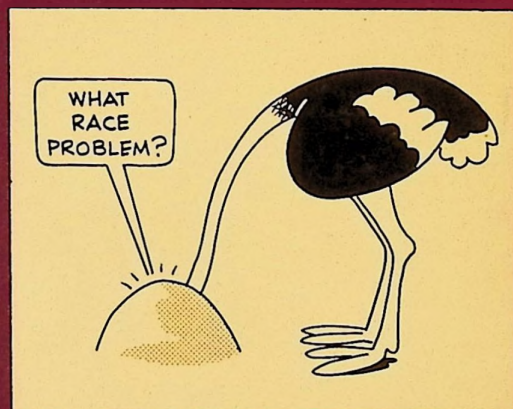
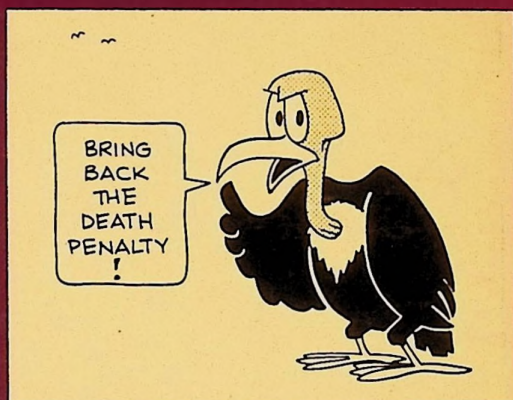


Freedomways

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT



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Civil Rights to Civil Equality — Part II *J.H. O'Dell*

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

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FREEDOMWAYS

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RATIFY THE D.C. AMENDMENT

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES who live in the federal district of Washington have long been denied rights of political representation. No wonder the nation's capital for nearly a century was as segregated as any city in Georgia or Mississippi.

Segregation is ended but "taxation without representation" is still the burden carried by residents of Washington. Nearly one and one-half billion dollars in taxes are paid annually to the Federal Government by the residents of the nation's capital. This is \$325 a year *above* the national average for taxpayers. Seven states which have full representation in Congress and the U.S. Senate have smaller populations than Washington, D.C., whose citizens have only one non-voting delegate in Congress.

The 28th Amendment recently passed by the Congress will correct this long-standing injustice. It provides for full representation in the Congress and Senate for Washington, D.C. Nineteen countries in the world have federal districts, but in only two are citizens who live in their districts denied first-class citizenship through full representation. The two are the U.S. and Brazil, a fascist military dictatorship. Fine company for "the world's leading democracy"!

Every state legislature should make ratification of the D.C. Amendment the first order of business in the New Year.

THE NATIONAL UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN

WE SALUTE the people of Iran and their revolutionary, democratic movement for emancipation from the rule of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi.

This movement for Iranian democracy is marked by the heroism of thousands of Iranian patriots, led by the oil workers, students, the civil service and sections of the religious community, all of whom oppose the corrupt regime of the Shah.

The people of our country are obligated to assume responsibility for ending U.S. aid to the Shah. All the more so for it was the CIA, during the

Whitehouse Administration, which installed the Shah after engineering the overthrow of the Government of Premier Mohammed Mossadegh.

The Shah's regime has maintained its power through the wide network of secret police (SAVAK), filling the jails with political prisoners, and now a military regime that is shooting down demonstrators by the hundreds in the streets of Teheran and other cities. What hypocrisy for the Carter Administration to be declaring its support for the Shah as a great "reformer." This is using the Big Lie technique of Hitler Germany; hardly fitting for an advocate of human rights. Carter is so anxious to support the Shah because he is a big customer for the munitions and weapons manufacturers.

The Iranian people are struggling for the restoration of their human rights, and they have concluded that this requires the abolition of the Shah tyranny. President Carter's arrogant pretense in this matter must be confronted and denounced.

It should be clear that the United States is not dependent on Iranian oil since it accounts for only ten percent of our nation's oil imports. Furthermore, in this national crisis in Iran it would be both wise and morally right to withdraw the 41,000 American advisors in Iran currently helping to prop up the Shah's oppressive regime. We are duty bound to remember the process by which the United States got involved in the Vietnam tragedy.

A Victory for Justice in Iran will be a victory for all who cherish human rights, everywhere.

The Editors

ON THE TRANSITION FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO CIVIL EQUALITY PART II

J.H. O'DELL

THE SINGULARLY ATTRACTIVE and most significant feature of any movement that is effecting profound change in society is the role it plays in creating a dual authority in the country. It is the authority of the movement as the people's response to the policies of the established authority, which gives the movement the power to ultimately effect a democratic transformation of society.

Beginning with the events of Montgomery in 1955 when the Afro-American community of fifty thousand citizens stood as one in a bus boycott and extending to 1969 with the Vietnam Moratorium in which an estimated four million people participated, during this 14-year period our movement created a dual authority in the country. There was on the one hand the established authority: the citadels of institutionalized racism, the masters of war, the apparatus of government—state, local and federal; and those chosen to do the dirty work of suppression of our movement in defense of the status quo. This established authority acted out a way of life that was rooted in custom, tradition, and dictated by class interests. The other center of authority was the Civil Rights - Anti-War Movement which represented a continuum of protest activity during this period. This authority, the Movement; represented the people's alternative to the power of institutionalized racism and colonialist war. The Movement had at its disposal such resources as dedicated organizers who educated and mobilized the people; charismatic leadership that articulated the goals and the vision that inspired action; performing artists who gave of their time and talent; church choirs, benefit concerts, mass meetings, and literature designed to instruct and enlighten as well as to reflect the experiences of the Movement. All of this held together by an ethos of camaraderie developed in struggle.

J. H. O'Dell is an Associate Editor of FREEDOMWAYS. The first part of this article was published in Vol. 18, No. 2.

The Movement was a proliferation of centers busy with activists planning strategy, recruiting volunteers, raising bail for those arrested for exercising their constitutional right to protest injustices; above all, people organized and aroused to action. In this many-sided collective activity untold numbers of people made personal decisions on how much they would allow the movement to affect their everyday lives. The kinds of decisions were varied: whether to leave one's job in order to work in the movement; whether to use earned vacation time, or drop out of school for a semester to do full time organizing; or to give the family car to organizers and find other ways to get to work. People put up their property as bail bond, an expression of their confidence in the integrity and inevitable victory of our movement. Teachers volunteered to run "Freedom Schools" in the community after school hours. A few lawyers donated their talented legal services helping to work out routine legal problems. Some ministers cut down on their church work in order to do what they perceived as the work of the church.

In the years between these points of reference—Montgomery and the Vietnam Moratorium—the authority of the people's movement in the country was seen in hundreds of local demonstrations in cities across the country where our fellow citizens singled out targets for disciplined, organized protest. On more than one occasion our Movement mobilized tens of thousands of people in mass demonstrations on the Boston Common, in Soldiers Field in Chicago, in the streets of Detroit, San Francisco, and New York in addition to the historic Marches on Washington in 1963 and 1967, the last a confrontation at the Pentagon by one hundred thousand people.

As the new authority in the country, our Movement drew on the best traditions of the Negro church, organized labor, and populist radicalism. This was reflected in the musical themes that we made popular such as "This Little Light of Mine," "All We Are Saying Is Give Peace a Chance," "We Shall Not Be Moved," and the most famous "We Shall Overcome."

This spirit and commitment to the goals of our struggle enabled our Movement to keep on moving while sustaining the wounds inflicted upon peaceful demonstrators in Birmingham, Selma, the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and the tear gas routing of the Poor Peoples' encampment in Washington, D.C.

If one participated in any of these demonstrations or was merely aware that such activity was going on in one's city, one knew, as Martin said so eloquently in his last speech, "Something is happening in our world. The

people everywhere are demanding freedom. Whether in Johannesburg, South Africa, New York City or Memphis, Tennessee. . . ."

next stage of struggle

The restoration of this dual authority role of the mass movement is critical to the solution of the many problems of great magnitude that this society now faces.

The decade of the 1970s has found that mosaic of activity which we call The Movement caught in an eddy in which motion is devoid of clear direction. This is a result of the fact that we have become caught up in the rituals of the technician-intelligentsia and have shifted responsibility for social change to them, substituting this for mass movement organizing. Yet it is the latter which is the driving force for the achievement of greater democracy. The tendency has become to make Title VI, IX, or III of this or that Act the focus of our attention along with the writing of proposals to foundations or government agencies. These activities have been projected as the "more sophisticated" way of achieving our objectives. This is the New Thing. And the complexities of life and the many problems surfaced by this civilization-in-crisis, making it more difficult to identify programmatically what we need to focus on, have tended to give credence to this new style.

The struggle for expanded democracy in the period 1955 to 1968, participated in by tens of thousands of our fellow citizens, produced a body of legislation which confirmed the effectiveness of that struggle. The laws passed were after the fact; a crystallized form of expressing the new reality that people would no longer abide by the rules and mores of racial segregation. Segregation was in fact abolished by the power of the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights laws were necessary because they made illegal the activities of the police and others who enforced segregation and inflicted punishment on citizens who were breaking segregation practices. A movement, whether of reform or revolution, always struggles for a legislative manifestation of its victory because that establishes a new code of conduct in relation to the old order of things. It confirms that change has been accepted and that the particular struggle for democracy has been victorious.

Once this is achieved, it is necessary for a movement to regroup around the definition of what the next stage of mass democracy is and move on to its fulfillment. The opposition will inevitably make a desperate attempt to trap the movement into preoccupying itself with implementing victories that have been codified into law. Indeed the law is often written in such a

way as to encourage this entrapment. And since the movement's activists are often experiencing a degree of exhaustion, the tendency to focus on emphasizing that which has been won is very strong because it is a form of reprieve, of R & R,* if you will. We have spent a decade in just such a whirlpool in which there is much busy-ness activity. Yet the time in history in which we live and the general crisis and regressive trends in this society call for us to move boldly on to the next stage of struggle for mass democracy. The struggle for civil equality is a central component of this move.

Search the pages of history if we will — no people ever got free writing grant proposals. And we may often forget how new this particular technical activity is. We need those who have this technical competence to give of their talents because that is one source of getting some of the resources which are needed. But to make the strategic error of substituting this technical activity for what is indeed a more sophisticated requirement of the period — building a mass movement that assigns and supports the technician-intelligentsia in the work to be done — is to embrace a more sophisticated form of stagnation and invites regression. That's the quagmire we find ourselves in as a nation today — the absence of a mass movement, with a clear vision of its goals, for the new stage of democracy. That is the condition that must be remedied.

The mass meetings held every Monday night, week after week, in dozens of southern cities and rural towns and every Saturday morning in the northern urban areas during the early 1960s were main forms of communication, mass education and mass mobilization. This was the strength of the movement: not having fallen into reliance upon the monopoly-controlled media to report its activities. Through these regular mass meetings and the mobilization that followed, the direct participation of the community in the struggle to secure our objectives was sustained. Thus a direct line of accountability between the leaders at all levels and the broad base of supporters was maintained. An important dimension of this was that the people themselves financed such a movement, lessening the dependence on the "generosity" of other sources of revenue.

