# 'For their fights affect our fights': The Impact of African American Poetics and Politics on the Poetry of Lionel Fogarty

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During the last third of the twentieth century, the political activism of Indigenous Australian and African American peoples witnessed a dramatic increase. They protested against the established authority in their countries and employed various strategies such as sit-ins, marches, demonstrations and strikes. These peoples have deep-rooted concerns related to their socio-political positions in their respective countries and so they have fought to make their countries more inclusive socially and politically. Their struggles have been shaped by internal and external factors, including discriminatory governmental policies, the second world war, the implications of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, and the anti-colonial struggles of South Africa and other postcolonial nations. Aboriginal and African American peoples established political movements that have been attentive to individual liberty and self-expression. These movements created a sense of racial or 'Black' solidarity, both nationally and transnationally. Television and newspaper coverage in that period increased consciousness of the political struggle of African American people, including among Indigenous Australians (Maynard 90). In early 1963, the Australian media broadcast 'bloody' images of African American demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama. The Public Safety Commissioner, southern Democrat Eugene 'Bull' Connor, who was a segregationist, gave orders to turn fire hoses and set dogs on 'Black' demonstrators. During the same year, most Australians could hear prominent African American political leaders on media broadcasts. Martin Luther King Jr 'made his strongest statement for integration at the March on Washington, [and] Malcolm X spoke out in favour of black nationalism and separatism' (Clark 152-3).

Aboriginal Murri poet Lionel Fogarty and African American poets Amiri Baraka and Sonia Sanchez, among other civil rights poets, participated significantly in their peoples' struggles for civil and human rights, and Sanchez and Fogarty are still involved. These poets merged writing poetry with a commitment to their peoples' political struggle and recorded their peoples' pathos, injustices, social needs and political aspirations. They collaborated with political activists, which influenced the work of these poets. The radical political transition from non-violent struggle, as represented by the Civil Rights movement, to the violence of the Black Power movement is represented in the political and literary ideologies of their poetry.

While there are and have been significant connections between the First Nations groups, this essay is specifically interested in shared literary and political connections between Indigenous Australians and African Americans. It aims to demonstrate that the radical militant disposition manifested in the poetry of Fogarty, Baraka and Sanchez was a direct response to the militancy advocated by Malcolm X and the African American Black Power movement. This enables me to argue that there is a transcontinental literary impact exerted by Baraka and Sanchez upon Fogarty. The three poets were active participants in their peoples' Black Power movements. This literary impact reached Fogarty through Malcolm X and the African American Black Power movement. Fogarty's first publication appeared in 1980s, after the emergence of both the African American Black Arts movements. This chronology of events further enhances my claim about this transpacific impact.

For the purpose of this essay, it is necessary to clarify the political and literary dimensions of the word 'militancy.' Although the African American Panthers rationalised their carrying of guns as a constitutional right (Jennings 111), their militancy has a symbolic significance: 'Guns symbolized the very thing that they lacked — an unmistakable and formidable source of power over Whites' (Lothian 189). In Australia, Indigenous radical activists were impressed with images of the African American Panthers armed with guns. Because it was illegal for unlicensed citizens to carry a gun in Australia, the Indigenous Panthers 'decided that they could at least carry notebooks and pencils' to record police harassment (Lothian 192). This is indicative of how powerful and effective the pen (and by extension poetry) is in the struggle of these peoples. This fact is further highlighted by Aboriginal poet-activist Oodgeroo Noonuccal in 1990: 'I'd rather hit them with my words than pick up a gun and shoot them' (quoted in Fox 62). The militancy or war imagery in the poetry of Fogarty, Baraka and Sanchez, in contrast, yet has a blatant metaphorical dimension. It 'mocked White power and urged Blacks to fight any system, religious or political, that hindered Black advancement' (Jennings 107).

