

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

# Freedomways

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

**Joanne Little: America Goes on Trial**  
The Editors

**Science and Racism**  
Dorothy Burnham

**Do Prisons Rehabilitate?**  
Frank E. Chapman, Jr.

Reviews of

*Revolutionary Tracings*

*Robeson:  
Life and Times of a  
Free Black Man*

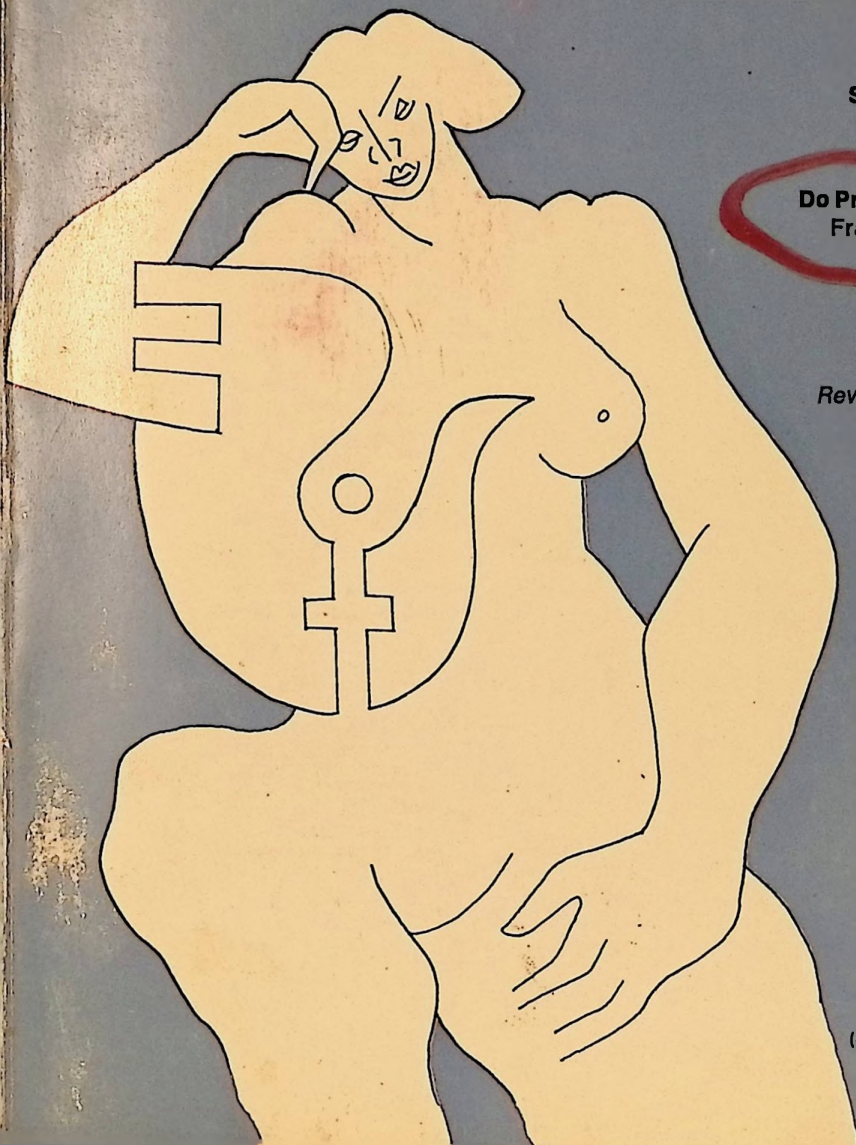
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# FREEDOMWAYS

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# FREEDOMWAYS

## IN THIS ISSUE

Among Our Contributors .....	84
Editorial .....	87
Joanne Little: America Goes on Trial	
Science and Racism .....	89
<i>Dorothy Burnham</i>	
Do Prisons Rehabilitate? .....	96
<i>Frank E. Chapman, Jr.</i>	
Paul Robeson at Peekskill .....	101
<i>Charles H. Wright</i>	
Poetry .....	112
<i>Audre Lorde</i>	
<i>Antar Sudan Katara Mbert</i>	
Readers' Forum	
Angela Davis in Port Gibson, Mississippi .....	114
<i>Alice A. Lewis</i>	
On the Death of Percy Julian: Scientist-Humanitarian .....	118

## A QUARTERLY RI

Book Reviews	Reviewed by	
Revolutionary Tracings in World Politics and Black Liberation .....	<i>Ernest Kaiser</i>	119
Paul Robeson: The Life and Times of a Free Black Man .....	<i>M. Wellington Benton, Jr.</i>	122
Keeping the Faith: Writings by Contemporary Black American Women .....	<i>Jean Carey Bond</i>	125
Justice in South Africa .....	<i>Ernest Goodman</i>	126
Seeds Beneath the Snow: Vignettes from the South .....	<i>Jerry W. Ward</i>	131
Recent Books .....		134
<i>Ernest Kaiser</i>		

## AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Cover art is by *Ann Tanksley*, artist and educator, who received a BFA degree from the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, Pa. Her work has appeared at the FREEDOMWAYS Exhibition, Hudson River Museum; Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Black Women Artists, Mount Holyoke College; The Hewlett Gallery, Devon Gallery and many others.

*Jean Carey Bond* is a Contributing Editor of FREEDOMWAYS and on the staff of the Bulletin of the Council on Interracial Books for Children.

*M. Wellington Benton, Jr.* is a writer and poet who lives and studies in Atlanta, Georgia.

*Alice A. Lewis* is a staff writer in Public Relations at Alcorn State University in Fayette, Mississippi.

*Ernest Goodman* is a well-known attorney in Detroit, Michigan.

*Jerry W. Ward* is an assistant professor of English at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi and an Advisory Editor of *Obsidian*.

*Ernest Kaiser*, whose book listings appear in each issue, is an Associate Editor of FREEDOMWAYS.

# A WORD TO OUR READERS

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## JOANNE LITTLE: AMERICA GOES ON TRIAL

**F**REEDOMWAYS adds its voice to the many who are outraged by the unjust prosecution of 20-year-old Joanne Little who has committed the threefold "crime" of being Black, a woman, and defending herself against rape by a racist jailer.

Joanne Little's case began August 27, 1974, when county jailer Clarence Allgood entered her cell in the Beauford County, North Carolina, jail where she was being held as the only woman prisoner. With ice pick in hand, he attempted to rape her. In self defense, she stabbed him with his ice pick and killed him. She then fled but turned herself in to the State Bureau of Investigation eight days later when she could be assured of her safety. She is now being tried for her life.

Ms. Little's case is overtly reminiscent of the days of chattel slavery. One of the brutal realities in the history of this country and in the struggles of the Afro-American people for their liberation has been the denial to the Black woman of the basic right to self-defense against would-be violators and to seek justice in the face of violation.

As court convenes on this issue, it is not Joanne Little who is on trial. As in the case of Dr. Kenneth Edelin of Boston (convicted recently for the "murder" of a fetus during a legal abortion on a consenting Black woman patient) it is the system of American justice, itself, that is once again brought dramatically to trial. Once again, the issues are discrimination against the poor and the nationally-oppressed, contempt for women and continued sanction of a prison system which strips the accused of all human and civil rights and puts them at the mercy of frequently biased and irresponsible officials.

It is, indeed, unfortunate that Clarence Allgood lost his life; but it is even more unfortunate that Clarence Allgood accepted and then abused a post which called for integrity and basic regard for human rights. Seen in this light, the greatest tragedy lies in the racist fixations and fantasies that drove him to his defenseless prisoner's cell to commit the act from which all of the subsequent tragedies flow.

Jerry Paul, attorney representing Ms. Little, has said: "Clarence

Alligood would never have been charged with first-degree murder if Joanne Little had been found stabbed to death in his office. Joanne Little is Black and female and Clarence Alligood was white and male—that's the political issue." The conviction of Joanne Little would be a victory for racism and male supremacy. It would mark another step down the road towards degeneration for the American legal system. But the logic of organized, mass protest is to insure that Ms. Little is not convicted.

We urge all those who have regard for democracy, all who oppose the concept of a "double standard" of justice for the rich and the poor, all who abhor racial prejudice, to join in the demand to halt the murder prosecution of Joanne Little.

*The Editors*

For information on how you can help, write to the North Carolina Alliance, P.O. Box 27481, Raleigh, N.C. 27611.



# SCIENCE AND RACISM

DOROTHY BURNHAM

SOME OF THE GRAVEST PROBLEMS that minority people of the United States face today have their origins in the misuse of science and technology. Frequently the individual scientist has little control over the uses made of his research and studies. However, there are many who know what is going on in the scientific arena, which can bear only harmful consequences to mankind, and yet they say and do nothing to end the danger and the injury.

The life scientist is concerned with the form and function of living organisms and the dynamics of the interrelationships at every level. The molecules of the gene have a characteristic chemical structure. The expression of the gene trait depends not only upon its particular structure but also on its reactivity with other gene molecules and with the rest of the environment. This is not the lowest level of interaction and there are multitudinous other levels of interrelationships within and among cells, tissues, organs. This interdependence may be demonstrated at every level up to and including man who interacts with others of his species as well as with the physical and cultural environment.

The scientist, like other creative scholars, is dependent on his precursors and upon his or her fellow workers for the development of thoughts, ideas, conceptions. The scientist's most original ideas are shaped by the culture, and the political and social milieu in which he or she operates. Just as the actions of genes are expressed in a given environment and repressed in a different environment, so it is that some ideas bloom and flourish in a given climate and other ideas are repressed.

The ideology of racism and the oppression of Afro-Americans has been and continues to be a dominant theme in American life. The American scientist is not isolated from this ideology. It is a part of his or her culture and becomes a part of his or her subconscious and a bias of life and work. There are scientific workers who have brought these subconscious ideas to a conscious level and actively reject racism, working at every level to prevent the poison of racism from contaminating their scientific work and contributions. And there are those who consciously serve the ruling class, by openly and flagrantly

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*Scientist, teacher Dorothy Burnham has been associated with FREEDOMWAYS since its inception.*

devoting their careers to the service of racism and class bias.

In the past few years there has been an acceleration of scientific research which has been directed against the human interests of the poor, the oppressed and minority groups. One notes with alarm the rapidity with which this research has been popularized in all the media and passed on to feed the fires of racism and class prejudices.

Dr. Inez Smith Reid in an address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in January of this year warned, "If thousands should cry out in the next five years: 'Let the darker peoples of the world starve unto death, or be sterilized into extinction; they are dumb, unhealthy, poor, an unnecessary burden!' that should not be surprising for the seeds of those cries have been crushed into fertile soil and only await the spring of their blossom."

It is with these warnings in mind that we must look at the developments and research in the field of genetics, behavior modification, psycho-surgery and drugs for the so-called aggressive peoples.

It seems as though it is only a few short years since Dr. Arthur Jensen made the scene, propounding his thesis of the genetic inferiority of Afro-Americans in regard to the IQ tests. A veritable mountain of evidence has piled up since that time exposing the weakness of his evidence and the falsity of his conclusion, all of which is convincing enough to relegate his work to the same domain as the flat earth theory. Jensen has, however, persisted in promoting his ideas and has found many friends among those who believe in the natural inferiority of Afro-Americans. William Shockley has, indeed, made the promulgation of the genetic inferiority of Afro-Americans the crusade of his life. Falsely linking the advocacy of racism to the issue of freedom of speech, he appears on radio, television and on campuses throughout the land. And he has carried the theory one dangerous giant step forward advocating the sterilization of the "low IQ unfit."

Among the most significant developments in the past fifty years in the science of biology has been the determination of the biochemical basis of heredity. The isolation of genetic material from the cell and the elucidation of its chemical components lead to the possibility of changing the inherited characteristics of the living organism in the laboratory. This is called genetic engineering. The possible benefits of this research are far-reaching. Yet, geneticists and other scientists have raised serious questions about the ethics and possible outcome of such experimentation. In July of 1974 a group of leading molecular biologists, with the backing of the Na-

tional Academy of Scientists, published a letter in three leading science journals (*Science, Nature, NAS Proceedings*) calling for a temporary halt in certain types of genetic research.

Experimental work on the altered genes from bacterial and viral sources is underway and indications are that a number of laboratories are engaged in genetic research of this type. It would be inconceivable that the military would not be exploring the possibilities for the use of this research in biological warfare.

At a conference held to discuss the social impact of modern biology, Prof. G. Pontecorvo of the University of London cautioned, "We are just deluding ourselves if we think that human genetic engineering is so in the realm of science fiction that we don't need to start thinking about it. My worry is that the advances will be extremely slow and minor to begin with; for instance, I would estimate that within four to five years it will be possible to cure to a very minor, limited extent by genetic engineering, certain genetic deficiencies; nobody will object to that and so we will go on to the next step, and the next step, and so on. And if we don't start discussing these matters now, we shall get to the state, as we did with the atom bomb, when nobody knows what is going on."

Warnings such as those of Professors Reid and Pontecorvo may seem exaggerated. But a look at what has been done in the name of science in the past generation shows otherwise. Dr. Arlene P. Bennett, in *FREEDOMWAYS*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1974, listed and documented the outrages perpetuated by the eugenicists in the period 1890-1930. In the paper she pointed out that 26 states still have Eugenic Sterilization Laws. In 1972 alone at least 16,000 women and 8,000 men were sterilized by federal government programs. In Puerto Rico, it has been claimed that 35% of the women of child-bearing age have been sterilized. These sterilizations were carried out with the tacit or explicit consent of medical people for reasons ranging from alleged violence to getting the poor off welfare rolls.

"Uncle Sam is now the major provider of birth control services in this country, and his contribution is unmistakably on the poor . . . more and more both poor and middle class women and especially third world women are finding that birth control services are accessible and free while other health services for themselves and their children are not. . . ." (*Health/PAC Bulletin*, No. 40, April 1972.)

### ***behavior modification***

In the name of scientific research an assault is waged on the children

of the poor and minority groups. Most shameful are the behavior modification programs being carried out in the schools and institutions of the country. The combination of research and technological scientists engaged in the work includes psychiatrists, psychologists, pharmacologists and physicians.

The child most likely to be targeted for behavior modification treatment is labeled hyperkinetic. And what is the range of symptoms of the hyperkinetic child? The list includes restlessness, not completing assignments, moving from one activity to another, short attention span. The American Academy of Pediatrics objected to the treatment proposed for hyperkinetic children and criticized the glib diagnosis of hyperkinesis in the absence of standardized requirements for precise diagnosis. Yet the inaccurate diagnosis and the cruel treatment continue.

Frequently it is the harassed teacher with an overflowing classroom who is called upon to make the observations on which the diagnosis is based.

The treatment for this poorly defined disease victimizes the child who is already singled out for special treatment by reason of his poverty or his minority status. The children are treated with amphetamines and related drugs, to the profit of the drug companies and the disaster of the child. The drug has the desired effect, not for the child, his family or society, but for the ruling class whose greatest desire is to have a passive population which can be passively exploited. The treated child becomes a passive child who grows into a passive adult. In addition to the psychological effects, the physical effects on the child include poor growth, poor appetite, weight loss, abdominal pain, insomnia and possible drug addiction.