It was inevitable and good that we learned how to hold press conferences, for we all recognize that technologically this is a media age. It was disastrous for us to rely primarily upon these corporate forms of mass communication to get our message and analysis out to the public. Once that dependence becomes a matter of style, it is too easy to fall into the practice of tailoring activity to fit what the media might pick up. Such

*Rest and relaxation, a military term.

dependence encourages competition among the leaders themselves since the new value system becomes, who gets the most media attention. In the end it means forming a new kind of addiction to media rather than being in charge of our own agenda and relying upon mass support as our guarantee that ultimately the news covering apparatus must give recognition to this reality. It is more important to shape and develop the forces making history than to make the 6 o'clock news.

emphasis on economic problems

At any rate one of the most hopeful and encouraging signs in the present period is that without a doubt the main civil rights organizations have made the transformation in their programs from emphasis on acquiring legal civil rights to primary concern with the state of the economy. And since the condition of the economy is pivotal to the struggle for de facto civil equality, the stage is set for that historically significant struggle for economic emancipation.

The recent annual conventions of such major organizations in the civil rights spectrum as the NAACP, Urban League, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and PUSH confirm that all are operating with essentially the same set of facts regarding the economic issues. What's more, the agenda of each organization now gives top priority to those symptoms of the state of the economy — high unemployment, double digit inflation, the crisis in the public school system, the dismal state of housing conditions (especially in the Afro-American and Hispanic communities), the bankruptcy of thousands of small marginal farmers in the South and the subsequent loss of millions of acres of land.

The decade of the seventies has been a hard teacher for Afro-American leadership, and the sense of apprehension and doubt about the possibilities of a better life under this economy has crystallized. Yet the remedies we are clinging to and placing hopes in are at best potentially relief measures rather than solutions. Such measures as economic set-asides from the federal budget to assist black businesses are seen as an aid to economic development; more Affirmative Action, vigorously enforced in both the public and private sector, and more support to black colleges are of course all laudable relief measures that deserve to be supported. However such programs suggest that we are suffering from a parochial approach to solving the problems of the Afro-American community. These problems are connected to and are an exaggerated expression of a deeper malady. The United States is a society currently in the throes of a long-term economic crisis whose process of ruination is a protracted one. Notwithstanding the appearance of relative prosperity among a large section of the

employed population of our society and even affluence among some, the features of stagnation and dislocation in this economy are deep and of long duration.

the role of the banks

As a case in point, a decade ago our movement was demanding equal access to housing available for rent or sale without discrimination. Today the national supply of moderately priced housing is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the average-income population. That is an institutional problem, and the spreading slums in our urban environment prove that the problem has not been addressed by an institutional remedy. We have won an end to racial discrimination in housing, but the housing situation is generally worse today for working- and middle-class sections of the population than when the Open Housing Bill was passed by Congress after Dr. King's assassination. The role of the landlords, which at one time meant flagrant racism in the housing market, now takes the form of runaway inflated prices, the condominium craze and the eviction of thousands of rent-paying tenants who are basically in the same position in the cities as landless peasants in the rural areas. For many as much as half their income goes for rent, but even that does not guarantee that they will not be evicted because the landlords, like other monopolists, are securing the maximum profits.

Since economic concerns are now top priority, it is incumbent upon us to move attention to remedies that treat not just symptoms but begin to formulate programs that confront institutional responsibility for these problems. In this context the role of the banks deserves much more focus than we have given it in the past. In recent years a campus-based movement against South Africa's "Apartheid" has called the public's attention in many cities to the role of the biggest banks in our country in lending money to the Apartheid regime in South Africa. These picket lines and mass demonstrations continue to make a major contribution to the struggle against racism in our country as well as express concrete support for the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa.

These same banks raise the prime interest rate affecting the price one pays for a new house. These same banks put the squeeze on farmers needing loans for machinery and land.* They contribute to the inflated cost of hospital care as the private hospitals go to the banks for loans for capital construction. The largest city in our country—New York—can attribute

*Last year the real net income of farmers, measured in inflation-free dollars, was at the 1960 level.

much of its fiscal problem to the policies of the banks. The power of the banking institutions is not that of the friendly lending agency down on the corner. In the pattern of monopoly in all areas of the economy, the banks are the Connection.

Contrary to its public image, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) of the Federal Government uses its billions in taxpayers' dollars, not to increase the housing supply, but to guarantee that the mortgage bankers get their money in cases of foreclosure. HUD is a super-insurance agency to the mortgage banks, not a provider of the housing needs of the population.

The role of the banks, in their impact on domestic policy, as the paramount sector of monopoly, is no less significant than their role overseas in underwriting repressive regimes such as in South Africa.

a carnival of plunder

Apparently American homeowners and apartment renters are not paying enough of their income for utilities costs. That seems to be the prevailing opinion of the Democratic Party, you know, "the party of the working man." The Congress in which it has a clear majority just gave the energy conglomerates 50 billion dollars in price increases. They are legally authorized to take it out of the consumers' pockets over the next several years, until natural gas prices are completely deregulated in 1985. The "energy crisis" is sure paying off for them — and royally. U.S. taxpayers have been very generous to the free enterprisers and these corporate giants have responded in their predictable way. The biggest of the energy monopolies controlling oil, gas, and coal reserves are now extending their tentacles, buying up the copper industry in anticipation of profits from solar energy. One wonders whatever happened to the Carter election pledge to address the problem of horizontal divestiture of these corporate octopi.

It is possible to put an end to this carnival of plunder if we as a nation take the giant step by applying the principle of public ownership to what is essentially a public resource. The private corporate ownership of a natural resource — oil, gas, coal — is a contradiction that stands in the way of solving the energy crisis in the public interest, with all the implications this holds for the national economy.

If there is indeed an energy crisis, then we must set up the rational conditions for the public use of oil, coal and gas in a rational way. Only public ownership; i.e., public control over the manufacture, distribution, and sale of energy, allows for the rationally planned conservation and use of these energy resources.

Public planning to resolve the energy crisis requires public ownership and control of the sources of energy. To attempt to deal with an energy crisis as a public problem, while leaving the manufacture, distribution, and sale of energy resources in the hands of private corporations — whose sole purpose is to secure the highest profit they can get — is self-defeating, because we are trying to get around the basic contradiction and leave it intact as if it were sacred. That contradiction is in private corporate ownership of public resources. It is not likely that anything short of public ownership and control through a government agency will really work to solve this crisis.

The regulatory agency as a substitute for public ownership or nationalization is, by design, inadequate. For example, the Federal Power Commission, as a regulatory agency, has been trying to enforce the regulation of natural gas prices in interstate commerce. The fallacy there stems from private ownership which enables the corporate Seven Sisters who own the natural gas simply to refuse to sell it interstate unless they get the price they are demanding. So the gas shortage is not real; it is contrived by those who are manipulating the market in order to maximize their corporate profits.

Current signs in the economic picture strongly suggest that by 1985 this economy will be in worse shape than it is now, and the proposed deregulation of natural gas prices at that time will play havoc with the average family's budget.

The National Citizens' Energy Coalition, a network of local citizens' groups and trade union organizations, is building an effective resistance movement to stop this fleecing of the public pocketbook by the energy monopolies. The coalition is building a broad base of public support for the adoption of a national energy policy of full employment, a clean environment, and encouragement of research and development in solar energy. This is an example of how issues today overlap and interconnect, enabling a movement to deal with a number of concerns simultaneously.

There is no rational reason for us to leave the nation's energy resources in the hands of Exxon, Texaco, Continental Oil, Con Edison and other such parasitic monopolies if we are serious about dealing with the energy crisis. If the public is not in control of the sources of energy, we are not in control of the solution to the crisis. Public ownership of these public resources is the prerequisite to a solution of this national problem. We will sooner or later have to face the fact that some of our institutional structures are an obstruction to the kind of rational planning required to address and solve the problems of considerable magnitude in this society. The energy crisis represents an unusual opportunity to open up the American public

mind, and public debate, to an examination of institutional senility.

When one talks about public ownership of anything these days *inevitably* one gets the response that the government is so corrupt and inefficient that it is hard to believe this could be part of the solution. Government may be inefficient but it does not have to be. It can also be efficient. By comparison this argument reminds us that what passes for corporate efficiency and yields higher corporate profits inevitably results in economic crisis for the whole society. The Great Depression of the 1930s with its mass unemployment and its bread lines was a direct outgrowth of the "corporate efficiency" of the 1920s.

The corporations were so efficient in keeping wages down, increasing the work-load of the average worker, and getting the highest profit out of each worker's labor that inevitably the system broke down. In our country this happened on an average of every 20 years between 1819 and 1930.

When an economic system periodically produces crisis, recessions, and all the suffering and deprivation that accompany these for the victims, is that not a monument to the inefficiency of that system? Yet these crises and recessions are inherent in the profit motive. It is not public ownership of the factories and mines that is responsible for the fact that we have ten million unemployed today and double digit inflation, because no such public ownership exists. These social problems are a product of the private system of ownership misnamed "free enterprise."

We have an outstanding example of efficient public ownership in the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) established during President Roosevelt's New Deal. The TVA became the backbone for the rural electrification of the Tennessee Valley, providing cheap electricity to small farmers. Cheap electricity increased the productivity and efficiency of many marginal farms and kept them from going into bankruptcy.

Humphrey-Hawkins vs. transfer amendment

Most civil rights organizations no longer look upon the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill as the hoped-for answer to the unemployment problem. Continued support for Humphrey-Hawkins is seen as necessary, however, because such legislation is a minimum "first step" in government planning for a full employment economy, one that is long overdue. A major ideological hurdle is being overcome by civil rights organizations as they increasingly insist, and correctly so, that putting people to work in a full employment economy is *not* inflationary. This is a rejection of the official government policy of a trade-off between inflation and unemployment — a policy which

says you cannot reduce the level of unemployment but so far ($4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ %) without running the risk of stimulating a new spiral of inflation.*

Yet, most civil rights organizations have not yet, through their leadership, articulated the position that the *military budget* is the chief cause of inflation because of its waste of the nation's resources and its cost overruns. This is the understanding of the cause of inflation that must be popularized, and its concrete expression is the mobilization of public opinion in support of Congressman Parren Mitchell's Transfer Amendment procedure. This question of inflation vs. unemployment will continue to be a nagging, tortuous reality, because the U.S. economy is sick. It is failing internally and is slipping in its position in the world economy. The prospects of another serious "recession" in 1979 underscore the painful meaning of this for the working population, the unemployed, and the underemployed who have already had a decade of stagnation.

Military production is essentially capital intensive. It rests more on advanced technology than on labor power. Consequently it does not serve as a source of jobs creation in the same way as a labor intensive industry might. Research and evidence** show that for every 1,000 jobs created by investment in military production the same amount of money would create 1,200 jobs if invested in non-military sectors of the economy, such as housing, schools, day-care centers, and the like. Consequently, spending for the military aggravates the unemployment problem; the investment is less productive in creating jobs.

Far from being an aid to the economy, the military budget is actually a major obstacle to the elimination of poverty, unemployment, and inflation. The national mania to increase the military budget every year is a ritual performed for the benefit of the munitions manufacturers, but we cannot regard it as a necessary evil simply because it is sold to the public as "defense." We cannot afford this national exercise in self-deception; nor is it wise to allow ourselves to be led into national economic bankruptcy before we acquire the moral stamina and good judgment to say *enough!*

It is in the highest national interest that the arms race and the military budget be made less attractive to those corporations who profit from war and the preparations for war.