## **Uncompromisingly Poetic Militancy**

In Fogarty's poetry militancy appears repeatedly. In 'Capitalism – The Murderer in Disguise' (1980), for example, the poet attacks both the white as well as the assimilated 'black / that cry for them':

You know I'd like to tell a story But I'm afraid I won't use names I thought now what if I get out of this chair and walk to the cupboard get the gun load it up and shoot any white person that walk pass this chair and any black that cry for them. I thought When they're shot I get out my best knife cut the heart out then stuff it in their mouth until it went down to the gut. (Kargun 93)

After the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, Baraka and Sanchez advocated militancy in their poetry. In 'Black Art' (1969), for instance, Baraka calls for a militant radical poetry to resist the American apartheid system that had always oppressed his people:

Poems are bullshit unless they are teeth or trees or lemons piled on a step. [...]

The poem continues:

In 'for unborn malcolms' (1969), an elegy written for Malcolm X, Sanchez warns:

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git the word out
now
  to the man/boy
taking a holiday
from murder.
              tell him
              we hip to his shit and that
              the next time he kills one
              of our
                    blk/princes
                               some of his faggots
              gonna die
                        a stone/cold/death.
                                           yeah.
             it's time.
                      an eye for an eye
                      a tooth for tooth
                      don't worry bout his balls
             they al
                    ready gone.
                                git the word
             out that us blk/niggers
                                    are out to lunch
             and the main course
             is gonna be his white meat.
                                         yeah.
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(*Home* 28)

These three poems share common features related to their themes, language and structure, and in this regard express something that can be read as a singular voice for their peoples. This voice is not a conciliatory voice, like that which was adopted by the civil rights activists and poets; it is radical, militant voice/poetry: 'Assassin poems, Poems that shoot/ guns. Poem that wrestle cops into alleys/ and take their weapons leaving them dead.' It seems that the overt images of militancy in these poems parallel the Panthers' emphasis on the importance of the appearance of the radical activists and their opposition to 'the armchair revolutionaries [who] ain't fit for the name Panthers,' to use the words of Jamal Joseph (quoted in Stevens 126). Presenting a 'gun' and an explicit death threat in these poems is also meant to enthusiastically provoke resistance. Each of these poems concludes with a vivid expression of rhetorical violence, using everyday language. This kind of poetry can be seen as a way of breaking the oppressive rules or, to use the words of Michael Taussig, 'the pervading disorder of hegemony, the ordered disorder' (quoted in Howell 67) imposed upon Indigenous Australians and African Americans by the governments of their countries.

When the struggles of these peoples accelerated during the 1960s and 1970s, the Australian and American authorities reacted violently, as in the case of Birmingham, Alabama in 1963 or the violent events around the temporary removal of the Tent Embassy in 1972 (Howell 79). These respective governments apparently used violence as a way of imposing 'law,' but more explicably as a means of 'suppression and control' (Howell 67). Fogarty clearly reflects on this psychic oppression in the opening lines of the poem cited above: '[...] I'd like to tell a story/ But I'm afraid/ I won't use names.' This fear might be ironic, mocking the authority of the oppressive government. It might also be a reflection of his personal experience as he was falsely accused of conspiracy during the 1970s, a few years before the publication of this poem in 1980 (Furaih and Fogarty, 'Interview;' see also Fogarty, 'Making' 87-88). Later in the poem he writes: 'But I'm not going to be afraid.' This line is stylistically and grammatically different from 'I am afraid.' It shows a determination and a plan to be followed. Likewise, Baraka wants 'poems that kill.' Sanchez announces that 'blk/ niggers/ are out to lunch/ and the main course/ is gonna be his white meat.' The poets present these images to urge their peoples to face their fear and actively confront their 'oppressors.'