A scientist who makes clear his commitment to ruling class goals is Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker, a psychiatrist and consultant to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. He advocates, as one way to curb ghetto uprisings, the psychological testing of all children between the ages of six and eight. The recommendation then is that if the tests show a propensity towards violence or other abnormal behavior, the child would be committed to a rehabilitation camp. As in the case of the hyperkinetic child, the men and institutions involved in making the diagnoses have in mind the early recognition and suppression of children who express their just hostility to a system designed to keep them poor and servile.

Especially vulnerable to scientific experimentation are confined populations: prisoners, the mentally ill and the poor in institutions.

New drugs, questionable treatments and surgery have victimized these inmates who have been made immune to claims of humanity by institutionalized racism and who have been used as guinea pigs by men and women of science.

As with the children, prisoners are selected for behavior modification programs. The majority of prisoners used in these types of experimentation are members of minority groups—Afro-Americans, Chicano-Americans, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans. Those most likely to be selected are the politically active prisoners, those who struggle for prisoner rights within the walls. The goal in the use of drugs is the reduction of the prisoner to a passive, manageable individual. The side effects of some of these drugs are horrible to contemplate. The “patients” have suffered loss of memory, loss of powers to concentrate, loss of the power of abstract thinking, loss of emotional reactions.

### *psycho-surgery*

Not content with this type of destruction of the mind, a number of scientists are opting for psycho-surgery to treat “violent” and “violence prone” individuals. As with hyperkinesis, the definition of violent and violence prone is made to fit those selected for treatment. Even Dr. Vernon Mark and Dr. Frank Ervin, authors of the book on psycho-surgery, *Violence and the Brain*, have trouble with the meaning. They admit that “The definition of ‘unacceptable violence’ is of course a major stumbling block.” They then come up with the following: “We should define ‘acceptable violence’ as the controlled minimum necessary action to prevent physical injury or *wanton destruction of property* . . . and all violent acts that did not fit this category would be ‘unacceptable’.”

Note that the authors who write the above definition (?) of “unacceptable violence” have spent some hundred pages or so describing psycho-surgical treatment for those individuals unlucky enough to fall into the net of that definition.

Psycho-surgery as a weapon in the arsenal of control is certainly one of the most sinister devised by mankind. Early brain surgery for the treatment of persons judged mentally ill included lobotomy and lobectomy, both aimed at destruction of frontal lobes. This destruction was performed on thousands of men and women trapped by the system. This type of operation is now thought to be too crude an assault. What has been substituted is destruction of smaller parts of the brain by stereotactic surgery. Electrodes are implanted

in the brain of the patient for the destruction of specially selected regions of the brain or for the monitoring of brain wave activity.

In psycho-surgery the higher functions of the brain are irreversibly damaged. There is a marked loss of ability for introspective thinking, a loss of creativity, a loss of memory. But the outstanding and desired result is the passivity of the victim.

When one considers the complexity of the brain and the comparatively limited knowledge which neurologists have of the relationship of the brain structure to emotional response and intellectual functioning, these operations are comparable to a motorcycle mechanic repairing a spaceship with a monkey wrench. Of course no one would consider letting the mechanic near the spaceship because of the millions of dollars involved. But humans and their brains are considered expendable.

### *perversion of science*

It is to the credit of the scientific community that the majority of scientists have rejected these inhumane and anti-scientific projects and will have nothing to do with them. Many have spoken out against their colleagues and others have challenged the basic anti-working class and racist bias of the research and experimentation.

Yet these disgraceful studies and work continue and grow in the name of science. What is briefly summarized in this paper reveals only a small part of the work being carried on in the laboratories and institutions. It is clearly evident that the work has the support and encouragement of the government because it serves ruling class interests.

In this period of deepening economic crisis, racist ideology burgeons and spreads into every area of life. The racist scientist who becomes a willing spokesman for racist ideas finds that his words are accepted and even respected, even when he speaks outside the area of his expertise. The white worker parading in the streets of Boston against school integration carries a banner promoting the ideas of the racist scientist and is thus diverted from his own necessary struggles against inflation and unemployment and exploitation.

It is not only in the area of ideology that the scientist is used. At worst, the works of science are converted and perverted into instruments of genocide. It is almost 25 years since the petition of the Civil Rights Congress to the United Nations, *We Charge Genocide*. The following words of William L. Patterson introducing the petition need to be heeded today:



Out of the inhuman Black ghettos of American cities, out of the cotton plantations of the South, comes this record of mass slayings on the basis of race, of lives deliberately warped and distorted by the willful creation of conditions making for premature death, poverty and disease. It is a record that calls aloud for condemnation, for an end to these terrible injustices that constitute a daily and ever increasing violation of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Unfortunately from the records of the science journals one can add, in no small measure, to the list of crimes against the Afro-American people. Those who are responsible must be exposed and stopped.

# **Revolutionary Tracings in World Politics & Black Liberation**

**by JAMES E. JACKSON**

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# DO PRISONS REHABILITATE?

FRANK E. CHAPMAN, JR.

**M**Y TOPIC IS: "Do Prisons Rehabilitate?" Before giving the simple answer NO to this question, I would like to cite at least a few well-known facts buttressed by some reliable statistical information that is not so well-known.

The first important thing to note when talking about the American prison system is that today even official society, from the President of the United States to the professional jailer, openly decries the "shame of the prisons." Nixon called them "universities of crime," and Chief Justice Burger is a vigorous advocate of prison reform. So the "shame of the prisons" is publicly admitted even by those who normally hide the naked facts that would shame our nation behind a cloak of lies. If the most conservative and reactionary elements in our society admit prisons are a "shame" then they must be a shame indeed. Now what are the naked facts that lie behind this widely spread sentiment, this growing sense of horror over conditions in the prisons?

In January 1971 for the first time in American history, the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration published a national jail census. According to this source there are some 4,037 jails in the United States which include for the most part local, city and county jails. Most of the people (52%) held in these jails have not even been convicted of a crime but are awaiting trial. And since most of them (99%) are also poor they are unable to make bail. These presumably innocent American citizens are often held in jail for months and even years before they go to trial because the courts are overloaded with cases. The conditions in these jails are so deplorable that some jurisdictions (St. Louis, for example) have ordered the jails closed because they unconstitutionally subject prisoners to cruel and inhuman conditions.

The state prison system for the nation is no better except that the inmates are convicted felons. In some states, such as Arkansas, penal slavery reached such a level of degradation that federal district courts compared it with Nazi concentration camps where even wholesale

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*Frank E. Chapman, Jr., has been a contributor to FREEDOMWAYS since 1966. The above speech was delivered at a conference of the Institute of Black Studies in St. Louis, Missouri.*

murder is a matter of official policy. The Southern states with their legacy of plantation slavery have never abolished slavery for convicted felons. But the difference between North and South in this matter is quantitative not qualitative. Anywhere one turns, whether in California, Missouri or New York, the same dehumanizing conditions prevail. Namely, poor food, inadequate medical attention, poor working conditions and slave wages, rabid racism, brutality, official corruption, vindictive persecution and even murder of political prisoners, censorship, vindictive parole boards, etc., etc.

What is the government doing about this? Ever since President Johnson's commission on crime advocated "community-based corrections" the Chambers of Commerce have been putting out pamphlets on "Citizens' Power in Corrections" which suggest that American prisons are going to be turned over to "community control" and that rural-based, isolated prisons with backward, low-paid, uneducated personnel are going to be phased out. Nice rhetoric but very little is being done to translate it into reality. In reality 80% of the correctional budget is spent on security (buying guns, clubs, tear gas or mace, training guards in riot control, etc.), while 20% is spent on rehabilitation programs (study-release, work-release, academic-vocational training, furloughs, job-finding agencies, psychologists, teachers, etc.) with only 2% of the prison population involved in rehabilitation programs. This is a shame, and thus far the government's role has been a farce; a farce designed to fail.

Now permit me to give my own personal response to the question: "Do Prisons Rehabilitate?"

I cannot help but give a partisan answer to this question. However, it should be pointed out that a partisan answer is not necessarily false or purely subjective. I think it depends on what you are a partisan for. If you are a partisan for the status quo then you must be a perpetrator of lies and illusions, and this is especially the case when (as in the United States) the status quo is predicated on oppression and human degradation.

On the other hand, if you are a partisan for eliminating the status quo and creating social justice by liberating the oppressed, then the truth is your most viable and your most effective weapon. My point is that I am definitely partisan, but as a victim of injustice I have no need to hide behind a veil of lies and half-truths. I have no propensity to paint prison life in rosy colors since I am not a jailer or a defamer of others. I want the truth known because the truth is our only salvation, our greatest weapon, and our only true religion.

To tell the truth, prisons were not even intended to rehabilitate; that is, to transform criminal conduct into non-criminal conduct by some socially sanctioned process of reconstructing one's character so as to make one's behavior conform to the laws and norms of society. No, not rehabilitation but vindictive persecution has been and is the principal object of penal institutions. From their inception prisons were designed to break the human spirit, not to liberate it. Prisons are an affront to human dignity, not an elevation of human dignity. The fact of the matter is that there is nothing humanly edifying about being in prison because prison, in my earnest opinion, is the worst kind of slavery existing in this drastic society. And if America had any particle of shame left, then she would not allow these human junkyards to exist within her borders.

Just a few years ago the Attica brothers told all of you and the world what America's prisons are like, and they were drowned in blood for doing so by our multi-millionaire, non-elected Vice President. The 31 demands set forth by the Attica brothers were consistent in virtually every particular with the U.N. charter on the treatment of prisoners. These demands were not radical or revolutionary but moderate and reformist. The brothers did not call for the complete abolition of an archaic prison system riddled with a totalitarian bureaucracy; on the contrary all they demanded was that the minimum human requirements be met and that they be looked upon as human beings. Here is a sampling of some of their demands;

Provide adequate food, water and shelter.

Allow true religious freedom.

End all censorship.

Provide a healthy diet.

Modernize the inmate education system.

Provide an effective narcotics treatment program.

Allow . . . prisoners to be politically active.

For these demands, which are very humble and modest demands in the context of 20th century civilization, over forty human beings were savagely murdered and many others beaten by an overtly racist state militia acting under the orders of Nelson Rockefeller. And these acts convey in no small way just how official society feels about prisoners.

But why such venom for prisoners? Is it because they are murderers, robbers, thieves and sexual perverts? In our society a murderer

or a robber is not evil per se. Hollywood proves my point; for example, John Wayne has been killing Indians, keeping Blacks in their place, and knocking out Communists with a single punch for years without ever falling from grace. It seems to me that the white-supremacist, capitalist boss, running around the world like a raving vampire looking for fresh blood to suck, has been and is the hero of American culture. The murder of all those Vietnamese people was pathetically glorified in the movie *Green Berets*. Such pains did it take to soften the shock of My Lai and the defoliation of the Vietnamese countryside. So who is a murderer?

A man who is victimized by unemployment, hunger and racism turns to crime in his hour of destitution and commits an atrocious act. But there is no compassion for him and for his crime. He is often given a long term in prison by a judge who never saw the inside of a prison. And yet there is no end to the tears for political gangsters like Agnew and Nixon or mass murderers like General Westmoreland. These contradictions are as obvious as they are gross.

Before we can move on to the question of prisons as instruments of repression and oppression we must redefine the word "criminal." We must acknowledge the fact that the activities of racists and political gangsters are far more criminal in terms of human suffering than some junkie snatching a T.V. set.

Now we come to specifics. If prisons are not rehabilitating the so-called criminal then what are they doing? What are some of the particular measures used to break the human spirit?

1. Behavior modification through group therapy, drugs, etc.
2. Physical torture by way of beatings, solitary confinement, etc.
3. Mind control by way of censorship of literature, persecution of militants and political prisoners generally, etc.

To offset this seamy side of prison life the prison bureaucracy has established a number of token programs such as study-release, work-release, furloughs, etc. We do not say do away with these programs, because they get people out of prison and may even help a few stay out, but that's their only value. As they stand, these programs do not affect the lives of the overwhelming majority of prisoners.

Also the class and racist nature of America's prisons is effectively veiled by the system claiming that rehabilitation is its goal. However, most prisoners are Black and poor. This race-class composition of the prison population is the major reason why the U.S. government

allows American prisons to exist as organs of oppression.

Finally, let us say that prison is an extension of the ghetto; hence, it is one of the most malignant and effective institutional weapons used by the ruling class in order to coercively maintain the status quo. This means maintaining racism, capitalist exploitation of American workers and super-exploitation of Black workers, unemployment, inflation, high infant mortality rates, race murder, in a word, *oppression* in its grossest form.

Thank you, brothers and sisters, for allowing me to tell you the truth.

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### EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA!

**T**HE white supremacist regime of the Republic of South Africa has been condemned by the UN General Assembly for the continued suppression of the human rights and political liberties of the Black majority of that country, in violation of the basic principles of the UN and its Charter.

#### *DEMAND THE EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNITED NATIONS!*

For further information and petitions contact:

The National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with  
African Liberation

156 Fifth Avenue, Room 405, NYC 10010

Phone: 929-5686.

# PAUL ROBESON AT PEEKSKILL

CHARLES H. WRIGHT

**F**EW PEOPLE had heard of Peekskill, N.Y., before 1949. Two dramatic events which occurred on August 27 and September 4 of that year attracted world-wide attention to this Hudson Valley hamlet, and its name, henceforth, became synonymous with mob violence.

Paul Robeson was the star of the Peekskill performance. Having been there before, he knew the scene well. Now, however, time and circumstances were fused in an explosive mix that would make his 1949 appearances memorable. Subsequent events suggest that Peekskill bears the same relationship to the Civil Rights Movement as Fort Sumter does to the Civil War.

In retrospect, it can be postulated that Robeson began a collision course with the United States establishment as early as 1934. En route to the Soviet Union for the first time in December of 1934, he was racially abused and threatened by Nazi storm troopers outside the Berlin railroad station. Here began his eternal war against Fascism. He crossed the Russian border a few hours later, and the Russian people, by contrast, welcomed him with open arms. Thus was born his abiding friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. These two events changed the course of Robeson's life. He paid dearly for both of them.

Opinions differ as to when the Peekskill confrontation became inevitable. Marie Seton, author of *Paul Robeson* (Dobson Press Ltd.) is certain that the die was cast in 1947 when Robeson included the song "Joe Hill" in his concert at the University of Utah. Never before, in this area, had anyone dared sing this lament to the ill-fated labor organizer, Joseph Hillstrom, whose death before a Utah firing squad had caused an international crisis earlier in the century. Robeson must have known that there were "copper bosses" in the audience. His plaintive rendition of the song disturbed the uneasy consciences of many listeners. After a stunned period of silence, some of the audience clapped loudly. Others clinched their fists. Nothing seemed to go well for Robeson thereafter.

His concert series began to crumble almost immediately. Peoria,

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*Charles H. Wright, M.D., is chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Afro-American Museum of Detroit. The above is an excerpt from his coming book, Robeson: Labor's Forgotten Champion.*

Ill., and Albany, N.Y., led the way. When all of the returns were in, more than 80 concerts were cancelled. Public pressure forced Albany officials to relent but not before anti-Robeson forces surfaced among Catholic students in New York City and veterans' organizations in Peekskill, N.Y.

