

Freedomways

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT



COVER ART BY CHARLES WHITE

15th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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FREEDOMWAYS

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

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Alice Walker

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AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Cover art is by *Charles White*, painter, graphic artist, teacher and designer. An artist of world renown and winner of many awards and prizes, he has been associated with FREEDOMWAYS for many years.

Angela Y. Davis is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Co-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Warren J. Halliburton, the author of *Harlem: A History of Broken Dreams* (with Ernest Kaiser), *American Majorities and Minorities* (with William L. Katz) and many other books, is Director of Ethnic Studies at Columbia University, New York City.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF FREEDOMWAYS (1961—1975)

IN SUMMING UP the first five years of FREEDOMWAYS in 1966, Associate Editor Ernest Kaiser wrote that the Afro-American people had long “understood the value of the printed word as a potent weapon in their freedom fight.” Now, years later, FREEDOMWAYS enters the 16th year of publication, its long and continuing life made possible by the support and encouragement of readers who have judged its worth on the battlefields of their day-to-day struggles.

The magazine’s founders had caught a lofty vision in 1961. In the first editorial, Vol. 1, No. 1, they set for themselves a task to open a new channel of communication which would help to “. . . unite and mobilize our efforts for worthy and lasting results.” FREEDOMWAYS would “provide a public forum for the review, examination, and debate for all problems confronting Afro-Americans in the United States . . . offer a means of examining experiences and strengthening the relationship among peoples of African descent in this country, in Latin America, and wherever there are communities of such people anywhere in the world . . . explore, without prejudice or gag, and from the viewpoint of the special interests of Afro-Americans, as well as the general interest of the nation, the new forms of . . . social systems now existing or emerging in the world.”

The “lusty, bawling infant” which made its debut in 1961, “conceived of necessity and with impetuous ardour, born in travail,” has come to maturity!

But FREEDOMWAYS is yet young and will never presume to rest on its laurels. Today more than ever before, the Afro-American liberation movement needs a serious, no-compromise journal to mirror and help guide its struggles. In the face of a mounting domestic crisis from which Afro-American and poor people receive the sharpest blows, FREEDOMWAYS will continue its contributions to the economic, political, social and cultural battles for equality and social progress. In this effort for the future, as in the past, we look forward to the continued and renewed financial and moral support of you, our readers, to help guide FREEDOMWAYS on its important mission.

SENATE BILL 1: BLUEPRINT FOR A POLICE STATE

OF ALL THE DEVELOPMENTS within the country threatening the democratic rights of all Americans, particularly Afro-Americans and other minorities, none is more dangerous than the little known 700-page Senate Bill 1 being rushed through the U.S. Senate. First drafted and introduced during the Nixon years, this bill, officially designated the Criminal Justice Codification, Revision and Reform Act, has nothing to do with "justice" and "reform." Though the Federal Criminal Code is a confused bundle of laws, and reform is needed, this bill is so filled with repressive measures reminiscent of McCarthyism that no amendments can salvage it. Its mandatory death penalty, harsh prison terms and encouragement of government harassment are a virtual omnibus of repression which would be a major disaster and set-back to civil rights.

The bill provides that:

- organizers and participants in protest demonstrations could be charged under the "riot" provisions with "obstructions of government functions," "instigating overthrow or destruction of government" and other such provisions infringing on rights to assemble and protest.
- the use of wiretapping could become general, and legal use of contempt penalties against critics of the establishment would be commonplace.
- mandatory death penalties, which have always fallen hardest on the Black community (as the disproportionate share of Black and other minorities in death row in North Carolina shows), would be reinstated.
- an official Secrets section be established which would allow the government to prosecute journalists, government workers and editors who publicize news embarrassing to the government.

Already, members of the Black Caucus and leaders of major Black organizations including The Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., Southern Christian Leadership Conference and The Voter Education Project

EDITORIAL

have taken action and spoken out against this racist, oppressive piece of legislation. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and The Task Force Against Repressive Legislation have organized a national campaign calling attention to what has been described as the "legislative embodiment of all the evils of Watergate" —Senate Bill 1.

Reacting to the protests of these groups and others, the Senate Judiciary Committee has proposed minor changes which do not alter the repressive nature of the bill. An all-out effort is needed to reject Senate Bill 1 in any form. Letters and telegrams to members of the Senate must continue in a steady and powerful stream so that this bill cannot be passed in this session or any session of Congress.

FREEDOMWAYS urges its readers to join the nation-wide organizing effort for maximum public support to stop this outrageous bill!

The Editors

1961 - 1975

Celebrating the anniversary of the founding of

FREEDOMWAYS

A Quarterly Review of the Freedom Movement

FIFTEEN YEARS OF CONTINUOUS PUBLISHING

resisting 200 years of
racism and discrimination

. . . . AND CONTINUING!

Paul Robeson

A Home In That Rock

PAUL ROBESON, JR.

I CANNOT SPEAK TODAY of the full measure of the family's personal grief and overwhelming sense of loss. There are no words for that. My father's immense power and great gentleness, his intense spiritual force and great intellect, his unbending courage and his deep compassion have left each one of us with special memories that will always sustain us, for each was touched by him in a special way.

To me, his son, he gave not only his love but also the freedom and encouragement to think my own thoughts, to follow my own inner convictions, to be my own man. To all of us he gave, by example, a set of standards to guide our own lives, each of us in our own way.

But I speak today not only because I loved him as a father. I loved him as a friend and as a great and gentle warrior with whom I worked and fought side-by-side.

And so I come to speak of both the disappointments and the triumphs of Paul Robeson's last years—disappointment because illness forced him into complete retirement; triumph because he retired undefeated and unrepentant. He never regretted the stands he took, because almost 40 years ago, in 1937, he made his basic choice. He said then:

The artist must elect to fight for freedom or for slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative.

He knew the price he would have to pay and he paid it, unbowed and unflinching. He knew that he might have to give his

The above and following two speeches were delivered at Paul Robeson's funeral on January 27, 1976, at the Mother A.M.E. Zion Church in Harlem. Despite a heavy rainfall, mourners filled the sanctuary and auditorium to capacity to pay respects to the great freedom fighter.

life, so he was not surprised that he lost his professional career. He was often called a Communist, but he always considered that name to be an honorable one.

Paul Robeson felt a deep responsibility to the people who loved him and to all those to whom he was a symbol. When *he* felt that he could no longer live up to their expectations, he chose to retire completely. When he could no longer raise his voice in song to inspire and to comfort, he chose silence; because Paul Robeson's views, his work, his artistry, his life, were all of one piece.

But there was also gratification in retirement. In my father's last public message in June 1974 he said:

It has been most gratifying to me in retirement to observe that the new generation that has come along is vigorously outspoken for peace and liberation. . . . To all the young people, black and white, who are so passionately concerned with making a better world, and to all the old-timers who have been involved in that struggle, I say: Right on!

And there was the secure knowledge that his own people, who had protected him and nourished him during the days of the fiercest oppression against him, appreciated his sacrifice and respected his privacy.

The one person who did most to give my father some joy in his last years is my Aunt Marian. It is she who created a haven for him in Philadelphia and surrounded him with those close old friends who made him feel loved and at ease. And I will always remember what my father said about Aunt Marian: "The thought of Sis always brings an inner smile."

Many other Philadelphians, Black and white, expressed their respect and admiration for my father. During my father's last illness, his personal Doctor and the entire hospital staff cared for him as if he had been their own loved one. And the people from all walks of life wrote him letters of encouragement.

It is fitting that my father now comes home to Harlem and Mother Zion Church. Eighteen years ago he wrote:

Not far away is the house where my Brother Ben lives: the parsonage of Mother A.M.E. Zion Church of which Ben—Reverend Benjamin C. Robeson—has been pastor for many years. My brother's love which enfolds me is a precious, living bond with the man, now forty years dead, who more than anyone else

influenced my life—my father, Reverend William Drew Robeson. It is not just that Ben is my older brother, but he reminds me so much of Pop that his house seems to glow with the pervading spirit of that other Reverend Robeson, my wonderful, beloved father.

Next door to the parsonage is the church where on Sunday mornings I am united with the fellowship of thousands of my people, singing with them their songs, feeling the warmth of their handshakes and smiles

Yes, I've got a home in that rock!

There are others here today, and some who have passed on, who were as close to my father as any one in his family. There are people whose lives he enriched and who enriched his life in return. I reach out to them today to share with them the family's grief, for they will always be part of us.

My father's legacy belongs also to all those who decide to follow the principles by which he lived. It belongs to his own people and to other oppressed peoples everywhere. It belongs to those of us who knew him best and to the younger generation that will experience the joy of discovering him.

Yesterday, someone very dear to me was reading some poetry and was moved to write the following lines. They say a great deal about my father's legacy:

He is not mine,
 I may give to him my love,
 But not my thoughts
 He passes by me,
 But he does not pass from me
 For although he was with me in some ways
 and will stay with me in others,
 He does not belong to me.

I may keep memories of him
 but not his essence,
 For that will pour forth tomorrow.

Paul Robeson: Now He Belongs To The Future

LLOYD L. BROWN

THE TALLEST TREE in our forest has fallen. Along with the countless persons here and around the world who mourn his loss, I think Nature herself must feel that with the passing of Paul Robeson something uniquely wonderful has departed from the earth. Surely Nature must have smiled to see the arrival on this planet of the seventh and last child born to Maria Louisa Robeson and the Reverend William Drew Robeson in Princeton, New Jersey, on April 9, 1898.

Over the years, that cosmic smile of pleasure glistened on a myriad of faces as audiences were touched by the human grandeur of this Afro-American who stood before them like Shakespeare's noblest Roman: "The elements so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world: *This was a man!*"

Then too, there always glinted on those faces the tears he evoked by his overwhelming compassion, for as a London critic noted after Paul's first concert there: "He broke our hearts with beauty." The smiles and the tears alternated like the lines of the spiritual—first, the joyful triumph of "No more auction block for me," and next, the illimitable sadness of the refrain, "Many thousands gone."

Here tonight, there is no need for me to recount the fabulous achievements of Paul Robeson. Now that he is gone the media are telling in vivid detail much of the Robeson story. Now it is fit to print that he had a "magnificent voice . . . it spoke in dramatic power and in passion; it spoke of gentleness and the warmth of humankind," and indeed, "the voice of Paul Robeson enriched the culture from which it grew and the lives of all who heard it."

How true that is. But what about the millions of young people who never had the chance to hear that voice or see the man in

Lloyd L. Brown, a writer who for many years was a close friend and collaborator of Paul Robeson, is presently writing a Robeson biography to be published by Knopf.

person, on TV or in the movies? A whole generation must be startled to learn now that such a person actually existed in their lifetime—a modern-day Black American with the manifold talents of a Renaissance man! I can hear those young people exclaim in wonder, "Out of sight!" as they read about his all-around genius as athlete, scholar, singer, actor, linguist and freedom fighter; and perhaps their inquiring minds will seek to learn why Paul Robeson was literally kept out of their sight and out of their textbooks for all these years.

As we assemble here to bid a last farewell to our dear friend, let me tell you about an earlier farewell that was given to him when he was only twenty-one. When Paul, who had first won fame as "Robeson of Rutgers," graduated from that college, the local newspaper reported that the leading citizens of New Brunswick gave him a banquet "to express their regrets at the departure of one so well-loved and respected." Following the speeches of the various dignitaries, the account noted that "Mr. Robeson in reply said he hoped his life work would be a memorial to his father's training, and that his work was not for his own self but that he might help the race to a higher life."

Though he then had no idea where such a selfless mission would lead him, it was inevitable that this well-loved young man whom the Establishment then and later honored would someday become a target of its wrath. For how can one help to raise his people from oppression without coming into conflict with those who are determined to hold them down?

By following his father's ethical precepts, by practicing the doctrine of the brotherhood of man—that "oneness of mankind" Paul always spoke about—he became an impassioned advocate of social justice, with a special concern for black liberation at home and for colonial liberation abroad. Thus, to promote the cause of African freedom he founded in 1937 the Council on African Affairs where he was later joined by men like Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Alphaeus Hunton. But since African liberation was then deemed to be "communistic"—a charge still made by the white fascist rulers of South Africa and their American backers—the Council on African Affairs was suppressed by the Federal government in 1955.

I remember one day during that period when I was working with Paul in the building next door to this church (that was his brother's parsonage where Paul was then living), he called to my attention a quotation from Frederick Douglass. Himself a son of a

former slave, Robeson greatly admired the ex-slave Douglass, and in a voice so filled with passion that I sat there transfixed, he read to me these words of Douglass concerning the oppression of his people in this land:

What man can look upon this state of things without resolving to cast his influence with the elements which are to come down in ten-fold thunder and dash this state of things to atoms.

Then, speaking very slowly for emphasis, Robeson added "Well, that's *exactly* how I feel!"

And later in his book *Here I Stand* Robeson wrote:

When we criticize the treatment of Negroes in America and tell our fellow citizens at home and the peoples abroad what is wrong with our country, each of us can say with Frederick Douglass:

"In doing this, I shall feel myself discharging the duty of a true patriot; for he is a lover of his country who rebukes and does not excuse its sins."

You see, Paul Robeson considered himself and men like his imprisoned Communist friend, our former City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to be following the best traditions of our country.

Only the serious breakdown of his health could sideline Robeson from his dedicated efforts to make a better world; and that happened in 1965 when he was forced to retire from public life. He wanted to live in complete seclusion and so he consistently declined to be interviewed. Last fall when the pressure for such interviews grew stronger as a result of the developing rediscovery of him by some of the media, I asked Robeson how he would explain his decision to preserve his total privacy.

"People should understand," he said, "that when I could be active I went here, there and everywhere. What I wanted to do, I did. What I wanted to say, I said. And now that ill health has compelled my retirement I have decided to let the record speak for itself. As far as my basic outlook is concerned, everybody should know that I am the same Paul Robeson, and the viewpoint that I expressed in my book *Here I Stand* has never changed."

Quite naturally, Robeson keenly regretted the fact that while he was the same man in spirit, he could no longer "bear the burden in the heat of the day." A song bird who can no longer sing, an eagle who can no longer soar, a Joshua too weak for any more

battles—of course, there was for him that kind of sadness.

Who can doubt that the man who went to Spain in the thirties to sing for the anti-fascist troops would in the sixties have gone to Vietnam to sing for their liberation army? Indeed, knowing Paul's genius for languages, we can be sure that he would have sung their freedom songs in the purest Vietnamese. And Africa—so dear to his heart for all these years—how he would have welcomed the chance to stand with the liberation movements there!

But despite those regrets, this you should know: During the years of his illness Paul Robeson felt safe and secure in the bosom of his family. While his son, Paul Jr., devotedly took care of his affairs, Paul lived with his sister, Marian, in Philadelphia. All of us who knew and loved Paul Robeson should rejoice in knowing that throughout his last years he was sustained and comforted by the loving devotion of Marian. Just as in his boyhood Paul grew up in the sheltering love of his father, during his declining years—thanks to that miracle of love named Marian—he was able to find once again “a home in that rock.”

Bless you, dear Marian, and may you find solace in knowing that though countless thousands admired and loved your brother, at the end only you were able to provide that balm of Gilead his soul required.

And for all of us who mourn along with her, and with Paul and Marilyn, and David and Susan, and the nieces and nephews, there is this comforting awareness: How fortunate we were to have had Paul Robeson walk the earth among us! As artist and man he was a prophetic vision of how wondrously beautiful the human race may yet become. Now he belongs to the future.

Don't Mourn For Me—But Live For Freedom's Cause

J. CLINTON HOGGARD

PAUL ROBESON, singer, actor, peacemaker, human rights activist and minority peoples' friend has joined the immortals.

Born in a parsonage, reared in a Christian family home, surrounded by culture and courage inherited from his mother and his father, Paul Robeson was fitted for the battle of life both physically and mentally.

Our family associations go back to 1904. In 1912 my father, now of sainted memory, was assigned to the pulpit in Westfield, N.J., where the late Reverend W.D. Robeson, father of Paul and four other children, had built the new edifice for the St. Luke A.M.E. Zion congregation. My father carried his bride, my mother, to the Westfield congregation while the Robeson family moved to Somerville, N.J., for the Reverend W.D. Robeson to pastor the St. Thomas A.M.E. Zion church.

