The Education of a Black Professor in Wuhan, China

OUSMANE K. POWER-GREENE
Clark University

"In my own country, I've been nothing but a 'nigger'"

– W. E. B. Du Bois, "China and Africa,"
Peking Review, March 3, 1959

I'm sitting in the boardroom of an educational corporation which sponsored my trip to teach summer school in Wuhan, China, three months before COVID made this ancient city along the Yangtze River synonymous with one of the most lethal pandemics in recent history.[1] There are a dozen or so American professors sitting around me who also answered the generic recruitment email and accepted a summer school teaching position at Wuhan University—a top ten school with as many students as all twelve of our universities combined. On the table in front of each of us is a cup of Starbucks coffee positioned beside an agenda for our meeting, or "check in" as it had been called in the email.

Our conversation with the company representative and the Wuhan University dean assigned to support our experience meanders from our challenges using classroom technology to being forced to adapt our curriculum because our students, by and large, were less proficient in English than we had expected. Soon one professor raises concerns about his own fear of being arrested for teaching about civil disobedience in his philosophy course. "I'm concerned," he said, touching his forefingers together, "that my lesson on the ethics of dissent might, oh, how should I put this, lead to problems."

"Problems?," the Wuhan dean asks.

The professor takes a deep breath, then leans onto his elbows. "I mean," he hesitates, "I guess I'm wondering if you can ensure I won't come under government surveillance if I teach about Tiananmen Square?"

I shift in my seat, barely hiding a grin, as I think to myself that this might be the first time in this professor's life his white-male-middle class privilege might not prevent police harassment, or even imprisonment.

The dean smiles. "Professor, teach your courses like you do in the United States. But remember, your role is to offer your scholarly perspective, rather than personal opinions. Let the students form their own opinions based on the course materials."

A business professor jumps in to ask about accessing his website in the classroom computer, and the professor who raised the previous question shrinks back in his seat. I glance over at this man, thinking how his desperate tone and earnest concern epitomizes the gap between his experience and mine, as one of a handful of Black professors who teach in a northeastern university situated in a predominately Black and Latinx urban community. I'm thinking about all of my white male colleagues in the US who waltz across campus lost in thought about their next lecture blissfully unaware how "the other half live"—spied on by campus police as we fumble through our bags searching for car keys, or how anxious we feel about being pulled over by the state trooper who waits near the off-ramp a stone's throw from the campus gate.

Since I arrived in Wuhan I had been paying close attention to my academic peers' motives for coming to Wuhan. I knew little of their aims. For me, my decision to travel to Wuhan was inspired by the transnational experiences of the Black radicals I teach in my courses on the Black social and political movements.[2] W. E. B. Du Bois, perhaps a foundational intellectual in African American Studies and American Studies, had been invited sixty years prior, and was eager to travel to a communist nation with an unflinching commitment to challenging Western imperialism. In 1959, Du Bois's gave a speech at Peking University in Beijing in which he implored Black Americans to "Come to China" and "look around." "China is flesh of your flesh, blood of your blood," Du Bois declared. African Americans, in his view, had a kinship with the Chinese based on their shared history of oppression under European imperialism and American racism. He reminded those in attendance: "I speak with no authority: no assumption of age nor rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a century I have been nothing but a 'nigger.'"[3]

W. E. B. Du Bois epitomized a transnational, Pan-Africanist approach to the Black freedom struggle—from his role organizing Pan-African congresses in the 1910s to his exile in Ghana to aid Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s. In fact, Du Bois's foundational ideas about the nature of US racism and European imperialism—an imperialism dressed in the garb of liberation—has shaped American Studies as greatly as any other scholar. Du Bois's visit to Wuhan in 1959 provided me with an indispensable intellectual map for my engagement with China. Not only did Du Bois demonstrate courage and unwavering commitment to exposing the US government's neoimperialist vision, he devoted his life to writing about the role Asia would play in the global struggle for racial equality, while shaping Black American activists' and intellectuals' ideas about China.[4]

Even though Du Bois is now lionized in academic circles, and his collection of essays and stories in *The Souls of Black Folk* are taught in high schools all across America, the erasure of his radicalism, best expressed in his 1959 speech at Peking University, speaks directly to a common practice in the US of embracing a Black radicals' outspokenness rather than reckoning with his or her critique of the United States.