### **Poetic Radicalism and Literary Sovereignty**

The poetic militancy adopted by these poets can be interpreted as an attempt to achieve literary decolonisation, while the political involvement of these poets moves against the dominant literary conventions (see Fox 62; Roney 402). In the United States, African American writers of the 1960s were dissatisfied with Western literary traditions. Don L. Lee announced that '[w]e must destroy Faulkner, dick, jane, and other perpetuators of evil. It's time for DuBois, Nat Turner, and Kwame Nkrumah' (quoted in Neal, 'Black' 29). Baraka is the main theorist of the Black Arts movement (Watts 171), which aimed at 'disfiguring' many of 'the conventions of Western poetics': 'The idea of a black aesthetic had emerged, and many of the conventions of Western poetics were either discarded or *disfigured*' (Pate 20, italics mine). Baraka's 'Black Art' cited above is a good example for the black artist's 'disfiguration' of the Western literary tradition: 'Poems are bullshit unless they are/ teeth or trees or lemons piled/ on a step [...].' This poem is totally different from much of the formal poetry of the Harlem Renaissance. In his radical poetics, in turn, Fogarty is a forerunner of a generation of Aboriginal poets who dismantle the critical assumptions of Europe. He was (and still is) one of those contemporary Aboriginal poets who exploit their poetry to 'forge new possibilities for the expression of contemporary Aboriginal thought' (Cooke, 'Trajectory' 89). In his introduction to New and Selected Poems, Fogarty announces the aim of his radical poetry, namely 'to give a direction to Aboriginal people coming up in the future, to stay away from European colonialist ways of writing, and the disease of stupidity in their language' (ix). This is an explicit call for literary sovereignty. He aims at violating the long-established Euro-centric standards and writes in a way that is far away from mimicry and other postcolonial diseases. His poetry thus can be distinguished from the formal poetry of the first wave of Aboriginal poets of the 1960s, represented by Oodgeroo Noonuccal.

Fogarty, Baraka and Sanchez went further in their literary anti-Eurocentrism. They destabilise the language dominance that is one of the fixed, 'static' policies of (post)-colonial ideology. They utilise their poetry in linguistic resistance, through weakening the structural ties of the English language to create a deformed linguistic form from it. In other words, these poets subject English to 'syntactic and grammatical manipulations... in order to free it from a range of traditional constraints...' (Joris 115). Their poetry has almost nothing to do with traditional English poetry. Poetry as a literary genre allows for such linguistic tendency because, according to Amie Cesaire, 'the poet is the one who creates his language, while the writer of prose, in the main, uses language' (quoted in Joris 7). These poets 'create' their distinctive form of language. In 'Murra Murra Gulandanilli (Waterhen)' (1995), for instance, Fogarty 'subjectifies' the object pronoun 'him': 'Him smiling at you/ Him a-laughing at you / Him eyes are dillil' (Fogarty, *New* 5). Baraka and Sanchez use urban Black English, unconventional spelling and abbreviations in their poetry. Baraka's 'Attention Attention' is an example: 'Attention Attention / (at tention, we niggers work / supremesmiraclesimpressions, &c.' Sanchez's 'right on: wite america' (1970) is another:

HEAR YE HEAR YE starting july 4th is bring in yr / guns / down / to / yr / nearest /po / lice / station / no questions / asked/

> wk. (We A BaddDDD People 28).

Such unconventional poetic style instigates ambiguity in the reader, which makes it difficult to obtain full understanding. This a-grammaticality, however, should not be taken as indicative of academic or linguistic competence: 'I know how white Australians write and I know how they talk,' as Fogarty argues (*New* x). These poets 'use the language of the colonizers *against* the colonizers, denying the regulations and rules they have imposed' (Cooke, *Speaking* 239, italics original). This poetic inclination resulted from these poets' responses to the political ideology of Malcolm X and the Black Power movements in both countries.

### Garveyism: 'By Any Means Necessary'

Before further discussing the radical inclinations of these poets, I want to trace the genesis of the transnational solidarity of Aboriginal and African American peoples, so as to better establish an understanding of contemporary political collaboration between Aboriginal and African American activists. The notion of global 'Black' solidarity, which was advocated by African American activists during the 1960s, can be traced back to the dawn of the twentieth century. In 1916 Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), a unifying pan-Africanist icon who was deeply influenced by his reading of Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery (1901), founded a chapter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Harlem, New York, two years after its original founding in Jamaica. Having little hope for social integration, Marcus adopted separationist ideology and 'called for a return to Africa for the Africans' (Weber 28). Despite facing opposition from civil rights integrationist activists, UNIA had grown rapidly by 1919. At a time when 'Negroes' were marginalised and 'lynched' in the south, Garvey appealed to race pride, cultural pride and pride in history. He lionised everything black, claiming 'black' superiority, strength, and beauty. He reminded his followers of their African 'noble past' (see Franklin 354). The UNIA's call for 'Black' solidarity appealed to many peoples all over the 'colored' world and led to the establishment of more than a thousand UNIA chapters in many countries, including Australia (Rolinson 1). Early Aboriginal activists, such as Fred Maynard