Prior to 1947, Robeson was the national champion of the rights of the working man. Nearly a dozen unions had honored him with Life Memberships. He appeared regularly as guest artist at their national conventions, marched in their picket lines and gave benefit concerts to support their causes. Cold War politics, a way of life in the late forties, and a compliant judiciary changed Robeson's relationship with most of organized labor appreciably. Implementation of President Harry Truman's anti-Communist foreign policy and the passage of such labor legislation as the Taft-Hartley law forced labor organizations to make difficult decisions in 1947. They either had to support a foreign policy of "Communist containment" and expel those radicals who had been so vital to their earlier organizing drives, or suffer suppression, suspension and possible destruction. This new look in labor made Robeson's brand of militant unionism unfashionable. He was no longer welcome in the halls of the conformist unions. Some groups even attempted to withdraw his Life Memberships. Only the "renegade" unions had the audacity to invite Robeson to their meetings in the late forties and the early fifties.

Robeson's support of the Progressive Party in 1948 aroused the enmity of the power brokers in the Democratic Party. Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers' Union, expressed some of the prevailing sentiment of the period. He blamed Robeson and the progressives for the loss of New York State to the Republicans in 1948. Speaking before the National Convention of the National Maritime Union in 1949, Quill predicted that Robeson might run for the U.S. Senate from New York. Such unpopular activity plus his public challenge to President Truman to support anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation isolated Robeson from the Democratic Party.

Aside from his unpopular political stands, Robeson engaged in other activities that increased his enemies exponentially. In 1947, he responded to a plea from Black workers in Winston-Salem, N.C., who were striking the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. He boosted their morale and raised money for their support. Some time later, a Russian radio broadcast carried an interview with Robeson in which he criticized the poor working conditions for Black workers in the



tobacco industry. Local officials, already displeased with Robeson's interference in their internal affairs, seized this opportunity to discredit Robeson and undermine the strike effort. Not only was the union effort defeated, but the R. J. Reynolds Co. remains unorganized to this day.

Also in 1948, Robeson went to Hawaii in support of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the parent union of the sugar cane and pineapple workers. The "Big Five" took a dim view of Robeson's presence. He was accused of aiding the Communists, and threats were hurled at him from many quarters.

The rift between the United Public Workers (UPW) and their parent, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), was widened when the UPW sent Robeson into the Panama Canal Zone in 1947 in support of the Silver-roll workers. Government officials were resentful of and embarrassed by Robeson's public criticisms of the vicious racist practices against their non-white employees in the Canal Zone.

#### *pressure mounts*

The arrival of the fateful year of 1949 found Robeson under heavy pressure from the business community, the government and some segments of the labor force. With his recording contracts cancelled, under constant surveillance by the government, barred from all radio and other public appearances of similar nature which reduced his income to only a fraction of what it had been, Robeson went abroad in February of 1949. In Europe and England he sang to sell-out audiences. Although his tour was a financial success and bolstered his ego, it was a disaster for his public image back home and his future as an American citizen.

Robeson compounded his problems by announcing from England that he would, upon his return, testify in support of the Communist leaders then on trial at the Foley Square court house in New York City. Hard on the heels of that bombshell, he appeared in Paris at the World Peace Congress, organized by the partisans of peace.

Robeson criticized the racist practices of the U.S. government and found little to choose between it and the Fascist government of Nazi Germany. He labelled President Truman's Point Four Program for colonial development as a "new form of slavery," especially for Africans. His one statement that caused an international furor was:

It is unthinkable that American Negroes should go to war in behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against

the Soviet Union, which in one generation has raised our people to full human dignity.\*

Although the *New York Times* quoted Robeson accurately and in full, secondary waves of editorial comment quoted Robeson as saying, "American Negroes would never fight against Russia."

Revulsion against Robeson reached new heights in the States. The architects of our foreign policy, only a year away from the Korean War, concluded that they had to do something about Robeson once and for all. A frantic federal officialdom summoned an impressive list of Black leaders to Washington to discredit Robeson and assure them that the Black populace would fight to preserve the system. The Black leaders, for the most part, told the uneasy politicians what they wanted to hear.

Robeson arrived home from Europe on June 16, 1949. Included in the welcoming party were 20 uniformed policemen, a sign of things to come. A few days later, Robeson spoke to a tense, overflow crowd at the Rockland Palace, New York City. Word had spread through Harlem that "Big" Paul was mad. The rank and file Black workers, uninfluenced by high-level politics and name-calling, came in droves to welcome their hero home and hear him tell off his enemies. They were not disappointed. Throwing caution to the winds, the fury of Robeson's attacks spared no one. His sharpest blasts, however, were directed toward those Blacks who had tried to discredit him. When the storm subsided, Robeson had few friends in high places anywhere in this country. Henceforth, his major support would come from the political left and the apolitical Black masses, who continued to follow him despite vilification and intimidation.

Now as never before the Federal Government began to close in on Robeson and the left-wing organizations with which he was identified. The State Department of the Executive Branch, both houses of the Legislative Branch and a sympathetic Judicial Branch of the government were mobilized to secure national conformity with our anti-Communist foreign policy. Robeson was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee more than 200 times. Called before the Committee several times, he denied under oath that he was a Communist, the first time he was asked. Afterwards, he vowed never to answer that question again, believing that such questions about a man's political beliefs were unconstitutional.

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\**New York Times*, April 21, 1949.

***violence at Peekskill***

Thus, the storm clouds hung low and were heavily charged when the Harlem Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress announced, late in July, that Robeson would give a benefit concert for them on August 27, 1949, in Peekskill. Representatives of Peoples Artists Inc. rented the Lakelands Acre Public Grounds for the affair. Immediately, members of the Peekskill Junior Chamber of Commerce condemned the concert and called for group action to discourage it. The sponsors were undeterred. Apparently, they had forgotten that it was the Peekskill Post of the American Legion that had attacked Robeson in Albany two years before. They had also issued a protest against Robeson's Peekskill concert in 1948. Even then the local press had warned against another concert.

As the date of the concert approached, the smoldering coals of anti-Robeson sentiment were fanned into flame by the actions of some members of Peekskill's Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Jewish War Veterans, the Catholic War Veterans and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The local press and radio were used to keep the issue alive. Several groups in Peekskill and New York City warned local and state officials of the threat of violence. The anti-Robeson forces attempted to get an injunction against the concert, but they failed. Local groups tried to dissuade the veterans' groups from a showdown. They also failed. Governor Dewey was preoccupied with weightier matters, and he turned the problem over to subordinates. In the absence of any strong, meaningful preventative measures, violence became a reality.

Adding to the dangerous drift of political polarization, the Attorney General listed the Civil Rights Congress as a Communist-front organization and listed Robeson as one of its chief supporters. Public disclosures in Peekskill indicated that Peoples Artists Inc. had been labelled a "red front" organization by a loyalty group in California. The timing of these two reports was perfect for the anti-Robesonites. It gave them a cause célèbre and crowned their effort with a halo of patriotism.

The veterans' forces and their allies scheduled a parade in the vicinity of the concert site to coincide with the time of the concert. Many in military uniform carried sticks and rocks of varying sizes. They appeared to be on the best of terms with the local law enforcement officers. When concert-goers arrived they found the roads leading to the picnic grounds blocked by legionnaires. The majority were turned around and forced to run a gantlet of rocks and anti-Jewish,

anti-Black, anti-Communist epithets as they fled the scene. A few less fortunate persons did reach the concert area. Attacked from all sides, the men locked arms to form a protective circle around their women and children. The attackers, frustrated by this defensive maneuver, reduced the stage to splinter wood, shredded the sheet music and set them to the torch. Eventually, the hapless group escaped from their attackers and fled in disorder.

Robeson never reached the picnic grounds, which was just as well. Unaware of the rising tide of hatred that was flooding the concert area, he arrived at the Peekskill railway station alone. He was met by a woman and two children, ages 10 and 12. She hustled him into her car and smuggled him out of sight before he was recognized.

Robeson's son, Paul Jr., did not make it either. His wife fell ill just before the departure time, and he elected to remain with his bride of two and one-half months. This was just as well, also. The automobile in which he was scheduled to ride was damaged by flying missiles.

The Peekskill forces were jubilant over the success of their military expedition. They congratulated themselves on providing an excellent example to the nation of how to deal with "domestic Communists."

Undaunted, a mass meeting was held in Harlem a few days later. Robeson vowed to return to Peekskill as soon as possible. The crowd responded with a standing ovation of approval and support. This Harlem decision galvanized the Peekskill protagonists into a fury of resistance against a second invasion into their territory. One of their first moves was to make sure that the picnic grounds would not be available again. Peoples Artists Inc. rented the former Hollow Brook Country Club, now a meadow, from Stephen Szego for Sunday, September 4, 1949. This meadow is located in Cortlandt, just outside of Peekskill. Apparently, some of the local citizens looked with displeasure upon Szego's actions. Shortly after signing his agreement with Peoples Artists Inc., several shots were fired at his home. Later, there were four separate attempts to burn down his house. When he tried to collect for the fire damages, his insurance contract was cancelled.

Peace-loving citizens of Peekskill and environs again called upon Gov. Dewey to insure the safety of the visitors to their vicinity. Representative Vito Marcantonio and Paul Robeson called on the Governor to fire all officials who were responsible for the violence the week before. Gov. Dewey held emergency sessions with his law en-

forcement officers and deployed 904 men to garrison the concert site and the surrounding area. He assured the public that his men had the situation well in hand.

Favorable weather made September 4th an ideal day for the 50-mile drive from New York City to Peekskill. Thousands took advantage of the opportunity. The anti-Robeson forces were more numerous, better disciplined and more heavily armed than before. Making use of their military experience, the veterans allowed the visitors to enter the meadow with nothing more damaging hurled at them than sullen glances and racial epithets. Once the crowd was assembled, the opposition closed certain exit routes, forcing egress along pre-arranged corridors. Arrayed against this external force were 2,500 Robesonites who volunteered to form a wall to protect Robeson and the audience of 25,000. The majority of these men were trade unionists from such unions as the Furriers, United Electrical, Clothing Workers and the Newspaper Guild.

Soon after the concert got under way, Robeson arrived escorted by a detail of alert, unsmiling workers. He sang with his back against a tree, flanked by a formidable phalanx of muscle and grim determination. Robeson opened his portion of the concert with a chanson and "Go Down Moses" and ended with "Ole Man River." His security guards enclosed him in a protective cocoon as he left the area. Only someone with a strong suicidal bent would have attempted a direct assault at that time. The "Honor Guard" delivered Robeson back to New York intact, but his automobile was damaged by a hail of stones.

The concert ended soon after Robeson's departure, around 3:30 p.m. Violence erupted as the concert-goers tried to leave the meadow. Forced to pass along the pre-planned routes, they were jeered and attacked from both sides with sticks and flying objects of great variety. The newspapers reported that 145 people were injured and hundreds of cars were damaged, some totally. Many of the injured criticized the police for inaction; others accused them of complicity in the violence. The former charge proved to be unfounded, for the law enforcement officers were quite busy writing speeding tickets for those victims who tried to flee the area. Those who did not get away were ticketed for driving with broken windshields. Subsequent news photographs of the event supported the latter charge of complicity. At its height, the violence covered a 10-square-mile area and extended as far south as Yonkers. The spreading tentacles of disorder enveloped innocent people who had no idea of what was happening. One such group, returning from a visit to the shrine of Franklin D. Roosevelt

at Hyde Park, sustained injury and was delayed for several hours.

The world press reported the details of the Peekskill violence in blazing headlines. Opinion from abroad was, for the most part, critical of the lax law enforcement and the mob action. They praised the efforts of the law-abiding citizens of Peekskill who did what they could to avert disaster and, failing that, deplored the inhumanity of their fellow citizens.

Domestic opinion was sharply divided. It was not surprising that under the circumstances the majority were sympathetic to the anti-Robeson forces. Robeson was described as a dupe of the Communists to foment disunity at a time when "our national security is at stake." The liberal and left-wing press, including the newsheets of the non-compliant labor unions, supported Robeson and compared the violence of Peekskill with the Nazi onslaught in Europe. This group demanded that Gov. Dewey order a full-scale investigation by a special grand jury.

Many trade unionists suffered physical injury and property damage in the Peekskill melee. A giant stone was thrown through the windshield of the car of Irving Potash, an official of the Furriers Union. He suffered the loss of sight in one eye, damage to the other, a fractured skull and crushing injury to the nose and cheek bones. Despite his injury, Potash joined labor officials from the United Electrical and other unions in street corner protests in downtown Manhattan. They called upon Attorney General Howard McGrath to prosecute those who had caused the Peekskill riots. Members of the Newspaper Guild of New York called upon Gov. Dewey to launch a full investigation of the violence and to remove all of the state and local officials responsible for it.

On September 20, 1949, 300 people boarded a train in New York City for Albany, the capital, to express their outrage directly to the Governor. A special detail of armed guards insured the safety of the train as it passed through Peekskill. Albany police restrained a crowd of nearly 5,000 who lined the sidewalks as the delegation marched to the capital. Aside from a few tomatoes and eggs, which missed their marks, there was no violence in Albany. As a matter of fact, there was very little action of any kind. Instead of the Governor, the group was received by Lawrence Walsh, the noncommittal Assistant Counsel to the Governor. He listened attentively, promised little and sent them on their way.

Eighty-three victims of the Peekskill disorder filed suit against Westchester County officials for property damages totaling \$20,345,

charging official negligence. Several attempts were made to have the charges dismissed. They eventually succeeded, and the Federal court dropped all charges against all defendants.

Robeson and writer Howard Fast, along with 26 other plaintiffs, filed a civil suit for \$2,020,000 against Westchester County and two veterans' groups in September of 1949. The case was in litigation until January 23, 1952, when the Federal court again dismissed all charges against all defendants. Neither the investigations nor the court actions yielded any significant relief for the petitioners.

In the wake of the civil disorder, the Peekskill community became alive with rumors. Szego reported that the threat of a Fascist takeover was causing many people to consider moving out of the Peekskill area. Another rumor had it that the insurance rates against property damage would be increased substantially. On September 27, a Peekskill merchants' group announced the cancellation of their Jan Peek celebration, honoring the founders of the city. They considered it unwise to hold public assemblies at that time. Many other social and civic activities were cancelled or postponed.

### *Robeson continues the crusade*

The Robeson group, on the other hand, scheduled appearances for Robeson in many cities across the country. The tour became a vehicle for him to continue his unpopular crusade for peace and a non-military rapprochement (détente) with world Communism, despite the growing threat of war in Korea.

When the tour schedule was published, veterans' groups in New Haven, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities urged that the meetings be cancelled. When they failed to effect cancellation, the groups forbade their members to attend any of Robeson's appearances.

Robeson's Detroit appearance occurred on October 9, 1949. Nearly 50,000 people jammed the area of Forest and Hastings Streets, overflowing the Forest Club and forcing the diversion of traffic for three blocks in all directions. One thousand police kept watch over the crowd from the windows and roofs of adjacent buildings, as well as at ground level. Secret service and FBI men infiltrated the crowd, keeping records for future use. Members of the establishment, Black and white, were prominently absent.