While I remained unwavering in my critique of US racial oppression and imperialism, I came to China not as an exile or as a radical intellectual seeking comradery with the Chinese state. I came to teach the long tradition of African American and Asian solidarities that have been central to the Black freedom struggle during the twentieth century. I made use of Black radicals' border-crossings to illustrate their efforts to subvert the US racialist project, specifically slavery and Jim Crow. This approach shifted attention away from American exceptionalism and toward those who pointed out that the message presented to the world during the Cold War was myth rather than reality. I centered my curriculum on the global nature of Black activism by telling students the historic efforts of, for example, Shirley Graham Du Bois's trip to China, Robert F. Williams in Cuba and China, Kwame Ture in Vietnam, Langston Hughes in China, Martin Luther King Jr. in India, and Richard Wright's coverage of the Bandung Conference in Southeast Asia.

The Black radicals I introduced to my students, such as Martin Delany and Robert F. Williams, are some of the most insightful critics of US empire building. I read passages from Martin Delany's novel, *Blake; or the Huts of America,* as an anti-imperialist text when discussing the prelude to the Civil War and the way Delany imagined an abolitionist war against the slaveocracy which continued to drive US imperialism westward and into the Caribbean. Delany's intellectual project, I explained, called for unity among African-descended people—enslaved and free—who lived under the tyranny of US empire. Delany stitched into his novel proto-pan-African ideological seeds from which grew the Pan-African conferences Du Bois initiated after World War I, as well as the Afro Asian alliance Richard Wright considered a central facet of "Black Power." Wright witnessed the alliance when he went to Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 where he pondered the meaning of the end of nearly two hundred years of Western European imperial rule in Africa and Asia.[5]

Although teaching my Chinese students about the relationship between Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism was challenging, they were no more lost than my American students—most of whom never heard of Pan-Africanism, Black Nationalism, or Afro Asian alliances. But my Chinese students were particularly fascinated, for example, when I pointed out the Black Panther Party used to sell Chairman Mao's Red Book on college campuses to raise money. Because they had never previously learned that Maoism influenced the tone and tenor of Black radicalism in the 1960s, these Afro Asian connections came as a big surprise. Likewise, they were quite interested in my lessons that discussed the ways Black cultural forms of expression in sports, such as basketball, had a huge influence on how people throughout the world viewed African Americans, yet these views did not lead to greater economic progress for the majority

of Black people. I had numerous informal conversations during our breaks about basketball Hall of Famers like Stephon Marbury, who remade himself in the professional Chinese Basketball Association. I used these cultural references as a way to teach the complexities of racial caste. The structures and systems that maintain the racial state require trenchant analysis, as Michael Omi and Howard Winant have so profoundly explored in their pathbreaking scholarship.[6] I even read passages from popular US activists like Martin Luther King Jr., who they were familiar with, when I taught about post 1945 US interventions in Asia. In this case, I had assigned King's essay about the Vietnam war, in which he equated the US justification for invading Vietnam with Hitler's justification for expansion in Europe.[7]

While these cultural connections and references framed our discussions and engaged them, I still had to clarify and explain certain concepts, such as Christianity, or regional variation in the US, in more detail than I had planned. The students I teach in the US often cling to outdated historical theories, such as the "state's rights" claim to explain the Civil War. Thus, I'm compelled to teach against these perceptions. Yet in Wuhan, these improvised moments went on longer than I had planned and this derailed my curriculum.

Given this, there were three clear ways I adapted my pedagogy and curriculum to make my American Studies course better for my students. First, I reduced the reading load dramatically. In fact, I began this process during orientation when my TA, a Chinese graduate student studying British literature, pulled me aside and told me I might want to reconsider how much reading I was asking them to complete per night. At first, I thought she meant my Chinese students would not complete the reading and, perhaps, I might find facilitating discussions frustrating. However, I was wrong. What she meant was that my Chinese students would complete the reading, even if they had to stay up all night to do so. Thus, she wanted me to understand the toil my reading load would put my students through if I assigned such a hefty amount. In addition, she worried if they did complete the reading, the unfamiliar English terms for the social and political theory—not to mention the history—might make such a labor-intensive experience unproductive. I would still have to devote our class period to going over all of what they read, rather than use the readings as a foundation on which I planned to focus our class discussions and my lectures.

Another way I changed how I taught American Studies after my experience in China revolved around my pedagogical approach in class. I'm used to a lecture/discussion style in which I build out from student questions what I focus on in class. I assume what my students don't ask me about, they already understand, and I rely on them to guide the direction of our class discussions. However, this pedagogical style fell flat with my Chinese students. Thus, I adapted by providing a clearer set of arguments and main points from our reading right from the start. Once I put these on the board, I asked them to talk with their neighbor about what each of these points meant and where they might exist in our reading. After, I asked them whether or not the concepts in English are similar to concepts in Chinese that they are more familiar with. This

approach allowed them to help me see points of comparison that I might consider as I continue to lecture on the subtheme. Because I did not speak Chinese, I often found that this pedagogical approach led to a stronger class discussion.