It was here that Paul began to discover his singing ability as he sang with the church choir on Sundays. He also would be called upon to fill the pulpit from time to time as the health of his father began to deteriorate. While in high school at Somerville, N.J., he competed in an oratorical contest with professors from Rutgers University serving as judges. His forensic skill won him a scholarship to Rutgers which resulted from the persuasion of the late Dr. Charles S. Whitman, prominent head of the English Department at Rutgers. The hard road of life began. Encountering racial slurs, gridiron attacks, social ostracism and some campus exclusions, Paul tightened his belt and determined to achieve what his father had taught all of his children, to wit: excellence is the only rating a Robeson should have in scholarship, competition of athletic powers or cultural performances. This was evidenced by his election to the highest academic honor society in America, Phi Beta Kappa, in his junior year at a college where he could not live on campus in a dormitory.

Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard, Presiding Prelate, Sixth Episcopal District of the A.M.E. Zion Church, was a childhood friend of Paul Robeson. Excerpts of his eulogy are printed here.

Living in a residence on Morrell Street in New Brunswick, N.J., with Mrs. Cummings and family, Paul used his strong body in athletic engagement which led him to become a 15-letter man in four major sports—football, baseball, basketball and track.

Part of the social exclusion led him from “white” fraternities at Rutgers to initiation into the grand old original Greek letter fraternity among American Blacks at the Lincoln University chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha.

Paul Robeson, at the time of graduating from college, could rightfully say that he bore on his body marks of vengeance placed there because he tried to live as a person who was created by God with dignity and a potential for fulfilling life’s dream. These battle scars did not deter him from pursuing studies of law at Columbia University.

After marriage to Eslanda Cardozo Goode in 1923, he launched into a career of drama. His acclaim was nationwide, then worldwide. Finding a climate for “being a person” in Europe sooner than he experienced being a free man in America, he began to use his platform of dramatic performances as a launching pad for crying out against the oppressors of race in the economic and political arenas of life.

As Paul saw more of the world and compared life in countries other than the United States, he invoked hostility, governmental vindictiveness which led to the lifting of his passport, and personal harassment during the McCarthy years which subjected him to inquisition and interrogations. But the course of his ex-slave father, who ran to freedom, spurred Paul on to no compromise with any man on the matter of conscience, human rights, civil rights or personal dignity. Ultimately, he was vindicated by the U.S. Passport Office which returned his passport under mandate from a ruling of the Supreme Court. This case set the precedent for the rights of citizens to travel at home or abroad without penalty being inflicted due to political persuasions contrary to the majority opinion.

Paul was denied the opportunity to sing in the Rutgers University Glee Club, the prestigious organization on Queens’ campus. When I became the first Black member of the Glee Club in the fall of 1934, Paul returned from Europe and gave a concert in Princeton, N.J. Several of the Rutgers’ men attended the concert. When it was over, we went backstage to talk with Paul. He greeted us, remembered my family and asked how I was getting along “on the banks of the old Raritan.” I told him of my activities, including membership in the

university choir and Glee Club. He offered his massive hand to shake my puny hand which was almost lost in search of his and said, "Congratulations, Clinton, I never was able to make the Glee Club." I said, "Well, you can make a good living at concert singing now, but I had not better try." This reflected some change in the climate of Rutgers University from 1915 to 1934. Today, students have a center on campus named for Paul, and the President, Dr. Edward Bloustein, is active with Alpha men and college presidents seeking to have Paul enshrined in the Football Hall of Fame.

It seems right that this service of celebration of a great personality should be enacted within these consecrated walls of Mother A.M.E. Zion Church. His brother, Benjamin Congleton Robeson, pastored here from 1936 to 1963. For 27 years the Robeson tradition of character, individualism and stalwart determination was manifest on Manhattan Island. I served as a student minister in this church in 1939 and 1940 while pursuing theological studies at Union Theological Seminary. This caused me to have even closer contact with the family. When Paul was in the U.S. he worshipped regularly in this sanctuary as a modest, humble, unobtrusive member. He did not enjoy being a celebrated personality when he came to worship. His brother carried the pastoral leadership of the congregation which was under a heavy mortgage responsibility. Many times, Paul gave his service to this church in the form of concerts which packed this building, and all proceeds went to the liquidation of the debt of \$160,000 on the church and \$40,000 on the organ, which occurred in 1945.

A freedom fighter belongs to rest in freedom's palace. This church, now in its 80th year of continuous history, is the oldest black organization on Manhattan Island. It was the cradle for freedom's cause in the late 18th and 19th centuries when it broke from the John Street Methodist Church because of the indignities perpetrated against people of color in the name of Jesus. Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and a host of bishops of the church have passed through these portals of Mother Zion Church as members of the local congregation and as members of the national church. Paul sang gloriously within these walls, "Freedom, freedom, freedom over me," and "Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave and go home to my God and be free."

Since in one's patience, one possesses one's own soul, it can be truly said that Paul learned how to be patient in adversity. He lived a long active life until harassment began to take its toll on his physical

frame; even so, he was comforted by words of long ago from his all-famous performance of *Othello*:

Good name in man or woman, dear, my lord, is the immediate jewel of their souls: who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing; 'twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; but, he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, and makes me poor indeed!

The legacy of a good name is bequeathed Paul Jr. and his family; his sister, Mrs. Marian Forsythe, her daughter, the nieces, the nephews, the grandnieces, the grandnephews—keep it good for justice and freedom, for character and culture, for racial pride and religious commitment.

When Paul would close a concert before labor unions singing "Joe Hill," a song about a union organizer executed for an alleged murder, he would sing the final line as a challenge—"Don't mourn for me—organize!" Let me paraphrase it: "Don't mourn for me but live for freedom's cause during this Bicentennial of America and say to any and all who may urge you to leave America that 'Because our ancestors were slaves, and our people died to build this country, we are going to stay right here and have a part of it, just like you. And no fascist-minded people will drive us from it. Is that clear?'"

PAUL ROBESON stands as a monument to the capacity of the human spirit to achieve excellence in the face of adversity. His talent and courage fused to manifest personal greatness despite the conditions under which he lived. Mr. Robeson gave of himself, whether on the concert stage or the picket line. He sang, struggled, suffered, and died for the cause of human dignity. We could ask no more of him.

Representative John Conyers, Michigan

From Tribute to Paul Robeson held in the U.S. House of Representatives on January 28, 1976.

ODE TO PAUL ROBESON

PABLO NERUDA

Once he did not exist.
But his voice was there, waiting.

Light parted from darkness,
day from night,
earth from the primal waters.

And the voice of Paul Robeson
was divided from the silence.

The darkness struggled to hold on.
Underneath roots were growing.
Blind plants fought to know the light.
The sun trembled.
The water was a dumb mouth.
Slowly the animals changed their shapes,
slowly adapting themselves to the wind
and to the rain.

Ever
since then
you have been the voice of man,
the song of the germinating earth,
the river and the movement of nature.

The cataract unleashed its endless thunder
upon your heart,
as if a river fell
upon a rock,

Pablo Neruda was awarded the coveted Nobel Prize for Literature in 1971. The Chilean poet was universally acknowledged as the greatest poet of the century writing in Spanish and one of the greatest poets of all time. His death followed shortly after the bloody coup in Chile against the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende.

and the rock sang
with the voice of all the silent
until all things, all people
lifted their blood to the light
in your voice,
and earth and sky, fire and darkness and water
rose up with your song.

But later
the earth was darkened again.
Fear, war,
pain
put out the green flame,
the fire of the rose.

And over the cities
a terrible dust fell,
the ashes of the slaughtered.
They went into the ovens
with numbers on their brows,
hairless,
men, women,
old, young,
gathered
in Poland, the Ukraine, Amsterdam, Prague.

Again
the cities grieved
and silence was great,
hard
as a tombstone
upon a living heart,
as a dead hand
on a child's voice.

Then
Paul Robeson,
you sang.

Again
over the earth was heard
the potent voice

of the water
over the fire;
the solemn, unhurried, raw, pure
voice of the earth
reminding us that we were still men,
that we shared the sorrow and the hope.
Your voice
set us apart from the crime.
Once more the light
parted
from the darkness.

Then
silence fell on Hiroshima.
Total silence.
Nothing
was left:
not one mistaken bird
to sing on an empty window,
not one mother with a wailing child,
not a single echo of a factory,
not a cry from a dying violin.
Nothing.
The silence of death fell from the sky.

And again,
father,
brother,
voice of man
in his resurrection,
in hope
resounding
from the depths,
Paul,
you sang.

Again
your river of a heart
was deeper,
was wider
than the silence.

It would be small praise
if I crowned you king
only of the Negro voice,
great only among your race,
among your beautiful flock
of music and ivory,
as though you only sang for the dark children
shackled by cruel masters.

No,
Paul Robeson,
you sang with Lincoln,
covering the sky with your holy voice,
not only for Negroes,
for the poor Negroes,
but for the poor,
whites,
Indians,
for all peoples.

You,
Paul Robeson,
were not silent
when Pedro or Juan
was put out into the street,
with his furniture,
in the rain.
Or when the fanatics of the millennium
sacrificed with fire
the double heart
of their fiery victims,
as when
in Chile
wheat grows on volcanic land.
You never stopped singing.
Man fell and you raised him up.
Sometimes
You were a subterranean river,
something
that bore
the merest glimmer of light

RACISM AND CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE ON RAPE

ANGELA Y. DAVIS

SEXUAL assaults against women occur far more frequently than anyone would dare to imagine. Rape, in fact, is one of the most common crimes committed in the United States today. Yet, until very recently rape was seen as that unspeakable act—perpetrated by psychopaths—which sometimes brutally erupted in the headlines of local dailies, or when relatives or friends were involved, it was shrouded in secrecy and talked about in whispers.

A tightly woven web of myths blurred the real and traumatic penetration of sexual violence into the lives of untold numbers of women. One thread of the web assumed the rapist to be a psychologically diseased creature, if not an oversexed, bestial Black man. Another thread assumed the female victim to be a woman who secretly desired to be aggressively and violently taken, an outright prostitute or else an intrinsically “immoral” Black woman.

Today, at last, the process of unweaving and destroying this web has been initiated on a large scale. Within the women’s movement and on its fringes, a flood of literature is beginning to pour forth on the subject of rape. For instance: *Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women* by New York Radical Feminists; *Rape, How to Avoid It and What To Do About It If You Can’t* by June and Joseph Csida; Jean MacKeller’s *Rape, the Bait and the Trap*; Diana Russell’s *The Politics of Rape* and Susan Brownmiller’s *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*.

These books, along with many brochures and articles, have attempted, each in its own way, to set the record straight about the gravity of rape, the history and present incidence of the crime, the men who are its perpetrators and the women who are its victims. The solutions which have been proposed range from self-defense classes and rape crisis centers to a complete overhaul of the existing rape laws.

A critical review of Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape by Susan Brownmiller, based on two radio programs broadcast by KPFA, Berkeley, Calif., on January 15, 1976, and January 22, 1976.

Sing,
my friend,
never stop singing.
You broke the silence of the rivers
when they were dumb
because of the blood they carried.
Your voice speaks through them.
Sing:
your voice unites
many men who never knew each other.
Now,
far away
in the Urals,
and in the lost Patagonian snow,
you,
singing,
pass over darkness,
distance,
sea,
waste land;
and the young stoker,
and the wandering hunter,
and the cowboy alone with his guitar
all listen.

And in his forgotten prison in Venezuela,
Jesús Faría,
the noble, the luminous,
heard the calm thunder
of your song.

Because you sing,
they know that the sea exists
and that the sea sings.

They know that the sea is free, wide and full of flowers
as your voice, my brother.

The sun is ours. The earth will be ours.
Tower of the sea, you will go on singing.

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My own interest in the literature on rape was prompted by the Joanne Little case. In researching an article on the case, I was struck by the consistent evasion—by all but a few authors—of the special way in which Black men have been and continue to be framed up on fraudulent rape charges. Moreover, there also appeared to be little more than a passing sensitivity to the systematically ruthless ways in which Black women have been subjected to sexual violence by white men.

My continued reading of anti-rape literature has more than confirmed my original suspicions that much of it has acquired a decidedly racist edge. The most recent book on the subject—Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*—is, in my opinion, the most conspicuously and outrageously racist of them all.

I was first introduced to her book when someone asked my opinion on a passage in which she describes the background of the lynching of Emmett Till, the fourteen-year-old Black boy who had allegedly whistled at a white woman in Mississippi. This is the passage I was asked to read:

Till's action was more than a kid's brash prank. . . . Emmett Till was going to show his black buddies that he, and by inference, they, could get a white woman and Carolyn Bryant was the nearest convenient object. In concrete terms, the accessibility of all white women was on review. . . . And what of the wolf whistle, Till's "gesture of adolescent bravado?" . . . The whistle was not a small tweet of hubba-hubba or melodious approval for a well-turned ankle. . . . It was a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this black boy, Till, had in mind to possess her. [247]

Wading through the entire book, which, granted, is a meticulously researched, though misleading history of rape, I saw the idea burst forth, time after time, that Black men are the most likely candidates for rape.

This tendency to single out Black men as the rapists in our society is a dangerously unfortunate feature of an increasing number of studies on women and rape. Diana Russell's *Politics of Rape* contains descriptions of twenty-two cases of rape, among which are twelve women who have been raped by Black or Chicano men. Of the ninety-five interviews conducted in preparation for the book, only twenty-six percent involved Black men. Why the discrepancy between the total number of interviews and the ones published?

To isolate and criticize this element of racism which mars much of the anti-rape literature today is not, of course, to attack the anti-rape movement in general. On the contrary, such a critique is urgently needed in order to guarantee that this movement does not unwittingly provide fuel for the current offensive against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans and Asians, as well as the working class as a whole.

As it was put in a pamphlet prepared by the Socialist Women's Caucus of Louisville, Kentucky (entitled "The Racist Use of Rape and the Rape Charge"):

To talk about rape in this society and not talk about the racist use of rape and the rape charge is to deny not only a history of white lynch mobs—but to also deny the reality of brutal terror against Black people today. It is to deny the realities of life today for women like Joanne Little. It is to deny the realities for men like Willie Burnett, Thomas Wansley, Delbert Tibbs—all of whom we firmly believe have been framed on rape charges simply because they are Black.

The anti-rape movement should not find itself in a position of objectively siding with the enemies of oppressed people and the working class. Its natural posture, it seems to me, should be one of intimately allying itself with the struggle against racism and economic exploitation.

Susan Brownmiller's book—the most thorough and most systematic study of rape to date—deserves special attention. In the first pages, she makes it abundantly clear that she perceives history itself as a fierce, unrelenting battle between the sexes.

Man's discovery that his genitalia could serve us a weapon to generate fear must rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times, along with the use of fire and the first crude stone axe. [14-15]

The contours and substance of history are determined, not by class struggle, but by the struggle between the sexes. Rape, or the threat of rape, is the prime weapon which has been used by men, since time immemorial, to subjugate women and keep them in an inferior position.

Rape emerges, then, not as a crime tied to the social forces of a given society, but rather as an immutable, inevitable biological

fact, based in the anatomy of the male. How, therefore, does Brownmiller define rape? It is quite simply ". . . a conscious process of intimidation by which *all* men keep *all* women in a state of fear." [15]

A good portion of *Against Our Will* is devoted to interracial rape. In Chapter Four, she examines the use of rape by the Ku Klux Klan as well as what she terms sexual mob violence against white women in the Congo. The chapter title—"Riots, Pogroms and Revolutions" is indicative of her attitude that rape is the great leveler. The one fundamental factor characterizing the encounter between men and women, rape supports reactionary as well as progressive causes.

In her discussion of Ku Klux Klan rape, she does not attempt to deny that Black women were special targets of this brand of intimidation and terror. However, she hastens to add that it was not so much a question of racism as the Klan's contempt for women in general. Although she manages to turn up only one definite example of a Klansman raping a white woman as part of his Klan activity (and one more instance where there was speculation about a similar rape), she persists in her effort to smother the importance of racism. She criticizes Gerda Lerner's* analysis of rape as a special weapon of terror used systematically and in the first place against Black women. Lerner's position, Brownmiller presumptuously says,

. . . comes perilously close to the old leftist position that "when a black woman is raped the crime is political, but when a white woman is raped the charge is hysterical." [131]

Characteristically, the last section of "Riots, Pogroms and Revolutions" begins with the following sentence: "When Congolese forces began celebrating independence in July, 1960 by raping Belgian women. . ." Need more be said?

These are the concluding sentences of Chapter Seven, "A Question of Race":

Today the incidence of actual rape combined with the looming spectre of the rapist in the mind's eye, and in particular *the mythified spectre of the black man as rapist to which the black man in the name of his manhood now contributes*, must be understood as a control mechanism against the freedom, mobility and aspirations of all women, white and black. The crossroads of racism and sexism had to be a violent meeting place. There is no use pretend-

*Editor of *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* [1972].

ing it doesn't exist. [255 (my emphasis)]
 The road toward these deliberately provocative conclusions is paved by abundant statistics (police and F.B.I. figures no less!), individual cases such as Emmett Till and Willie McGee, and finally, as the decisive proof, she offers us the ravings of such aberrant representatives of Black men as Eldridge Cleaver.