Reverend Charles Hill, one of Detroit's most fearless freedom fighters, had the cooperation of many rank and file trade unionists in completing the arrangements for Robeson's appearance. They provided Robeson with a tight security guard during his stay and

established their own surveillance network to find, report and deal with any signs of violence against Robeson. Detroit's officials breathed a sigh of great relief when he left the city without mishap.

The Peekskill affair accelerated many events that were already in progress and made many others possible that seemed only probable before. The activities of the non-conformist trade unions in Peekskill widened the split within the CIO. Both the purse and power of the investigative committees of the House and Senate were increased in the name of national security. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (D-Wisconsin) was already testing his anti-Communist line with which he would strangle the nation with brief and terrifying success. Freedom was threatened on all sides by a proliferation of federal, state and local legislation of dubious constitutionality.

This national conflict and controversy nearly drowned out Robeson's own statement on Peekskill. Under the heading "My Answer," he gave his position and issued a plea and a prophecy:

. . . I am well equipped, now, although I have not always been so, to make the supreme fight for my people and all other underprivileged masses, wherever they may be. Here, I speak of those bereft of uncompromising, courageous leadership that cannot be intimidated and cannot be swerved from its purpose of bringing true freedom to those who follow it.

. . . This thing burns in me, and it is not my nature or inclination to be scared off.

. . . They revile me; they scandalize me and try to holler me down on all sides. That's all right. It's okay. Let them continue. My voice topped the blare of the Legion's bands and the hoots of hired hoodlums who tried to break up my concert for the Harlem Division of the Civil Rights Congress. It will be heard above the screams of the intolerant.

My weapons are peaceful; for it is only by peace that peace can be attained. The Song of Freedom must prevail.

Robeson's position paper enraged his enemies more than ever, and spurred them on to more imaginative acts of violence against him. His prophecy and plea, out of tune with the times, were ignored.

Peekskill's first anniversary was more than two months away when



the United States military forces entered the Korean phase of our Southeast Asian misadventure that would eventually waste millions of lives, trillions of dollars and accelerate our headlong plunge into financial and moral bankruptcy. Before a year had elapsed, the disruptive fissure within the CIO became an unbridgeable chasm, as the latter-day saints, then in power, began to exorcise the militant demons of the left. Guardians of the status quo in Birmingham, Bogalusa, and Selma were instructed and encouraged by the permissiveness of Peekskill. They bided their time and kept their powder dry.

In less than a year, Robeson's passport was cancelled by a punitive State Department. Denied the opportunity to make a living at home and unable to travel abroad, he was sentenced to a slow death by economic strangulation and political repression. Robeson, as usual, would not cooperate with his enemies. Not only did he refuse to die, he lived to see all of his unpopular causes become a part of the everyday American way of life.

Despite the vindications of time and circumstance, Robeson remains a prophet without honor in his own land. One of the most glaring evidences of this dishonor is Robeson's absence from the College Football's Hall of Fame. He is the only two-time All-American so ignored. A reversal of this decision, long overdue, could signal the start of a timely reevaluation of this controversial American and, perhaps, a change in his outrageous fortune.

# The Women of Dan Dance with Their Swords in Their Hands To Mark the Time When They Were Warriors

AUDRE LORDE

I did not fall from the sky  
I  
nor descend like a plague of locusts  
to drink colour and strength from the earth  
and I do not come like rain  
as a tribute or symbol for earth's becoming  
I come as a woman  
dark and open  
some times I fall like night  
softly  
and terrible  
only when I must die  
in order to rise again.

I do not come like a secret warrior  
with an unsheathed sword in my mouth  
hidden behind my tongue  
slicing my throat to ribbons  
of service with a smile  
while the blood runs  
down and out  
through holes in the two sacred mounds  
on my chest.

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*Audre Lorde is a poet, teacher and librarian. She has published three collections: The First Cities, Cables to Rage and From a Land Where Other People Live.*

I come like a woman  
who I am  
spreading out through nights  
laughter and promise  
a dark heat  
warming whatever I touch  
that is living  
consuming  
only  
what is already dead.

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## CITY OF SORES

ANTAR SUDAN KATARA MBERI

My forlorn city  
in sad youth  
I grew  
out of you  
but never your beauty.

I rejoice  
to this day  
whenever I see  
your variegated clean cut face.

It is for the beauty of our mothers  
soft stern words . . .

It is for the community of beauty  
reposed in the *kibbitsin* of sisters  
and brothers, and neighbors too . . .

It is for the beauty labored  
in the swift muscle of our fathers . . .

That we live,  
Such beauty! stain in us many hues and colors.

---

*Antar Sudan Katara Mberi is a frequent contributor to FREEDOMWAYS. His poetry has appeared in several anthologies. He is the co-editor of Speak Easy, Speak Free, an anthology of eleven poets, scheduled to appear in the fall, 1975. The above passages are taken from his collection, City of Sores, which appeared in The Smith.*

## READERS' FORUM

### Angela Davis in Port Gibson, Mississippi

**F**OR TWO HOURS the crowd of about two hundred adults and a few dozen children stood and milled around on a vacant grass-covered lot and waited sprawled on cars across the street for Angela Davis to arrive in Port Gibson, Mississippi. The late afternoon sun bore down fiercely on the lot.

Port Gibson's familiarity runs out even before you leave Mississippi. The small southern town lies just off the Mississippi River between Vicksburg and Natchez. Its population of about 2,500 is predominantly Black. It is the county seat for Claiborne County which has a Black tax assessor, a Black circuit clerk and has just elected a Black chancery clerk.

Miss Davis had flown into Jackson earlier, but had to travel the seventy miles to Port Gibson by car.

Miss Davis was in Mississippi on August 16 to arouse public support for the Republic of New Africa (RNA) 11. Evan Doss, tax assessor for Claiborne County, invited Angela Davis to speak at a pre-election rally in Port Gibson while she was in the state. Two Black female candidates and one

white woman were running for chancery clerk in a special election. The office was left vacant when the white candidate's husband died. The special election was scheduled to be held between summer school and the fall semester for predominantly black Alcorn State University, which has a population of about 3,000 students, faculty and staff members combined and is located in Claiborne County. The students had gone home and many faculty and staff members were on vacation.

The election date was arranged by the predominantly white board of supervisors (the Board has one Black member), and it had been feared by many Blacks in the area that the election would be held while school was not in session at Alcorn.

The registration of students from Alcorn had been the basis for a court battle after the last election between Mrs. Geneva Collins—one of the Black candidates this year—and Mr. Shelton Segrest, the deceased chancery clerk. Mr. Segrest was declared winner of the 1971 election contest for chancery clerk because

some of the votes that Mrs. Collins received were from Alcorn students who indicated on their registration forms that they did not intend to become permanent residents of the County. The case was still not settled at the time of Mr. Segrest's death.

Voter apathy was apparent to Doss and the other Black local officials, so Angela Davis' appearance at the rally, it was hoped, would spark interest among Black voters in the election. Claiborne County has 4,900 Black registered voters and 2,400 registered white voters.

A platform had been constructed near the fence dividing the lot from the bank parking lot next to it, and the Black candidates and local elected officials sat on it unshaded from the sun, patiently assuring the crowd Miss Davis would be there. A local minister prayed; a youth choir sang; Doss spoke to the crowd and Mrs. Julia Jones, the circuit clerk, spoke. Nothing. These people were there to see Angela Davis.

There were only three dashikis in the crowd. Most of the men—both old and young—wore short sleeved shirts neatly tucked into their pants. Some of the older men wore their Sunday suits or white shirts and ties. It was the Sunday "amen crowd" rather than the "right-on crowd." Many of the ladies sat on the grass with

handkerchiefs or papers shading their heads. There was a funeral tent provided by Thompson Funeral Home a few yards from the platform protecting the food and soft drinks for the rally. Several white policemen surveyed the crowd from across the street. None of the well-known Black politicians was there. Only a handful of faculty members were there from nearby Alcorn State University and none of the all-Black town leadership from Fayette, less than twenty miles away, was present.

Even in this area it is well known that Angela Davis is a self-proclaimed Communist and here more than in many other parts of the country "Communism" is a very dirty word. But no one in the crowd seemed concerned over the fact that this young Black woman they were waiting to see was a Communist.

Finally after two hours Angela Davis eased into the crowd and the rally was resumed. She was accompanied by Rev. Ben Chavis, who is under indictment in North Carolina, and Imari Obadele, RNA president in Mississippi, who is awaiting trial on charges of conspiracy and murder stemming from a police raid on RNA headquarters in which a policeman was killed. They both addressed the crowd and were well received. Hats were passed through the crowd to collect

money to help pay for the food and other rally expenses. Angela Davis did not charge a fee for her appearance. Obadele introduced Miss Davis. "She's here. . . . I thought she wasn't coming."

A slender, attractive young lady with a beautiful big Afro hairstyle and broad smile rose to address a captured audience. She thanked Doss for inviting her to Port Gibson and talked briefly about her experiences in jail, and why she had continued in the struggle to free political prisoners.

As she started to bring the message home to "the people" she said, "One of the goals we have to talk about right here in Mississippi, sisters and brothers, is the freeing of the RNA 11, the full freedom of Brother Imari Obadele. I know we are not going to let them take him back to prison." Scattered shouts of "No" came up from the audience. According to Doss most people in the audience knew little or nothing about the RNA 11, but many of them came to him after the rally to ask questions about the organization.

The NAACP has been the dominant civil rights organization in this part of Mississippi and many people in the audience had participated in the marches and the boycotts of the late sixties. So Angela Davis moves closer to home: "But you see you are going to have to work, you

are going to have to organize, you have to get out in the streets, you have to march some more, demonstrate some more, get some more petitions, do everything that is necessary to achieve the freedom of the RNA 11. And that is why we are here today."

Moving in closer: "I know that a lot of your sisters and brothers, your daughters, your sons, your mothers, your fathers are in prison also. Nobody has to tell any Black person anything about prison in this country, because we know how they use it against us. . . . All of the sisters and brothers here should look at it from that angle—fight for yourselves, your families . . . and for the freedom of the RNA 11."

Home (Port Gibson, Mississippi): "What is happening in this country is extremely important because there are a lot of ways in which we have to talk about fighting for our freedom, struggling for our liberation. And you have a chance to take a big important step towards liberation right here in this country. It's easy. All you've gotta do is go out and vote."

She went on to encourage them to knock on other people's doors to remind friends to come out and vote. "It is going to be a shame if the white votes come out first. All you have to do is reach your sisters and brothers and tell them to go out to the

polls on Tuesday," Miss Davis told the crowd. Doss says that many of those present at the rally did knock on doors to get their neighbors to the polls.

With a few comments on the beautiful land that we are going to have to struggle for because we have tilled it and made it fertile, and the beautiful children in the crowd, Angela left Port Gibson, Mississippi, to speak in Jackson, seventy miles away. The applause came on and on. By that time it was 7:00 and the sun had set.

For half an hour there was an Angela Davis quite different from the one we have seen and heard on television as Angela Davis talked to "the people" in Port Gibson, Mississippi. Most of the time she had sounded like one of them. As she left the lot she was nearly swamped by people wanting her autograph.

Perhaps few people in the crowd who were awed by the warm, real presence of Angela Davis will ever be prone to shout or chant "power to the people" but they were, indeed, "the people." This is how Dr. George Sewell, professor of social science at Alcorn State University, later

explained the audience's warm reception of Miss Davis: "They did not understand much of what she said about political prisoners, but they knew that Angela Davis represented a part of what they were supposed to be about."

In the election for chancery clerk, Mrs. Stella Jennings, one of the Black candidates, had to face Mrs. Shelton Segrest, the white candidate, in a run-off election. In the run-off Mrs. Jennings defeated Mrs. Segrest by 108 votes. Mrs. Jennings represents a changing image of southern Black politicians. She is young, a college graduate, and wears a neat, closely cropped Afro. She worked as an assistant in the chancery clerk's office under both Mrs. Collins and Mr. Segrest. Mrs. Collins, the other Black candidate is more mature in years and more conservative in appearance.

It is impossible to measure precisely how much influence Angela Davis had on the election results, but it is known that more than 3,000 voters turned out for the run-off in a special election—a surprising turn out for a county with 7,300 registered voters.

*Alice A. Lewis*

# ON THE DEATH OF PERCY JULIAN: SCIENTIST-HUMANITARIAN

**F**REEDOMWAYS expresses deep regret at the passing of Percy Julian, a great Afro-American scientist and civil rights activist, who died on April 19, 1975, at St. Theresa's Hospital in Waukegan, Ill. He was, since 1950, a resident of Oak Park, Ill., a virtually all white community where white mobs, at one time, threatened his family, bombed his lawn and attempted to burn his home to the ground.

Dr. Julian's life was filled with accomplishments which aimed to ease the suffering of humankind and decried the poverty and discrimination flowing from racial prejudice. His brilliant achievements in chemical research earned him membership in the National Academy of Sciences. He was the second Black member in its history.

His successes include more than 130 chemical patents. He was the synthesizer of cortisone drugs which have many uses, one being connected with the treatment of rheumatoid arthritis. His success in the isolation of a soya protein led to the creation of Aero-Foam, a chemical which became the basis of the fire-fighting extinguisher used by the Navy during World War II.

Deeply concerned about his people's struggles against racial discrimination, he worked with the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund to help ensure the enforcement of civil rights legislation.

Percy Julian was a life-long admirer of W.E.B. Du Bois and an ardent opponent of the witch-hunting and purges of the McCarthy years. Up until his death he continued in his crusade to end human suffering, for peace and against the use of atomic energy for war and oppression.

FREEDOMWAYS joins the peoples of the world in mourning the loss of this great scientist and humanitarian.



# BOOK REVIEWS

## REVEALING THE DIALECTICS OF BLACK LIBERATION

REVOLUTIONARY TRACINGS IN WORLD POLITICS AND BLACK LIBERATION. By James E. Jackson. International Publishers, New York. ix, 263 pages. \$9.50 (cloth); \$3.50 (paper).

THE WRITINGS of leading Black progressive thinkers and activists over the last 25 or 30 years have developed the black liberation question to new levels of analysis and understanding. These writers, armed with a Marxist philosophy, do not confine their writings solely to black liberation; but they have given us William L. Patterson's *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People* (1951, 1970); Roscoe Proctor's pamphlets and articles in *Political Affairs*; Claude Lightfoot's *Ghetto Rebellion to Black Liberation* (1968), *Black America and the World Revolution* (1970) and *Racism and Human Survival* (1972); and Henry Winston's *Strategy for a Black Agenda: A Critique of New Theories of Liberation in the United States and Africa* (1973) plus innumerable pamphlets. And don't forget the white Marxists: Gus Hall's pamphlet *Racism: The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant* (1971) and Herbert Aptheker's *Political Affairs* articles and many books.