who founded the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA), were influenced by Garveyism (Maynard 91; see also Goodall 91). The correspondence between the secretary of the AAPA Tom Lacey and Garvey in 1924 worked to publicise the Indigenous Australian political situation in the US. Lacey wrote to Garvey explaining the nationalistic agenda of AAPA. In the same year, a report appeared in Garvey's newspaper *The Negro World*, the title of which reads: 'Blacks of Australia enslaved and brutalized' (Maynard 92). During the Tent Embassy activism of the 1970s, Garveyism was still influential. Aboriginal activists flew two flags outside one of the tents: 'One black and one yellow with a spear through the middle, and the other a tri-colour flag which resembles the Pan-African flag designed by Garvey's ideas remained influential among Indigenous Australian activists.



(Ambrose Golden Brown and Alan Sharpley with two unknown at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 1972. Source: *Identity Magazine*, reproduced as cover image of Foley, Schaap and Howell).

During the second half of the twentieth century, Malcolm X adopted Garveyism (Maynard 90). He promoted pride in race, solidarity, dignity and Black Nationalism. He recommended self-determination and radical resistance to replace the civil rights' slogan of 'Black and White together': 'Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the ceremony!' (quoted in Jones (Baraka), *Home* 17). Unlike Garvey, Malcolm X sought separation *within* the borders of the United States, not outside them, through establishing Black-only states (Weber 54).

Baraka and Sanchez were deeply influenced by Malcolm X's political involvement during the early 1960s. Malcolm X's speeches put an end to Baraka's apolitical, disinterested Beat views of 1957 and involved him in the politics of Black nationalism (Woodard 50). Sanchez left the integrationist, non-violent Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which she joined in 1955, and began promoting a separationist agenda in her poetry (Groner 253; Gates and McKay 1902). The assassination of Malcom X in 1965, along with other brutalities imposed on the civil rights activists, further decreased prospects of integration through non-violent struggle. It led to the emergence of the Black Power movement in 1966 (Frost 71). The assassination of Malcom X convinced many radical African Americans, such as Huey Percy Newton and Bobby Seale, that they should carry guns in self-defence.

Baraka and Sanchez were influenced by the assassination of Malcolm X. Baraka joined the Black Power movement in 1965 (Neal, 'Social' 18; Register 37). He collaborated with the Panthers, including members such Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver. He wrote an elegy, 'A Poem for Black Hearts' (1969), dedicated to Malcolm X: 'For Great Malcolm a prince of the earth, let nothing in us rest/ until we avenge ourselves for his death, stupid animals that killed him' (Jones (Baraka), Black 112). Baraka was identified as 'the symbolic heir to Malcolm, the "Malcolm X of literature",' to use the words of Werner Sollors (quoted in Woodard xii). During this period, Baraka moved to Harlem where, along with other radical African American writers, he established the Black Arts movement (Watts 171). This movement is described by Neal as '... the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept' (Neal, 'Black' 29, italics added). In his essay 'State/Meant' (1965), Baraka too identified a militant role for African American writers: 'The Black Artist's role in America is to aid in the destruction of America as he knows it' (Jones (Baraka), Home 281). As did many other African American writers, Sanchez joined the Black Arts movement (Sitter 357). She began writing poetry according to the radical guidelines outlined by the Black Arts movement and its 'spiritual sister.' Her radical response, like Baraka's, was also motivated by the assassination of Malcolm X (Frost 71; Melhem 81; Sitter 357). Sanchez's 'malcolm' (1969) also mourns his death:

do not speak to me of martyrdom of men who die to be remembered [...] he said, "fuck you white man. we have been curled too long. nothing is sacred, not your white face nor any land that separates until some voices squat with spasms." (*Home* 15-16)

The arguments above confirm that African American Black Power activists and the Black Arts poets have been closely connected. Let us discuss the impact of African American Black Power activists upon radical Aboriginal activists to see how this impact opened Fogarty to the works of the Black Arts poets Baraka and Sanchez.