What makes her arguments even more dangerous is her sometimes subtle, sometimes overt anti-communism. She informs us that during her formative years, she attended classes given by the Communist scholar, Herbert Aptheker. It was there that she first learned about the use of rape by white slavemasters and others to inflict terror upon Black women. Now, however, she finds Aptheker's ideas severely limited and chastises him for not having understood that the same dynamic is at work when Black men rape white women. Communists, she seems to be saying, are anti-white women.

As far as Emmett Till is concerned, she clearly wants us to infer that if this fourteen-year-old boy had not been shot in the back of the head and dumped into the Tallahatchie River (which of course she deplors), he probably would have actually succeeded in raping a white woman. Moreover, she conjures up the absurd and purposely sensational words of Eldridge Cleaver, who, in his sick, distorted view of the world, saw rape as an "insurrectionary act" against "white society." Incidentally, Cleaver himself admits—in his *Soul On Ice*—"We are a very sick country—I, perhaps, am sicker than most." [16]

It seems to me that Brownmiller is intentionally trying to invoke in the imaginations of her readers armies of Black men, their penises erect, charging full speed ahead toward the most conveniently placed white women. In the ranks of this army are the ghost of Emmett Till, Eldridge Cleaver and Imamu Baraka, who in a fit of irrational fury once wrote: "Come up, black dada nihilismus. Rape the white girls. Rape their fathers. Cut the mothers' throats." Brownmiller goes further. Not only does she include men like Calvin Hernton on the front lines, but, among others, George Jackson, who, to my knowledge, never justified the *actual* rape of a white woman by a Black man.

She insists, in fact, that Cleaver's ideas

. . . reflect a strain of thinking among Black male intellectuals and writers that became quite fashionable in the late nineteen sixties and was taken on with astonishing enthusiasm by white male radicals and parts of the white intellectual establishment

as a *perfectly acceptable excuse of rape* committed by black men.
[248-249]

racism and rape

Brownmiller's discussions on rape and race evince an impetuous and unthinking partisanship on her part. While she pretends to defend the cause of all women, she generally ends up boxing herself into the position of defending white women at any cost. Her examination of the Scottsboro Nine is a revealing example. Granted, she lays out the facts of the case: these nine men were charged and convicted of rape and spent long years of their lives in prison because two white women perjured themselves on the witness stand. At the same time, however, one detects an unmistakable cynicism on Brownmiller's part, for the Scottsboro Nine defense movement. She has nothing but contempt for the Black men, and her sympathy for the two white women is glaring.

The left fought hard for its symbols of racial injustice, making bewildered heroes out of a handful of pathetic semi-literate fellows caught in the jaws of Southern jurisprudence who only wanted to beat the rap. [237]

The two white women, on the other hand,

. . . were corralled by a posse of white men who already believed a rape had taken place. Confused and fearful, they fell into line.
[233]

No one can deny that the women were manipulated by racists. Today, Delbert Tibbs sits on Florida's death row as a result of a similar situation. However, it is wrong to portray the women as innocent pawns, thereby absolving them of the responsibility for having collaborated with the forces of racism.

Brownmiller herself capitulates to racism by failing to alert white women to the urgency of combining a fierce challenge to racism with the necessary battle against sexism.

The author's defense of white women in general—at the expense of Black and white working-class women—is evident in her discussion of the role of women in the anti-lynching movement. While she rightfully praises the accomplishments of Jessie Daniel Ames and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, she makes no mention whatever of the central role of Black women in this campaign. One would think that Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell and the many others simply did not exist.

In exploring the contemporary problem of rape, Brownmiller at-

tempts to convince us once more that Black men are more inclined than their white counterparts to become rapists. In Chapter Six—"The Police Blotter Rapist"—we are informed that the "typical American rapist" is the typical American criminal; i.e., a working-class man or a "ghetto inhabitant."

There is no getting around the fact that most of those who engage in antisocial, criminal violence (murder, assault, rape and robbery) come from the lower socio-economic classes; and that because of their historic oppression the majority of black people are contained within the lower socio-economic classes and contribute to crimes of violence in numbers disproportionate to their population ratio. . . . [181]

She hastens to add that

We are not talking about Jean Valjean, who stole a loaf of bread in *Les Miserables*, but about physical aggression as "a demonstration of masculinity and toughness." [181]

Black men, she contends, are more likely to aggressively express their "masculinity" and this penchant is more likely to express itself through rape.

Corporate executive dining rooms and climbs up Mount Everest are not usually accessible to those who form the subculture of violence. Access to a female body—through force—is within their ken. [194]

Brownmiller leans heavily on F.B.I. and police figures to confirm her thesis. But who would believe the F.B.I. and the police about anything these days? She thus breaks the news to us that Black men constitute almost half—forty-seven percent—of all reported rapists.

In a later chapter, however, she fleetingly alludes to the untold numbers of unreported rapes committed by so-called men of authority: therapists and doctors committing sexual assaults upon their female patients; producers coercing starlets; professors attacking students; bosses raping secretaries with impunity because these women are afraid to lose their jobs. Characteristically, she omits all the Black women domestic workers who have been raped by the "man of the house."

While she does admit that these are the cases that never make it to court, she quite conveniently does not pursue this side of the rape question. Thus she does not concretely discuss the resulting

distortion of official rape statistics.

In presenting her solutions, Ms. Brownmiller must necessarily resort to piecemeal measures. And of course, since she does not acknowledge the connection between the deteriorating character of capitalist society and the rising incidence of rape, she cannot understand that rape can ultimately be eradicated only by the eradication of a society which encourages and nourishes both the male supremacy and the real frustrations which lead men to rape.

Since her battle is one to be fought by women alone—against the men who are the enemy—it is quite consistent that she would demand harsher prison terms for convicted rapists. It is equally consistent that she would demand the total integration of police forces and armed forces. (She wants these bodies to be composed of fifty percent women!) Does she, however, not realize that as long as the judicial system remains as much of an instrument of racism and class subjugation as it is today, the punishments, regardless of guilt or innocence, will disproportionately fall on Blacks and other nationally oppressed groups as well as poor and working-class white people?

Since 1930, as Brownmiller knows, eighty-nine percent of all executions for rape have been performed on Black men. Black men in the South were eighteen times more likely to be executed on a conviction of raping a white woman than for raping a Black woman. Outside the South, rape convictions are also disproportionately heaped on Black and working-class men. Yet Diana Russell can make the astounding claim that courts outside the South are actually more lenient to Black men charged with rape because they fear being accused of racism.

My only advice to Susan Brownmiller and Diana Russell would be to read the enlightening and well-argued brochure, "The Racist Use of Rape and the Rape Charge," written by the Louisville Socialist Women's Caucus. Rape, they maintain

. . . results from the decay of an economic system that is based on making profits for the few instead of meeting the needs of people. Such a system is built on violence—first of all, the violence of those who own the wealth and enforce their rule on people at home and all over the world. But as the society decays violence seeps into and saturates every level—as people turn on each other in the frustration and misery of their lives.

The rising rate of crime, and rape, in particular, is evident, the brochure points out, only in the capitalist world. "Travelers from

this country are constantly amazed to find that in any city they visit in socialist countries one can walk the streets at night without fear."

All women who are genuinely concerned about the crime of rape would do well to heed the warning issued in this pamphlet:

. . . the battle to eliminate the scourge of rape from our society [must become] part of a total battle to change the society into one that is fit to live in. If we fight it on that basis, we cannot fall prey to forces that would use us as women to deepen the divisions caused by racism.

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The Fallacy of Testing for Minorities

WARREN J. HALLIBURTON

MOST ADVANTAGED in any controversy is the party of the third part, not so much as the arbiter of differences but as the resolver of truths. This is especially significant in controversies of long and heated standing, where the value of arbitration appreciates with the need for resolution. This burden of responsibility is the challenge of educational testing and the virtue of this brief history, *Psychological Testing of American Minorities* by Ronald J. Samuda, professor of psychology at Columbia's Teachers College. Writing with a pen delicately balanced between the grave implications and dire ramifications attributed to testing, what emerges are old issues which the informed reader will be hard put to believe, and new issues that will commit the uninformed reader into joining those already championing the need for changes in educational testing in our nation's schools.

At first esteemed as a savior of public education, intelligence testing was found to be a major accessory to the problem. And, as other diagnostic tests were similarly introduced as educational panaceas, so were they questioned and found vulnerable. While proponents of testing are cited as proclaiming that "the social consequences [of not testing] . . . are potentially far more harmful than possible adverse consequences of testing," opponents charge that such tests measure nothing more than what the individual has learned. The question exercised by educators appears as one largely of degree; that is, to what extent are children to be judged by their past in determining their future? The answer suggested by the critics is not what is right about testing, but what is wrong; that equally reprehensible as the invalidity of content for which the student is tested is the misinterpretation of test results by ill-trained professionals.

The consequences, especially to poor Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and other minorities, are staggering. Traditionally low in their scoring, such American minorities are stigmatized from the very beginning of their schooling and doomed to an inferior education. Like falling dominoes, these children are subjected to traditional "ability" tests which systematically and consistently lead

Psychological Testing of American Minorities. Issues and Consequences. By Ronald J. Samuda. Harper & Row, New York. \$7.95 (paper).

to the assignment of improper and false labels and, as a consequence, to dehumanization and "genocide." Consigned to what constitutes a denial of opportunity, they tend to drop out of school early and accept their roles in the larger society as unskilled workers, maintaining a life dependency on menial wages at best and public welfare at worse.

The charges summarized against testing by Samuda sound a clarion call for change, one supported by the evidence he chronicles. Proceeding from studies by Klineberg in 1944 and North in 1957 which offered irrefutable data that there is no genetic basis for racial differences, the author uses these findings to conclude that the racial and ethnic discrepancies between minority and majority American children must reflect failings in the testing instruments. This, then, is the heart of the problem: changing the notion of genetic differences among races based on ethnically biased tests.

The difficulties are, admittedly, attributed to factors that are as highly influential as they are deceiving. Such external variables as nutrition, self-concept, anxiety and motivation make school grades most questionable as valid criteria for judging minority student aptitude for schooling. Such grades should be judged as indicators of motivation, classroom behavior, personal appearance and study habits rather than intelligence and achievement. The need is, therefore, to question the predictive validity of intelligence tests and to study the contaminants invalidating test scores, particularly of those youngsters outside of the mainstream of American life. Otherwise, their poor test results will continue to justify the reason for their alienation in school as at home.

The reader is informed that test experts divide into two categories: those espousing the dictates of nature (hereditarians), and those claiming the determinants of nurture (environmentalists). From their opposing findings emerges the fact that neither theory functions as an absolute, that both are conditioned by, if not dependent upon, the other. But the degree of emphasis that should be placed on either factor is not nearly so significant as the way to eliminate the grave injustice done to those who are evaluated by means of standards that are foreign to them. It is to demonstrate that the experimental background of the American Black child, for example, differs appreciably from that of the white child upon whose background the tests were standardized and, therefore, cannot be used as a valid measure of relative innate ability of the two groups. Until such time as a truly egalitarian society is achieved, expedients

must be instituted toward this end. That is, the instruments themselves must be adapted to the existing societies so as to compensate for their inequalities.

The point is to recognize what is being tested, to realize that it is not innate ability, as assumed, but the total individual and his environmental background. Even in a hypothetical case in which all other variables could be controlled, the psychological effects of prolonged membership in a lower caste—as is the plight of most American minorities—would still corrupt and hence nullify any comparisons with majority groups. The reason is given example in five, six, and seven-year-olds who were asked to color a little boy or girl (depending on their own sex) the same color as theirs, and then the color that they would like that boy or girl to be. The results further confirmed that in the case of the first task (identification), the subjects tended to color themselves with a color lighter than their own. Not noted, but perhaps equally significant, are the conditions that contributed to this rejection of their own identity.

Given the factor of motivation as the sine qua non for success in school, as everywhere else, the minority student is seriously handicapped. For Blacks there was never a way nor a time when their life situation in America permitted them to believe that they could effectively manipulate their environment, control their destinies or ameliorate their condition by working hard and sacrificing immediate rewards. This was the difference of their lives from white majorities. This factor of failure is a built-in condition for most American minorities, drastically reducing their equality with whites physically, psychologically and behaviorally.

No matter that pure races in man never existed, and that the average American Black is about as far removed from the pure Negroid type as he is from the pure Caucasian type. The facts are academic, as much as the logic of racist reasoning is shown as ludicrous. If proof could be obtained, for example, that brain size correlates with intelligence, as one school of scientists would have us believe, then the white man (whose brain is 50 cubic centimeters larger than that of the Black man) is more intelligent. But so is Neanderthal man (whose brain was 75 cubic centimeters larger than that of the modern white man) more mentally superior than whites! Such deductions expose the myth. The hope is that educational institutions will obliterate it rather than contribute to such old wives' tales of minority inferiority through present practices of testing.

The old sore treated at a length befitting its practice in public education is ability grouping. This separation of the races based on tests of questionable validity is reviewed through the Goldberg investigation. The evidence supports the conclusion that ability grouping in itself is more harmful than helpful to pupil achievement. In leading the teacher to underestimate the learning potential of "average" students, ability grouping all but dismisses those scoring in the low end of the scale.

The text comes full circle in its review of studies outside the mere cognitive domain. Here the pattern of minority treatment forms, reinforces and maintains myths and stereotypes which themselves become part of the value systems of teachers and the public at large; thus the vicious cycle is completed. Tests, especially standardized group tests of intellectual ability, are used to "prove" the inherent intellectual inferiority of Blacks, which leads to stratification in terms of estimated potential, which leads to lowered self-concept and the perceived lowered expectations of teachers, which, in turn, leads to poor learning conditions and, inevitably, to inferior performance on tests of achievements.

While Samuda discounts the Machiavellian theory of radical critics of testing—that there is an organized power group whose existence is to humiliate, retard Blacks and other minorities in the U.S.—the difference is academic in its pernicious effects. Rather, he sees tests as part of a system that perpetuates the boundaries that bar minorities from good education. Therefore, it is only by viewing testing within the whole social fabric that its contribution to the inequality of the status quo can be brought into focus.

Toward this end is examined the research done on alternatives to traditional measurements, such as the culture-free and culture-fair tests. And while neither has proved practical nor successful, both have, in effect, recognized the ethnic biases of the more traditional tests and encouraged further explorations for alternatives. The culture-specific movement was one such experiment. Its major limitation, aside from the expense in the standardization of a multiplicity of tests, concerned the extreme difficulty and complexities involved in delimiting the boundaries of each cultural group for which tests should be developed.

Most hopeful, perhaps, is the criterion-referenced test. Comparing an individual with some established criterion or performance standard, and not with other individuals, it departs from the practice of the norm-referenced test. Criterion standards are, therefore, estab-

lished in terms of the behavioral content itself, rather than in terms of comparisons with groups or dispersion around a mean. Its promise is, finally, to realize the purpose of all tests—to indicate the degree of the individual's atypical level of function. In this way we may finally learn ways by which education may be made accessible to the underprivileged people of society without penalizing them for not belonging to the middleclass mainstream culture. *Psychological Testing of American Minorities* impresses as a highly readable text written in this spirit.

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The Fowler case and its companion cases in the Supreme Court are the most recent examples of the ways in which the Constitution has been invoked to permit violence against Black people and to maintain the institutional racism which permeates the American experience.

Perhaps no other single event to occur in this bicentennial year more aptly symbolizes the ways in which legal argument can be used to mask and justify the perpetuation of the two parallel systems of justice which have marked this country's history since its inception.

From our arrival as slaves in Jamestown in 1619 until 1865, the law justified our condition as chattel slaves and the brutal quelling of our rebellions; after 1865, the law was used to suppress our disconcerting struggles to achieve the rights of citizens and to create and maintain our second class status on constitutional grounds.

Throughout this country's history, lynchings, bombings, burnings, rapes and murders against Black, Brown and Red people, have been disregarded by federal law enforcement agencies as "outside their jurisdiction," while they have initiated and encouraged illegal surveillance of our struggles as rebellious minorities, controlled by constitutionally acceptable armed forces. Racist application of state criminal law enforcement continues to select Black and poor people for arrest, prosecution, conviction, imprisonment and death, no differently in 1976 than in 1876.

On June 29, 1972, when the Supreme Court declared that "the imposition and carrying out of the death penalty . . . constitutes cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments," 600 persons were waiting on death row in

Lennox S. Hinds, National Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, is an attorney, former chemist, community activist and author of a number of articles on the race and class biases of the law.