James E. Jackson is an important member of this group of Black Marxist writers. He joined the progressive movement in 1931 when he was 16 years old and in college. He has been an activist in the working class and national liberation movements for 40 years and is now the National Education Director of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Jackson was a founder of the Southern Negro Youth Congress of the thirties and forties, led the tobacco workers' strike in Richmond, Va., in 1938, worked with the Detroit auto workers and held leadership positions in the Communist Party in the South in the forties and fifties. He is also a Marxist-Leninist theoretician, a teacher and writer. His first two books *The View from Here* (1963) and *U.S. Negroes in Battle, From Little Rock to Watts* (1967) grew out of his editorials and critical reportage as editor-in-chief of *The Worker* newspaper in the late fifties and sixties. The author of many pamphlets and articles such as "The Meaning of Black Power," "National Pride—Not Nationalism" and "A Fighting People Forging Unity," it was his groundbreaking article "New Features of the Negro Question in the U.S." in the late fifties that showed with great documentation that self-

determination for Blacks in the southern black-belt states had become anachronistic and no longer viable at all. His argument is spelled out in full in *Revolutionary Tracings* in a report "On the Theory of Black Liberation in the U.S." and in "Separatism—A Bourgeois Nationalist Trap."

Today it is very clear that self-segregation or withdrawal or go-it-alone policies are a trap to prevent Blacks from solving their many and pressing problems; that unifying the Black communities for struggle is good, but that the Blacks-organized labor alliance must be built at the same time since the U.S. Blacks have migrated up to 70% into the cities and are 85% working class and 30% of the total working class; that Black people cannot get their freedom alone; that the working class (Black and white) is the decisive class in bringing about social change in a capitalist society because of its direct relationship to the means of production; and that the struggle for black equality and freedom is really a specialized part of the working-class struggle. In line with this and especially valid for our time and the struggle in our country, there is Lenin's concept of the wide range of relations between the oppressed Black people's movements and the white U.S. working class movement of the oppressing people; that each movement must be helped to identify its cause and goals with that of the other; and that the convergence and mutual reinforcement of these two movements are essential for the victory of either; and especially so when 85% of U.S. Blacks are of the working class; and that the hostility, distrust and prejudice of each of these two groups for the other, built up and kept alive for many decades by the ruling class to facilitate the dividing and exploiting of both Black and white workers, must be overcome for the mutual benefit and advancement of both groups.

All of this is especially apropos at this time when Black intellectuals and activists are writing polemics in black journals as advocates of a "new" Communism-Socialism or of the old separatist black nationalism (*New York Times*, Apr. 28, 1975). The Black nationalists are hopelessly wrong and the "new" Communists-Socialists are away out in left field talking about overthrowing capitalism and imperialism while ignoring the existing movements (white and black) already fighting the ravages of capitalism. This is sheer dreaming and rhetoric; revolutionary phrasemongering with programs doomed for defeat. There is no understanding here of Leninist tactics of struggle, of the need to organize and unite the people, to form alliances and coalitions, however temporary and wavering, that will advance the black

struggle. Some of the "new" Communists-Socialists have disavowed their previous Black nationalist hatred of all whites. But the Black nationalists continue to try to make Marxism-Leninism a white racist doctrine thus revealing that they are totally ignorant of this philosophy which is the very opposite of white racism. It's a skin thing with the Black nationalists, as Henry Winston says in his book. They hate all whites of whatever philosophy and want to have nothing to do with them. The nationalists also say that virulent white racism existed before mercantilism and capitalism. Thus they fly in the face of Frank M. Snowden's *Blacks in Antiquity* (1971) which documents exhaustively that people of the ancient world belonging to different ethnic groups respected each other before the introduction and widespread use of racism as a rationale for black slavery which was the economic basis of mercantilism and capitalism. But the nationalists' assertions won't wash. Historical truth is rapidly coming to the fore to refute the falsifiers and distorters.

James Jackson's "A Talk to Teachers of Marxism" (*Political Affairs*, Apr. 1974) shows that he is a great Marxist teacher. Only a master of Marxism-Leninism could do what Jackson has done in his latest book *Revolutionary Tracings*. He has pulled together selected speeches, memos, reports, articles in *The Worker*, *World Magazine*, *Daily World*, *World Marxist Review* and his many articles in *Political Affairs*, some of which were reprinted as pamphlets, and has made a book covering all important aspects of world politics and black liberation. All of the issues I have raised about black liberation have been more than adequately explained. And much more. Covering the period from 1952 to 1974 Jackson denounces as criminal the advice of the petty bourgeois radicals of *Monthly Review* magazine and the adventuristic advice of I. F. Stone to the black liberation movement. Their advice seems to be in essence: form the Symbionese Liberation Army and wage guerrilla warfare inside the black ghettos against Black collaborators and informers. Jackson also points to the writings of James Boggs and Frantz Fanon as petty bourgeois departures from Marxism-Leninism which have a disorienting effect within the broad left movement.

Jackson finds the main source of Mao Tse-tung's errors in the one-sided experience of the Chinese Revolution which developed through a 22-year civil war. Maoism, a mixture of Trotskyism, bourgeois nationalism, petty bourgeois revolutionism and crude opportunism, is now, he says, the gravest deviation and attack on Marxism in its 124-year history. He compares the progress of the 12 million people of

color in Kazakhstan, in the Soviet Union under socialism, with the pitiful progress and degradation of U.S. Blacks under capitalism. The Southern Negro Youth Congress, which he helped found, worked for the southern Blacks' right to vote and for full political representation in the 1930's and 1940's long before the freedom movement and the Voting Rights Act of the 1960's enabled millions of Black southerners to vote. Jackson's running commentary and analysis of the black liberation movement of the 1960's is particularly valuable. He calls for a continuous fight against racist ideology and propaganda in scholarship and elsewhere as Ted Bassett, Claude Lightfoot, Herbert Aptheker and others have waged for years. And a fight for socialist clarity among Black workers, Black youth and Black intellectuals.

Finally, Jackson explains that Lenin's great work *Imperialism*, with its theory of the uneven development of capitalism, showed the road to national liberation of colonial peoples; it explained why there were colonial peoples, how these colonial peoples were coupled to the working class and the importance of the national liberation struggle in the world revolution. And in his piece on Africa, he points to the Asian-African bloc plus the socialist countries pressuring (later barring) South Africa in the U.N. This is a profoundly learned, clarifying book that should be widely read and studied. The erudition is handled well. Such apt quotations and clear explanations! Very rarely does he let his alliteration get out of hand as in "the desperate antediluvian denizens of Dixiedom." This is also a fighting book pointing the way to correct struggle and to eventual but sure socialist liberation. His speech in the debate with Senator Edmund Muskie at Colby College, Maine, his essay "Lenin and National Liberation" and his speech on Engels, Marcuse and Angela Davis are classic statements summarizing the experiences of the U.S. working class and of the working class of the world.

*Ernest Kaiser*

### *FOR THE EQUALITY OF HUMANKIND*

PAUL ROBESON: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A FREE BLACK MAN. By Virginia Hamilton. Harper and Row, New York. 217 pages. \$5.95.

**P**AUL ROBESON: *The Life and Times of a Free Black Man* is a well researched tribute to the life of one of this country's few genuine

heroes. Probing deep into the Robeson family treasure chest and emerging with significant references to the social ingredients which created the complex but purely loving man that he tried so hard to be, Ms. Hamilton establishes a pattern with which to understand the impetus of Paul Robeson's life. In recreating the vast array of historical contradictions that surrounded Black people at the time of Mr. Robeson's birth and for the first fifty years of this century, Ms. Hamilton severs the tie to her many sources which have all too often intimated that Paul Robeson was a tragic victim of his own reckless political naiveté and endorsements. Examining this most recent biography of the "Black giant" who could easily have cemented an entertainment career to the complete exclusion of any level of political consciousness and involvement, the reader quickly comes to understand the intense truth which emanates from a man who freely loves.

As Paul Robeson, baritone singer, began to realize critical acclaim first in Great Britain and shortly thereafter throughout Europe, the uneasy peace following the war to end all wars was steadily eroding. While German and Japanese nationalism fanatically mushroomed to new heights, and western democracies adopted "yin and yang" attitudes as their foreign policies, Afro-Americans were renewing their pleas for an equal share of economic and social progressivism. The dizzying combination of urban life, factory employment, reborn black arts and letters led many to believe that as the United States had shaken loose from the effects of the economic depression, the socio-economic depression shackling Black hands would also be eradicated. Paul Robeson watched the continued backlash of the thirties as he realized, for the first time, the similarity that imposed class dichotomy in English social life had with the second class plight of Black people in the United States. Meeting and talking with the young African students who would one day preside over independent nations on that great continent, Robeson began to feel his love for the self-determination of all people boil. Further, he lent his ear to the knowledge, wisdom and experience of the fiery leaders of the recently formed Pan-African Congresses.

When he returned to the land of his birth, convinced that the Roosevelt reforms of the New Deal would lift Black people onto the national level of social equality, Robeson was shocked at the stark realities of the continued alien status accorded his Afro-American brothers and sisters. Having traveled throughout Europe singing French, German, Spanish and Russian folk songs, two impressions

from his visits were to remain in his mind and shape his thinking in later years. The first was the inhuman conditions he saw German Jews subjected to, and the second was the remarkable strides toward universal egalitarianism which the Soviet Union had taken. Ms. Hamilton aptly describes the latter emotion:

The Soviet Union appealed to his deep and abiding sense of the equality of man. He daily witnessed the fact that it accepted black Americans for their own worth as it accepted nonwhites from its own population.

Back in the United States, where questions arose about his numerous visits to the Soviet Union and his repeated statements to the effect that the socialism of the Soviet Union *does* address the needs of its people while the democracy of the United States does not, Paul Robeson was depicted no longer as a popular singer/artist, supporter of the Allied war effort, but as a suspected Communist Party member and potential traitor. The author elucidates, perhaps more clearly and factually than any of Mr. Robeson's biographers, that the continued "practical opposition to black advancement was well entrenched" after World War II, a reaction which deeply angered Mr. Robeson. Further, that while the principal official and unofficial goal of the post-Roosevelt administrations was the continuation of the Cold War, "[F]or him, a black man, the ultimate goal of a true democracy had to be equality. And the fight for it was immensely more real to him than his country's fear of Soviet Communism."

This personal, simple political philosophy was to have Paul Robeson branded a Communist, threatened with death, divorced from his livelihood, and denied a passport. His name was thoughtlessly, childishly removed from chronicles of famous and courageous Americans, his records were removed from the market and presumably destroyed, and, as in the Spanish Inquisition, all public record of him as a person was subject to elimination.

As Virginia Hamilton painstakingly and meticulously reveals, Paul Robeson was not a victim of his forceful character, nor was he twenty years ahead of his time; but he did indeed suffer at the hands of powerful but petty politicians and patriots of narrow vision. In assessing the life of Paul Robeson, the author has made limited value judgments; yet she has clearly and convincingly revealed the power and the worth to all men of love for the equality of humankind.

Incidentally, it was not until I had finished Ms. Hamilton's excellent book that I noticed that it had been recommended for "ages 12 up." Everyone should read it.

M. Wellington Benton, Jr.

### AN ANTHOLOGICAL FEAST

KEEPING THE FAITH: WRITINGS BY CONTEMPORARY BLACK AMERICAN WOMEN. Edited by Pat Crutchfield Exum. Fawcett Publications, Greenwich, Conn. 288 pages. \$1.75 (paper).

**H**ERE is a sumptuous feast of Black female literary art well worth an evening's—or several evenings'—consumption.

The courses are numerous: Jayne Cortez, Gwen Brooks, Audre Lorde and Margaret Walker are represented among the twenty-seven poets. And Alice Walker, Toni Morrison and Barbara Banks (among others) can be found in the fiction corner. An essay by Carolyn F. Gerald and a symposium featuring Paule Marshall, Sarah E. Wright, Abbey Lincoln and Alice Childress round out the collection.

The tastes are diverse, ranging from Sharyn Jeanne Skeeter's pungent masterpiece, the poem *Summer Street* ("This woman's cheeks sweat/in the afternoon tilted down/towards her man on the stoop"), to S. A. Williams' *Tell Martha Not To Moan* and Toni Cade Bambara's *Mama Hazel Takes To Her Bed*, two of this reviewer's favorite short stories.

It has been said often that women are the culture carriers—or, as it is put in a recently published ode to male chauvinism, men create history while women *are* history. The implication is, of course, that women have a way with existence which bespeaks a special and exclusive relationship with the universal order of things. One tends to regard such propositions (sexism's contribution to "natural rhythm" theology?) with a certain visceral suspicion. However, it must be granted that the atmosphere of this anthological gathering of sisters is very Earth Motherish, causing dubious theories to traipse mischievously across the mind. A rich and remarkable blend of the intellectual, cultural and sensual has been achieved in many of these works that seems, at times, consciously wrought and, at other times, unstudied. Whatever.

Special mention goes to Lois-Allison Henry for *Africa: Return and Turnabout*, a crisp, iconoclastic report of her journey to Kenya

with a group of unreconstructably white Americans. And to Anne Moody for a touching remembrance of things past in *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.

As for Pat Crutchfield Exum's introduction, we've been there before and in better style—but never mind. Her editorial selections for this anthology were excellent.

Jean Carey Bond

### THE COURTS OF APARTHEID

JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Albie Sachs. University of California Press, Berkeley. 288 pages. \$3.35 (paper).

**A**LBIE SACHS' account, against the background of South African social history, of how the courts have been used over the centuries to regulate race domination, is well-documented, perceptively penetrating and written with such a lively wit and wry humor as to constitute both an enjoyable reading experience and a serious study of race prejudice in the country where it exists in its most virulent form today.

For an American reader—and particularly an American lawyer—it illuminates our racial history by the unexpected variety of the parallels and contrasts with the development of our own racial institutions. As an example, slavery was abolished in South Africa in 1834 by a British Act of Parliament; yet its effect upon race relations was not significantly different from the emancipation of the slaves which resulted from our bloody civil war. As Sachs points out:

Legal emancipation was not the same thing as social emancipation, and many features of the master/slave relationship were reproduced in labour legislation and pass laws and sustained by social practice and attitudes. In particular the notion that certain types of work were fit only to be done by black men under white supervision survived into the industrial era.

The form of "social practice" designed to maintain the badge of slavery despite formal emancipation may have varied with the acceptable standards of the white civilization of our respective cultures, but the net result was the same. As Sachs wryly comments on the



widespread use of the cat and cane as punishment for racial infractions in South Africa:

If lynching is as American as cherry pie, then flogging is as South African as biltong [dried antelope meat].

One highly significant example of the many contrasts in the two societies resulted from the different outcome of the constitutional struggle to determine whether the judiciary could invalidate laws enacted by the legislature. In South Africa the principle of "testing," or "judicial supremacy" (as we refer to it), lost out in a political-legal struggle between Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, and Kotze, the Chief Justice; whereas Chief Justice John Marshall, over the bitter opposition of President Jefferson, succeeded in establishing judicial supremacy as a constitutional principle in the United States.

The consequences of this difference in the outcome of the constitutional conflict had substantial effect on the development of the racial conflict in each country. Dutch-Roman and English common law, both of which underlie South African jurisprudence, is based on the concept of "equality" under the law. In its earlier stages the South African courts found difficulty in reconciling this principle of equality with growing bodies of statutes designed to create and maintain racially separate amenities, facilities and development. Its Supreme Court ultimately found an uneasy perch for the resulting paradox on the legal edifice of "separate but equal" or as it was sometimes expressed, "separate but not substantially unequal."