Since Lockheed, Boeing, and other such "defense industries" are in it for the money, the elimination of corporate profits and wasteful cost overruns,

*The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, as recently enacted, had been made a victim of this kind of economic illiteracy.

**Professor Seymour Melman's work at Columbia University and Ms. Marion Anderson's recent book are two examples.

for which the taxpayers are now footing the bill, would be a significant step in the direction of bringing the military budget under control.

Not only would this be in the highest national interest, but the world would breathe a sigh of relief that we, the people of the United States, were making a very constructive and concrete effort towards ending the arms race and with it the danger of a nuclear war.

Full employment is a national necessity; the right to a job at socially useful work for every individual seeking employment, a human right as inalienable as Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

The economic rulers of America have not yet conceded full employment as either a desirable national goal or one that is attainable, and we should have no illusions about that. On the contrary, a hard core among them cling to the discredited dogma that rejects full employment as being inflationary. Still others adopt a more "liberal" view which expresses "sympathy" with the national concern for the millions of jobless in our country. Then they conclude that putting these millions to work is "unattainable and a dilemma" for the country.*

Once before we were faced with a problem which the conservatives said could never be resolved and the liberals characterized as The American Dilemma. That problem was the public practice of racist segregation in the southern states. It took a mass movement to break through this paralysis and cause segregation in public accommodations to be abolished in law and in fact. And it will take just such a sustained mass movement, using the power of protest combined with the power of the general strike, to force the problem of chronic unemployment to be resolved, and full employment implemented as a matter of national policy, not just national rhetoric.

The movement that is currently growing among the trade unions for a reduction in the 40-hour work week without cut in pay and an end to compulsory overtime is the kind of frontal attack on the problem of chronic unemployment that reflects a sense of urgency. This has the possibility of creating millions of jobs for the now unemployed, as factories are required to hire a second shift, and lays responsibility for the problem of unemployment at the front door of the big corporations where it belongs.

One of the serious weaknesses of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill in its current watered-down version is that the steel, auto, banking, construction and other giant corporations are allowed to escape responsibility for the unemployment crisis because they are the so-called "private sector."

The Shorter Work Week Movement, the first of its kind since the 40-

* *Washington Post* editorial, October 5, 1978.

hour week was won and became law during the Depression in 1938, establishes a common bond of self-interest between employed workers and those out of work. Rather than being divided against each other, they help each other. It is a movement that's on time, confronting the new Depression — a depression with distinctly different and in some respects more serious features than that of the '30s, but whose content is the same; lives wasted, demoralization and deprivation.

It is estimated the U.S. economy loses \$264 billion a year in lost production due to under-employment and unemployment: an outstanding example of the efficiency of American capitalism, to be sure.

Meanwhile the parliamentary games being played by Congress requiring an end to inflation as a condition for implementing a national full employment policy express their contempt for the idea that the right to a job is a human right. It also demonstrates their callousness toward the suffering which long-term unemployment causes. Those organizations and individuals who have consistently worked for expanding economic rights and opportunities were only conceded a pyrrhic victory as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill was all but reduced to ashes before it passed.

We would be seriously misreading the basic character-mold of the economic system and the class that presides over it in our country if we were to believe that full employment is one of those democratic goals that is "just around the corner."

We will win this civilized goal from those in authority who now profit from denying it to us when for *them* the option of not granting it has become more costly than the cost of conceding it. That's a fight — not a lobby.

If the United States is behind most of the industrially developed countries of the world in the area of establishing public ownership over certain key sectors of the economy, this is far from being the only area in which United States capitalism shows its social backwardness.

In hourly wages in manufacturing the workers of our country lag behind a half dozen other countries in the capitalist world. We rank seventh in this area. And in per capita income Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, and West Germany are in the same class as the United States among the countries of capitalism. A few years ago a major strike took place in South Carolina for the right to union recognition for the workers against the West German firm that owned the steel plant. It was recently revealed by one of the officials of this West German firm that the wage and benefit package that they finally agreed on with the United Steel Workers Union was fifteen percent cheaper than they would have had to pay German workers. Since

1960 wages and benefits have increased more rapidly in Canada, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Japan than in our country.

need for nationalized health service

It is well known that the United States is the only industrially developed country that has no government financed system of national health care either through national health insurance or the more efficient and less costly form, a nationalized health service. What is more, the United States, with a two trillion dollar Gross National Product (GNP), ranks seventeenth in infant mortality,* meaning sixteen other countries do a better job of saving children's lives. In matters of paid vacations these are guaranteed by law in such western capitalist countries as Austria and Denmark where every worker gets three weeks or a month as well as in the Socialist countries, such as the German Democratic Republic, where all workers get one month vacation the first year on the job. By comparison the average textile worker in the southern states of our country gets one week vacation when the plants close down during the week of July 4th, and some companies even give them the week off with pay. Maternity leave for women workers is another area in which most industrialized countries are ahead of the United States. In France a woman gets six months' maternity leave with pay and her job is held for her up to two years. In the German Democratic Republic a woman worker on maternity leave is allowed three months' leave with full pay before delivery and can remain at home another nine months with full pay.

An outstanding achievement of the Cuban Revolution is the organization of a nationwide health care system free to all; also the establishment of a network of government-financed Schools of Ballet in every province. This is a developing country against whom the United States continues to enforce economic sanctions, even while maintaining an American military base on Cuban national territory. Speaking recently at a symposium broadcast over listener-supported radio, a member of the famed Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra remarked that the entire amount contributed to the arts in our country by the Federal Government was equal to the annual budget for the arts of the city of West Berlin.

Both Britain and Australia have had programs for the elimination of black lung disease among coal miners and have made far greater advances than the United States in this field. If we are still clinging to the popular

*According to World Health Organization.

myth about American generosity toward other countries, which might in part explain our relative social backwardness in these areas I have described, it is important to note that of seventeen capitalist countries contributing to the United Nations Development Fund, the United States ranks twelfth in the percentage of its GNP that it contributes to poor countries.

One could detail many other features of the quality of life which confirm that the American standard of living, far from being the envy of the world, is in fact inferior to that of many industrialized countries even under capitalism. United States workers are doing poorly under capitalism as compared to many other capitalist nations. This is not to mention the quality of life in those countries of Socialism where many of these economic rights are written into their National Constitutions and are a matter of national policy. We are victims of a grand illusion, and when we ponder these facts intelligently it may help us to understand better what the anti-Communist paranoia in our country has really been all about.

a time to catch up

As we move to complete the transition from emphasis on Civil Rights to emphasis on the achievement of de facto civil equality we are obviously motivated by the recognition that those sections of the population which have historically experienced gross inequality are still far behind. Yet it is in our interest to recognize and call attention to the fact that the United States as a society has fallen behind most of the industrialized world. Public awareness of this relatively new feature of the modern world will greatly expand the possibilities for involving broad cross-sections of the population of our country in the struggle to resist effectively the civilizational crisis and ultimately overcome it.

It is a paradigm of the United States experience to be behind while believing we are ahead in the world; then confronting a crisis which reveals the reality of things and from this point creating a movement that catches up with the more developed countries. In the middle of the last century we were lagging behind most of the industrialized world on the issue of the abolition of slavery. The Abolitionist Movement focused on this reality, and supported the formation of a new political party vehicle. The slaveholders precipitated a crisis, a Civil War, which threatened the very foundations of the Republic. Finally our country caught up with the rest of the world. We had the opportunity to be the first to abolish slavery; we were among the last.

Again in the 1930s we were lagging behind much of the industrialized world in such matters as social security, unemployment compensation, and

the right of working people to unions in the basic industries. Then the economic crisis hit and a mass movement emerged, organizing the unorganized in the basic industries. That movement effected a partial renovation of the Democratic Party and out of this process came those "New Deal" economic concessions which meant the United States had caught up.

Then again in the 1950s and 1960s there was a recurrence of the same dynamic process, closing the gap. With *Sputnik* heralding the dawn of the scientific and technological revolution in the modern world, and the anti-colonial revolutions moving into the spotlight of world public opinion the stage was set to focus attention on how far behind the United States was in according elementary civilized rights to a large section of its citizens. One would have to look very hard to find a country whose citizens were systematically denied the elementary right to use a public park or to go into a restaurant for a meal or use the regular elevator instead of the freight elevator or attend a public tax-supported college. In the United States, Afro-Americans were denied every one of these rights and more. The mass movement created a moral and political crisis for those in power who were immodestly proclaiming the "leadership of the free world." A political reformation of the Democratic Party was attempted by the new constituency enfranchised through winning of the right to vote in the South and, once again, we partially closed the gap in relation to the rest of the modern world.

In the decade of the 1980s we face a world that has embraced new standards and norms of human rights. It is a time for us to catch up, and the key to this is the building of a mass movement and an independent political party for the achievement of a new agenda of human rights objectives. That the crisis has hit is self-evident; what is required now is a mass movement to dramatize resistance to the crisis and the formation of a political party that will break the monopoly of the electoral process now held by the Republican and Democratic Parties. The time is ripe for organizing a new political party as a clear alternative because it is consistent with the experience of the people of the United States. The challenge is for the many coalitions formed around specific issues during this past decade to focus attention on building a new political party. That is the political realignment which is the basis for effective resistance to a depression as well as the vehicle for coming out from under the crisis. Its potential constituency is a majority of the 65 million eligible voters who do not now go to the polls, in addition to the millions of voters who do vote and consider themselves *independent* of either the Republican or Democratic wing of the corporations' party. There are other millions who continue to begrudgingly vote for the candidates of the Democratic wing but are in-

creasingly dissatisfied with the results. A genuine political alternative has to be created that will enable millions of our people who now feel powerless to feel a renewed sense of power because they have built themselves a new political vehicle. That vehicle and the coalition mass movement it represents are the dual authority that can re-emerge in the decade ahead and spearhead the achievement of civil equality and the social reconstruction of American society.

Such a development will in effect pick up where the Poor Peoples' Campaign left off when Dr. King was murdered and the organization he founded was not able to keep the spirit and momentum alive.

Some are saying today that the struggle against racism is of declining significance because of the achievement of elementary civil rights. This is a seriously mistaken notion because it underestimates the use to which racism has been put by those who profit from it as a divisive influence. In a period such as this, when we must build anew, the struggle against racism is of central importance in raising the vision and aspirations of all progressive forces in the nation in order to achieve the objective of de facto civil equality. Racism, whether in its overt forms or in the form of insensitivity, is an obstacle to these objectives and an impediment to the moral-political growth that the achievement of these objectives represents.

What must be recognized is that the struggle against racism today takes place in a qualitatively new context created by the surfacing of very severe national economic problems. This makes it incumbent on civil rights activists to take an active part and help provide leadership to *all* coalition efforts that are addressing these economic problems. We can bring the valuable experiences of the sixties to these new organizational efforts and in the course of making such a contribution advance the struggle for de facto civil equality.