32 states for the opinion that would determine if they would be hung, gassed or electrocuted (*Furman v. Georgia*, U.S. 408 [1972] 238).

The inescapable inference that the death sentence as applied prior to the challenge in *Furman* perpetuated an historic and institutionalized pattern of discrimination was obvious to even outside observers. In 1944, Gunnar Myrdal reported in *An American Dilemma* that "The south makes the widest application of the death penalty, and Negro criminals come in for much more than their share of the executions." Bald statistics confirm his view and the frequency of this discrimination, but it is not confined to the South.

Constitutional due process requires that the judicial functions of trial and sentencing be conducted with fundamental fairness. The application of the death penalty in rape and murder cases (since 1930, 99 percent of all executions have been for these crimes) is clear and unmistakable. Since 1930, 3,859 persons have been executed in the United States. Of these, 2,066 or 54 percent were Black. During these years Blacks were about one-eleventh of the population. For the crime of murder, 3,334 were executed—1,630 or 49 percent were Black. For rape, a total of 455 have been executed, all but two in the south—405 or 90 percent were Black. (See *National Prisoner Statistics* [1969].)

The Supreme Court in the (5-4) opinion in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972) came one vote away from sending the 600 to their deaths. Only Justices Douglas and Thurgood Marshall dealt squarely with the racism in the application of capital punishment. The three others in the majority opinion were more disturbed by its lack of efficacy in deterring crime. Douglas identified the way in which the death penalty is a tool in the hands of those in power when he said:

It is "cruel and unusual" to apply the death penalty—or any other penalty—selectively to minorities whose numbers are few, who are outcasts of society, and who are unpopular, but whom society is willing to see suffer though it would not countenance general application of the same penalty across the board.

Justice Thurgood Marshall was equally unequivocal on the class and race assumptions on which the application of the death penalty was based.

It . . . is evident that the burden of Capital Punishment falls upon the poor, the ignorant, and the underprivileged members of society. It is the poor and the members of minority groups who are least

able to voice their complaints against Capital Punishment. Their impotence leaves them victims of a sanction that the wealthier, better represented, just-as-guilty person can escape. So long as the capital sanction is used only against the forlorn, easily forgotten members of society, legislators are content to maintain the status quo because change would draw attention to the problem and concern might develop.

The shaky majority in the *Furman* case did not resolve the blood lust for the death penalty as a facile, politician's solution to public concern with crime and violence. In the four years since the *Furman* decision, 31 state legislators have reinstated the death penalty, re-drafted to "satisfy" the majority opinion, Supreme Court's objections to the prior laws. (Capital Punishment is cruel and unusual in the constitutional sense, or denies the equal protection of the laws, if it can be established that it is imposed and executed in a manner that discriminates against Blacks or other racial minorities or the poor in violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments. The *Furman* court divided on this common ground. Justice Douglas, Marshall and Stewart based their objections to the death penalty on that reasoning. There was no firm consensus on any aspect of the five man majority opinion, but certain elements were touched upon by all. The majority agreed that the death penalty is a cruel and unusual punishment because it is imposed under no clear standards; that the Eighth and Fourteenth amendments should bar legislatures from imposing sanctions which, as administered, serve no valid social purpose; that the death penalty is unpredictably used. All members of the court with the exception of Justice Rehnquist personally opposed capital punishment.)

As of March 1, 1976, 450 people were on Death Row, including 6 women, 320 Blacks, 136 whites, 8 Native Americans and 9 Chicanos—75 percent non-white, almost all with appointed counsel (the surest index to a poor defendant). Ninety of those condemned are in North Carolina alone, where death may be the penalty for arson and burglary as well as murder and rape. The seven other states with the greatest number of prisoners on Death Row are: Florida, 50; Georgia, 32; Ohio, 29; Louisiana, 27; California, 26; Oklahoma, 22; Texas, 21.

The 450 Black, Brown and poor people are sitting it out in Death Row awaiting a new Supreme Court decision in *Fowler v. North Carolina* which will be argued in a Supreme Court without Justice Douglas. The appeal, if lost, will result not only in their deaths, but the

reinstatement on state and federal levels of the legalized lynchings that characterized the years before the *Furman* decision.

The political climate in the United States has not changed significantly since colonial days when the branding, enslaving and corporal punishment of Black slaves, Native Americans and Hispanic minorities were both legal and commonplace. The death penalty and the other criminal sanctions are still tools selected by those in power and with property to liquidate that expendable segment of society which is dangerous to their retention of control.

"Public support for capital punishment is currently at its highest point in nearly two decades." (*New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1972, p. 18.) The Gallup Poll reported that 57 percent of all adults said they favored the death penalty for convicted murderers. This public support has been carefully and calculatedly nurtured by staunch public advocates of the death penalty like Richard Nixon whose hand-picked appointees to the Supreme Court now are in the majority. Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo and presidential hopeful Ronald Reagan are among the many politicians who warmly support the reinstatement of capital punishment.

It is important to note that former U.S. Attorney-General Mitchell's (and Nixon's) legacy to the Federal Criminal Code includes Senate Bill 1 (S-1) which would reinstate capital punishment for kidnapping, assassination, bombing of a public building, aircraft hijacking and killing a prison guard.

We at the National Conference of Black Lawyers, whose daily work takes us into the courts of this country, know that the face on the target of the criminal law is Black, Brown, Red and poor. We know, as all Black people know without reading statistics, that our chances of being arrested, convicted, sentenced, imprisoned and executed are disproportionately high.

We know that the worst and most dangerous criminals are rarely the ones executed. The death penalty is applied randomly at best and discriminatorily at worst. It violates the constitutional guarantees of the equal protection of the laws because it is imposed almost exclusively against racial minorities, the poor, the uneducated—persons who are victims of selective prosecution, overt discrimination in the sentencing process and who cannot afford sophisticated legal defenses.

Statistical studies support what our impressions tell us. In Pennsylvania it has been shown that only the defendant's race explains the fact that among persons convicted of felony murder and sentenced

to death, most whites will eventually have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment, and Blacks will not. (Wolfgang, Kelly and Nolde, J., *Criminal Law, Criminology and Political Science*, [1962].) In New Jersey, juries tended to bring in the death sentence for more Blacks convicted of felony murder than they did for whites convicted of the same crime. (Wolf in *Rutgers Law Review* [1964].)

The most thorough statistical proof of racial bias in capital punishment has been compiled in the study of rape convictions. "Negroes convicted of rape are disproportionately frequently sentenced to death compared with whites. . . . We are now prepared to assert that a significantly higher proportion of blacks are sentenced to death upon conviction of rape . . . because they are black . . . and the victims were white." (Wodifgeng, "Capital Punishment," *Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 3, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, 2nd Section* [1972], pp. 178-179.)

At recent annual meetings, Black lawyers from throughout the country have pledged their energies to alert those who can still listen to this renewed attack on the sanctity of the lives of Black, poor and minority people. The power to kill under color of law must be taken away from those who see us as expendable. To these ends, the Conference has submitted a brief *Amicus Curiae* to the Supreme Court in *Fowler*.

Mindless reliance on the death penalty, never a deterrent to crime at any time in any country, obscures the pathological, economic and social conditions which foster crime and distracts our society from the changes needed to deal with it. Execution irrevocably deprives a person of the benefits of new law or new evidence; and most obviously, it brutalizes the society that practices it.

We lawyers may argue in the highest court by every means possible, but it will not be attorneys who shall vanquish this new move toward legalized racism. As in the past, it will be the people of this country telling those in power clearly and unmistakably that the legalized death penalty must join chattel slavery and other badges and indicia of racism in the blood-stained pages of the American experience as legal lessons to be learned from, and not perpetuated, in our next hundred years.

create
create with dry eyes

Create create
stars over the warrior's sledge-hammer
peace over children's weeping
peace over sweat over the tears of contract labor
peace over hatred
create
create peace with dry eyes

Create create
create freedom in the slave stars
manacles of love on the paganized paths of love
festive sounds over swinging bodies on simulated
gallows

Create
create love with dry eyes

STRUGGLE

Violence
voices of steel in the sun
setting fire to a landscape already hot

And dreams
dispersed
against a wall of bayonets

A new wave rises
and longings dispersed
over unburied bodies

And a new wave rises for the struggle
and yet another and another
until there remains of violence
only our pardon

WE MUST RETURN

To the houses, to our crops
to the beaches, to our fields
we must return

to our lands
red with coffee
white with cotton
green with maize fields
we must return

To our mines of diamonds
gold, copper, oil
we must return

To our rivers, our lakes
to the mountains, the forests
we must return

To the coolness of the *mulemba*
to our traditions
to the rhythms and bonfires
we must return

To the marimba and the *quissange*
to our carnival
we must return

To our beautiful Angolan homeland
our land, our mother
we must return

We must return
to liberated Angola
independent Angola.

ANGOLA'S SECOND WAR OF LIBERATION

ANTHONY MONTEIRO

TODAY, THE TWO MOST frequently heard slogans in Angola are "A Luta Continua" (The Struggle Continues) and "A Victoria E Certa" (Victory Is Certain). Both reflect the present stage of the struggle in Angola which is characterized by the Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as "Generalized Popular Resistance." Both slogans are evidence of the powerful determination of the Angolan people to complete their national liberation struggle and to enter upon the path leading to social revolution. The historic military struggle waged against the invading forces from Zaire, South Africa and an international brigade of fascist mercenaries was decisive to the defense of Angola's national independence and to deepening its anti-imperialist nature. Throughout Angola's second war of liberation, the people saw arrayed against them the most powerful combination of reactionary forces ever joined against one country on the African continent. Racism and imperialism's plan to halt Angola's liberation struggle necessitated an attempt to destroy the MPLA. World imperialism, therefore, relied, not only upon its own resources, but also upon the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), as manifestations of Angola's "internal" reactionaries. The role of FNLA and UNITA was to lead a reactionary uprising in support of the invading armies.

At the height of the reactionary drive to defeat the MPLA, there were nearly 80,000 troops involved. In many respects, the second war of liberation was a more intense struggle than that against Portuguese colonialism. At the same time, the Angolan people's resistance required even greater contributions on the part of their allies. Thus, the Cuban volunteers and the increased Soviet aid—extended in fulfillment of their international duty—were necessary to the defense of

Anthony Monteiro, Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement for Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSAL), recently returned from a meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Luanda on February 4, 1976—date of the 15th anniversary of the initiation of the armed struggle against Portugal by the MPLA.

Angola's right to self-determination. Contrary to the reactionary statements of Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger and Daniel Moynihan, the role of Cuba and the Soviet Union was not to "colonize" Angola, but to give fraternal aid in defense of the freedom struggle. It is important to understand that the Cuban troops and Soviet technicians did not "lead," but *supported*, the heroic efforts of the MPLA and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA). Fidel Castro, clarifying the position of Cuba toward the Angolan and all African liberation struggles, has said:

The imperialists seek to prevent us from aiding our Angolan brothers. But we must tell the Yankees to bear in mind that we are a Latin American nation and a Latin African nation as well.

African blood flows freely through our veins. Many of our ancestors came as slaves from Africa to this land. They fought as members of the Liberation Army of Cuba. We are brothers and sisters of the people of Africa and we are ready to fight on their behalf.

Let the South African racists and the Yankee imperialists be warned. We are part of the world revolutionary movement, and in Africa's struggle against racists and imperialists, we will stand, without any hesitation, side by side with the peoples of Africa.

imperialism's stake in angola

One would not have to be an expert on contemporary African history to sense a distinct difference in the reaction of imperialism to Angolan independence as compared with its response to the struggles in those nations that achieved independence in the early 1960s. The answer lies in the vast riches of Angola and the revolutionary nature of the MPLA. In Southern Africa (of which Angola is a key element) are to be found every important industrial mineral, a vast hydroelectric power supply, fisheries, and extensive crop and pasture lands. Within this context, imperialism has always viewed Angola in a special way. It is a critical part of the industrial, financial and commercial complex of Southern Africa. Its vast mineral resources include oil, iron ore, diamonds, uranium, gold and copper. The Benguela Railroad that runs through the center of Angola links the copper belt of Zaire and Zambia to the Atlantic Ocean. Pilots flying over Angola report a magnetic pull on their instruments caused by large deposits of undiscovered ore. The victory of the Angolan people constitutes a serious set back to the interests of the western trans-

national corporations which had counted on undisturbed plunder of Angola under a neo-colonial regime.

The western imperialist countries also look upon Angola in a special military light. Prior to the fall of the Caetano colonial government in April 1974, the NATO countries had naturally looked upon Portugal's colonies as a part of NATO, in spite of the fact that the NATO treaty covered only that area of the Atlantic reaching down to the Tropic of Cancer (Angola is far below the Tropic of Cancer). NATO looked to the establishment of a government in Angola which would comply with its military objectives in the South Atlantic. This would necessarily mean a government that would accept an awesome South African military presence and a powerful U.S. naval presence in Southern Africa. This neo-colonial position towards Angola was clearly expressed by even the first post-revolutionary Portuguese government headed by Antonio Spínola. Spínola and Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist Party of Portugal, recognized that Portugal was too poor to carry out the tasks of a neo-colonial power. However, they saw that Portugal could play a role in creating favorable political circumstances for the establishment of collective neo-colonialism by the United States, West Germany, Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium and Italy.

Throughout the six Portuguese governments that have come since April 1974, the main drift of policy towards Angola has been in a neo-colonial direction. The Portuguese military in Angola played the main role in executing Spínola's policy. The establishment of neo-colonialism in Angola, however, required the coordination of efforts by Portuguese reactionary circles, U.S. and West German imperialism. In June 1974, Spínola and Nixon met on the Azores Islands where reversing Angola's decolonization and the entire decolonization of Southern Africa and frustrating Portugal's democratic revolution were the main topics. Spínola was the main exponent of neo-colonialism in the new Portuguese government. After his overthrow, Mario Soares played, and continues to play, that role. In September 1974, Spínola met with Mobutu Sese Seko on the Sal Island in Cape Verde. This is an important connection, given that Mobutu is U.S. imperialism's main ally in independent Africa. Since Mobutu's alleged participation in the 1961 assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the overthrow of his government, Zaire (at that time the Congo) has received more than \$430 million in U.S. aid—\$50 million being military aid. Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, reported that Spínola and Mobutu discussed the question of severing Cabinda from the rest of Angola and

the role that FNLA would play in disrupting a peaceful transition to an independent Angolan government. This meeting between Mobutu and Spínola came after a number of aborted attempts to utilize sections of the Angolan white population to undermine independence.

From July to October 1974, there had been frantic efforts on the part of reactionary white elements in Angola to create circumstances favorable to a coup d'état and the declaration of a "Rhodesian type" minority white government. The leading organization in this attempt was the "Angolan Resistance Front." The routing of these organizations did not, however, end the attempts at destroying Angola's national liberation struggle. The forces that had previously spoken of a Rhodesian type settlement organized their efforts in support of the FNLA and UNITA. Hence, after the signing of the Alvor Agreement on January 15, 1975, FNLA and UNITA became the main instruments of the fascist sections of Angola's white population. In fact, with the signing of the Alvor Agreement and the general amnesty declared after January 31, many of the reactionaries who had fled Angola returned. Already, though, prior to the signing of the Alvor Agreement, very vast and complicated activity had taken place on an international level and within Angola. These efforts involved the full participation of the Portuguese army in Angola in facilitating and coordinating the efforts of reactionary forces against the MPLA. The "Portuguese Liberation Army," a fascist band, was brought to Angola to aid the FNLA efforts.

At this early stage, the U.S., British, French, South African and Chinese governments were deeply involved. The U.S. was to play the main role in planning and financing operations against the MPLA. The contacts which had existed for 13 years between Holden Roberto, head of the FNLA, and the CIA would allow FNLA to be used as a conduit for the U.S. Furthermore, the long years of collaboration between Jonas Savimbi of UNITA with the Portuguese and South Africans were assurance that the southern part of the country would have an "indigenous" Black organization to disguise the efforts of the neo-colonialists. China's role was viewed as further bolstering the U.S. position and the military training of FNLA. Mobutu could be called upon as well.

In December 1974 the English language magazine *Zaire Africa*, which expresses the official views of the Mobutu government, openly called for the dismemberment of Angola and the federation of northern Angola with Zaire. This was to constitute the reuniting of the "Bakongo Kingdom." In that same issue, the idea was put forth

of splitting off oil-rich Cabinda from the rest of the nation. To achieve this end, Mobutu would rely upon Holden Roberto and financial support from the U.S. Mobutu viewed the vast resources of Angola, and the oil in particular, as boosters for his sagging economy which was feeling the pressure of economic recession in the capitalist world and the drastic drop in the price of copper—Zaire's main export commodity.