However, with the access to political power by the Nationalists in 1948 firmly based on the racist supremacy doctrine of Apartheid, even mild judicial vacillation on the issue of white supremacy could no longer be tolerated. Parliament adopted the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 which expressly authorized "separate and unequal" facilities and thus put the matter beyond judicial power to deal with, and no further appeal to constitutional or entrenched rights was available. Sachs noted the different route taken by our Supreme Court in its passage from *Plessy v Ferguson* to *Brown v Board of Education*:

Thus, at a time when the United States Supreme Court was about to strike down the "separate but equal" doctrine as invalid, the South African Parliament entrenched not only separation but inequality. South African law had accordingly moved in the opposite

direction to that followed by American law.

Comparisons between the two legal systems would be misleading and place undue emphasis on legal developments rather than political struggle in eliminating racial oppression, unless one keeps in mind one overriding demographic factor—in South Africa non-whites (Blacks, coloureds, Asians) represent the vast majority of the population (approximately 80%), whereas whites in the United States constitute the majority by approximately the same percentage.

Given an opposite racial composition, the legal development in each country—judicial supremacy doctrine notwithstanding—may well have been different.

For a number of years South African courts have sought to maintain an earlier international reputation of independence and judicial impartiality by pointing out its circumscribed authority under the political structure to administer the laws, including Apartheid (which had, after all, been adopted by the Parliament and not the courts), in a fair and impartial manner. In an oblique reference to the Nuremberg judgment, Sachs examines this argument in a manner reminiscent of the defense unsuccessfully raised in prosecutions arising out of the young Americans' refusal to support the Vietnam war:

A positivist might ask simply whether the judges acted in accordance with the law as set out at the time in the decrees of dominant political authority, whereas a supporter of natural law might ask further whether these enactments contained at least that minimum core of morality which in their view distinguishes rules of law from tyrannical edicts. Both might say that *just as special heinousness nullifies the excuse of a soldier that he was merely obeying orders, so gross inhumanity might deprive a judicial officer of the plea that he was merely carrying out the law*. Much, of course, would depend on the forum in which the evaluation was being carried out, since the criteria adopted in the pages of a law journal might differ radically from those applied by a post-revolutionary domestic court, or those relied upon by an international legal tribunal. (my emphasis)

Sachs' emphasis on the judicial system and particularly the courts flows from his belief that they provided an indispensable ingredient in the unification of South Africa as a nation based on racial supremacy.

The courts lay at the heart of government, since they were used not only to extend the area of effective administration in a territorial sense (via magistrates and the Circuit Court) but also to bind diverse peoples to a common political authority.

The judges were able to play this indispensable role by clothing themselves with the graceful appearance of fairness and impartiality, thus succeeding in commanding the support of both oppressors and oppressed. Sachs warns against the underlying evil of such a judicial system by equal elegance—in neatly removing its black gowns and white wigs. And behold, the judges are naked!

The often asked question of whether the end can justify the means should perhaps be turned around to ask whether the means can justify the end. *The actual effects of the legal system and the interests promoted or suppressed by it should be as much a matter for enquiry as its formal elegance or procedural equity.* The enhancement of techniques to serve ends which are unjust promotes rather than reduces injustice. In this connection it should be noted that the courts give a sense of orderliness and regularity to domination. *The measured language of the law and the decorum of the courtroom help to calm persons who face punishment, while forensic combat diverts and absorbs hostility.* (my emphasis)

But even the facade of due process fairness and of judicial impartiality has been rudely stripped away from the judges in recent years by the Nationalists' implacable determination to apply Apartheid principles toward total separation and total white domination. By Act of Parliament all political dissent and activity have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Special Police, who have the power to arrest and imprison suspected defendants or even potential witnesses for indefinite periods of time, in solitary confinement, under constant interrogation, and without right to lawyer, friends or writ of habeas corpus. And the courts have been specifically excluded from any judicial interference with this process whenever the Commissioner of Police so decides.

What have lawyers who oppose Apartheid been able to do in this process?

By reason of the division of the bar into advocates and solicitors, the wearing of the robes and wigs, the continued usage of such ancient symbols of authority as "Your Worship" in addressing the judges,

and the historically limited role of the lawyer within the narrowing area of law as an aspect of political power in South Africa, the lawyers have had little room for meaningful opposition. Sachs develops this aspect of the struggle with perhaps somewhat less objectivity than characterizes his general style, since he was one of the victims.

Most lawyers bowed to the political winds. Those who fought back found themselves engaged in delaying but futile rear guard actions. Any legal victory was immediately erased by a Supreme Court enlarged by the Nationalist government to reflect its racial policies, or by Act of Parliament.

An incident during the imprisonment of Albie Sachs under the infamous 90-day detention law will illustrate the point. Friendly members of the Bar brought an application to permit him to read to relieve the psychological oppression of absolute cell loneliness, except during periods of unrelieved police interrogation. The judge granted the application, and hope arose that the judiciary had finally had the guts to intervene, even at a minimal level, and might yet try to curb some of the worst excesses of the police procedures. The victory didn't last long. The Appellate Court soon reversed and police rule remained untainted by judicial interference.

Many lawyers were hounded and harassed, some placed under severe restrictions of movement with consequent economic difficulties and professional ostracism. The few Black, Coloured and Asian lawyers suffered first and most, but their white colleagues in resistance were also banned, arrested, isolated and exiled.

Nelson Mandela, the son of a Transkei Chief, and Bram Fischer,\* the son of the Judge President of the former Orange Free State, both fought as lawyers as long as it was possible to do so without becoming a part of the system itself, albeit in "loyal" opposition. When that time arrived, each in his turn gave up law as a vehicle for social and political change and became a part of an underground revolutionary movement to overthrow the Apartheid system. Both were eventually found, tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Both are prison symbols of the growing resistance gathering in South Africa.

One would hope that Albie Sachs' book might inspire someone here to recount the development of our legal system, against the "social history" of this country, to expose whatever veil of neutrality still remains as to its "neutral" role during the two centuries in which racial oppression developed and grew alongside constitutional guarantees of equality, freedom and justice. That our system of law em-

\* Died May 1975

braces a significant aspect of real state power should add an important dimension to such a study.

*Ernest Goodman*

### A FICTION OF REVELATION

SEEDS BENEATH THE SNOW: VIGNETTES FROM THE SOUTH. By Arthenia J. Bates. Howard University Press, Washington, D.C. 148 pages. \$6.95.

AS WE COME to know more about the far-reaching influence literature can have in shaping attitudes, we must become more critical of what it is contemporary fiction invites us to value. To be sure, literature is one of our most powerful instruments for transmitting human and cultural values, and this fact places a heavy burden on writers who are sensitive to the modern plight of humanity. For they realize poems do not stop institutionalized brutality and stories do not directly improve the quality of life for working people. It is within the power of fiction, however, to delineate and to reinforce premises underlying social behavior. And given the current shape of African-American life and thought, our most functional and positive fiction is that which reveals the *deep* strengths of our people rather than that which dazzles and blinds with *surface* symbolizations.

It is a fiction of revelation that one encounters in the twelve vignettes of *Seeds Beneath the Snow*. Using the rural Black South as regional setting, Arthenia Bates writes with great sensitivity to language and folkways of plain, solidly rooted Black people. The brevity of the form she chose commits her to precision, sharp description of character and action by using verbal economy. In "Lost Note," a few lines of dialogue richly characterize Clara Atkins and Nursey Belle McCants:

"What we to do, Clara? I pray until I get shame bothering the Lord."

"We got to ram some sense in these boys' heads."

"Since Juny Boy made twelve, I can talk to him a little more. That's all I can do, Clara."

"Well, I can't say that for Son. Something's left out of his middle. You don't tell me something ain't wrong with a boy that sleeps through frying bacon and perking coffee every morning."

"Maybe he just can't smell, Clara."

"That's just what I'm trying to get at. He don't use all of his senses."

In other stories narrative voice quite effectively exposes implicit social comment. When the Home Economics teacher realizes the young narrator of "Home X and Me" does not know what a lemon squeezer is, she admonishes the whole class: "Girls, . . . you ought to pay attention to what your mothers teach you." The narrator thinks:

"Pay attention." I had to pay attention and adhere to *my* mother's teachings, just as she had been taught to obey *her* mother. There had been generations of obedience, but neither mother would have recognized a lemon squeezer had it been the size of one of the modern football bowls.

The fidelity with which the author attends to nuances of Southern speech patterns makes the fiction not only accurate but attractive and thought-provoking as well. As we begin to listen to *how* the characters talk, our attention is drawn to *what* they talk about and *why*. Thus, the vignettes are not merely plausible reconstructions of scenes from human drama; they are also finely realized examinations of the motives and questions behind the drama.

"Silas," "Little Jake," "Runetta," and "Home X and Me" explore aspects of the maturation process from a decidedly Southern perspective. "The Shadow Between Them" suggests that children often understand more about adult behavior than is usually credited. "Return of the Spouse" is one of the most dignified tales of the prodigal husband in recent literature. "The Bouncing Game" and "Dear Sis" portray two dimensions of family bonding. "The Entertainers" treats the grounds for racial hatred. "Lost Note" is a subtle tale about the response of Black mothers to the Till lynching. "Dinner Party" humorously undermines the supposed benefits of social engineering. And "A Ceremony of Innocence" (Chapter 51 of the novel *The Deity Nodded*, Harlo, 1973) raises important questions about the relative merits of Islam and the old time religion. As a collection, these stories give us a faithful panorama of the way

things and people used to be down home.

Commenting on the African writer, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o tells us: "The novelist is haunted by a sense of the past. His work is often an attempt to come to terms with 'the thing that has been,' a struggle, as it were, to sensitively register his encounter with history, his people's history."<sup>\*</sup> Certainly these words apply to the task Arthenia Bates has undertaken in *Seeds Beneath the Snow*. She finds it necessary to come to grips with our history as it has been in the South, so that present and future readers will have an imaginative basis for coming to know their identities. Her stories are attempts to say what have been, and continue to be, the sources of strength for Black people in this country. When one finishes the collection, the book seems to ask, "Now, how will you put what I have shown you to everyday use?"

What the fiction of *Seeds Beneath the Snow* invites us to value is the hard wisdom got out of cottonfields, canefields, and tobacco fields; out of the desperate struggle to maintain human dignity, family, and community in a society that had some difficulty understanding the word "human"; out of the tragedy and the comedy that result from interpersonal rituals. It was perhaps the ethical and technical excellence of the vignettes that persuaded Howard University Press to reprint the collection. When Greenwich Book Publishers brought out the collection in 1969, one reviewer noted that the format was "most unattractive in design and poorly laid out." The Howard University edition is expertly printed and most attractive in design. But grateful that I am the book is aesthetically pleasing, I am more concerned that readers experience the contents and make use of the values.

Jerry W. Ward

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An editor's note was inadvertently omitted from Jean Carey Bond's "The Media Image of Black Women" appearing in the Readers' Forum, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1975. Her article was the unedited transcript of a speech delivered at the Media Women's Association Symposium at New York University on December 7, 1974.

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\* "The Writer and His Past" in *Homecoming: Essays on African and Caribbean Literature, Culture and Politics*, p. 89.

# RECENT BOOKS

ERNEST KAISER

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

- Adams, Frank, *UNEARTHING SEEDS OF FIRE: THE IDEA OF HIGHLANDER*. John F. Blair, Publisher, 1406 Plaza Dr. S.W., Winston-Salem, N.C. 27103. 255 pages. \$7.95. (A book about the progressive Highlander Folk School of Tennessee. Another recent book about Highlander is the one by Martin Duberman for what it's worth.)
- Albertson Chris and Gunther Schuller. *BESSIE SMITH: EMPRESS OF THE BLUES*. New York: Schirmer Books: Macmillan. 143 pages. \$7.95 (paper). A Frank Music Corp. edition of this book will be distributed to the music trade by Walter Kane & Son, Inc. (This is a collection of 30 of Bessie Smith's most famous songs with biography, photos, musical analysis and discography. This is the fourth book on Bessie Smith. The others are by Albertson, Carman Moore and Paul Oliver. Schuller also deals with Bessie Smith in his book *Early Jazz*. These books, coupled with the prize-winning, hottest-selling, re-issued in 1971 records of Bessie Smith, make for a Bessie Smith revival of great proportions. Albertson's research disproves the story that Bessie bled to death in 1937 after an auto accident because a Clarksdale, Miss., white-only hospital refused to accept her. The story, in *down beat* magazine of 1937 and in Edward Albee's 1960 play *The Death of Bessie Smith*, may be false because Bessie died before she reached a hospital. But it would certainly have been true in 1937 if she had tried to get treatment at a white-only hospital in Mississippi.)
- Alford, Sterling G. *FAMOUS FIRST BLACKS*. New York: Vantage Press. 105 pages. \$3.95. (This book of black pioneers in many fields has a lot of very useful information. The author has done a good job but with some inevitable errors. The second World Festival of Negro Art is to be held in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1975, not 1974; Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man* was published in 1952, not 1953. The National Book Award for fiction was given to Ellison in 1953 for the year 1952; Alexander L. Twilight, who graduated from Middlebury College, Vt., in 1823, is now ahead of both John B. Russwurm and Edward Jones who graduated in 1826 and are mentioned here as the first two black U.S. college graduates; W.E.B. DuBois's *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* is his doctoral dissertation, a book, not an article; there are other black U.S. Rhodes scholars after Alain Locke, the first: in the 1960's, Joseph Stanley Sanders and John Wideman were chosen together the same year. Since these two, there have been four or five other black Rhodes scholars. The first black woman doctor was Rebecca Lee who graduated from medical school in 1864; then came Rebecca Cole in 1867 [some say 1869]; then came Susan McKinney in 1870 who was earlier called the first black woman doctor. Percy Julian was born in 1899, not 1898.)
- Allen, James and Geneva. *GOD BLESS THIS CHILD*. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. 180 pages. \$7.00. (A novel by a black couple about five fatherless children trying to survive in the ghetto environment in which they live.)
- ALTERNATIVES IN PRINT 75-76: A CATALOG OF SOCIAL CHANGE*