The self-interest held in common by Afro-Americans, women, organized labor, Hispanic-Americans, and American Indians is the bedrock motive for breaking new ground in political life today. Yet in a period in which selfish individualism is encouraged as a substitute for involvement in collective effort, we should guard against the tendency to see "self-interest" in the narrowest meaning of the term. "Be concerned about your brother," Dr. King said to the people of Memphis in that last speech. "You may not be on strike, but we go up together or we go down together." That is the spirit of unity and unselfish commitment which has guided every movement that has succeeded in winning substantial victories.

On another occasion earlier that year, commemorating the centennial of the birth of Dr. Du Bois in an address at Carnegie Hall in New York, Martin Luther King had this to say:

Dr. Du Bois has left us but he has not died. The spirit of freedom is not buried in the grave of the valiant. He will be with us when we go to Washington in April to demand our right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We have to go to Washington because they have declared an armistice in the war on poverty while squandering billions. . . . We will go there, we will demand to be heard, and we will stay until the administration responds. If this means forcible repression of our movement, we will confront it, for we have done this before. If this means scorn or ridicule, we will embrace it for that is what America's poor now receive. If it means jail we accept it willingly, for the millions of poor already are imprisoned by exploitation and discrimination. . . .*

It is appropriate in this tenth anniversary year of his assassination to remember these words. Dr. King has left us, but the spirit of freedom is not buried in the grave of the valiant.

When will we go back to Washington?

*"Honoring Dr. Du Bois," *Freedomways*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1968.

NEW THIRD-WORLD FILM PROGRAMS FOR 1979

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READERS' FORUM

The Metcalfe Legacy— A Personal Remembrance

RALPH METCALFE was a good and honorable man who served the citizens of Chicago and the nation with distinction, eighteen years as a Chicago Committeeman and Alderman and eight years as Member of Congress from Illinois' First District. He leaves behind him a legacy of supreme courage, both physical and political, which millions of citizens will never forget.

Ralph had two careers which reinforced and strengthened one another. In the first part of his adult life he won fame as a great athlete, a national intercollegiate champion in sprinting during the early 1930s, a silver and bronze medal winner at the 1932 World Olympics in Los Angeles, and at the Berlin Olympics in 1936 a gold medal winner in the 400-meter relay and silver medal winner in the 100-meter, finishing second to the legendary Jesse Owens. Following upon his military service in World War II, he devoted himself to the advancement of black Americans and to the education and physical development of youth. To this end he created the Ralph H. Metcalfe Youth Foundation, which has supported over the years numerous athletic, educational and cul-

tural programs. He was a source of inspiration to millions of young people.

Ralph devoted his second career to public service, starting as director of Chicago's Department of Civil Rights, and later as a leading figure on the City Council. In 1969 he became the council's president pro tempore, and a year later won the Cook County Democratic Party's nomination for, and election to, Congress.

Inescapably, in every public figure's life the questions arise: what did he or she stand for? What did he or she leave behind? It would have been entirely appropriate and adequate if Ralph Metcalfe's legacy revolved solely around his athletic accomplishments and community service. To an extent, of course, it does. But to the millions whom he represented, he will be remembered and revered for something more than even his physical courage. He will be remembered most for his political courage, following in a great tradition of struggle in behalf of equality and justice set a half-century earlier in Chicago by Debs and Darrow.

During the early 1970s the City of

Chicago was overrun by police brutality. No one in the highest reaches of the political establishment addressed the issue. There was uniform and unanimous silence at City Hall. At first, Ralph Metcalfe sought to bring the issue before the leadership. As a reasonable man, his first course of action was an attempt to solve the police problem from within. He could not, however, elicit a response. As more and more citizens became victimized by police behavior, Ralph concluded he could no longer work effectively within the leadership and the party. His integrity demanded that he speak out as forcefully as he could on the issue that most affected the citizens whom he represented. The political establishment that once favored him turned against him in full fury.

For a long time Ralph Metcalfe stood alone against the most power-

ful political machine in the nation. Every attempt was made to silence him, but he persevered in his conviction and his courage. He won reelection in the subsequent years, but he had paid a considerable price. His health suffered. Life-long friendships were disrupted. He was made the object of constant attack. Nevertheless, he went on to serve in Congress with great dedication and effectiveness. He was a leader in the fields of consumer protection and health care. Against great odds, Ralph had summoned up the same courage that earlier had won him the admiration of the world for his athletic achievements. In the end, Ralph stood his ground, a moderate and reasonable man up against an immoderate and unreasonable political system. His stand in Chicago was his finest hour, for which he will always be remembered.

Congressman John Conyers, Jr.

Winds of Change in Israel

ARACIALIST IDEOLOGY has its own dynamics, its own internal logic which unfolds itself in practice, in everyday life, especially when it becomes the ideology of a ruling class, of a government. The Zionist ideology which bases itself on national exclusiveness (a "chosen people" ideology), on divine privi-

lege which supersedes elementary human rights and simple justice and decency, on claims to other peoples' territories based on interpretations of ancient writings and visions, such an ideology in all its manifestations—whether fanatic clerical and right-wing or apologetic "left-wing"—in its everyday

practice in Israel leads to racial discrimination and racism, to eviction of Arab peasants from their homes and villages and to expropriation of their land, in order to establish on them pure Jewish villages, moshavim and kibbutzim; it leads inevitably to expansionism, to wars and conquests, to brutal oppression of subject peoples.

In Israel this ideology has given birth to the Law of Return and the Citizenship Law, which confers on any Jew, as such, the automatic right to enter Israel and receive citizenship, but denies the right of return and of citizenship to hundreds of thousands of Arabs who were born in this land, and whose fathers and forefathers have lived there for generations—if on a certain date in 1947, as a result of the war and the fighting, they did not happen to be within the so-called “green line.”

During the war of 1947-48, hundreds of Arab villages were destroyed, their inhabitants having fled from the battle area, or having been driven out forcibly by the Israeli armed forces. The forced expulsion of the inhabitants of whole villages continued as late as 1950, when the inhabitants of Majdal Askelon were driven out into the Gaza strip.

One of the important tasks of the new government was to “redeem the land,” in the Zionist terminology, from the peasants who worked it, to convert the Arab peasants into a

cheap, migrant labor force, into “Gastarbeiber” in the land of their birth. This was one of the main functions of the Military Government, imposed on all Arab villages and areas, which restricted the right of movement of the Arab population, declaring certain areas to be “closed,” to which entry (or exit) was forbidden. Whole Arab villages were forcibly evacuated to a “security” strip, 10 to 15 kilometers wide along Israel’s border with Lebanon and Syria. “Unworked land” was expropriated by the state; i.e., the land of Arab refugees who were not permitted to return to it; and this included 30,000 refugees in Israel itself who were not permitted to return to their lands and villages which were in “closed areas.”

Land was expropriated for purposes of development, and development meant establishing Jewish settlements and townships, such as Upper Nazareth and Carmiel, in which Arabs to this day are not permitted to acquire apartments.

By the time the Military Government was abolished in the early 1960s, as a result of the mounting opposition of the Arab population and of all democratic forces in Israel, some three-quarters of all cultivated Arab land had been expropriated.

Shortly after the establishment of the state, the Arab Congress Trade Union movement was disbanded, and for over 15 years Arabs were

not accepted into the all-Jewish Histadruth Trade Union organization. In these years "unorganized labor" (i.e., Arab workers) were forcibly evicted from places of work to make way for "organized workers." The struggle of democratic forces brought about the opening up of the Histadruth to Arab workers in the early '60s.

The process of land expropriation is continuing to this day. Bedouins in the Negev are being forced off their lands by units of the "Green Patrol," and forcibly concentrated near Beer-Sheba to provide cheap labor there. Land expropriation is continuing in the Galilee and in the Triangle (in the center of Israel), and this led to the first nation-wide strike of Arabs in Israel on the Day of the Land, March 30, 1976. The government attempted unsuccessfully to crush the strike by intimidation, by organizing armed pogroms by the police and army in Arab villages in which six Arabs were killed and dozens wounded. The struggle for the land continues.

The government has attempted to throttle the Arab villages economically. The average government allocation to Arab villages is, per capita, about a tenth (1) of that to Jewish villages. (The same ratio roughly exists in the fields of education, housing, health and so on.) Government permits for building houses in the Arab villages are generally refused, in spite of the fact

that the Arab population has increased by a factor of three since the establishment of the state, and court demolition orders are executed to the accompaniment of demonstrative police brutality. There are at present over 5,000 court demolition orders against houses in Arab villages.

In Nazareth, where a popular democratic municipality has been elected with a two-thirds majority, government attempts to throttle the town economically by withholding budgets have been countered by annual voluntary work camps, in which thousands of young people have come to Nazareth to help clean up the town, to paint schools and railings. Sewage pipes have been laid with the aid of tractors and heavy machinery volunteered by the inhabitants of Nazareth and the vicinity.

Official statistics provide the following picture in education. In 1972 thirty-six percent of the Arabs were illiterate (nine percent among the Jews); in the age group of 14 years and above, the Arabs had received an average of 5.9 years of schooling; the Jews 9.5 years (figures for 1974). It is estimated that there is a shortage of 6,000 classrooms in Arab schools, and half the teachers are unqualified (there is only one small Arab teachers' seminar to provide the needs); only three percent of the student body in the universities are Arabs, although they constitute fourteen percent of

the population, and those who finish their studies (the few teachers and medical doctors excepted) are generally denied jobs, and the majority are compelled to abandon their professions or to emigrate. This is particularly true of the engineering graduates.

However, the winds of change are blowing in Israel. The Arab population is no longer intimidated, and their struggle for equal civil and national rights is becoming stronger and deeper. It is estimated that over

80 percent of the Arab youth support the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. The Jewish democratic forces, although still weak, are gaining strength despite vicious attacks by the ruling right-wing and clerical coalition. These democrats, Arabs and Jews, working and struggling side by side in friendship and brotherhood symbolize the common hopes, common aims and common destiny of all peoples of this region; they symbolize the future of Israel.