Almost immediately following the signing of the Alvor Agreement, FNLA began its attacks upon the MPLA and the civilian population of Luanda. At this point, FNLA realized the massive support that existed in Luanda and throughout Angola for the MPLA. This support was evidenced on February 4, 1975, when Agostinho Neto arrived in Luanda and 400,000 people met him at the airport. (When UNITA and FNLA arrived approximately 1,000 people turned out—mostly white settlers.) The tactic of the FNLA and Portuguese reactionaries was to attempt to destroy and intimidate this MPLA base of support. In March, the FNLA terror intensified with the massacre of 50 youths en route to an MPLA Center for Revolutionary Instruction. In April, the FNLA carried out further murders, rapes and intimidation of the Luanda population in order to prevent the MPLA from holding its May Day celebration. In fact, the May Day events had to be postponed until May 22. It was at this time that the Zairean troops became involved. Many Luanda residents indicate that the nationality of these troops was obvious because they spoke only French. During these early months of 1975 the Zaire army began its attacks on Cabinda and the northern regions of Angola. It also became known, at this time, that there had taken place in January 1975 a large U.S. and China military build up. These arms went to the FNLA and Zairean armies.

China's role became clear at this time. China, since the overthrow of the Portuguese colonial government in April 1974, had intensified its aid to Zaire and the FNLA. These efforts increased and finally, during 1975, became direct collaboration with the most reactionary forces involved in Angola. The Chinese rationale was that they were preventing what they call "Soviet social-imperialism" from taking over in Angola. The real effect was to support the attempt of imperialism to destroy the MPLA.

The MPLA and the people of Luanda responded heroically to the terror campaign of FNLA and the Zaireans. This struggle to rid Luanda of the armed terrorists lasted until August when the FNLA army was expelled from Luanda. It had been the MPLA which,

throughout, attempted to prevent civil war, even to the extent of going to Nakuru in Kenya to once again sign agreements with FNLA and UNITA for peaceful transition to an independent government. The efforts of Neto and the MPLA were met with violence by the FNLA and UNITA.

The defeat of the FNLA and Zairean troops in August intensified the efforts of foreign reaction. In August, Valery Giscard d'Estaing made a state visit to Zaire where he met with Mobutu and Holden Roberto. The French press reported then that agreements had been made to supply military equipment to the FNLA. The first reports of South African armed violations of the southern borders of Angola were made in early August. Also in August, the FNLA and UNITA formed a united front against the MPLA. Daniel Chipenda, formerly a member of MPLA, joined FNLA and went to Windhoek, capital of Namibia, to confer with the South Africans concerning military support for the FNLA/UNITA alliance. At this time, also, a call went out internationally for mercenaries to fight in Angola.

By October, the MPLA was receiving military and other aid from a wide array of nations, including the Soviet Union, Cuba and all of the socialist countries (except China) and many African nations, including Mozambique, Somalia, Algeria, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau. Of great importance were the military volunteers from Cuba who came at the request of the MPLA, *in direct response to the South African invasion which represented a serious escalation of the war to destroy the MPLA and dismember Angola*. After October 23, 1975, the South Africans, along with an international mercenary force, stepped up the invasion with an armored column, supplied by transport planes and supported by helicopter gun ships. Simultaneously, the Zairean and FNLA drive to the capital of Luanda intensified. The U.S. State Department had assured South Africa that Luanda could be taken in a matter of four weeks and of the possibility of U.S. direct military intervention.

On November 11, 1975, in accordance with the Alvor Agreement, independence was declared by the MPLA in Luanda. The most difficult struggle was yet to come. Fortunately, the MPLA armed forces were able to contain the invasion and keep the capital from being overrun. It was in the last week of November that the counter-offensive by MPLA began. It was reported in late November and early December that the U.S. and Chinese governments conferred through various channels, and during December, Gerald Ford and Deputy Prime Minister Teng met in Peking where China urged the U.S. to

increase its efforts in Angola against the MPLA.

The U.S. government attempted to use the pretext of Soviet and Cuban aid as a basis for increasing CIA aid to the counter-revolutionary forces in Angola. Kissinger, showing his real colors, stated that an MPLA victory would upset the racial balance in Southern Africa. Indeed, while that is the goal of the national liberation struggle, Kissinger's goal is to preserve white domination—vital to U.S. imperialism. This explains Moynihan's open statement that South Africa and the U.S. have the same objectives in Angola, and why Ford attempted to threaten the Soviet Union and Cuba with talk of reversing the achievements of detente and sharpening the confrontation with Cuba.

unprecedented military victories

The MPLA military victories over the Zaireans, South Africans and their FNLA/UNITA puppets were unprecedented in the history of the national liberation struggle in Africa. The South African army—before deemed invincible—and the white mercenaries who had for more than a decade butchered Africans and who were thought to be far superior to any African fighting force were totally defeated on the battle field. In December and early January, FAPLA marched against the northern invaders. On January 6, they took Uige, the main city in the north, and later, Ambriz, the main port city in the north. By February, the last white mercenaries in the far north were defeated. Mobutu was forced to admit, in the second week of January, that the FNLA had collapsed. Also by the second week of February in the south, the FAPLA had defeated the South Africans. They had taken Huambo (the capital of the FNLA/UNITA forces) on February 9, and then Bie (Silva Porto) on February 11, followed by the liberation of Lobito and Benguela—the main port and rail cities in the south. In each city, the FAPLA were greeted by the population, and large demonstrations were organized in support of the MPLA. In no case was there any significant opposition. In fact, after the initial military encounters with the FAPLA, South Africa realized that it was confronting a new type of African army. The January 21 South African *Rand Daily Mail* reported "a shattering defeat for white intervention in Angola that is bound to have far reaching repercussions on the war."

After the FAPLA took Cela, Santa Comba and Amboiva (this triangle being South Africa's major logistic strongpoint in the south central part of the country), the United Press International's Ray-

mond Wilkinson reported on January 22 from Johannesburg, "South Africa and its allies have suffered a shattering defeat, if the latest reports from the Angolan war are accurate." To equal the FAPLA, South Africa would have to commit the major part of its army to a prolonged war. This would, undoubtedly, weaken the white supremacist regime in South Africa itself, creating very favorable circumstances, politically and militarily, for the armed struggle within that country. Thus, by the end of January, the South Africans were retreating, hoping to establish themselves along the Benguela railroad and hoping that the U.S. or other western powers would intervene.

The January 11, 1976, *London Observer* reported that U.S. involvement in Angola "is far greater than realized," and that the U.S. carrier *Independence* was in the Atlantic off the shores of Angola, equipped with 90 F-4 Phantom jets, several hundred tons of napalm and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs.

At this same time, much to its discredit, the Organization of African Unity, at a January special summit meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was unable to agree even to condemn the invasion of South Africa. The OAU was split, with 22 nations recognizing the MPLA and the Luanda government and 22 refusing such recognition. Ethiopia and Uganda abstained at that time. What did emerge, as Sekou Touré pointed out, was a clear, anti-imperialist bloc within the OAU. This bloc is committed to the struggle against neo-colonialism and the racists of South Africa. However, as Lopo Nascimento, Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of Angola, explained, the main struggle was taking place on the battlefield.

A fuller comprehension of the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA is necessary to understand developments on Angola.

mpla history

The evolution of Angola's anti-colonial struggle reached a new stage on December 10, 1956, with the founding of the Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). It came into being as a united front of the Angolan Cultural Society (founded in 1943), the Association of Angolan Natives (1948), the radical wing of the African National League and the Party for the United Struggle of the Africans of Angola (founded clandestinely in 1953). In 1957, the Movement for the National Independence of Angola joined the MPLA. Agostinho Neto has headed the organization since 1962.

The MPLA initiated the armed struggle in 1961 with an attack on the main prison in Luanda, attempting to free those patriots held

by the Portuguese. The armed struggles in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique followed. Angola's guerrilla struggle was the longest fought in Africa and perhaps the most difficult. Armando Entralgo summarizes the major dates as follows:

February 4, 1961, attack on the Luanda prisons—the rebels withdraw to the mountains of Dembos and Nambuangongo, 200 km. (180 miles) from Luanda, and establish the MPLA's first guerrilla region.

1964, opening of the second guerrilla region in Cabinda

1966, opening of the third guerrilla region in Moxico and Cuango-Cubango

1967, opening of the fourth guerrilla region in Luanda and Malange

1969, opening of the fifth guerrilla region in Bie and Huambo

1970-1974, consolidation of the guerrilla fronts and generalization of the war under very difficult conditions.

(Tricontinental, Year X—1975, P. 51)

Throughout the entire period of the armed struggle the MPLA carried on clandestine work in the urban centers. In the liberated areas, they organized cooperatives, social services, education centers, medical centers, the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), MPLA youth (JMPLA), the Organization of Angolan Pioneers (OPA) and the Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA). As can be seen by the national scope of its guerrilla activity, the MPLA was neither a tribal nor regional organization. Furthermore, the MPLA has always viewed the struggle to decolonize Angola as anti-imperialist in essence and the national liberation struggle as a stage of the social revolution to end all forms of exploitation. MPLA's world outlook has been consistently internationalist, supporting the struggle to totally liberate Africa as well as the liberation of all mankind.

fnla history

The FNLA was formed in 1961 and based itself in Zaire after 1962. FNLA's predecessor organizations were the Union of the People of Northern Angola (UPNA) and the Union of the People of Angola (UPA).

UPNA was formed in 1957, not as a national liberation movement,

but as a Bakongo tribal organization to negotiate with the Portuguese and Belgian colonialists on behalf of the Bakongos of the Protestant faith as opposed to the Catholic Bakongos. Specifically, UPNA, founded by Holden Roberto's uncle, was interested in having the Portuguese appoint a Protestant to become the tribal chief of the Bakongo. Needless to say, the Portuguese had a direct interest in re-animating tribalism, or what is called "tribal nationalism," to counter the developing national liberation struggle. Thus, UPNA was looked upon very favorably by the colonialists.

In 1958, Holden Roberto dropped the "N" and took the name UPA in order to give a sense of nationalism to what was, in essence, a regional and tribalist organization. With the aid of Mobutu and others, UPA established itself in Kinshasha as the FNLA, and later, the FNLA-GRAE (Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile). In 1963, this FNLA-GRAE was recognized by the OAU, over the protest of the MPLA. The MPLA was recognized by the Liberation Committee of the OAU in 1964, but it was not until 1971 that Roberto's treason had become so blatant that the OAU had to withdraw recognition of the GRAE. FNLA did not fight the Portuguese, but waged a treasonous fight along with the Portuguese colonialists against the MPLA. Further evidence of the gangster character of the FNLA was seen in 1961 when UPA initiated attacks, indiscriminately, upon members of non-Bakongo ethnic groups. In July 1975, after the government of the Cape Verde Islands recognized the MPLA, FNLA attacked and murdered hundreds of Cape Verdeans living in Luanda.

unita history

UNITA was formed in 1966 by Jonas Savimbi, formerly Holden Roberto's "foreign minister." Savimbi, in 1964, left FNLA and denounced Roberto for his CIA connections. This fact, however, did not prevent them from reuniting against the MPLA and establishing a "government" in Huambo in August 1975.

Savimbi's collaboration with the Portuguese colonialists was made known by the progressive elements of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) after the overthrow of the Caetano government. Savimbi, in letters to the Portuguese military in Angola, had assured them that he viewed the "common enemy" as the MPLA. Savimbi has openly admitted his collaboration with the South African Army, Rhodesian, Portuguese and other white mercenaries. Radio Zambia reported, on February 9, 1976, that Savimbi had secretly

visited South Africa in December. However, Savimbi has made no secret of his admiration for John Vorster and has, subsequently, opposed the armed struggle in Namibia. Further truth of the character of UNITA was to be seen in the tragedies resulting from their occupation of cities in southern Angola. Mass graves were found in Huambo and Bie. In Lobito, UNITA and the South Africans were building an extermination camp—consistent with their policy to kill all prisoners of war immediately. Their most brutal actions were toward known MPLA militants who were tortured and summarily killed.

south africa: base for neo-colonialism

The outstanding struggle waged by the MPLA and the Angolan people has won international recognition for the Luanda government, admittance to the OAU, and utmost respect throughout the world. However, the U.S. government has refused even to extend diplomatic recognition to the new government. Though the majority of imperialist nations have recognized the new government, their hopes of returning Angola to a new form of colonialism have not been dismissed. At the core of this imperialist plan is South Africa—the base of operation for neo-colonialism in the southern region of Africa. This mineral-rich area would provide a cheap source of raw materials and a vast market for the European Common Market, the U.S. and Japan.

In 1970, South Africa proposed to the United Nations “a program of diplomatic and economic cooperation” with Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Malawi, and later, Zambia and Zaire. This so-called “third Africa” was to constitute an African common market with an adjunct to the economies of the Western capitalist countries. These proposals later took the political form of a South African policy of “dialogue” and “detente” with Black Africa. Southern Africa is seen by the capitalist nations as a base for softening the present economic crisis. It is the single richest area in the world, ranking high among the producers of all industrially strategic minerals and number one in the production of cobalt, manganese, diamonds, gold, chrome and platinum.

Events in Angola have put a big question mark on these plans whose successful implementation required the establishment of a FNLA/UNITA government in Angola. Today, rather than being a buffer for South Africa and imperialist interests in southern Africa, Angola is a rear base of the liberation struggle—the entire front of

which has been strengthened—against imperialism and racism. Today the liberation forces are on the offensive. Already, within South Africa, the contradictions are very sharp and the African National Congress (ANC) is strengthening its overall combat position. This is also true in Namibia where SWAPO is leading the people—the armed struggle is intensifying. In Rhodesia, the racist Ian Smith regime is tottering on the brink of collapse.

african/afro-american solidarity

It is now, when the national liberation movement is confronting the most powerful combination of imperialists ever assembled in Africa, that the U.S. Black liberation movement *must* strengthen its ties of support and *anti-imperialist* solidarity with our sisters and brothers of southern Africa. The role of Roy Innis against Africa's liberation indicates the efforts now afoot by the U.S. government to create a force in the Black movement to support imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Innis is well known for his support of Richard Nixon in the Presidential campaign in 1972.

Other Blacks who represent such corporations as IBM and GM in South Africa or who ignore the athletic and cultural boycotts, in opposition to the wishes of the African liberation movement, also run the danger of providing a wedge for U.S. and South African racism. Contrary to a policy of collaboration with the U.S. government and the multi-national corporations, our strategy, as Afro-Americans, must be based upon following the direction pointed out by the liberation movements.

Angola is entering upon the stage of the struggle for economic independence. The MPLA has determined that this struggle will take a socialist direction. This would mean placing all of the resources at the disposal of all the people. This course of development most certainly threatens the economic interests of the capitalist countries. For this reason, the U.S., the countries of the EEC and NATO, as well as Japan, will never fully accept the results of the Angolan struggle. Afro-Americans, however, must never be found supporting the U.S. transnational corporations against the Angolan people, nor can we be found supporting these same corporations in their efforts to preserve apartheid in South Africa. Our task lies in the further development of our capacity to construct the anti-racist, anti-imperialist coalition in the United States as part of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle in Africa. Such a coalition in the U.S. must involve the peace and labor movements. Its objective must be soli-

parity with the peoples of southern Africa and its target must be the giant multi-national corporations. This type of development is central to the defeat of racism here and to the reversal of the trend toward the militarization of society and to the constant expansion of the military budget. Such a movement, at the same time, directly confronts the source of the problems of unemployment and diminishing social services—the vast military budget and the export of capital and jobs to the low wage areas of the world.

Speaking of the road ahead for Angola, Agostinho Neto, President of the Peoples' Republic of Angola, has said:

We advance with all humanity to conquer our world and our peace. With the support of progressive African governments and the socialist countries, the Angolan people are advancing under the flag of the MPLA. . . .