- PUBLICATIONS. Glide Publications, 330 Ellis St., #404, San Francisco, Ca. 94102. 346 pages. \$8.95 (paper). (This is the fourth edition of the American Library Assn.'s compendium of 25,000 media tools for social change not usually found in *Books in Print* and the like. Included in this small presses, movement publishers listings are materials of interest to Backs about open housing, civil rights, third world movements, music, radical literature and radical theology.)
- Anstey, Roger. THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE AND BRITISH ABOLITION, 1760-1810. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 456 pages. \$22.50. (The author is the Professor of Modern History at the University of Kent, Canterbury. His other books are *Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century* and *King Leopold's Legacy: The Congo Under Belgian Rule*.)
- Armer, Michael. AFRICAN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: A REVIEW AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. New York: Africana Publishing Co. xii, 321 pages. (In the African Bibliography Series of four volumes published so far which includes *Children's Books on Africa*. This bibliography has material on personality types, psychological structures, etc.; it has books, dissertations, magazine articles, etc.)
- Ashe, Arthur with Frank Defort. ARTHUR ASHE: PORTRAIT IN MOTION. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. xii, 272 pages. 16 pages of photos. \$8.95. (Ashe is now the top world class tennis professional. Other books about him are *Advantage Ashe* [1967] by Arthur Ashe with Clifford G. Gewecke, *Arthur Ashe: Tennis Champion* [1969] by Louis Robinson, Jr., and John McPhee's *Levels of the Game* [1969]. Other sports books about black athletes are Lew Fishman's *The New York Knicks: Pride of Gotham* about basketball and Evonne Goolagong's *Evonne: On the Move* about the Australian Aborigine woman tennis player.)
- Astor, Gerald. ". . . AND A CREDIT TO HIS RACE": THE HARD LIFE AND TIMES OF JOSEPH LOUIS BARROW, a.k.a. JOE LOUIS. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$7.95. (Another biography of the great former heavyweight boxing champion. Other recent books about Louis are A. O. Edmonds's *Joe Louis* [Wm. B. Eerdmans] and Barney Nagler's *Brown Bomber—The Pilgrimage of Joe Louis* [World].)
- Baker, Jr. Houston A. SINGERS OF DAYBREAK: STUDIES IN BLACK AMERICAN LITERATURE. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. \$6.95. (Baker, a young black professor of English now at the University of Pennsylvania, is also the author of *Long Black Song: Essays in Black American Literature and Culture* [University Press of Virginia, 1972] and *A Many-Colored Coat of Dreams: The Poetry of Countee Cullen* [Broadside Press]. He is the editor of *Black Literature in America* [1971] and *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Native Son* [1973].)
- Barclay, Pamela. CHARLEY PRIDE. Creative Educational Society, 515 North Front St., Mankato, Mn. 56001. \$4.95. (A book about Charley Pride, a black top singer of country music and winner of prizes.)
- Barry, James P. THE BERLIN OLYMPICS: 1936—BLACK AMERICAN ATHLETES COUNTER NAZI PROPAGANDA. New York: Franklin Watts. 88 pages. \$3.90. (A World Focus Book for children.)
- Bebey, Francis. AFRICAN MUSIC; A PEOPLE'S ART. Translated by Josephine

- Bennett. New York: Lawrence Hill. \$10.00 (cloth); \$5.95 (paper). (A sociological study with many illustrations. Bebey, a West African writer, is also the author of *Agatha Moudio's Son* [1974], a novel about a Cameroon village.)
- Beckmann, David M. EDEN REVIVAL: SPIRITUAL CHURCHES IN GHANA. Foreword by William J. Danker. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. 144 pages. \$8.95 (paper). (Beckmann has studied mission fields in Asia, East Africa, Ghana and South America. He found "some remarkable similarities between Pentecostal churches in the USA and African independent churches, in particular relating to the participatory style of worship. . . .")
- Bell, Marty. THE LEGEND OF DR. J. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghan. \$7.95. (A book about Julius Irving, the black superstar basketball player with the New York Nets of the American Basketball Association.)
- Benskina, Princess Orelia. I HAVE ALREADY LOVED YOU. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. 48 pages. \$3.50. (Poems inspired by her visit to Ghana. She was born in Colon, Panama.)
- Berendt, Joachim. THE JAZZ BOOK: FROM NEW ORLEANS TO ROCK AND FREE JAZZ. New York: Lawrence Hill. xvi, 459 pages. \$12.95 (cloth); \$5.95 (paper). (This is a much-needed, completely revised, expanded fourth edition of the standard book on jazz for over 20 years.)
- Birch, McLane. THE KANDI MAN. Detroit: Broadside Press. 31 pages. \$2.00 (paper). (A small book of poems by the black author [known as Kandi]. He received a B.A. in History from Michigan State, an M.A. in English from the University of Detroit and is currently a Ph.D. candidate there.)
- Birkos, Alexander S. and Lewis A. Tambs. AFRICAN AND BLACK AMERICAN STUDIES: ACADEMIC WRITER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICALS, Vol. III. Littleton, Colo.: Libraries Unlimited. 208 pages. \$11.50.
- BLACK AMERICAN WRITERS PAST AND PRESENT: A BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY by Theresa G. Rush, Carol F. Myers and Esther S. Arata. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press. 865 pages, 2 vols. \$30.00. (The information here about the lives and works of over 2,000 black poets, dramatists, novelists, short story writers, literary critics and writers of children's and young adult books, living and dead, is quite comprehensive and very useful. The bibliographical listings of individual authors, although not attempting to be complete, are quite good and much more extensive than those in Darwin T. Turner's *Afro-American Writers* [1970]. There is a 60-page general bibliography in *Black American Writers* but Turner's many subject bibliographies are much more useful. The bibliographical material in *Black American Writers* varies from more than that found in Ann A. Shockley and Sue P. Chandler's *Living Black American Authors: A Biographical Directory* [1973] to almost nothing but a reference to the material in the book by Shockley and Chandler. The hard-working women authors have been and still are in the Department of English, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire and are also writers.)
- THE BLACK BIBLIOGRAPHY. The Gifts and Exchanges Division of the Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City 84112. \$12.00.
- THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN CHILDREN'S AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS. Sponsored by the North Manhattan Project, Countee Cullen Regional Branch, Office of Children's Services. Available from the Office of Branch Libraries,

New York Public Library, 8 East 40 Street, New York City 10016. 32 pages. \$1.00 (paper). (This bibliography has been out for a good while but it should be listed. It has lists of records and cassettes, films, filmstrips, multi media kits and directories of sources. African and Caribbean folk music and folk tales and African films are also included. Another New York Public Library publication is the annotated bibliography *The Black Experience in Children's Books* [122 pages, \$2.50].)

THE BLACK HERITAGE LIBRARY. Poitier Enterprises Ltd., Afro-American History New England Division, 484 Orange St., New Haven, Ct. 06511. 56 vols., over 26,000 pages. List price \$799.95 (with coupon in full page newspaper ad in *New York Daily Challenge*, Mar. 27, 1975, p. 7, 50% off list price or \$399.95). Each volume indexed; also a separate cumulative index volume; continuous up-dating. Other reference sets in the making about Blacks are the *World Encyclopedia of Black Peoples* [Scholarly Press, 22929 Industrial Dr. E., St. Clair Shores, Mi. 48080, 18 vols., \$650.00] edited by Keith Irvine and *World Encyclopedia of Black Music* [Greenwood Press, 3 vols.] edited by Leonard Goines, Dominique-Rene de Lerma and Eileen Southern. Reference sets already published on Blacks are *The Negro Heritage Library* [10 vols.]; *The International Library of Negro Life and History* [11 vols.] available from the Woodson-founded Association, Washington, D.C.; *Afro-American Encyclopedia* [Educational Book Publishers, 1500 N.E. 131 St., North Miami, Fla., 10 vols., \$224.00]; *Reference Library of Black America* [Bellwether Publishing Co., 167 E. 67 St., New York City, 5 vols.] and *Ebony Pictorial History of Black America* [Johnson Publishing Co., 4 vols.] *The Encyclopedia Africana*, talked about by Carter G. Woodson and worked on by W.E.B. Du Bois and others in Ghana from 1961 until Du Bois's death in August 1963 and afterward by Alphaeus Hunton, has never been published. But *African Encyclopedia* [Oxford University Press, 554 pages, \$13.00] edited by W. Senteza Kajubi et al. and *Dictionary of Black African Civilization* [Leon Amiel, Publisher, 31 W. 46 St., New York City 10036, 350 pages, \$19.95] edited by George Balindier, Jacques Maquet et al. have been published recently.)

BLACK LIST: U.S.A. Black List, Box 3552, Grand Central Sta., New York City 10017. 2 vols. \$35 for set; \$20 each. (The first edition of the *Black List* was published in 1971 as one volume covering the U.S., Africa and the Caribbean. This second edition is expanded and updated covering publishers, the media, organizations, colleges, etc. The *National Afrikan Kalendar* is a monthly listing convention dates and places of black organizations plus news items, etc., published by Afram Associates, 68-72 E. 131 St., New York City, \$10.00 per year.)

BLACK NAMES IN AMERICA: A GUIDE TO THEIR HISTORY AND MEANING. Edited by Murray Heller and Newbell N. Puckett. Boston: G. K. Hall. \$29.55. (Puckett is the author of *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* [1926].)

Braithwaite, E. R. HONORARY WHITE. New York: McGraw-Hill. 190 pages. \$7.95. (This is a report of Braithwaite's visit to South Africa. A native of Guyana and his country's representative at the UN, he is the author of *To Str, with Love, A Kind of Homecoming, Paid Servant, Choice of Straws and Reluctant Neighbors*. Another recent book about South Africa is Richard E. Lapchick's *The Politics of Race and International Sport: The Case of South Africa* [Greenwood Press].)

- Carr, James. **BAD: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.** New York: Herman Graf Assoc. 235 pages. \$1.50 (paper). (Carr, a Black now dead, was in prison with George Jackson, author of *Soledad Brother* [1970] and *Blood in My Eye* [1971].)
- Chavoor, Sherman and Bill Davidson. **THE FIFTY-METER JUNGLE: HOW OLYMPIC GOLD MEDAL SWIMMERS ARE MADE.** New York: Coward-McCann. \$6.95. (Here Chavoor holds out hope of training a black swimmer who could duplicate the Olympic feats of Chavoor's star pupil Mark Spitz in the 1972 Olympic swimming races. There are few Blacks in swimming.)
- Clarke, Austin. **THE BIGGER LIGHT: A NOVEL.** Boston: Little, Brown. 288 pages. (Clarke, a black writer born in Barbados, attended Trinity College at the University of Toronto, Canada. He has taught at several white U.S. universities. *The Bigger Light*, about West Indians in Toronto, is the third novel of a trilogy that includes *The Meeting Point* and *Storm of Fortune*. His other novels are *The Survivors of the Crossing* and *Amongst Thistles and Thorns*. A recent book of short stories by Clarke is *When He was Free and Young and He Used to Wear Silks*. He is now cultural attache to the embassy of Barbados in Washington, D.C.)
- Clifton, Fred J. **DARL.** New York: Joseph Okpaku Publishing Co. 104 pages. \$4.95. (A book about a black student and a white teacher, for children and adults.)
- Cobb, Pamela. **INSIDE THE DEVIL'S MOUTH: FIRST POEMS.** Lotus Press, P.O. Box 601, College Park Sta., Detroit, Mi. 48221. 50 pages. \$1.95 (paper). (Cobb is a young black woman author and now a graduate teaching fellow in English literature at Eastern Michigan University. Other books of poetry are black author Hiram Nall's *When Leilani Wears Red* and veteran progressive white southern author Don West's *O Mountaineers! A Collection of Poetry* [Appalachian Press, P.O. Box 8074, Huntington, W. Va., 25705, 242 pages, \$3.95, paper].)
- Cohen, Leo and Ralph J. Erickson. **RACE AND CULTURE: A PSYCHOLOGICAL INSIGHT INTO THE PRESENT AND PAST.** Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. \$6.00. (A history of Blacks from slavery to the present.)
- Comer, James P. and Alvin F. Poussaint. **BLACK CHILD CARE. HOW TO BRING UP A HEALTHY BLACK CHILD IN AMERICA.** New York: Simon and Schuster. 408 pages. \$9.95. (Comer, an associate professor at Yale, and Poussaint, an associate professor at Harvard, are two black psychiatrists. Comer is the author of *Beyond Black and White* [1971]. Poussaint is the author of *Why Blacks Kill Blacks* [1972] and many magazine articles. The two authors were interviewed about their new book and themselves in the *New York Times*, May 30, 1975, page 36.)
- THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE: THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION.** Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights, Notre Dame, Ind. 88 pages (paper). (This collection of speeches at a symposium includes contributions from Judge Constance Baker Motley, Louis L. Redding, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, Arthur J. Goldberg, Theodore M. Hesburgh, Ruby G. Martin, etc.)
- Cortado, Rafael L. **BLACK STUDIES: AN URBAN AND COMPARATIVE CURRICULUM.** Lexington, Ma.: Xerox College Publishing. 224 pages. \$6.95 (paper). (Black author Cortado of Hostos College, Bronx, N.Y., has written

a good book on black studies. Other books on black studies are John W. Blasingame's *New Perspectives on Black Studies* [1971] and Nick Aaron Ford's *Black Studies: Threat or Challenge* [1973].)

Cortez, Jayne. SACRIFICATIONS. The Author, P.O. Box 249, Village Sta., New York City 10014. This is black woman Cortez's third book of poetry. The other two are *Pisa Stained Stairs and the Monkey Man's Wares* and *Festivals and Funerals*. Cortez also reads her poetry on the record *Celebrations and Solitudes* accompanied by Richard Davis, bassist [Strata East, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City 10010, \$5.00]. June Jordan, in *Black World* [Mar. 1975] compares this album to the *Weary Blues* album of 1957 with Langston Hughes and bassist Charlie Mingus on one side.)

Cover Robert. JUSTICE ACCUSED: ANTISLAVERY AND THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. New Haven, Ct.: Yale Univ. Press. \$15.00.

Davis, Arthur P. and Michael W. Peplow (editors). THE NEW NEGRO RENAISSANCE: AN ANTHOLOGY. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. xxxi, 538 pages. \$10.00. (The great anthology on the 1920's New Negro Renaissance has been Alain Locke's *The New Negro: An Interpretation* published in the twenties and reprinted twice in the 1960's. We have needed a new one and this is it. Black Howard University professor Davis is the author of *From the Dark Tower: Afro-American Writers 1900 to 1960* [1974], one of the editors along with Sterling Brown and Ulysses Lee of *The Negro Caravan* [1941, 1969] and co-editor with Saunders Redding of *Cavalcade: Negro American Writing from 1970 to the Present* [1971].)

Davis, George A. and O. Fred Donaldson. GEOGRAPHY OF BLACKS IN THE UNITED STATES. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$5.95.

Davis, Lenwood G. BLACKS IN THE CITIES: 1900-1974: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Council of Planning Librarians, P.O. Box 229, Monticello, Il. 61856. 82 pages. \$8.00 (paper). Davis, a black professor in the Black Studies Dept. of Ohio State University, Columbus, has compiled a number of good, useful, unannotated, non-definitive, to-be-added-to, working bibliographies. Others are *Ecology of Blacks in the Inner City: An Exploratory Bibliography*; *The Black Family in Urban Areas in the United States*; *Black Capitalism in Urban America*; *Black Business, Employment, Economics and Finance in Urban America*; *Blacks in the Pacific Northwest: 1788-1974*; *Blacks in the State of Oregon, 1788-1974*; *Juvenile Delinquency in the Black Community* and *Sickle Cell Anemia: A Preliminary Survey*. This is good work but my Recent Books lists in FREEDOMWAYS over the last few years should have been looked at for late books on various subjects which are not in Davis's bibliographies.)

Derrick, Jonathan. AFRICA'S SLAVES TODAY. New York: Schocken Books. 256 pages. \$13.50. (White author studied at Oxford and is on the editorial staff of *West Africa* magazine. He is now on the staff of Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria.)