A. Kalman

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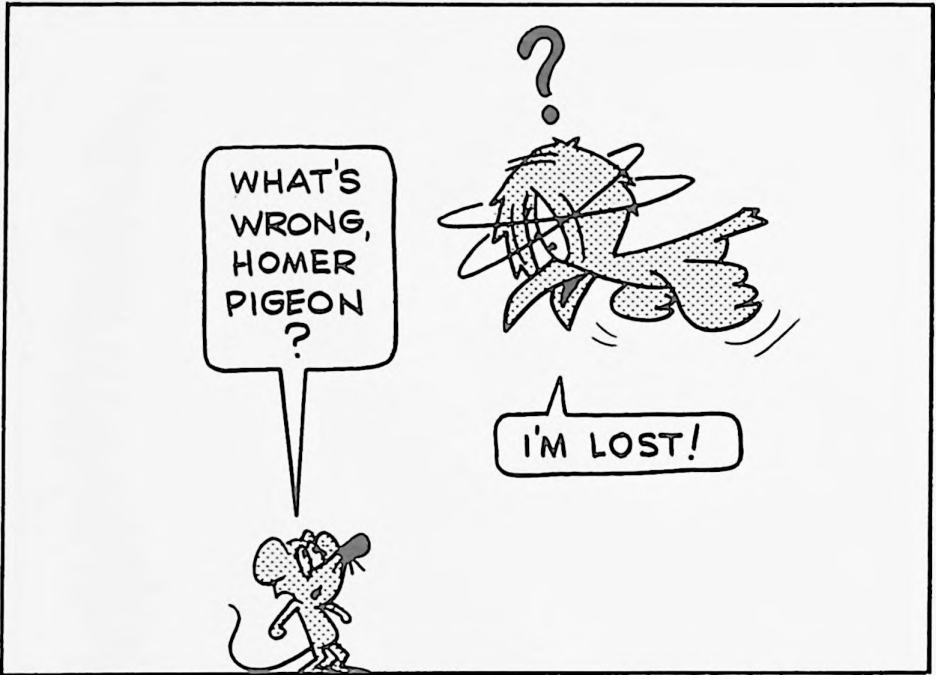
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SOME FACETS OF CONTEMPORARY
LIFE IN AMERICA BY

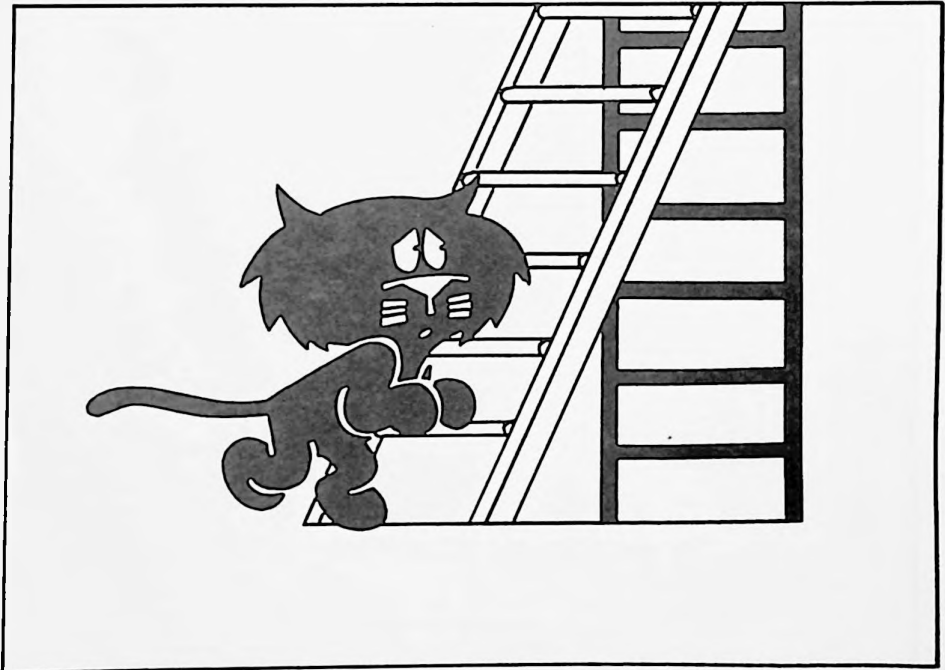
 BRANDON, JR.



WHITE FLIGHT

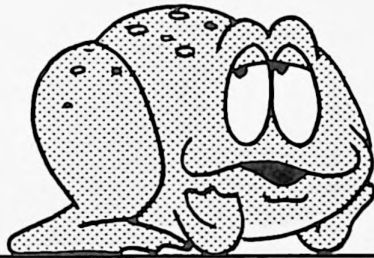


RELOCATION



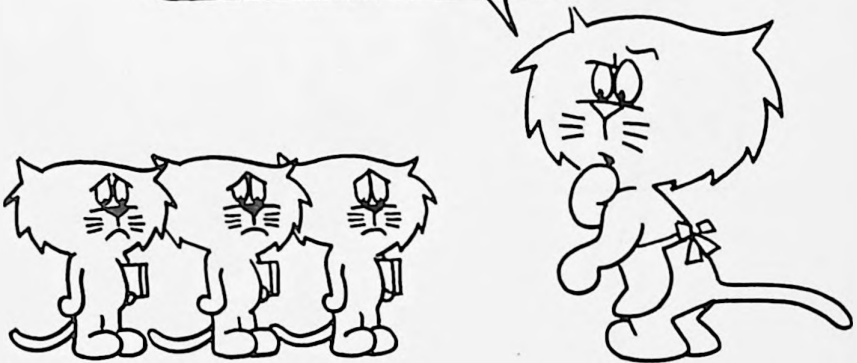
PROPOSITION 13

I'M WAITING FOR A
KISS TO CHANGE ME
INTO A HANDSOME
PRINCE!



ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

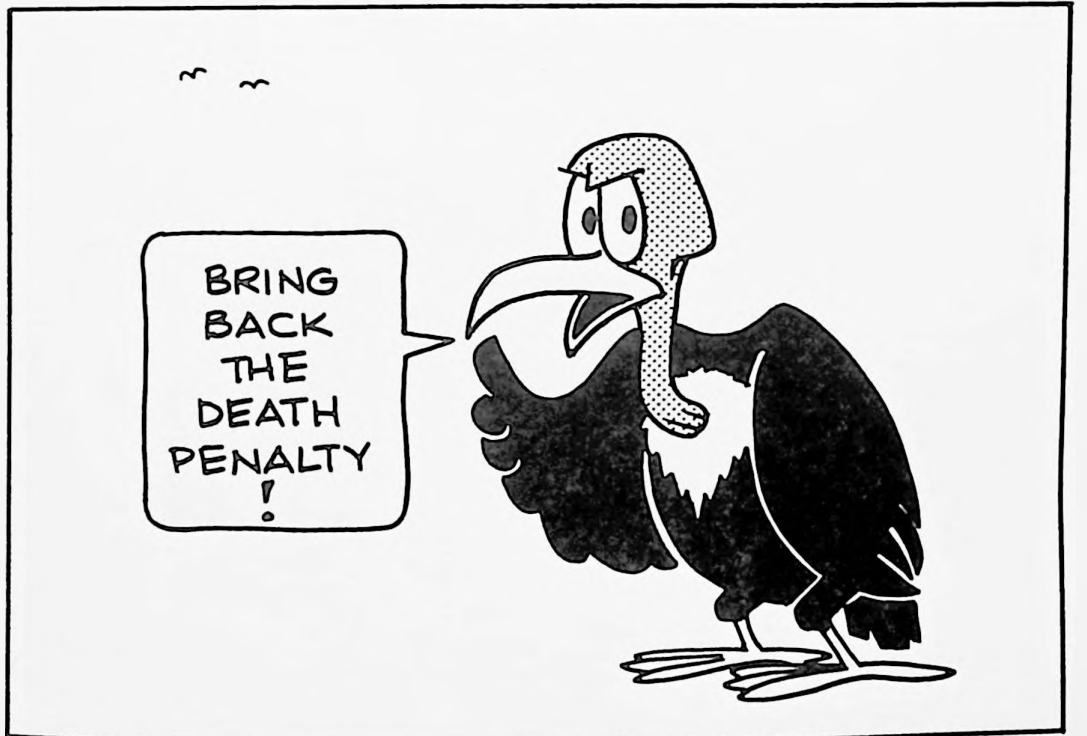
YOU NEVER LOST
YOUR MITTENS BEFORE
THAT SCHOOL WAS
INTEGRATED!



SCHOOL INTEGRATION



CRIME



CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

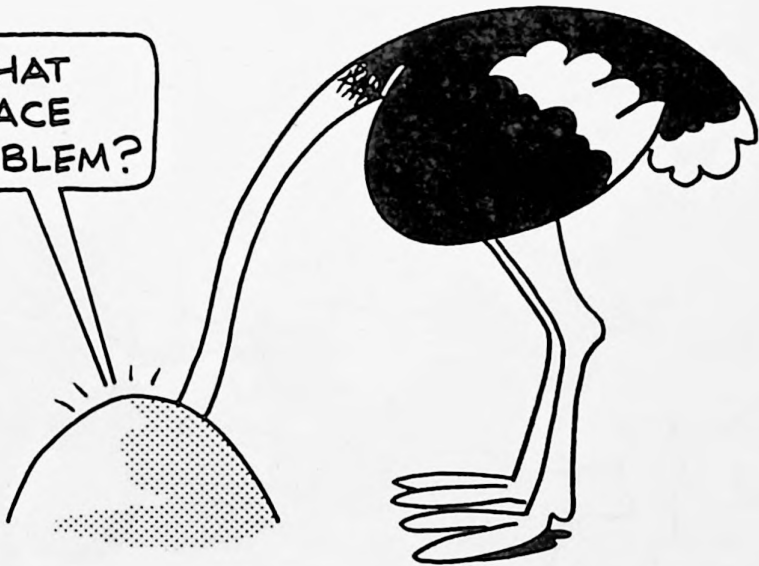
IT COULDN'T HAVE BEEN THE FARMER'S WIFE!

I'LL BET IT WAS A BIG BLACK DUDE WITH A RAZOR!

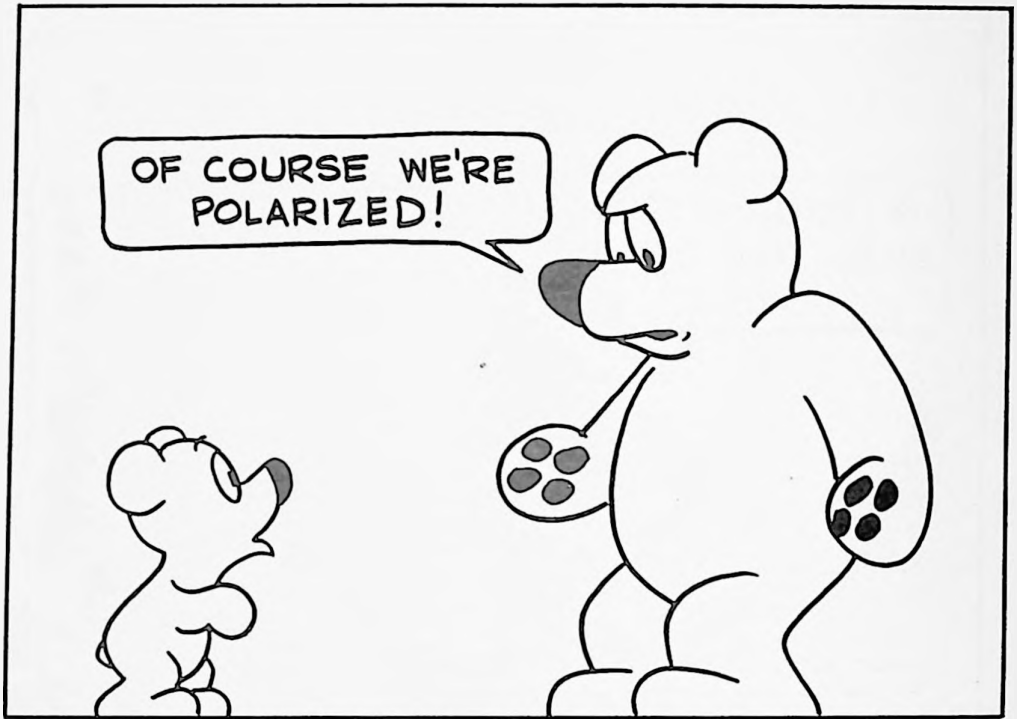


VIOLENCE

WHAT RACE PROBLEM?