Today with the MPLA, all of Africa advances towards the final confrontation with South Africa's racist regimes. Afro-Americans, along with all progressive forces in the U.S., must march with the MPLA and the liberation forces of yet unfree Africa. Victory in Southern Africa is inevitable; as Neto has poetically said:

Nothing will prevent the rain . . . for in men boils the desire to make the supreme effort.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION on how you can help the Angolan struggle contact:

The National Anti-Imperialist Movement for Solidarity
with African Liberation (NAIMSAL)

1 Union Square West, Room 205
New York, N.Y. 10003
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Blues: A Musical and Sociological Analysis

EDDIE S. MEADOWS

LIKE ALL FORMS of black musical expression in America, blues has its roots in West African music. Also, like other black musical styles, blues has been criticized by many "educated" musicians as being crude, although the criterion for evaluation has been, and continues to be, the Western musical ideal. The criterion for evaluating blues has been applied without regard for its goals and objectives. Blues performers often use different tonal and timbral qualities in their music, qualities that some Western musicians have criticized as a lack of musical training, instead of a calculated desire by the performer to produce a calculated effect. The end result of this criticism is that blues is judged by criteria that are not synonymous with its objectives. Needless to say, by applying such standards of evaluation, blues has been and will continue to be viewed as a "bastard" musical style by many disciples of music of the European tradition. As LeRoi Jones has stated, "Blues can no more be criticized as being shrill or crude than Beethoven's Ninth for not being improvised."

Closely associated to this problem is the criticism directed at the tonality of blues. Some musicologists speak of the abbreviations of the diatonic scale by blues instrumentalists and vocalists as evidence that these performers sing or perform "out-of-tune."

In many cases the notes that Western music critics have labeled as "out-of-tune," the *lowered third* and *seventh*, are the approximation of an African scale that has been passed down by oral tradition. The African slave probably did not sing the third and seventh a *half tone* lower—rather, the notes were probably sung a *quarter tone* lower; i.e., somewhere between the natural and flat. This point has been voiced by Marshall Stearns in *The Story of Jazz* (1971):

Although the variety of scales in Africa is extensive, we know that one type of scale frequently found there (and elsewhere outside of Europe) employs a "neutral" second as well as a "neutral" third. The "neutral" second is so called because it falls two tones above the fifth, exactly halfway between the fifth and the eighth (octave). In other words, the neutral second occurs just below the

Eddie S. Meadows is an Associate Professor of Music and Afro-American Studies at San Diego State University, California.

seventh (B) in the upper half of the scale. Again, this is a pitch that does not occur on our piano keyboard.

It is necessary that one understands the diatonic scale, because it was the prevailing scale in the New World upon the African slave's arrival. Stearns states:

Thus, the Negro would necessarily adopt the diatonic scale which he found around him but, at the same time, his own tradition of the neutral third and second might survive just long enough to influence the diatonic scale and cause a different treatment of these two areas. For the diatonic scale has *half* steps at these points (3rd & 7th) in the scale which make the pitch noticeably sharp or higher.

Stearns feels that the African slave's impulse might have been to flatten these two notes toward a conformity with African practice, and as a result, a compromise might have resulted with a varying pitch being employed.

To elaborate further, Curtis-Burlin reports in *Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent* that when C. K. Simango, a native of Portuguese East Africa, first saw a piano he played it for a while and then announced, "This note is too high and the next one is too low and there is none between." Further documentation of this point might be reflected in the blues singers' method of making notes "elastic"; i.e., bending notes with moans, groans, swoops, and waving effects. This carry-over from Africa can be traced to the fact that some African languages are "tonal"; i.e., the meaning of a word changes completely with a variation in pitch. Of the numerous languages, the Yoruba and the Ibo languages are known to be tonal. The word Owo has a variety of meanings, depending on the tonal inflection, in the Yoruba language. The process of alternating tones for emphasis was not new to the African slave. Chances are this technique was applied to the existing scales that he found in America. Therefore we may conclude that the blues scale developed from the ability of the African slave to alter the existing scale tones to the performance techniques that were a part of his culture.

It should be obvious, from these points, that the blues reflects a different kind of music from anything known in America before slavery. It should also be obvious that the blues reflected the secular sociological experience of the Black man, whereas the spiritual reflected the sacred sociological experience. There was little difference in the lyrics; e.g.:

- A. "I want to see my *Baby* one day"
(A blues)
- B. "I want to see my *Lord* one day"
(A spiritual)

From this example, we may conclude that one word could have meant the difference between blues and spirituals prior to the late nineteenth century.

The immediate predecessor to the blues was the Afro-American work-song—field hollers, and cries, etc.—which had musical origins in West Africa. For example, the idea of singing while working was an integral part of African culture because music was/is functional in African culture; i.e., it is used for work, play, secular and sacred events. Besides, singing would ease the burden of work. In addition, it could serve as a temporary diversion from the slave's situation.

America, instead of Africa, became the reference point in the music of the slave. This reference point became evident especially after the first generation. A possible reason for this transition was that Africa was illusionary to the children of the first generation. However, the slave's immediate situation was real; thus the reference to his condition in America in blues lyrics. Blues form was usually a three-line feature: AAB, first two lines repeated, either because the singer particularly liked it or he could not think of another line; the third line was different, and often the last word of lines one and two would rhyme with the last word of line three.

When you see me comin', raise yo' window high
When you see me comin', raise yo' window high
When you see me goin', hang yo' head an' cry.

The third line is always a commentary on the first two. Blues and spirituals were the first black oriented musical expressions with pure American lyrics. The beginning of blues and spirituals could be characterized as the beginning of the "Americanization" of the slave expressed in musical terms. This is true because the moral generalizations about the country were expressed in the language of the country, relating to personal experiences and consequently producing nationalistic implications.

Based on the aforementioned, we may conclude that blues was one of the first nationalistic forms of music for Black Americans. It was a musical style that incorporated Euro-American language patterns with African performance techniques to produce a unique American musical style. What caused the blues to develop in favor

of the other styles available to the Black American? To answer this question one should explore the environment of Black people before and after the Emancipation.

Before the Emancipation, Black people's life was predictable—sociological conditions centered on their condition as slaves. The music reflected these conditions. However, after the Emancipation and before the rush to the cities, Blacks stood further away from the mainstream of American society than at any previous time in enslavement. Thus, as mobility increased—a direct result of Emancipation—their music began to reflect the diverse sociological experiences encountered in attempting to survive in America. After the Emancipation, the ex-slave was forced to move around seeking employment to provide food, shelter and clothing. As a result he began to get a much better idea of what America was like. Furthermore, this is the primary reason that many early country blues singers were migratory and used the harmonica, banjo and guitar so often. As a result, the limited social and emotional alternatives of the work-song no longer sufficed, so the music and lyrics began to change to meet the social and cultural complexities of the Black experience. Leisure and movement helped to standardize blues techniques, and soon classical styles and even verses turned up wherever Blacks lived and worked.

Nonetheless, the blues reflected the Black social and psychological environment. Even as the blues began to grow in popularity and reflect expanding references, it was preoccupied with the personal exploits of the singer. This personal nature is the result of the American experience for Blacks. Whereas African songs dealt with the tribe as a social unit, the blues reflects the Western concept of life of the individual, his trials and success. As a result, most blues differ greatly from work-songs in form, lyrics, and intent. Emancipation proposed a new existence for the slave. It was the first time he could be alone to develop individually. Indeed, the idea of leisure time was new to most Blacks. Each had his own voice and his own life to sing about. We may conclude, one of the most impressive was the country-rural blues. Although certain techniques came to be standardized the singing remained as arbitrary and personal as the shout.

Perhaps the final step in the evolution-development of the blues was the gradual addition of European instruments. The reasons are clear. Whereas work songs are a cappella (you can't work and play an instrument simultaneously), blues lent itself well to accompaniment. Blacks began to use instruments on a large scale after the

Emancipation. The guitar was most popular because blues chords were easy to learn and because it resembled an African banjo type instrument, because it was easy to transport, and because the performer could sing while playing. With the increased use of other European instruments—trumpets, clarinet, trombones, etc.—came a need to standardize blues harmony, especially when musicians began to record the blues. Up to that time an individual could play as he pleased. However, with several musicians in group situations, especially for recording or performing purposes, the need for a standard blues harmony became evident. Again blues began to emphasize the problems of Blacks and continues to serve that purpose today.

To summarize, blues cannot and should not be judged by standards it is not attempting to emulate. The blues performer, composer and arranger are the sum total of their experiences as Black musicians. Their music is an attitude rather than an expression. Blues should be accepted as Black America's gift to the world of music—a gift that is one of America's original contributions to the world of music.

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RECENT BOOKS*

ERNEST KAISER

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

Hillery, Mable A. and Patricia Simmons Hall. **THE GUIDE TO THE USE OF STREET/FOLK/MUSICAL GAMES IN THE CLASS ROOM.** Graduate School & University Center of City University of New York, 144 W. 125 St., New York 10027. 67 pages. (This illustrated guide was developed by the Interdependent Learning Model Follow Through Program and is now used in model classrooms in New York City and Atlanta. The guide and other materials are made available at cost to the public. The guide shows how to teach musical games to children and has a checklist for using a song game as a teaching tool plus the lyrics and stories. Another teachers' book is Lonetta Gaines's *Building a Pan-African Pre-School* [The East Publications, 10 Claver Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y., \$8.00].)

Holway, John. **VOICES FROM THE GREAT BLACK BASEBALL LEAGUES.** New York: Dodd, Mead, xviii, 363 pages; photos. \$9.95. (Here 18 of the living great black baseball players of the black segregated league over 30 years reminisce. These players could have been superstars in the major leagues but were not allowed to play. The other book about the black baseball league is Robert Peterson's *Only the Ball Was White* published in 1970. Other sports books about Blacks are *Reggie: A Season with a Superstar* [Playboy Press] by Reggie Jackson with Bob Libby; Merv Harris's *The Lonely Heroes: Professional Basketball's Great Centers* [Viking, \$8.95]; Bill Gutman's *Reggie Jackson* [Grosset & Dunlop] and Larry Fox's *Mean Joe Greene and the Steelers' Front Four* [Dodd, Mead \$7.95] about the awesome black defensive Superbowl heroes Joe Greene, L. C. Greenwood, Ernie Holmes and Dwight White of the Pittsburgh Steelers football team of 1974. They are also on the cover of *Time* magazine, Dec. 8, 1975.)

IMPACT TAPE SERVICE, 4826 S. Figueroa Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90037. (These 11 tapes are cassettes: Dick Gregory, Bobby Seale, James Meredith, John Coltrane, Malcolm X assassination, Boston school crisis, police informer, a life on heroin, black capitalism, alternative education: the Black Freedom School, Los Angeles, and the civil rights movement today. Send for descriptive brochure with time lengths and prices.)

Johnson, Eugene D. **OF HUMAN KINDNESS.** New York: Vantage Press. 142 pages. \$5.95. (This is a novel about Harlem by a black writer. Another novel is *Locked In—Locked Out* by Helen R. Carter [black] and Gene D. Shepherd [white] [Vantage Press] about a black woman Ph.D.'s encounters with discrimination in black and white universities.)

Jordan, June. **NEW LIFE: NEW ROOM.** New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 53 pages. \$5.95. (A new picture book for children by the black woman

*Continued from previous issue.

author of *Fannie Lou Hamer, His Own Where, Who Look at Me, Exiles*, etc. She is now poet-in-residence at Yale University and is writing a novel for adults.)

Kapungu, Leonard T. RHODESIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books. xii, 177 pages. \$5.95. (Other recent books by or about Africans are George Houser and Herb Shore's *Mozambique: Dream the Size of Freedom* [American Committee on Africa, New York City]; F. Olisa Awogu's *Political Institutions and Thought in Africa: An Introduction* [Vantage Press]; the usually wrong-headed Russell Warren Howie's *Along the Afric Shore: An Historic Review of Two Centuries of U.S.-African Relations* [Barnes and Noble], John Grace's *Domestic Slavery in West Africa: With Particular Reference to the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1896-1927* [Barnes and Noble] and Leda Farrant's *Tippu Tip and the East African Slave Trade* [St. Martin's Press], a life of Hamed bin Muhammed of Zanzibar.)

Katz, William Loren. MODERN AMERICA: 1957 TO THE PRESENT. New York: Franklin Watts. 96 pages; illus. \$4.33. (This is the sixth and last volume of this Minorities in American History series. It is an important breakthrough series for minority and other children and should be widely used in schools.)

Kennedy, Ellen Conroy (editor). THE NEGRITUDE POETS: AN ANTHOLOGY OF TRANSLATIONS FROM THE FRENCH. New York: Viking Press. \$15.00. (Written by four generations of black French colonial poets responding intensely to colonization and racism. Twenty-seven poets.)

Killens, John Oliver. A MAN AIN'T NOTHIN' BUT A MAN: THE ADVENTURES OF JOHN HENRY. Boston: Little, Brown. 176 pages. \$5.95. (A novel for young people by the famous black novelist.)

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. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 128 pages. \$6.95. (Plays for children.)

La Brie, III, Henry G. PERSPECTIVES OF THE BLACK PRESS. Mercer House Press. \$12.00. (La Brie, a young black scholar, has here what has been written praising and criticizing the black press. La Brie is also the author of *The Black Press in America: A Guide* [University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1971, \$3.00]. There is also Roland E. Wolseley's *The Black Press, U.S.A.* [Iowa State University Press, Ames, 1971, \$10.50].)

Lamont, Barbara. CITY PEOPLE: DISPATCHES FROM THE URBAN BATTLEFRONT. New York: Macmillan. viii, 184 pages. \$7.95. (Lamont was a black reporter for WINS Radio and is now anchor woman for WNEW-TV in New York. Her book contains some of her news stories on welfare hotels, Haitian freedom fighters in New York City, convicts at Dannemora, etc.)

Langguth, A. J. MACUMBA: WHITE AND BLACK MAGIC IN BRAZIL. New York: Harper and Row. \$8.95.

Leab, Daniel J. FROM SAMBO TO SUPERSPADE: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN MOTION PICTURES. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$15.00. (There are

several other recent books about Blacks in films: Gary Null's *Black Hollywood: The Negro in Motion Pictures* [Citadel, \$12.00]; Donald Bogle's *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*; Eileen Landay's *Black Film Stars*; Edward Mapp's *Blacks in American Films: Today and Yesterday*; James P. Murray's *To Find an Image: Black Films from Uncle Tom to Super Fly*; Lindsay Patterson's *Black Films and Film Makers: A Comprehensive Anthology from Stereotype to Superhero* and Anne Powers' *Blacks in American Movies: A Selected Bibliography* [Scarecrow Press, \$6.00].)

Lee, Luther. FIVE SERMONS AND A TRACT. Edited with an introduction by Donald W. Dayton. Holrad House, 5104 N. Christiana Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60625. 135 pages. \$3.00 (paper); 5 or more copies, \$2.00 each. (These pre-Civil War sermons and a tract show the evolution of abolitionist thinking over about 25 years.)

Legum, Colin. SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF DE-TEENTE; SOUTH AFRICA AT THE CROSSROADS. New York: Africana Publishing Co. 91 pages. \$3.50 (paper). (Another book, *Ethiopia: The Fall of Haile Selassie's Empire*, is also in the Current Affairs Series along with the Legum book.)

Levine, Donald M. and Mary Jo Bane (editors). THE "INEQUALITY" CONTROVERSY: SCHOOLING AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE. New York: Basic Books. \$17.50 (cloth); \$6.95 (paper). (Fourteen essays.)

Levitan, Sar A., William B. Johnson and Robert Taggart. STILL A. DREAM: THE CHANGING STATUS OF BLACKS SINCE 1960. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. \$15.00. (A book analyzing the economic and social changes in black life since 1960.)

Levy, Jacques. CESAR CHAVEZ: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LA CAUSA. New York: W. W. Norton. xxv, 546 pages. \$12.95. (The latest of several books about Chavez and the Farm Workers Union dedicated to organizing and improving the lives of the terribly exploited migrant workers. Another similar recent book is Ronald B. Taylor's *Chavez and the Farm Workers* [Beacon Press, 342 pages, \$10.00].)

Lewinson, Edwin. BLACK POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY. Introduction by Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson. New York: Twayne Publisher. 232 pages. \$10.95. (This is a history of black political activity in New York City from the slavery period to the 1970 Basil Paterson campaign for lieutenant governor. A thorough work by a white professor who is blind.)

Lindfors, Bernth (editor). CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON AMOS TUTUOLA. Three Continents Press, 4201 Cathedral Ave., N.W., #302E, Washington, D.C. 20016. 220 pages. \$12.00 (cloth); \$5.00 (paper). (Here are book reviews and critical essays on Nigeria's first great novelist from 1952 to 1974. Lindfors is editor of *Research in Africa Literatures* published at the University of Texas, Austin. Another book on Tutuola is Harold R. Collins's *Amos Tutuola*.)

Lindfors, Bernth (editor). DEM-SAY: INTERVIEWS WITH EIGHT NIGERIAN WRITERS. African and Afro-American Studies & Research Center, University

of Texas, Austin. 79 pages. \$2.00 (paper). (This is the 9th Occasional Publication of the University of Texas. The eight Nigerian writers are: Michael J. C. Echeruo, Obi Egbuna, Cyprian Ekwensi, John Munonye, Gabriel Okara, Kole Omotoso, Ola Rotimi and Kalu Uka.)