### Aboriginal 'Malcolmism'

When Malcolm X adopted the ideology of Garveyism (except Garvey's call to return to Africa), he and the Malcolm X-inspired Black Power movement served as a political paradigm for the establishment of Black Power movements by oppressed peoples in several foreign countries, including Australia (Clemons & Jones 182). Indigenous Australian activists were encouraged by the effective strategies of resistance adopted by African Americans. Lothian argues that '[i]t was Malcolm X's autobiography and speeches, though, that most captured the imaginations of some of the younger activists, with his uncompromisingly militant rejection of White culture, his pride in being Black, his belief in Black nationhood, and his call for self-defense "by any means necessary" (184). As Fogarty puts it in his poem 'Come Over Murri' (1995): 'We as Murri must look here and support the necessary/ struggles of other countries, for their fights affect our fights' (*New* 25).

Although the Aboriginal Black Power movement was formally announced in December 1971 (Lothian 181), the impact of African American radical politics on militant, young Aboriginal activists began in the late 1960s, especially in Australia's major capital cities, precisely Melbourne, Redfern and south Brisbane (Howell 67). In Queensland, Denis Walker and Sam Watson were influential Panthers who had established headquarters in Brisbane. In the first official meeting of the Panthers in January 1972, Walker declared the objectives of the movement, namely a 'commitment to the American Party's revolutionary ideology...' (Lothian 186). Aboriginal activists, however, were able to adapt African American political movements to meet their socio-political demands and conditions. For example, the group called the Australian Indigenous Panthers reworked the African American Black Panther Party's Ten-Point platform and Program of 'What We Want' and 'What We Believe,' which is a set of guidelines to the African American Panthers and demonstrates their ideals and ways of operation. In '[p]oint 7 ... [the Aboriginal Panthers] added rape to the crimes of the police force, reflecting the experience of many Black women in Australia through both the 19th and 20th centuries ...' (Lothian 188).

Fogarty joined the Aboriginal Black Power and Land Rights movements during the 1970s and became a prominent Aboriginal radical activist (Mead 425). His political and literary orientations were shaped by racial segregation and police brutalities experienced by himself and other Murri people at Cherbourg mission (originally Barambah Aboriginal Reserve) (Fogarty and Furaih, Interview; see also Johnson 50). He left Cherbourg and moved to Brisbane during the 1970s when he was still a teenager. There he encountered Black Power activists Denis Walker and John Garcia and together they became 'known then as the "Brisbane three" (Fogarty, *Kargun*, Foreword). They were dedicated activists. Fogarty, Walker and Garcia were jailed for a short period and charged with 'conspiracy' n their effort to support the Palm Island community's plan to build a community school (Fogarty and Furaih, Interview; Fogarty "Making" 87-88). Fogarty had a strong relationship with Walker, who was the godfather of the Black Power movement in Brisbane. He accompanied Walker travelling interstate and Walker may have been the inspiration for Fogarty's engagement in the radical political literature of African Americans. John Garcia also introduced Fogarty to the works of Malcolm X (Fogarty, 'Making' 86). In my interview with him in March 2017, Fogarty recalled that:

I achieved a political and literary development through understanding other people's struggles in the world and especially Black Americans at that time. And I was not reading a whole book of Malcolm X [*Malcolm X Speaks* (1965)] or a whole book of other people in that time but I read bits and pieces of it.... I tried to bring those people from overseas into my writing. The Black Panther party's materials were more or less available to read at that time. I read bits and pieces of some of their poetry and listened to a lot of their speeches that was given out by The Black Panther party and also by especially Malcolm X... (Fogarty and Furaih, Interview)

The African American political impact on Fogarty led to the literary impact of Baraka and Sanchez. This literary impact occurred in the main because the three poets were Black Power activists. It was Malcom X and the African American Black Power movement that brought the poetry of these poets close to each other.