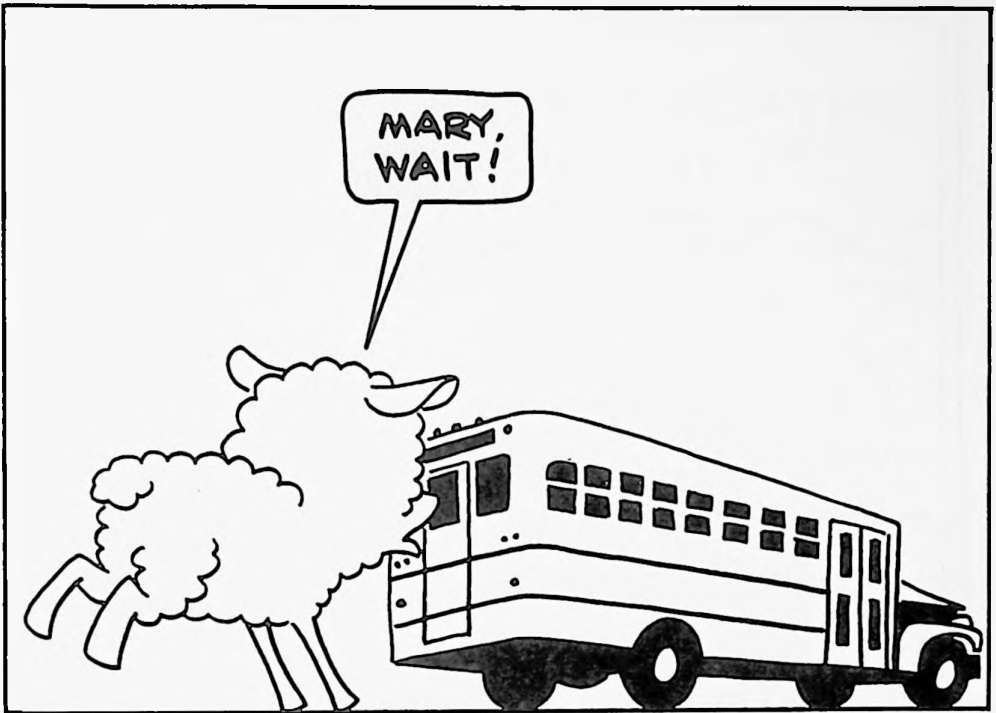
ESCAPISM



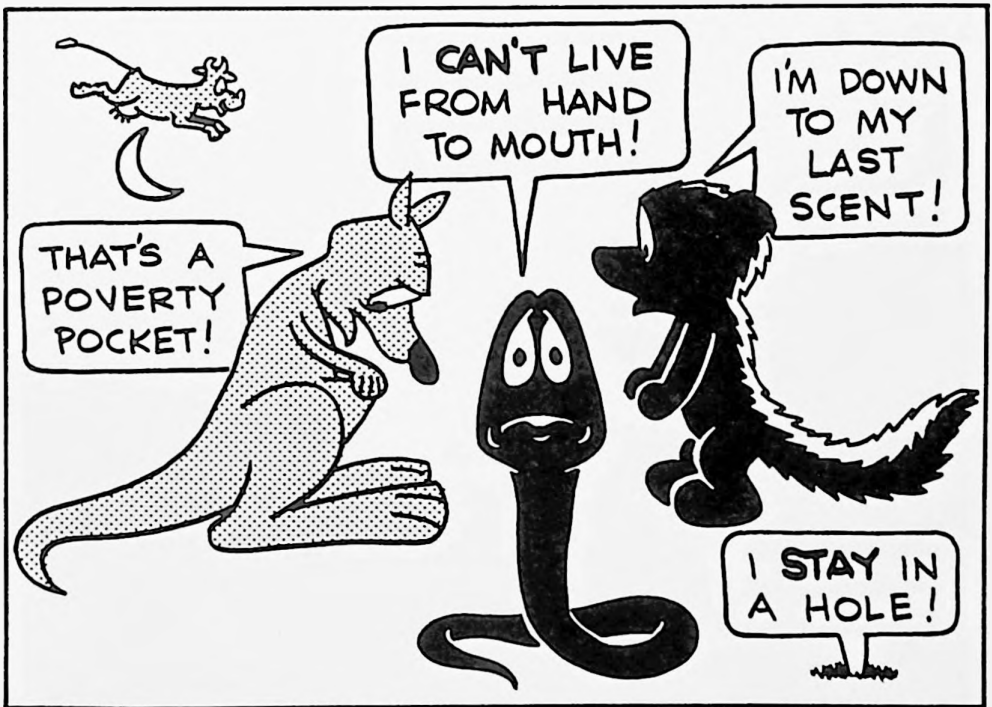
POLARIZATION



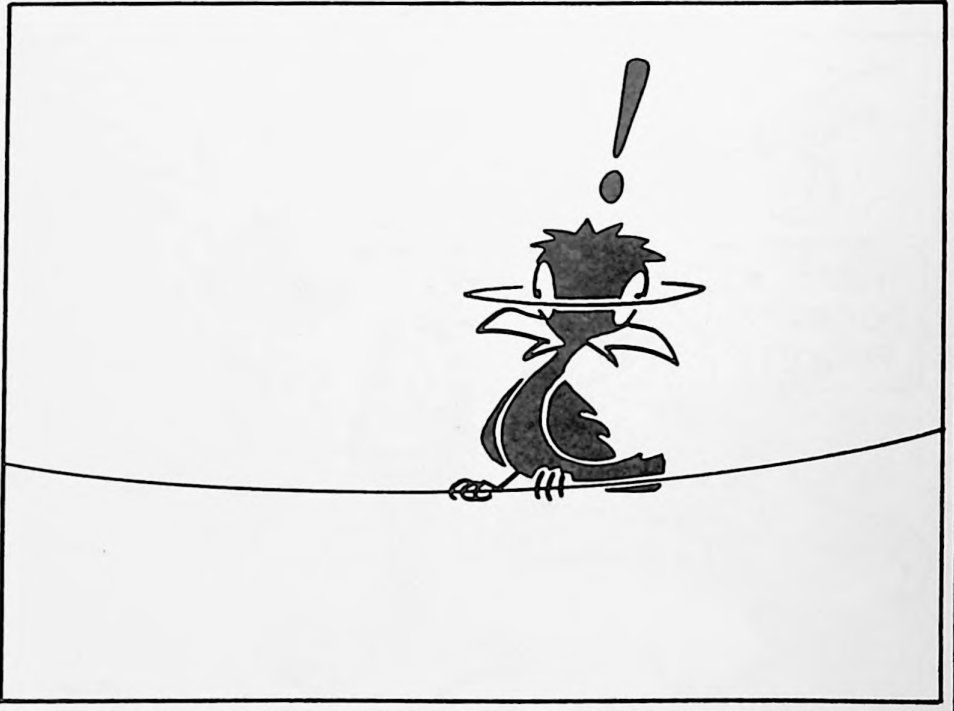
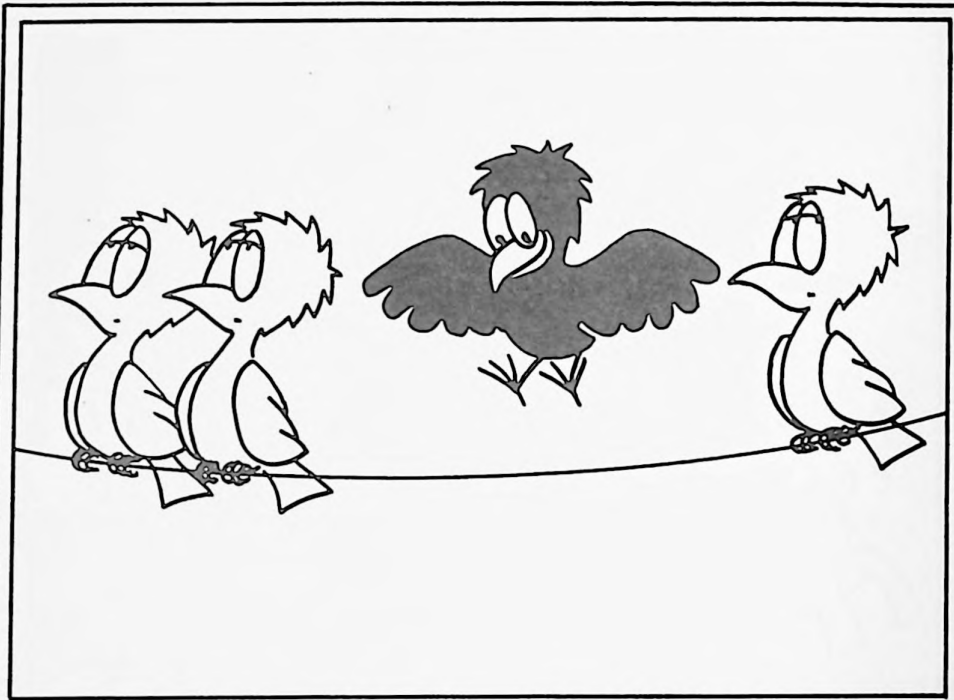
UNEMPLOYMENT



BUSING



THE ECONOMY



WHITE FLIGHT

STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BLACK SOCIOLOGISTS

THE ASSOCIATION OF BLACK SOCIOLOGISTS is concerned that the book by Professor William Julius Wilson entitled *The Declining Significance of Race** was considered sufficiently factual to merit the Spivack award from the American Sociological Association.

The book clearly omits significant data regarding the continuing discrimination against Blacks at all class levels. It misinterprets even facts presented in the volume, and draws inferences that are contrary to the conclusions that other black and white scholars have reached with reference to the salience of race as a critical variable in American society.

It is the consensus of this organization that this book denies the overwhelming evidence regarding the significance of race and the literature that speaks to the contrary.

We certainly do not deny the freedom of any scholar to publish his or her work. However, it is the position of this organization that the sudden national attention given to Professor Wilson's book obscures the problem of the persistent oppression of Blacks. For example, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development has recently published a study which systematically and carefully documents that Blacks of all social classes experience pervasive discrimination. Even within the discipline of sociology discrimination has been rampant. In the seventy-three year history of the American Sociological Association only one black person has been elected president, and that was more than three decades ago.

In the past, reactionary groups have seized upon inappropriate analyses as a basis for the further suppression of Blacks. We would hope that this is not the intent of the recent recognition that has been given to Professor Wilson's book. It must be underscored that the life chances of Blacks (e.g., employment, housing, health care, education, etc.) are shocking and that discrimination in some areas is so pervasive that the income and employment gaps between Blacks and whites have widened.

The Association of Black Sociologists is outraged over the misrepresentation of the black experience. We are also extremely disturbed over the policy implications that may derive from this work and that, given the nature of American society, are likely to set in motion equally objectionable trends in funding, research and training.

September 6, 1978

*See Recent Books, page 230, this issue.

TWO PORTRAITS OF LORRAINE HANSBERRY

PORTER KIRKWOOD, JR.