Livingston, James T. (editor). **CARIBBEAN RHYTHMS: THE EMERGING ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE WEST INDIES.** New York: Washington Square Press/Pocket Books. xv, 379 pages. \$1.95 (paper). (An anthology of short stories, poems, essays and plays by many black Caribbean writers in English. There are several other collections of black Caribbean writing.)

Loewen, James W. and Charles Sallis (editors). **MISSISSIPPI: CONFLICT AND CHANGE.** New York: Pantheon Books. 368 pages. \$10.00. (This is a useful 9th grade textbook giving the contributions of Blacks, Indians and whites to the history of the state of Mississippi. It is edited by professors at Tougaloo College and Millsaps College in Mississippi.)

Lumpkin, Katherine Du Pre. **THE EMANCIPATION OF ANGELINA GRIMKE.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 265 pages. \$11.95. (About the white southern woman Abolitionist, sister of Sarah Grimke and wife of Abolitionist Theodore D. Weld. A recent similar book is Gerda Lerner's *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels Against Slavery* [1967]. Lumpkin's other earlier books are *The South in Progress* [1940] and *The Making of a Southerner* [1947].)

Major, Clarence. **REFLEX AND BONE STRUCTURE.** New York: The Fiction Collective/George Braziller. 145 pages. \$8.95. (A novelette by the very prolific black author of two other novels: *All-Night Visitors* and *No.* Also author of five books of poetry: *Swallow the Lake, Symptoms and Madness, Private Line, The Cotton Club* and *The Syncopated Cakewalk* and *The New Black Poetry* [editor], *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang* and *The Dark and Feeling: Black American Writers and Their Work* [Third Press, 1974, \$6.95], a book of essays about writers living and dead. Major teaches literature and creative writing at Sarah Lawrence College.)

Mann, Peggy and Vivian Siegal. **THE MAN WHO BOUGHT HIMSELF: THE STORY OF PETER STILL.** New York: Macmillan. 218 pages. \$7.95. (A book for children. Peter and his brother were kidnapped into slavery. As a child Peter devised a scheme in which he bought his own freedom. Another book by Peggy Mann is *Ralph Bunche: UN Peacemaker* [Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, \$10.95].)

Marcus, Harold G. **THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MENELIK II: ETHIOPIA 1844-1931.** New York: Oxford University Press. 298 pages. \$17.00. (A book in the Oxford Studies in African Affairs series with general editors John D. Hargreaves and George Shepperson.)

Mathis, Sharon Bell. **THE HUNDRED PENNY BOX.** Illustrated by Leo and Diane Dillon. New York: Viking Press. 47 pages. \$5.95. (Another children's book by the black woman author of *Listen for the Fig Tree, Sidewalk Story, Teacup Full of Roses* and *Ray Charles*. She is a special education teacher and writer-in-residence at Howard University, Washington, D.C.)

- Miller, Floyd J. **THE SEARCH FOR A BLACK NATIONALITY: BLACK COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION 1787-1863.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press. xiii, 295 pages. \$10.95.
- Miller, Gene. **INVITATION TO A LYNCHING.** Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. \$8.95. (About the frame-up in Florida of two young blacks, Freddie Lee Pitts and Wilbert Lee, released in Sept. 1975 after spending 12 years and 48 days in prison, sentenced to death for a murder they did not commit. The white murderer confessed but this didn't change the frame-up for 12 years.)
- Mitchell, Lofton. **VOICES OF THE BLACK THEATRE.** James T. White & Co., 1700 State Highway Three, Clifton, N.J. 07013. ix, 238 pages. \$12.50. (This beautiful book has photographs and taped conversations with Eddie Hunter, Regina Andrews, Dick Campbell, Abram Hill, Frederick O'Neal, Vinnette Carroll and Ruby Dee plus Mitchell's essay on Paul Robeson written for Actors' Equity magazine and reprinted in the *New York Times*, Aug. 6, 1972. Mitchell has supplied biographical and explanatory notes. The production of his own *Bubbling Brown Sugar* has been tried out and is now appearing in New York City. Mitchell has written many plays, published and unpublished, and is the author of *Black Drama* and *The Stubborn Old Lady* [novel].)
- Montagu, Ashley (editor). **RACE AND IQ.** New York: Oxford University Press. 322 pages. \$10.95. (This book, a Saturday Review Book Club selection for May 1975, has essays by *Freedomways* contributing editor Edmund W. Gordon with Derek Green, Jerome Kagan, Urie Bronfenbrenner and others. They answer Eysenck, Herrnstein, Jensen and Shockley who say that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Chicanos are genetically inferior and incapable of learning as much as others in school. Also Coleman and Jencks who say that schools make little difference in the life chances of students. This answering of the attack on the education of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, poor whites, Indians and Chicanos is very important. Montagu also edited *Man and Aggression* [1978], an answer to Robert Ardrey, K. Lorenz, D. Morris and others who say that man is instinctively a war-like, aggressive, depraved animal and Edward O. Wilson's *Sociobiology, the New Synthesis* that says that man's social behavior is partly determined by the genes shaped by biological evolution [*New York Times*, May 28, 1975, pp. 1, 52; *New York Times News of the Week* Section, Nov. 9, 1975, p. 16]. C. Burke's *Aggression in Man* [Lyle Stuart, Secaucus, N.J., \$7.95] is also an attack on Ardrey, Morris, Lorenz and the rest.)
- Monteiro, Tony. **AFRICA AND THE USA: THE PEOPLES MUST UNITE.** National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation. New York: New Outlook Publishers. \$.25. (This pamphlet is taken from Monteiro's speech in New York City in Oct. 1974 as executive secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement. The struggle against apartheid in South Africa, where over 300 U.S. corporations exploit very cheap black labor, is directly related to the U.S. fight against the economic crisis, says Monteiro.)
- Moody, Anne. **MR. DEATH: FOUR STORIES.** New York: Harper & Row. 102 pages. \$5.95. (A book of stories about Mississippi for children from 10 years old up. Moody is the young black woman author of the autobiography *Coming of Age in Mississippi* [1968]. She has veered off to the late southern writer

- Flannery O'Connor and southern gothic, and this is an arty and almost meaningless path for a black writer to take.)
- Moore, Marie Eslanda. *LITTLE WHITE SHOES*. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. 76 pages. \$4.00. (This is a novella by a black woman author. She is a medical technician whose hobby has been writing poetry, stories and scientific papers.)
- Morell, Karen L. (editor). *IN PERSON: ACHEBE, AWOONOR, AND SOY-INKA*. Institute of Comparative and Foreign Area Studies, University of Washington, Seattle. ix, 163 pages. (paper). (This book is based on lectures and discussion presented by these three African writers during the Spring 1973 seminar of the University of Washington's African Studies Program.)
- Motley, Mary Penick. *THE INVISIBLE SOLDIER*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 320 pages. \$13.95. (A collection of 55 oral histories of the experiences of black soldiers in World War II. See also L. D. Reddick's "Letters from the Jim Crow Army" [*Twice a Year*, Nos. 14-15, 1946/47, pp. 371-382] and Neil A. Wynn's "Black Attitudes Towards Participation in the American War Effort, 1941-1945" [*Afro-American Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1972, pp. 13-19] about the civilian population.)
- Muraskin, William Alan. *MIDDLE-CLASS BLACKS IN A WHITE SOCIETY: PRINCE HALL FREEMASONRY IN AMERICA*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 400 pages. \$14.95. (Black masonry, founded in 1776, is analyzed here by a white scholar in terms of social alienation and ambivalence.)
- Murray, Marian. *JUMP AT THE SUN: ZORA NEALE HURSTON*. New York: Third Press. \$5.95. (A book about the well-known black woman novelist and folklorist who authored seven books. Vol. 3 in Library of Criticism.)
- NATION-BUILDING TIME*. National Association of Black Social Workers, 2008 Madison Ave., New York 10035. \$7.00. (The title of this book is the theme of the 1973 conference of the NABSW. The book is a collection of speeches made to the 1973 conference by Andrew Billingsley, John Henrik Clarke, Floyd McKissick and Hobart Jackson.)
- Neal, Larry. *HOODOO HOLLERIN' BEBOP GHOSTS*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. 87 pages. (Another book of poetry by the well-known black writer and author of *Black Boogaloo* [1969], a book of poems. Neal co-edited with Amiri Baraka *Black Fire* [1968], an anthology of black writing. Neal was a 1971 Guggenheim Fellow for critical studies, and Howard University Press is also to publish his book *New Space: The Rise of Cultural Activism in the Sixties*. His critical articles have appeared in *Black World*, *Ebony*, *Drama Review*, etc.)
- Newman, Katharine D. (editor). *ETHNIC AMERICAN SHORT STORIES*. New York: Washington Square Press. 254 pages. \$1.45 (paper). (Book has stories by Blacks [John A. McCluskey, Toni Cade Bambara], American Indians, Chicanos, Greeks, Jewish writers, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Latin Americans, etc.)

- Ngubane, Jordan K. **USHABA: THE HURTLE TO BLOOD RIVER.** Three Continents Press, 4201 Cathedral Ave., N.W., #302E, Washington, D.C. 20016. viii, 323 pages. \$12.00 (cloth); \$5.00 (paper). (A Zulu Umlando or historical narrative written in English by Ngubane.)
- Nyden, Paul. **BLACK COAL MINERS IN THE UNITED STATES.** American Institute for Marxist Studies, 20 E. 30 St., New York City 10016. 73 pages. \$2.00 (paper). (Written by a young white scholar in Pittsburgh, Pa., who knows the coal mining industry.)
- Oates, Stephen B. **THE FIRES OF JUBILEE: NAT TURNER'S FIERCE REBELLION.** New York: Harper & Row. 187 pages. \$7.95. (Prof. Oates of the University of Massachusetts and author of *To Purge This Land with Blood*, a biography of John Brown, here presents a narrative account of Nat Turner based on Henry I. Tragle's *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Material* [1971] plus his own research. William Styron's psychosexual explanation of Turner is discarded and the violence of slavery is shown to be the basic cause of the violent revolt. Nat's father and wife, taken away by Styron's *Confessions*, are restored to him.)
- O'Fahey, R. S. and J. L. Spaulding. **KINGDOMS OF THE SUDAN.** New York: Barnes and Noble. \$17.95 (cloth); \$11.75 (paper). (In the Studies in African History series. Another book in the series is Kenneth Ingham's *The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda* [\$14.50, cloth; \$8.75, paper].)
- Osae, T. A., S. N. Nwabara and A.T.O. Odunsi. **A SHORT HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA, A.D. 1000 TO THE PRESENT.** New York: Hill and Wang; Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$10.00 (cloth); \$4.50 (paper).
- Ottenberg, Simon. **MASKED RITUALS OF AFIKPO: THE CONTEXT OF AN AFRICAN ART.** Seattle: University of Washington Press. 229 pages. \$25.00. (Published for the Henry Art Gallery. About the Afikpo Igbo of Nigeria. Another related book is Christine Price's *Dancing Masks of Africa* [Scribner's] for young people. Price also wrote *Talking Drums of Africa*.)
- Paludan, Phillip S. **A COVENANT WITH DEATH: THE CONSTITUTION, LAW, AND EQUALITY IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press. xiv, 309 pages. \$11.50. (The author is associate professor of history at the University of Kansas.)
- Parks, Gordon. **MOMENTS WITHOUT PROPER NAMES.** New York: Viking Press. \$22.50. (Photographs with text covering the past 30 years by the famous black photographer Parks at work on the stories of our time for *Life* magazine, etc. Parks has authored quite a few books of text and pictures and also books without photographs.)
- Pharr, Robert Deane. **THE SOUL MURDER CASE.** New York: Avon Books. \$2.95 (paper). (Pharr, a black writer, is the author of two other novels: *The Book of Numbers* and *S.R.O.*)
- Polite, Carlene Hatcher. **SISTER X AND THE VICTIMS OF FOUL PLAY.** New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 146 pages. \$8.95. (This is the second novel by the black woman writer. The first was *The Flagellants* published in

French in France in 1966 and in English in the U.S. in 1967.)

- Read, Jan. **THE MOORS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.** Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield. \$12.00. (This is probably the first full-length book on the Moors of Africa in Europe since 1945 although there are chapters on the Moorish Empire and its impact in *The Negro Impact on Western Civilization* [1970] edited by Joseph S. Roucek and Thomas Kiernan and in John G. Jackson's *Introduction to African Civilizations* [1970] with additional material by John H. Clarke.)
- Reynolds, Barbara A. **JESSE JACKSON: THE MAN, THE MOVEMENT, THE MYTH.** Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 489 pages. \$9.95. (Barbara Reynolds is a black woman reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* and *The National Observer* and a radio commentator and TV program panelist in Chicago. Her long, detailed book presents what the disciples and detractors of Rev. Jackson say about the strengths and weaknesses of the young black leader and his Operation PUSH. Her basic conclusions are unfair to Jackson who has led many black struggles.)
- Rice, C. Duncan. **THE RISE AND FALL OF BLACK SLAVERY.** New York: Harper & Row. xiii, 427 pages. \$15.00. (Rice is associate professor of history and Dean of Saybrook College at Yale University.)
- Richards, Beah. **BLACK WOMAN SPEAKS.** Inner City Press of Los Angeles, 1308 S. New Hampshire Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. Available also as a recording by Miss Richards. (This is a volume of poetry by the famous black actress who starred in the Broadway plays *The Amen Corner* by James Baldwin and *Purlie Victorious* by Ossie Davis, among other productions. Her long, seven-page poem "A Black Woman Speaks" was published in **FREEDOMWAYS** [Summer 1962] and her travelogue "Two Southern Cities," about Vicksburg and Birmingham, appeared in **FREEDOMWAYS** [1st quarter 1964], both under the name Beulah Richardson.)
- Richardson, George C. and Ingrid Frank. **GET UP, YOU'RE NOT DEAD.** New York: W. W. Norton. 321 pages. \$7.95. (The autobiography of Richardson, the black founder and president of the National Committee to Declare War on Drugs, civil rights leader, former New Jersey state legislator and ex-drug addict.)
- Richardson, Nola. **EVEN IN A MAZE.** Los Angeles, Calif.: Crescent Publications. viii, 54 pages. \$3.50 (paper). (A book of poetry by a black woman writer. She studied at the Watts Workshop, Los Angeles. Her first book is *When One Loves*.)
- Riedel, Johannes. **SOUL MUSIC, BLACK AND WHITE: THE INFLUENCE OF BLACK MUSIC ON THE CHURCHES.** Augsburg Publishing House, 428 S. Fifth St., Minneapolis, Minn. 55415. \$3.50. (Riedel co-authored with William J. Schafer *The Art of Ragtime: Form and Meaning of an Original Black American Art* [Louisiana State University Press]. Another recent book on black music is Hildred Roach's *Black American Music: Past and Present* [Crescendo Publishers, Boston]. Also Eileen Southern's very comprehensive *The Music of Black Americans: A History* [Norton, 1971].)
- Roberts, Brian. **THE ZULU KINGS.** New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. xii,

388 pages; illus. \$10.95. (This is a major reassessment of South African Zulu history.)

Rodgers, Carolyn M. *HOW I GOT OVAH: NEW AND SELECTED POEMS*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday. xi, 81 pages. \$5.95. (Black woman writer Rodgers's poems have appeared in several magazines and journals. Her previous books of poetry are *Paper Soul* and *Songs of a Black-bird*. She has received several awards.)

ROOTS AND RHYTHMS: JAMAICA'S NATIONAL DANCE THEATRE. Text by Rex Nettleford. Photographs by Maria La Yacona. New York: Hill and Wang. 128 pages. \$8.95. (This book has been out for some time but since the National Dance Theatre's appearances in Brooklyn, N.Y., have been so successful recently, this book should be recalled. *Isles of Rhythm* by Earl Leaf.)

Sanchez, Sonia. *LOVE POEMS*. New York: The Third Press. 101 pages. \$4.95. (Laila Mannan [now Sanchez's name], head of the Office of Human Development of the Nation of Islam in Chicago, is, along with Nikki Giovanni, a very prolific black woman writer. Her other books of poetry are *Homecoming*, *We a BaddDDD People*, *It's a New Day* and *A Blues Book for Blue Black Magical Women*. She has written the plays *Sister Sonji*, *The Bronx Is Next* and *Uh, Uh; But How Do It Free Us* [in *The New Lafayette Theatre Presents* edited by Ed Bullins]. She has edited two anthologies: *Three Hundred and Sixty Degrees of Blackness Coming at You* [poetry from her workshop] and *We Be Word Sorcerers: 25 Stories by Black Americans*. She has been published in many magazines and newspapers. *Black Box 3* by Robert Bly and Sonia Sanchez is a two-cassette journal, 120 minutes, of poetry reading with musical accompaniment [P.O. Box 4174, Washington, D.C., \$7.95 by subscription]. *Adventures of Fat Head, Small Head and Square Head* [1947] is a children's book by her.)

