘Playa Giron.’”
71. Carrasco, “Ofrece Angela Davis conferencia de prensa.”
72. Printed in the *Granma* as “verdadero patria,” October 8, 1972.
73. Astudillo, “No Podría Haber Sido de Otro Modo, Angela”; and *Granma*, “Mensaje de Angela Davis al Pueblo de Cuba.”

74. *Granma*, “Recibió Vilma Espín a Angela Davis.”
75. Stoner, “Militant Heroines,” 71–96.
76. Stoner, “Militant Heroines,” 72.
77. Stoner, “Militant Heroines,” 74–75.
78. Chase, “Women’s Organizations,” 440–58.
79. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 77, 97.
80. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 85–86.
81. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 117.
82. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 6, 39, 61.
83. Smith and Padula, *Sex and Revolution*, 32, 45, 50.
84. Molyneux, “State, Gender, and Institutional Change,” 298.
85. Molyneux, “State, Gender, and Institutional Change,” 299.
86. Tice, “The Politics of US Feminist Internationalism and Cuba,” 9.
87. Benson, “Sara Gómez: *Afrocubana*.”
88. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 108.
89. Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*, 122–25.
90. Astudillo, “Un día inolvidable con nuestra Angela.”
91. “National Committee Meeting,” CPUSA Audio Collection.
92. “National Committee Meeting,” CPUSA Audio Collection.
93. “National Committee Meeting,” CPUSA Audio Collection.
94. Bhavnani and Davis, “Complexity, Activism, Optimism,” 76–77; Carrasco, “Voy a tartar de poner en alto el legado de la orden ‘Ana Betancourt.’”
95. Molyneux, “State, Gender, and Institutional Change,” 298.
96. Carrasco, “Ofrece Angela Davis conferencia de prensa”; and Rojas, “Intervienen delegaciones de otros países.”
97. Carrasco, “Llegó a Cuba la dirigente Comunista Angela Davis;” and Calderón, “Presidieron Fidel y Dorticós.”
98. Davis, “Discurso Pronunciado por la Compañera Angela Davis.”
99. Astudillo, “Un día inolvidable con nuestra Angela.”
100. Garcia to Davis, box 138, folder 19, CPUSA Collection.
101. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*; and Davis, *Women, Culture, and Politics*. See also Salem, “On Transnational Feminist Solidarity.”
102. Davis, *Angela Davis*, viii.

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