THEY FOUND A WAY: LORRAINE HANSBERRY. By Catherine Scheader. Children's Press, Chicago. 78 pages. \$5.95.

THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN THE CREATION OF DRAMA. 16 mm. color film. 35 minutes. Purchase \$395, rental \$40.

CATHERINE SCHEADER'S BIOGRAPHY, *They Found a Way: Lorraine Hansberry* speaks simply and honestly to young people in a way that both encourages and inspires. Amid the success of today's black super stars in theater, sports, television, literature and music, youngsters are seduced into believing that the country's radical problems are over, solved; that Blacks have moved into the mainstream of American life. They have not experienced "lily-white" media.

Catherine Scheader takes the reader back to the 1930s when Lorraine Hansberry was a young girl who recently moved from Chicago's black ghetto into a hostile white community. This was the beginning of the court battle that took Lorraine's father all the way to the Supreme Court where he was finally able to defeat the white real estate agents' practice of preventing Blacks from buying homes in white communities. This, however, was merely a legal victory since the practice continued. The Hansberrys' determination to continue to live in this home in spite of intimidation and threats from their angry, rock-throwing white neighbors is a study in courage and strength. Lorraine's character and personality were forged in this atmosphere of resistance to injustice.

Ms. Scheader's portrayal of the Hansberry family does much to combat the assault on the black family during the 1960s and 1970s which left many with the impression that all Blacks were raised by their mothers alone. As a real estate agent, Lorraine's father provided a life-style for his family which allowed them to live comfortably at a time when the whole country was in deep economic crisis. The family gatherings at holidays were happy events with which millions of Americans could identify. Their devotion and sensitivity to each other present a picture of black family life in vivid contrast to the lives of black families caricatured on today's television situation comedies.

A visit to her mother's family in Tennessee connected Lorraine with her more recent roots but her family openly acknowledged much earlier

roots—those from the soil of Africa. James Baldwin, Malcolm X and many others have written about the attitudes of Blacks towards themselves during that period when their media images provided little with which to identify. There was in many Blacks an intense self-hatred which was manifested in the use of bleaching creams to lighten skin color and the attitude of shame for having “nappy” hair or “ashey” skin.

In this climate it is surprising that Ms. Scheader elects to ignore the unusualness of the Hansberry's identification with Africa when so many other black people were making vain attempts at identification with the oppressive white culture. It was not until the stirrings of black nationalism of the '60s with its reawakening of pride in those ancient roots that identification with Africa was popularized. The Hansberrys were indeed unusual in this regard. As a member of a middle-class family free from the physical deprivation of economic insecurity and the resultant spiritual degradation, Lorraine could look at herself and her people's past more realistically. The bright, young African men who visited Lorraine's home at holidays were intense, proud and intelligent and reinforced her feelings of pride.

In the book's generous display of family photos Lorraine is revealed as child, teenager, college student, artist, civil rights worker and playwright—always becoming. Her drawings, particularly the self-portraits, provide an intimate invitation into the complex personality and spirit of this enormously sensitive and talented woman. The pictures are displayed chronologically, inviting the young reader to a banquet of images that delight the intellect.

The focus on Lorraine Hansberry the playwright absorbs a large part of the second half of the book. Here Ms. Scheader illuminates and thereby de-mystifies the arduous process by which a play is written and finally produced. Drawing the story line from her own life experiences, the idea for *A Raisin in the Sun* was born. It is a play about an ordinary black family living in Chicago and their struggle to find hope and dignity in a society that denies their personhood. It is inspiring to watch “*Raisin*” grow from an idea to a manuscript to an actual Broadway production, the first directed by a black director. Lorraine becomes the first Black and the youngest playwright ever to receive the New York Drama Critics Award, a singular honor.

The reader is immediately caught up in the quickened pace of the life of Lorraine Hansberry, the successful writer of a play and a film. Her second play “*The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window*” is written and its tenure on Broadway parallels the playwright's own failing health, closing on the day of her death. The play was kept open by the financial aid of friends who believed not only in Lorraine's great artistic skill and power but also in her

right to create a play that probes and questions basic values. The book ends, leaving the reader with no explanation of why *The Sign* met with critical rejection. The musical version of *Raisin* produced after Lorraine's death was quite successful, winning the 1975 Tony Award for the Best Musical of the Year; *To Be Young, Gifted and Black* ran successfully Off Broadway; but *Les Blancs* and a later production of *The Sign* were rejected by the critics. Why? By ignoring this question the author shuns an opportunity of inviting her young readers to struggle with a serious moral issue; an opportunity Lorraine would have welcomed.

Still, Catherine Scheader's book *They Found a Way: Lorraine Hansberry* is a delightful, absorbing story told with skill and style. The book is available through the Children's Press, 1224 West Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60607 or from FREEDOMWAYS magazine.

The second portrait, a 16 mm. color film mixing the techniques of documentary and docudrama, is aimed at more mature audiences and is necessarily more complex. Titled *The Black Experience in the Creation of Drama* and narrated by Claudia Mc Neil it is a skillful blend of visual and verbal images revealing the creativity and personhood of Lorraine, the playwright and woman. Balancing the narrative are marvelous segments in which Lorraine herself talks about her life, her work and the philosophical base out of which her writing comes. Added to this are memorable scenes from the film version of *A Raisin in the Sun*, a brief portion from the musical *Raisin* and one scene from the television version of *Les Blancs*.

The film examines the components which contributed to the playwright's great ability to translate life into art. Her family, her life in the Chicago ghetto, the experience as a reporter for a progressive newspaper in New York City, her love for and pride in her people, which naturally brought her into the civil rights struggle, and the influence of Sean O'Casey fueled her creative spirit and sharpened her understanding of the reality about which she was to write.

As the film opens Lorraine's voice is heard saying that she is deeply interested in the human race. This is a major theme in her life and work for she was constantly observing and evaluating the activities and circumstances of the people around her. She talks of wanting to write about ordinary people and the extra-ordinary characteristics they display as they go about the business of living out their lives. Her task is to put all this down in dramatic form so that it can come alive on stage, not merely by reporting reality but by transcending mere reality to explore the potential that lies beneath or behind it.

It is extremely difficult to put together a film about a person who has died because the filmmaker is limited to footage that has already been

shot, perhaps for totally different reasons. This can be a severe limitation because the existing footage just may not be compatible with the story the filmmaker wants to tell. Ralph J. Tagney, the producer and writer for this film, successfully overcomes this obstacle. Every scene in the film leads logically and sensibly to the next, building the story dramatically. The footage from *A Raisin in the Sun*, *Les Blancs*, *Raisin*, photos, sketches, a home movie, two sequences shot specifically for this film and the television footage provide a variety of visual images of great power, quality and content. All these are edited with a clear perception of the shape and flavor of the final presentation, with the result that the film is excellently paced and so packed with information that one gets the impression of a longer film. This form allows the film to be used at a number of age levels. It has value when viewed superficially, for it provides viewers with information about a black playwright who wrote serious plays about important issues of the times. However, when examined more critically it invites the viewer to explore the complex undercurrents of a society in which racism, hypocrisy, alienation and the human potential are in continual conflict.

This documentary never strays from its path. Filmmakers sometimes fall prey to their own artistic ambitions by falling in love with irrelevant footage or attempting to force the film into a stylistic mold that leaves it crippled and floundering without a specific direction or viewpoint. Mr. Tagney successfully avoids these pitfalls with an honest, straightforward presentation. The feeling, tone and flow are consistent, allowing Lorraine's sensitivity and warmth to blossom. Her own analysis of her work is a celebration of her intellect and wit.

Lorraine's tragic death left theatergoers without another Broadway triumph to weigh against *A Raisin in the Sun*. The musical version was a success both in the eyes of the critics and at the box office. *To Be Young Gifted and Black*, a dramatization of excerpts of her works produced Off-Broadway after her death, was not as successful while *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window* and *Les Blancs* failed financially. Was Lorraine Hansberry's creative power exhausted upon completion of her first play? Certainly not. But there is a mystery here that the film does not address. Perhaps, this should be the subject of another film. The presentation does offer an opportunity to look at and listen to the playwright and portions of her plays which should provide the groundwork for an understanding of her critical acclaim and rejection. Serious investigation in this area could prove Lorraine Hansberry to be a much more important literary figure than some of her most ardent supporters suspected.

The Black Experience in the Creation of Drama is available through Films for the Humanities, P.O. Box 2053, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

BOOK REVIEWS

U.S. INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

IN SEARCH OF ENEMIES: A CIA STORY. By John Stockwell. W.W. Norton and Company, New York. 285 pages. \$12.95.

THE UNITED STATES international secret police force, the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.), has been and continues to be involved in espionage activities on the *entire* continent of Africa. An example of some past activity includes the infamous assassinations of prominent African leaders: Patrice Lumumba of the Republic of the Congo (c. 1961), Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique (c. 1969), and Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau (c. 1973). These activities, to be sure, did not begin nor have they ended with the above mentioned examples; evidence of this comes through quite clearly in this easy to read book by John Stockwell.

What Stockwell—one of the latest in a long line of recent ex-C.I.A. agents to expose that bureaucratic organization—has done and done well is to document the reactionary counter insurgency activities of the C.I.A. in what could be aptly described as “the Angola affair of 1975/6.”*

Stockwell's book should erase from the minds of the American people any doubt they previously held about United States involvement in Angola. The author, who had a twelve-year career of clandestine C.I.A. activities, was finally “turned around”—as many other of the American people were—by the diabolical war the United States waged in Vietnam. When moral/ethical issues began to deeply trouble Stockwell, on April 1, 1977, he made the decision to stop functioning as a C.I.A. agent in Africa, thus ending his long career.

Biographically, the book sets out to capture the reader's sympathy for a man, an individual torn between his visceral feelings and the workings of the C.I.A. This specific method has the effect of arousing sympathy, while at the same time helping to play down, somewhat, the whole objective truth of the C.I.A. in Africa generally, but in this instance specifically Angola. If a central weakness need be mentioned it is this approach, but overall the reviewer still considers this book an important breakthrough for

*This, to delineate the pre-independence fifteen-year struggle from the incorrectly termed “Civil War.” A historical analysis and critique of the civil war concept can be found in my “Angola: The Past, Present and Future” (unpublished ms., University of Connecticut, 1976, forthcoming).

all serious-minded people interested in understanding the workings of the American intelligence empire.

Stockwell has provided one of the most complete exposés of U.S. counter insurgency in Africa since the scattered details of the Patrice Lumumba assassination eighteen years ago. Stockwell shares his disbelief of agency activities when he declares, "It was not until 1975 that I learned the C.I.A. had plotted Lumumba's death." Detail after detail of surveillance, assassinations, drugging, wire-tapping, etc., comes forth forcefully—all this from the embassy offices in Washington, D.C., to Zaire, Angola, Zambia, Kenya and parts of South Africa where in that citadel of *racism* the armed struggle against colonial/imperialism was pushed to new heights of resistance with independence in Angola.

Stockwell places at the reader's disposal facts pertinent to the so-called inability of African peoples to govern themselves. What one finds is a cold, calculated attempt to drive back the forces of liberty and democracy for a continuation of old colonial policy dressed in new clothes. The charge that communism or Marxism was to dominate Angola (and it is this concern that had to be checked) Stockwell shows to be *false*. What he does show is that the C.I.A., dedicated to the "free enterprise system" (capitalism), firmly supported the Portuguese colonial government's desperate attempt to continue its hold over land and labor in Angola.