Simpkins, Cuthbert Ormond. *COLTRANE: A BIOGRAPHY*. Herndon House Publishers, 25 W. 132 St., #17-D, New York 10037. 287 pages. (This is one of two new full-length books about John Coltrane, the great black saxophonist who died in 1967. Simpkins is a black medical doctor. The other book is J. C. Thomas's *Chasin' the Trane: The Music and Mystique of John Coltrane* [Doubleday, 252 pages, \$7.95]. Thomas writes for *down beat*, *The Village Voice*, *New York Times*. There have been recent biographies or autobiographies of Miles Davis, Eric Dolphy, Bessie Smith, Huddie Ledbetter, Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Jimi Hendrix, Pops Foster and Hampton Hawes.)

Skinner, Elliott P. *AFRICAN URBAN LIFE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUAGADOUGOU*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. xii, 487 pages. (A book about a town in the African Republic de Haute-Volta. Black author Skinner is Franz Boas Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, New York City. Other books by Skinner are *Peoples and Cultures of Africa: Anthropological Reader* [editor], *The Moss of the Upper Volta*, *A Glorious Age in Africa* [with Daniel Chu] and *Roots of Time: A Portrait of African Life and Culture* [with Margo Jefferson].)

Smith, A. Robert and James V. Giles. *AN AMERICAN RAPE: A TRUE AC-*

- COUNT OF THE GILES-JOHNSON CASE. New York: New Republic Book: E. P. Dutton. \$10.00. (Also Frances Strauss's *Where Did the Justice Go?*)
- Smith, Sidonia. WHERE I'M BOUND: PATTERNS OF SLAVERY AND FREEDOM IN BLACK AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. xi, 194 pages. (Another recent book on black autobiography is Stephen Butterfield's *Black Autobiography in America* [University of Massachusetts Press].)
- Smith, Vern E. THE JONES MEN. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 287 pages. (A novel by a young black reporter for *Newsweek* now in the Atlanta, Ga., bureau. He won an award for his reporting.)
- Sowell, Thomas. RACE AND ECONOMICS. New York: David McKay. ix, 276 pages. \$9.95 (cloth); \$4.95 (paper). (Black professor Sowell's autobiography and critique of black education, *Black Education: Myths and Tragedies* [1972] was a mixed-up, wrong-headed book as several black reviewers pointed out. Sowell's second book, *Race and Economics*, about the economic development of Jews, Blacks, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the U.S., is given high praise by such racists as Irving Kristol and Edward Banfield. Sowell must be wrongheaded here as before.)
- Stadler, Quandra Prettyman (editor). OUT OF OUR LIVES: A SELECTION OF CONTEMPORARY BLACK FICTION. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. xvii, 298 pages. \$9.95. (Has stories by 17 black writers: Louise Meriwether, Albert Murray, Toni Cade Bambara, Deloris Harrison, Martin J. Hamer, R. J. Meaddough, Ernest Gaines, Mike Thelwell, Junius Edwards, Alice Walker, Ann Allen Shockley, Cyrus Colter, Ann Petry, Amiri Baraka and others.)
- Stamler, Irvin. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF POP, ROCK AND SOUL. New York: St. Martin's Press. \$15.00. (There are also Lillian Roxon's *Rock Encyclopedia* [1969], Arnold Shaw's *The World of Soul* [1970] and Phyl Garland's *The Sound of Soul* [1969].)
- Stein, Harry. SOUTHERN AFRICA: ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, MALAWI, MOZAMBIQUE, NAMIBIA, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA, SWAZILAND, ZAMBIA, New York: Franklin Watts. 96 pages. \$3.90. (A First Book for children.)
- Stewart, John. CURVING ROAD. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 128 pages. \$8.95 (cloth); \$2.45 (paper). (This is a book of short stories in the Illinois Short Fiction series by a black writer who is an assistant professor of anthropology and chairman of the Afro-American Academic Program at the University of Illinois, Urbana. His novel *Last Cool Days* won an award earlier.)
- STORIES FROM BLACK HISTORY. Series II. New Day Press, Karamu House, 2355 E. 89 St., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. \$3.00. (Series II, about the Reconstruction period, consists of five booklets containing nine stories for children from age seven to twelve. "Jubilee Day," "Struggle for Freedom," "Henry Box Brown," "Wildfire" [Edmonia Lewis], "Forty Acres," "Carpetbaggers in Action," "Can You Count?" and "Mr. Impossible" [Jan Matzeliger] are some of

the illustrated stories. Series I, six booklets on black history before the Civil War, has "The First Freedom Ride," "Freel," "Terrible Tuesday," "I Cannot Be a Traitor," "Move Feet Move," "Adventures of Ouladah" and other stories. These booklets are just what black and white children need.)

THIRTY DISTINGUISHED NOVELS BY BLACK WRITERS. The Chatham Bookseller, 38 Maple St., Chatham, N.J. 07928. (This series of reprints includes novels by William Attaway, William Demby, Owen Dodson, Ronald L. Fair, Ernest J. Gaines, George W. Henderson, Chester Himes, William Melvin Kelley, Claude McKay, Paule Marshall, Ann Petry, V. S. Reid, William Gardner Smith and Richard Wright. Frank Deodene and William P. French's *Black American Fiction Since 1952: A Preliminary Checklist* and *Black American Poetry Since 1944: A Preliminary Checklist*, also published by The Chatham Bookseller, were listed earlier in *FREEDOMWAYS*, 2nd quarter 1972, p. 168.)

Thomas, Chamintney. **HEAR THE LAMBS A-CRYIN.** University: University of Alabama Press. \$7.95. (A book about rural Blacks in Alabama in the 1930's.)

Thum, Marcella. **EXPLORING BLACK AMERICA: A HISTORY AND GUIDE.** New York: Atheneum Publishers. 402 pages. \$10.95. (A guide with photos to the museums, monuments and historic sites related to slavery, the Underground Railroad, abolitionists, pioneers and cowboys, military heroes, artists and craftsmen, musicians and music, authors and historians, scholars, scientists and schools, historic churches and civil rights. The author is a reference librarian at Meramac Community College, St. Louis, Mo. A similar but less ambitious book is Phillip T. Drotning's *A Guide to Negro History in America* [Doubleday, 1968].)

Tillman, Carolyn. **LIFE ON WHEELS.** Crescent Publications, 5410 Wilshire Blvd., #400, Los Angeles, Calif. 90036. 98 pages. \$3.25 (paper). (An autobiographical novel by a young black Calif. woman about a woman confined to a wheel chair after having polio.)

Tobias, Tobi. **ARTHUR MITCHELL.** New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. \$4.50. (A book for children about the great black New York ballet dancer and organizer and director of the Dance Theatre of Harlem for black youth.)

Tolson, Arthur L. **THE BLACK OKLAHOMANS, A HISTORY: 1541-1972.** New Orleans, La.: Edwards Printing Co. 314 pages. \$3.50 (paper). (Dr. Arthur Tolson of Southern University, Louisiana, is the son of the late poet and author Melvin B. Tolson. He has been published in several publications. *The Black Oklahomans*, his doctoral dissertation, is a thoroughly researched, well-documented, needed contribution to black western history. Another is Kenneth G. Goode's *California's Black Pioneers: A Brief Historical Survey* [1947] plus William L. Katz's *The Black West*, P. Durham and E. L. Jones's *The Negro Cowboys*, Kenneth W. Porter's *The Negro on the American Frontier*, James de T. Abajian's 500-odd page bibliography *Blacks and Their Contributions to the American West* [G. K. Hall, 1974] and Lenwood G. Davis's bibliographies *Blacks in the Pacific Northwest: 1788-1974* and *Blacks in the State of Oregon, 1788-1974*.)

Toplin, Robert Brent (editor). **SLAVERY AND RACE RELATIONS IN LATIN**

- AMERICA. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. xiv, 450 pages. \$17.95. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies Number 17. Contributors are: David L. Chandler, Robert Conrad, Arthur F. Corwin, Florestan Fernandes, Franklin W. Knight, John V. Lombardi, Colin M. MacLachlan, Marianne Masferrer, Thomas G. Mathews, Norman A. Meiklejohn, Carmelo Mesa-Lago, William F. Sater, William F. Sharp, Robert Brent Toplin and Winthrop R. Wright.)
- Toth, Charles W. (editor). THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE WEST INDIES. Port Washington, L.I., N.Y.: Kennikat Press. \$12.95.
- Trotter, James M. MUSIC & SOME HIGHLY MUSICAL PEOPLE. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp. \$21.00; Metro Books. \$19.00. (These are two reprints of a book first published in 1878. They were published a few years ago but should be listed to show that Trotter's important book is back in print.)
- Troupe, Quincy and Rainer Schulte (editors). GIANT TALK: AN ANTHOLOGY OF THIRD WORLD WRITINGS. New York: Random House. \$20.00 (cloth); \$6.95 (paper). (Troupe, a young black writer and teacher at Richmond College in New York City, is the editor of *Confrontation: A Journal of Third World Literature*. He has been published in many anthologies and magazines. Another similar book is *Time to Greet! Incantations from the Third World* [Glide Publications, 330 Ellis St., San Francisco, Calif. 94102, 222 pages, \$4.95] with Asian, Black, American Indian and La Raza poems, prose and graphics.)
- Turner, Robert P. UP TO THE FRONT OF THE LINE: BLACKS IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 225 pages. \$12.95. (Turner, a black author, holds advanced degrees from Tuskegee and the University of Kansas and is now a member of the New York State Republican Committee. Other recent books on black politics are Milton D. Morris's *The Politics of Black American* [Harper & Row]; Reginald E. Gilliam, Jr.'s *Black Political Development: An Advocacy Analysis* [Dunellen Press; Kennikat Press, distributor]; Jackson R. Champion's *Blacks in the Republican Party* [Len Champs Publishers, P.O. Box 24027, Washington, D.C., \$5.95], a very poor book; and Curt Lamb's *Political Power in Poor Neighborhoods* [Halsted Press].)
- Ulyanovsky, R. SOCIALISM AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS. Progress Publishers, Moscow. Imported by Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago 60610. 562 pages. (This book deals with the history of the socialist conception of a united front of the international working class, communist movement and national liberation revolution; the successes scored in the campaign to secure a firm alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement; the basic problems facing newly independent states—the agrarian and peasant question. In the Problems of the Third World series.)
- Walton, Jr., Hanes. BLACK REPUBLICANS: THE POLITICS OF THE BLACK AND TANS. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press. xvii, 199 pages. \$8.00. (This book is a comprehensive, thorough study of Blacks in the Republican Party on the state and national level particularly in the South

from 1854 to 1972. Dr. Walton is the black Fuller E. Callaway professor of political science at Savannah State College and the author of several other books on black politics.)

Washington, Booker T. **THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON PAPERS**. Volume 4: 1895-98 edited by Louis R. Harlan and others. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press. xxx, 593 pages. \$17.50. (This is the first series of volumes of the papers of a prominent black American to be published. *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois: Selections* [3 vols.], edited by Herbert Aptheker, is being published by the Univ. of Massachusetts Press. Volume 2 came out in Feb. 1976. The Frederick Douglass papers are being prepared for publication by John W. Blassingame, Philip S. Foner and others.)

Washington, Mary Helen (editor), **BLACK EYED SUSANS: CLASSIC STORIES BY AND ABOUT BLACK WOMEN**. New York: Anchor Press. xxii, 163 pages. \$2.95 (paper). Mary Washington, Director of the Center for Black Studies at the Univ. of Detroit, has written a long introduction to this book of short stories by black women: Toni Morrison [two], Gwendolyn Brooks [two], Alice Walker [two], Toni Cade Bambara, Paule Marshall, Louise Meriwether and Jean Wheeler Smith. A similar but larger book, Pat Crutchfield Exum's *Keeping the Faith: Writings by Contemporary Black American Women* [Fawcett, 1974, \$1.75, paper], includes poetry, autobiography and fiction plus a panel discussion and an essay.)

Watson, Peter (editor). **PSYCHOLOGY AND RACE**. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. 491 pages. (This book has material on race awareness in children, black self-identity, psychiatric disorders in minority groups, etc.)

Weisbord, Robert G. **GENOCIDE? BIRTH CONTROL AND THE BLACK AMERICAN**. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. ix, 219 pages. \$7.95. (Book says that "family planning" is an attempt to eliminate the black population. The author is professor of history at Univ. of Rhode Island. His other books are *African Zion*, *Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew* and *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans and the Afro-American*.)

Williams, George W. **DO NEGROES REALLY BELIEVE BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL?** New York: Vantage Press. 65 pages. \$4.50. (This is a report by a black school teacher of a study to determine color preference among Blacks.)

Williams, Melvin D. **COMMUNITY IN A BLACK PENTECOSTAL CHURCH: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY**. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press. Dr. Williams is the black head of the Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology at Carlow College, Pittsburgh.)

Winslow, Eugene. **AFRO-AMERICANS '76: BLACK AMERICANS IN THE FOUNDING OF OUR NATION**. Chicago: Afro-Am Publishing Co. 80 pages. \$5.95 (paper). (Book also illustrated by Winslow.)

Winston, Henry. **THE MOYNIHAN-KISSINGER DOCTRINE AND THE "THIRD WORLD."** New Outlook Publishers, 205 W. 19th St., 9th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011. 63 pages. \$.50 (paper). (Since D. P. Moynihan, former U.S. Ambassador, was recently criticized for confrontation diplo-

macy in the United Nations. this is a very timely pamphlet. The first half analyzes some of Moynihan's pertinent writings: *The Negro Family* and his articles in *Commentary* and *The Atlantic*; also the *Fortune* Bicentennial issue. The second half of the pamphlet adds Maoism to Moynihan-Kissinger doctrine and shows that both are very dangerous enemies of the Third World. A fighting, polemical work that refutes John O. Killens's view [*Black World*, Nov. 1975] that China and the new African nations are building a mutually beneficial relationship.)

WORLD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BLACK PEOPLES. Vol. I. Scholarly Press, Inc., 22929 Industrial Drive East, St. Clair Shores, Mich. 48080. (This multi-volume *World Encyclopedia of Black Peoples* is a badly needed reference work. Vol. 1 has survey articles covering the arts of black peoples of Africa and the Americas, African and American personalities, black U.S. women, the economy, history and religion of black people in Africa and the Americas, science and technology in Africa, the literature and social conditions of Blacks in the Americas and the black people of Asia. All of these essays are by African and black U.S. scholars who are authorities in their fields. Vol. I is a very good start for this Encyclopedia. Profusely illustrated.)

Wright, Charles H. **ROBESON: LABOR'S FORGOTTEN CHAMPION.** Balamp Publishing, 7430 Second Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48202. vii, 171 pages. \$7.95. (Black author is a practicing obstetrician/gynecologist who has written for the stage and TV. He is chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Afro-American Museum of Detroit. An excerpt from this book, "Paul Robeson at Peekskill," was published in *FREEDOMWAYS*, 2nd quarter 1975.)

Yerby, Frank. **TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL.** New York: Dial Press. \$8.95. (Another potboiling, shabby bestseller by the famous black author. His novel *A Rose for Ana Maria* is just published.)

Young, B. E. **THE PICTURE STORY OF FRANK ROBINSON.** New York: Julian Messner. 63 pages. \$1.95 (paper). (A book about Frank Robinson, the first black manager of a major league baseball team, The Cleveland Indians. Other books by Bernice Elizabeth Young are *The Picture Story of Hank Aaron* and *Harlem: The Story of a Changing Community*.)

ZIMBABWE: PROSE AND POETRY. Three Continents Press, 4201 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Suite 302E, Washington, D.C. 20016. 276 pages. \$14.50 (cloth); \$8.00 (paper). (Book has "The Dawn of the Monomotapa Kingdom" [historical essay], *Feso* [a novel] and 25 Zezuru [Zimbabwe] poems mostly by S. M. Mutswairo plus poems by three other Africans.)

Zu-Bolton II, Ahmos and E. Ethelbert Miller (editors). **SYNERGY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF WASHINGTON D.C. BLACKPOETRY.** Washington, D.C.: Energy Blacksouth Press. 107 pages \$3.50 (paper). (Mr. Zu-Bolton is associate director of the Afro-American Studies Research Center at Howard University; E. E. Miller is director.)

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