Although I usually incorporate videos/film clips in my class discussions, I discovered a more improvisational approach to utilizing the internet for clips proved quite helpful to my students. Because I often use colloquial terms and cultural references in order to situate a given theoretical concept in contemporary society, I usually rely on my American students' "general knowledge." Yet my Chinese students did not have any sort of collective "general knowledge" about American culture, and I often asked my TA to search online during our discussion for an image of a brand, or film clip, on the spot. This had two purposes. One, it provided them with visual references, which are almost universally effective in helping students associate an object or behavior with a term, but it also allowed them to better understand me. I speak fast—very fast—and even when I slowed down, my accent made it difficult for them to even understand a word. By watching a clip or seeing a person performing the action, they had the context for the use of the word or phrase. While this is far from innovative, I found the spontaneous surfing on the internet for a visual reference to be highly effective. What were the drawbacks? For one thing, I found the pauses during my lectures in order to search the internet for a visual reference disrupted my flow and made managing class time more challenging for me. And sometimes I couldn't find a good example and lost valuable class time searching on the internet without the pay off. Thus, I might have been better off using our time in class for focused discussions rather than breaking the flow of the class to find what I believed to be the perfect example to illustrate a point I made.

That said, I also had to rethink some of the content I taught in classes after colleagues questioned my choice to raise controversial topics. Some accused me of being reckless for discussing the Feminist Five, for example. This came up at a company-sponsored dinner a few nights after the discussion about Tiananmen square and teaching about civil disobedience. "Do you want to end up in jail?" my colleague asked. "Of course not," I said. "Then be careful what you say," she leaned closer. "You know the four-by-four tinted plexiglass windows in the back of the room?" I nodded. She glanced around, then whispered, "Cameras!" I laughed. "You're not serious." She raised her eyebrows. "Why else were they there?"

I admit I did find the tinted plexiglass window in the back of our rooms a bit strange. But I hadn't worried someone with a camera would bother recording my class from there when they could simply slip into the back door, and take a seat in one of folding chairs and record everything I said. In fact, one morning a man dressed in a grey button-down shirt entered through the back door and lounged in the back row for a while before he left. I didn't pause my lecture and my students didn't even glance back at him.

I felt defensive, though. I reminded my US colleagues that freedom of speech is constantly under attack in the United States. Academics and artists are surveilled in

ways Du Bois and Richard Wright could not have imagined. Not only do we now know for a fact that US government agencies have been spying on all of us (thanks to Edward Snowden), but our dominant way of communicating through Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter make us vulnerable to censorship by private corporations who are not bound by free speech Constitutional protections.[8] Furthermore, the Patriot Act's language is so broad that citizens can be detained, even arrested, if they are suspected of being a terrorist.[9] For example, when President Trump sent US Border Patrol and other federal agencies to arrest and detain protesters in Portland, Oregon, during protests after George Floyd's murder in May and June 2020, many people believed Trump intended to use the National Security Agency's spying program in ways that harken back to Du Bois's persecution during the McCarthy era. The imprisonment of activists and murder of Black people by the police demonstrated the US carceral state had risen to new heights, or rather, to new depths of depravity and naked brutality. In predominately Black and Brown communities throughout the nation, such as Ferguson, the police look no different than an occupying army and the surveillance techniques they use violate the principles established in the Bill of Rights. My point is not to make a one-to-one comparison between the People's Republic of China's censorship and current United States policies that aim to censor and harass people of color who are viewed by the federal government as a "threat" because of his or her political beliefs or affiliations. Rather, I see the need to point out that the consistent violation of civil liberties and government harassment have led Black activists and intellectuals to feel as Du Bois felt nearly sixty years ago. While my critique and outspoken comments in this regard made my American colleagues in Wuhan uncomfortable and, in one case, indignant, such discomfit should not be used to pressure academics from speaking openly about these government abuses.[10]

When I taught about democratic values and the historical and cultural ways racism manifests within both American popular culture and politics as a window into the divided nature of American society, my students would ask, "What about Trump?" It was as if Trump's victory, and the corporate capitalists who he empowered, made a mockery of the notion of America being ruled "by the people for the people." Trump's failed attempt to inspire a coup after the 2020 election confirmed what Angela Davis had called out in 2016 as his "fascist tendencies."[11] Now, eminent scholar Robert O. Paxton confirmed this label was not what some considered overblown leftist rhetoric. In an op-ed piece, Paxton argued: "His open encouragement of civic violence to overturn an election crosses a red line. The label now seems not just acceptable but necessary."[12]

Looking back I feel as though our class discussions about Donald Trump's presidency were the sort one would have about a reality TV show set in the oval office. My students were fascinated by his strong-man style and curious about the impact his flouting of US political tradition had on American people. I think beneath their grins was a concern that Trump's Anti-China rhetoric reflected American sentiment about Chinese people. They had no animosity or feelings of disrespect toward Americans or

even the United States, and they hoped Americans did not feel as Trump appeared to feel about China. I said Americans viewed Trump's posturing toward North Korea as suicidal and his threats against China as performative, they seemed relieved.