From page one Stockwell demonstrates the untruth of those fallacious stories that circulated internationally, especially those which were concerned with whether or not the U.S. was directly involved. Says Stockwell: "From the first airplane loads in [1974], throughout the war, C.I.A. officers supervised the transshipment of C.I.A. arms directly into Angola."

Further substantiation, if needed, that supports the Stockwell thesis comes in the Fall, 1978 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. In an article by the ex-Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Nathaniel Davis entitled "The Angola Decision of 1975: A Personal Memoir," we find many new revelations, not analyzed by Stockwell. Through Davis' candid portrait we find, for example, that under Gerald Ford (who was being advised and led by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger), and through a so-called "40-committee,"* in July 1974, covert assistance (funds) to Holden Roberto of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), was begun. Again on January 26, 1975, \$300,000 was approved and in July 1975, Roberto along with Jonas Savimbi, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), received \$14 million for their

*"The C.I.A. had used 40-committee approval to authenticate some of its more sensitive operations...."

military operations. These monies, and the arms shipments, were to be used against the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), under the leadership of Dr. Agostinho Neto.

Beyond that, Nathaniel Davis demonstrates that contrary to persistent efforts on his part, Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger, the 40-committee and others were hard set against "peaceful" settlement in Angola; in fact he says, "As for the substance of the decisions made, it has remained a mystery to me why the Secretary [Kissinger] was so determined to push ahead on a course which I thought was so clearly destined to fail."*

Read together these two accounts offer some of the best "official" coverage of Angola; even where both lack the necessary analytical clarity that is so essential when discussing U.S. foreign policy. In spite of this shortcoming, it is the estimation of the reviewer that *In Search of Enemies* has placed before the American people a seriously significant chapter in the history of imperialism, especially its intelligence operations in Africa.

Earl Smith

CIA - PENTAGON ROLE IN AFRICA

SECRET WEAPON IN AFRICA. By Oleg Ignatyev. Progress Publishers, Moscow. 189 pages. \$4.25.

THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION and the coming to power of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) have had far-reaching repercussions—not only in Africa but here in the United States as well.

In Africa, the triumph of popular forces in Angola has reinforced the ongoing trend toward non-capitalist and socialist development; it has provided SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organization) with a firm, consistent northern ally, thus hastening the day when South Africa's yoke of oppression is removed from Namibia. Furthermore, this mighty victory in Angola has reaffirmed the strength of that historic alliance among the socialist community, the forces of national liberation and the progressive elements in the capitalist countries.

And it was precisely the strength of progressive elements here in the U.S. that forced Congress to cut off aid to puppet forces in Angola led by Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi in the form of the landmark amendment introduced by Senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa).

*Cited article, *Foreign Affairs*.

Oleg Ignatyev's *Secret Weapon in Africa* chronicles the ramified ties between the CIA/Pentagon and these puppets as he dramatically provides an on-the-scene account of imperialism's defeat in 1975-76.

Those in the United States sincerely interested in the defeat of racism and colonialism will find this book itself a "weapon" in its own right. Especially striking is his detailing of the connections between the New York-based African American Institute and the CIA. More unsettling is his lengthy analysis of the apparently long-standing alliance between the American Committee on Africa and Wall Street flunky Holden Roberto. Ignatyev, a Soviet journalist who has seen first-hand liberation wars in Vietnam, Laos, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, scorchingly flails those powerful economic forces in this country who were primarily responsible for the prolonging of the misery of the Angolan people.

The author is not inattentive to the role of Maoist China in Angola. Perhaps one of the most significant ramifications of MPLA's victory has been the discrediting of the policies of the Chinese regime. This has been especially true in the United States where the Angolan issue and Maoism led to a split in the African Liberation Support Committee, an activist all-Black organization, with progressive forces refusing to tread the primrose path of betrayal and collaboration with the State Department. Ignatyev sketches a sordid picture of Maoist training and arming of the Roberto and Savimbi forces; Maoist trade deals with South African racialists exchanging oil for gold, cotton, wool and copper.

But it is in outlining the perfidious role of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and those he represented that the author makes his major contribution. The facts are mind-boggling: U.S. transport planes flying directly from an army depot in Anniston, Alabama, and delivering weaponry directly to the splitters; at least \$80 million in taxpayers' money—money that could have been spent on day-care, jobs and housing—squandered lavishly in a vain attempt to reverse the inexorable tide of history; an attempt by Roy Innis' CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) to recruit Afro-American mercenaries to fight alongside Washington's placeman Savimbi.

In short, *Secret Weapon in Africa* rivals Arthur Conan Doyle in suspense, Lorraine Hansberry in drama and Ousmane Sembene in graphic illustrations. We here in the United States are obligated to draw the appropriate lessons from this country's involvement in Angola so as to insure that it will not happen again.

Gerald C. Horne

RECENT BOOKS*

ERNEST KAISER

BLACKS IN THE U.S. (also some books about Africa and the Caribbean)

- Wilson, William Julius. **THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE: BLACKS AND CHANGING AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.** Univ. of Chicago Press. xii, 204 pp. \$12.50. (Wilson is a black professor of sociology at the Univ. of Chicago; author of *Power, Race and Privilege: Race Relations in Theoretical and Socio-Historical Perspectives* and co-editor of *Through Different Eyes: Black and White Perspectives on American Race Relations*. Wilson's thesis in *The Declining Significance of Race* is that since the educated black middle class is being integrated into the corporate job structure and the poor uneducated Blacks are still unemployed, the problem is more class than race. When an excerpt from this book was published in the *The New York Times* [Feb. 28, 1978], Kenneth B. Clark answered that the number of middle-class Blacks integrated was very small and that race, not class, was still predominant [*New York Times*, Mar. 22, 1978]. Clark also said that this theory of class, not race distinctions, suggested conflict between middle-class and poor Blacks and released white liberals from the burdens of racial guilt in the U.S. Nathan Glazer, a neo-conservative, was quick to sing his praises of this book by Wilson. David Whitman wrote a long letter on the developing conflict between middle-class and poor Blacks in the black community—from Amherst, Mass. [*New York Times*, Apr. 10, 1978.] Finally, several white scholars testifying before the House Select Committee on Population even said that Pres. Carter's urban program to revive the decaying cities was wrong; that we should go along with the trend in our decaying capitalist society and let the cities' populations decline, their housing decay and the poor people there rot while decentralization proceeds. These are the cynical apologists for the ravages of capitalism in our universities. [*New York Times*, June 7, 1978].)
- Wolkstein, Diane (compiler). **THE MAGIC ORANGE TREE AND OTHER HAITIAN FOLKTALES.** NY: A. A. Knopf. \$6.95. (27 folktales.)
- Wolper, David L. with Quincy Troupe. **THE INSIDE STORY OF TV'S "ROOTS."** NY: Warner Books. \$2.25 (paper). (Explains the worldwide success of both the Alex Haley book *Roots* and the TV show: in the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia, Belgium. Haley's next book is *My Search for Roots*; his next TV program is *Roots: The Next Generation*. But Henry Winston's "The Real Meaning of *Roots*" [*Black Liberation Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1978] says that the book and the TV show's revealing the racist bestiality of slave trafficking and of slavery itself is positive. But glorification of the African village almost 250 years later without placing the African village in any historical context or showing later developments from the African village; the failure to explain the slave revolts; the skipping of Reconstruction altogether; making the Blacks' struggle an individual or family search for identity instead of a people's struggle for freedom and group identity; these are the serious distortions and limitations of *Roots*.)
- Woods, Donald. **BIKO.** NY: Paddington Press. 288 pp.; illus. \$10.95. Distributed by Grosset and Dunlap, New York City. (A book about Stephen Biko's leadership of South

*Concluded from previous issue.

African Blacks and how the South African government killed him while in police custody in Sept. 1977. Woods, the white liberal editor of *The East London Daily Dispatch* until he and his newspaper were banned by the South African government, escaped from South Africa with his family a few months later. Carl Foreman will produce a film version of *Biko* for release by Universal Pictures.)

Wortis, Helen Zunsner. *A WOMAN NAMED MATILDA AND OTHER TRUE ACCOUNTS OF OLD SHELTER ISLAND*. The Shelter Island (N.Y.) Historical Society. viii, 77 pp.; illus. (paper). (This book about the local history of Shelter Island by the late Helen Z. Wortis [published by her husband Joseph Wortis, the psychiatrist] devotes two of its six chapters to Blacks ["Black Inhabitants of Shelter Island" and "A Woman Named Matilda"] and one to "Shelter Island and Barbados.")

Wright, Ellen and Michel Fabre (editors). *RICHARD WRIGHT READER*. NY: Harper & Row. xxiv, 886 pp. \$15.95 (cloth); \$7.95 (paper). (This, the first Richard Wright reader, is divided into nonfiction, fiction, a chronology and a bibliography. There are excerpts from all of his books: novels, short stories, autobiography plus letters, poetry and uncollected essays and a book review. Fabre, who wrote *The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright* [1974], has an 18-page introduction in which he interprets all of Wright's writings pretty literally and shapes Wright into an anti-Communist, pro-existentialist writer who is more concerned with the struggle for humanism against totalitarianism than the struggle to change the social conditions of Blacks. This is false as Wright's friend in Paris Ollie Harrington has shown in recent articles in the *Daily World* about Wright's sudden, suspicious death in Paris in 1960. Harrington says that Wright was probably murdered by the CIA because he refused to write other anti-Communist essays like his piece in *The God That Failed*. Addison Gayle, Jr., who is writing a book about Wright, obtained the FBI files on Wright which show how much the FBI hounded Wright.)

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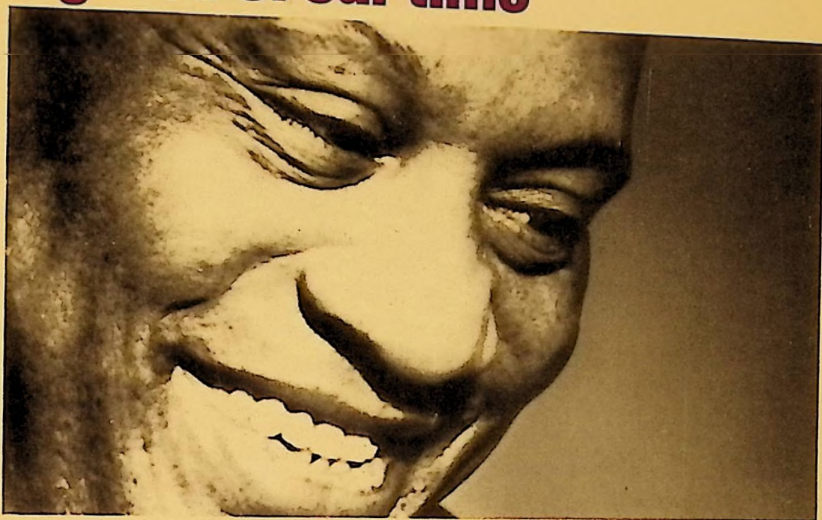


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