In my interview with him, Fogarty told me that 'back in the seventies [1970s]' he read 'bits and pieces' from African American Black Arts poets, including Sanchez. He confirms that these poets influenced his understanding regarding 'what poetry is about' (Fogarty and Furaih, Interview). Fogarty assumed the destructive role of the artist called for by Baraka's 'State/Meant' and, like Baraka and Sanchez, Fogarty also responded in verse to the assassination of Malcom X. We could, perhaps, think of his work in terms of Black Arts poetics. In his poem, 'Spirits to Malcolm X' (1984), as he suggests, Fogarty 'bring[s]' Malcolm X 'into [his] writing':

There is martyr in our noble cause Rarest cautious brothers, sisters Hater prisoner criminal an addict this is entertainment industry. Agony of an entire Retires trapped anguish A brilliant hate-preacher Not we self creation Assassins bullets felt uncertain. (Ngutji 67)

Like the transnational rhetoric of Malcolm X, Fogarty's Garveyian language in this poem associates him with African American people. He identifies Malcolm X as the 'martyr' of collectively 'our noble cause.' He does not use the pronoun 'their' or pluralise the noun 'cause' to avoid the creation of otherness. He uses the language of provocative protest, urging the 'Rarest cautious brothers, sisters/ Hater prisoner criminal/ an addict' to revenge the death of Malcolm X. This language is similar to that used in Baraka's 'A Poem for Black Hearts' and Sanchez's 'malcolm' cited above. In an interview with Timmah Ball in 2011, Fogarty states that 'I think that in my writing, changes have occurred because of my international experience and international literature' (Fogarty and Ball 131). If poems like 'Spirits to Malcolm X' and 'Stranger in Cherbourg Once Knew' are put side by side, we can see the expansion of the political horizons of the poet and the transition from local themes to international concerns, principally due to his reading of international literature such as *Malcolm X Speaks* (1965).

Fogarty's political solidarity receives a literary expression in his recent published work *Eelahroo (Long Ago) Nyah (Looking) Möbö-Möbö (Future)* (2014). In poems like 'Amplifier Aims of Circle,' 'Immemorial Conservative,' and 'Anthology Our International,' Wakeling writes, 'a theory of international friendship (and its problematics) develops into questions of literary solidarity across national borders and in liminal interzones. These poems endorse the concept of "anthology" as an archive of Indigenous knowledge and as a vector for international relations' (7). Fogarty's transnational literary aspiration allows me to consider him an Aboriginal expression of 'literary' Garveyism.

Despite these political commonalities, I am not claiming that Indigenous Australians and African Americans can be seen to constitute one people. Each have their own diverse experiences, ethnic qualities, religious values, cultural mores and languages. Each have idiosyncratic motives for the establishment of their political movements. Nor is their experience with 'white' settlers identical. Indigenous Australians have been dispossessed of their country. African Americans were deported as slaves from Africa. These distinctive sociopolitical experiences have determined the political demands of each people. Indigenous Australian activists during the 1960s and 1970s demanded equal rights, equal wages, land rights and a restoration of traditional lands. For Indigenous Australian peoples, country has economic and spiritual significance. Thus, land rights constitute the core of their political struggle. In his poem 'CAR O BOO BUDJARI' (1990), Fogarty writes: 'LAND RIGHTS IS

LIFE'S RIGHTS' (*Jagera* 10, capitalisation original). African American activists demanded official racial equality and legal recognition according to the rights inscribed in the US Constitution in the main. They had been calling to end segregation and discrimination for decades.

This essay outlines the African American political impact on Indigenous Australian activists and how this political impact led to a literary one. The political impact (or collaboration, as the correspondence between the two groups of activists reveals) occurred from the dawn of the twentieth century and was encouraged by Garveyism. During the 1960s and the 1970s this impact or collaboration continued and had a wider base. It manifested through the adaptation of the tactics and aims of African American political movements by Indigenous Australian activists. Malcolm X's speeches influenced not only radical African American activists but also Black Arts poets. He invigorated the political orientation of Baraka and Sanchez. Following the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, which led to the establishment of the African American Black Power movement, Baraka, along with other African American writers, established the radical Black Arts movement. The radical influence of the African American Black Power activists upon Aboriginal radical political activist led to the literary impact of Baraka and Sanchez on Fogarty. This literary-political interaction enables the poetry of these geo-ethnically different poets to be read within a single critical frame, and we can place their poetry as part of a larger, international revolutionary 'Black' literary movement.

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