Dillard, J. L. ALL-AMERICAN ENGLISH: A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA. New York: Random House. 369 pages. \$15.00. (Dillard, the author of *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States* [1972], now says in *All-American English* that the great influence of the language of black slaves and American Indians on American English through cowboys, etc., has not been considered by the linguists who hold

- that regional American dialects are just regional English dialects geographically transposed.)
- Dockstader, Frederick J. **THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN GRADUATE STUDIES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THESES AND DISSERTATIONS.** Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, Broadway and 155 St., New York City. 2 vols., \$18.00. (Covers the period from 1890 to 1970. Other recent books on the Indians are Bertha P. Dutton's *Indians of the American Southwest* [Prentice-Hall, \$14.95], a history, and *Voices from Wah'Kon-Tah: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans* edited by Robert K. Dodge and Joseph B. McCullough [International Publishers, \$7.50, \$2.75].)
- Dragonwagon, Crescent. Pictures by Lillian Hoban. **STRAWBERRY DRESS ESCAPE.** New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$6.95. (A book of poetry for children.)
- Dresang, Eliza T. **THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA.** New York: Lipincott. 159 pages. \$5.95. (Illustrated with photographs. In the Portraits of the Nations series.)
- Du Bois, W. E. B. **THE COLLECTED WORKS OF W. E. B. DU BOIS.** Edited with long introductions and corrections by Herbert Aptheker. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson. (The first ten of 40 volumes have been published. They are the *Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois* by Aptheker; *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*, *The Philadelphia Negro*, *The Souls of Black Folk*, *John Brown*, *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*; A Novel, *Dark Princess: A Romance*, *The Negro*, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* and *The Gift of Black Folk: The Negroes in the Making of America*. These are listed and described in Kraus-Thomson's *Afro-American Studies* reprint brochure.)
- Engerman, Stanley L. and Eugene D. Genovese (editors). **RACE AND SLAVERY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.** Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. \$20.00 (cloth); \$9.75 (paper). (Slavery is the main field for the false and phony quantitative historical research. Engerman, co-author with Robert W. Fogel of *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* [1974], and Genovese, author of the equally phony *Roll, Jordan, Roll* [1974], are giving us more of the same lies. The writers in *Race and Slavery* are trying to rationalize black U.S. slavery as not so bad so that Americans can escape the terrible guilt of chattel slavery.)
- Faust, Naomi. **SPEAKING IN VERSE.** Branden Press, 221 Columbus Ave., Boston, Ma. 02116. 87 pages. \$3.75 (paper). (Naomi Faust is black, has a Ph.D. from New York University and teaches at the City College of New York. She is listed in the *International Who's Who in Poetry* and has been published in several magazines.)
- Finkelstein, Sidney. **JAZZ: A PEOPLE'S MUSIC.** Da Capo Press, 227 W. 17 St., New York City 10011. \$12.95. (This is a reprint of an early, important study of jazz by the late Marxist critic first published in 1948. Two paperback reprints of jazz books by Da Capo Press are Winthrop Sargeant's *Jazz, Hot and Hybrid* and *Jazz* edited by Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy.)
- Folson, Franklin. **RED POWER ON THE RIO GRANDE: THE NATIVE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF 1680.** Introduction by Alfonso Ortiz. Chicago: Follett Publishing Co. 144 pages. \$5.95.

- Fordham, Monroe. MAJOR THEMES IN NORTHERN BLACK RELIGIOUS THOUGHT, 1800-1860. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. xii, 172 pages. \$8.50. (Fordham is a black assistant professor of history at the State University of New York, Buffalo. His book is about the black ministers' developing a theology relevant to black people during the early years of the independent black churches in the U.S.)
- Forman, James. FOLLOW THE RIVER. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux. \$6.95. (A novel for young people about Hindu and Moslem, young and old, marching side by side much like Gandhi's last great march for peace. Forman is the black author of *The Making of Black Revolutionaries: A Personal Account* [1972] and *The Political Thought of James Forman* [1970]. Two recent children's books about Blacks are Walter Dean Myers's *Fast Sam, Cool Clyde and Stuff* [Viking Press] and T. E. Bethancourt's *New York City Too Far from Tampa Blues* [Holiday House].)
- Franklin, R. S. and S. Resnik. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RACISM. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. \$4.00 (paper). (A textbook edition published some time ago. An excellent new book on this subject is Victor Perlo's *Economics of Racism, USA: Roots of Black Inequality* [International Publishers, \$8.50, \$3.25].)
- Galeano, Eduardo. OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA: FIVE CENTURIES OF THE PILLAGE OF A CONTINENT. Translated by Cedric Belfrage. New York: Monthly Review Press. 313 pages \$3.95 (paper). (A book about the European powers and the U.S. exploiting the Latin American peoples over the last 500 years.)
- Garrett, Beatrice. WELFARE ON SKID ROW. New York: Exposition Press. \$6.00. (This is a first novel by a black woman about the welfare system along Skid Row in Los Angeles where she operated a restaurant for five years. She writes well and with first-hand experience about the hustlers who victimize the needy welfare recipients. Having studied screen writing, she finds that scripts by Blacks are rejected by white film producers, but that white writers pick black writers' brains, reject their ideas but then use the Blacks' ideas as their own! Black author Marcus A. Hart's first novel *The Lover with a Killer's Instinct* [Exposition Press] is a terrible novel of sex and violence.)
- Georgakas, Dan and Marvin Surkin. DETROIT: I DO MIND DYING: A STUDY IN URBAN REVOLUTION. New York: St. Martin's Press. 250 pages. \$3.95 (paper). (A deliberately episodic book by left-wing sectarians about Blacks and black radical politics in Detroit. A lot of facts thrown together but not much perspective on how to organize for struggle. Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit is belittled.)
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan (editors). ETHNICITY: THEORY AND EXPERIENCE. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard Univ. Press. \$15.00. (In 1963, Glazer and Moynihan published *Beyond the Melting Pot* about ethnic groups in New York City: Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish. This book was weak, but the writings of Glazer and Moynihan since 1963 show that they have become quite racist in their attitudes toward non-whites. This book *Ethnicity* has to reflect their racism. The black controversial Harvard professors Orlando Patterson and Martin Kilson have pieces in this book along with Daniel Bell, Harold Isaacs, Milton Gordon, etc.)

- Gonzalez-Wippler, Migene. **SANTERIA: AFRICAN MAGIC IN LATIN AMERICA.** Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday. 178 pages. \$2.95 (paper). (Another similar book is A. J. Langguth's *Macumba: White and Black Magic in Brazil* [Harper and Row].)
- Goreau, Laurraine. **JUST MAHALIA, BABY.** Word Books, 4800 W. Waco Dr., Waco, Tx. 76703. 640 pages. 24 pages of photos. \$12.95. (Another biography of the late great black woman gospel singer Mahalia Jackson. Other books about this singer are Jesse Jackson's *Make A Joyful Noise Unto the Lord! The Life of Mahalia Jackson, Queen of Gospel Singers* [1974], Mahalia Jackson and Evan M. Wylie's *Movin' On Up* [1966] and Hettie Jones's *Big Star Fallin' Mama: Five Women in Black Music* [1974].)
- Goss, Clay. **HOMECOOKIN': FIVE PLAYS.** Washington, D.C.: Howard Univ. Press. \$6.95. (These are young black playwright Goss's first five plays. Goss also has a play in Paul Carter Harrison's *Kuntu Drama*.)
- Graham, Shirley. **JULIUS K. NYERERE: TEACHER OF AFRICA.** New York: Julian Messner. 191 pages. \$5.29 (library edition). (A book for young people by the well-known black woman author of many books and a contributing editor of **FREEDOMWAYS**.)
- Green, Robert W. **THE EBONY TREE AND THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTMAS.** Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. 48 pages. \$4.00. (Green is a black professor of Education at Fort Valley State College, Ga., and an assistant minister of a church in Fort Valley, Ga.)
- Greenfield, Eloise. **PAUL ROBESON.** Illustrated by George Ford. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 33 pages. \$4.50. (A book about Robeson for children. Greenfield and Ford, who has illustrated many books, are black. This is Greenfield's fourth book. Virginia Hamilton's recent book *Paul Robeson: The Life and Times of a Free Man* [reviewed in this issue] is for older children and even adults.)
- Griffith, Cyril E. **THE AFRICAN DREAM: MARTIN R. DELANY AND THE EMERGENCE OF PAN-AFRICAN THOUGHT.** University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press. xiv, 153 pages. \$9.50. (There are two other rather recent books on Delany: Dorothy Sterling's *The Making of an Afro-American: Martin Robison Delany 1812-85* [1971] and Victor Ullman's *Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism* [1971].)
- Hare, Maud Cuney. **NEGRO MUSICIANS AND THEIR MUSIC.** Da Capo Press, 227 W. 17 St., New York 10011. 439 pages. \$22.50. (This is a welcome reprint of a book first published in 1936 by the Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History. Maud Hare was a black woman author. Other early Association books but all written by Carter G. Woodson and now reprinted are *The African Background Outlined: Or Handbook for the Study of the Negro* [Negro Universities Press, \$15.00; and New American Library, \$4.95]; *Mis-Education of the Negro* [AMS Press, \$10.00]; and *History of the Negro Church* [Assn. for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, \$6.00].)
- Harper, Frederick D. **BLACK STUDENTS, WHITE CAMPUS: IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING.** American Personnel & Guidance Association Press, 1607 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. (Dr. Harper is a black associate professor of counselor education at Howard University.)
- Harrison, Paul Carter (editor). **KUNTU DRAMA: PLAYS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINUUM.** New York: Grove Press. xiii, 352 pages. \$4.95 (paper).



- (This is a collection of seven plays: Amiri Baraka's *Great Goodness of Life: A Coon Show*, Harrison's *The Great Mac Daddy* plus plays by Lennox Brown [of Trinidad], Aime Cesaire [of Martinique], Jean Toomer, Adrienne Kennedy and Clay Goss. Harrison's emphasis here as in his earlier *The Drama of Nommo* is upon the surreal, somewhat absurd side of black life. This is the minor side of black life but Harrison tries to make it the major or mainstream side. His play *Tabernacle* was published by Avon and by the Louisiana State Univ. Press. He is professor of theater arts and of black studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.)
- Hartmann, Paul and Charles Husband. RACISM AND THE MASS MEDIA. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield. 279 pages. \$13.50. (Published originally in Britain, this is a study of the role of the mass media in forming white beliefs and attitudes in Britain.)
- Hartwig, Gerald W. and William M. O'Barr. THE STUDENT AFRICANIST'S HANDBOOK: A GUIDE TO RESOURCES. Halsted Press, 605 Third Ave., New York City 10016. viii, 152 pages. \$5.95.
- Hauberg, Clifford A. PUERTO RICO AND THE PUERTO RICANS. Hippocrene Books, 171 Madison Ave., New York City. \$3.95 (paper). About the Puerto Ricans' history and migration to the U.S.)
- Hawkins, Philip. OUT OF THE DARKNESS, INTO THE LIGHT. New York: Vantage Press. 125 pages. \$4.95. (A book by a black retired Baptist minister.)
- Herman, Jerry. AND DEATH WON'T COME: THREE SHORT STORIES. Black River Writers, P.O. Box 1591, East St. Louis, Ill. 62205. (paper).
- Hiernaux, Jean. THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. xii, 217 pages; photos, maps. \$12.50. ("This is the first book on the biological history of the indigenous African populations which rejects any system of classification into 'races.'" The author is head of a team of anthropobiologists working mainly on Africa. He has written more than 100 scientific papers on Africa and is Director of Research at the National Center for Scientific Research, Paris.)
- Hill, Johnny R. A STUDY OF THE PUBLIC-ASSISTED BLACK COLLEGE PRESIDENCY. Carlton Press, 84 Fifth Ave., New York City. 95 pages. \$3.50.
- Hunter, Kristin. THE SURVIVORS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 308 pages. \$7.95. (A novel about a middle-aged black woman and a 13-year-old "street kid." Kristin Hunter, a black woman, is also the author of *God Bless the Child*, *The Landlord*, and for children *The Soul Brothers and Sister Lou*, *Boss Cat* and *Guests in the Promised Land*.)
- Jackson, Florence. THE BLACK MAN IN AMERICA 1932-1954. New York: Franklin Watts. 89 pages. \$3.90 (library edition). (From Roosevelt's New Deal to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. For young people. Florence Jackson has several histories in this chronological series.)
- Jenkins, David. BLACK ZION: THE RETURN OF AFRO-AMERICANS AND WEST INDIANS TO AFRICA. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. (First published by Wildwood House in London and to be brought out in the U.S. in Aug. 1975, *Black Zion* has many interviews but is similar in many ways to the other books on this subject and on African-American Black relations: Robert G. Weisbord's *African Zion* and *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans and the Afro-Americans*; Edwin S. Redkey's *Black Exodus: Black*

*Nationalism and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910*; G. Geis and W. Bittle's *The Longest Way Home* [about Chief Alfred Sam]; David Cronon's *Black Moses* [about Marcus Garvey]; Okon E. Uya's *Black Brotherhood: Afro-Americans and Africa* and Jacob Drachler's *Black Homeland/Black Diaspora: Cross Currents of the African Relationship* plus the material on the Jamaican Rastafarians and other West Indians. It is clear that Blacks as a group cannot go back to Africa although many black technicians can go to Africa and help a lot.)

Johnson, Willa D. and Thomas L. Green (editors). PERSPECTIVES ON AFRO-AMERICAN WOMEN. ECCA Publications, 1629 K St., N.W. #520, Washington, D.C. 20006. 197 pages. (This book consists of the papers prepared for the Conference on Black Women in America held in Louisville, Ky., in March 1974. Johnson teaches in the Afro-American Studies Dept. at Howard University. Green is professor of History and director of Pan-African Studies at the University of Louisville [Ky.]. He was chairman of the conference on black women in America.)

Jones, C. David. HOMINOLOGY: PSYCHIATRY'S NEWEST FRONTIER. Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 301 E. Lawrence Ave., Springfield, Ill. 62703. \$12.50. (Jones, a black medical doctor, here integrates moral values with concepts of mental health, physical disease, education and international affairs.)

Jones, Gayl. CORREGIDORA: A NOVEL. New York: Random House, 185 pages. \$6.95. (Young black woman author Jones is a graduate student at Brown University, Providence, R.I. She has been published in several periodicals. This is her first novel, about a black woman. Why is there so much sex? There's much more to life than that.)

Korty, Carol. PLAYS FROM AFRICAN FOLKTALES: WITH IDEAS FOR ACTING, DANCE, COSTUMES AND MUSIC. Illustrated by Sandra Cain; music by Saka Acquaye and Afolabi Ajayi. 128 pages. \$6.95. (Plays for children.)

(To be continued)

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CORRECTIONS: In three numbers of FREEDOMWAYS (1st quarter 1975, p. 69; 4th quarter 1974, p. 373; 1st quarter 1974, pp. 82-83), the two black writers named Blyden Jackson have been erroneously written about as one and the same. The young Jackson, born in New Haven, Conn., is author of the novels *Operation Burning Candle* (1974) and *Totem* (1975). There was a photo of him in the Third Press catalog. The older Jackson, co-author with Louis D. Rubin, Jr., of *Black Poetry in America: Two Essays in Historical Interpretation* (1974) and author of many literary essays, wrote a letter from the University of North Carolina to explain the two writers named Blyden Jackson.

In FREEDOMWAYS (1st quarter 1975, p. 70), Edward L. Jones's *Profiles in African Heritage* is listed erroneously as published by the University of Washington Press, Seattle. The book was printed by Frayn Printing Co., 2518 Western Ave., Seattle, Washington, and copyrighted by Edward L. Jones.



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