I also learned the degree in which the transnational circulation of knowledge had offered them a discursive space that defied geographical boundaries of nation-state. These students in Wuhan, like my students at Clark University, were being raised in a world where neither state censors, nor language barriers, could totally stifle their access to information about America, or American students' access to information about Wuhan. Technological innovation, specifically VPNs, made preventing such synergies nearly impossible. Their questions and comments showed their connection to US politics and culture in ways unimaginable to previous generations.

I was a bit surprised, however, that so few of them cared much about Hollywood or Broadway as a destination to fulfill their own career ambitions. I mean, they watched blockbuster films and listened to some American Hip Hop groups, but they didn't obsess over them like students I met in Germany and England, for example. I found it was similar with my tech-minded students. The ones who aspired to work in Big Tech did not imagine moving to Silicon Valley given the opportunities available in Asia. Even though they didn't aspire to move to America, they still often wore American brands, which seemed more popular in Wuhan than European brands. But, from my time with them, I realized they might have been fascinated with American culture and might have worn US clothes and styles, but they certainly didn't want to be "American."

Perhaps the most important thing W. E. B. Du Bois and other Black radicals set in motion was my desire to use the time I spent in China to reflect on what it means to be Black in America during the twenty-first-century. Du Bois inspired in me a desire to challenge dominant narratives of US "progress" on issues related to racial justice well into the twenty-first-century, as white supremacists and neo-fascists have open access to the White House, and Black Lives Matter and Antifa activists are criminalized and deemed "terrorists" by politicians. Meanwhile armed white men continue to murder people in churches, synagogues, massage parlors, FedEx offices, and schools.

I've been reminded of the way cultural exchange is perhaps one of the most effective ways to combat the vicious stereotypes that those in power weaponize to provoke the populace to support military aggression and war. The China my colleagues told me about, and the China I learned about on the news and through internet searches, was very different than the one I encountered. Not only did my students feel none of the animosity toward US culture I had expected, but I did not encounter the anti-Black sentiment people told me was a dominant feature of "being Black in China." That's not to say I had no uncomfortable racial encounters, and those will certainly make for an interesting essay, but they did not define or sully my experience. In fact, the type of racial unrest in the America Du Bois confronted sixty years ago, and the unrest we face today, makes me feel more uncomfortable in the US than I felt in China.[13]

Of course, those were different times indeed. The US and the Soviet Union were in the throes of a Cold War, Ghana emerged as an independent nation, and racial terrorism in America and abroad shocked the world. Now, China's global dominance has left some Americans in denial. Even worse, some, such as former US President Donald Trump, seem bent on instigating China into a conflict. His provocations remind me of a video of Mike Tyson, now over 50 years old, in a mixed martial arts cage match with a much younger fighter. Suffice to say, Tyson no longer looked like the champ, even if his face-tats and menacing stare certainly intimidated me. To most, however, Tyson's reemergence as an MMA fighter was little more than a publicity stunt. Indeed he and former president Donald Trump share more than one similarity with their public rise and demise. Like Tyson, Trump's refusal to sign the Trans-Pacific Partnership appeared like a publicity stunt to impress his political base and affirm that he was going to "make America great again."

Despite what scholar John Carlos Rowe has described as the constituent elements of US cultural imperialism—the exploitation of "human territories" for their "productive capacities" to increase "commerce and technology"—one of the most important lessons I learned teaching in Wuhan was that my students didn't need my American Studies course to learn English-language skills or about American culture.[14] My students didn't take my course for credit or because of their interest in Black American social and political movements. Instead they enrolled out of curiosity about American culture in order to contextualize what they had heard through social media in an academic course. Thus, it was less about need, and more about desire.

On one hand, teaching American Studies in China offered me a chance to consider whether or not the tradition of Afro Asian solidarity over racial justice struggles in the US were a thing of the past. While Du Bois' trip in the 1950s and 1960s was celebrated in the Chinese media for this very reason, I had no indication from the Chinese people I met that they viewed the current racial justice movement in the US as a potential motive for me, or other Black people, to come to China. On the other hand, I also had a chance to see if what people had told me in the US about rampant antiblackness as a feature of contemporary Chinese life was true. Given media coverage of discriminatory policies toward East African immigrants, such a claim makes sense to me. Yet beyond one encounter with a security guard at the apartment complex where I lived, my wanderings throughout Wuhan led to few encounters I would consider racially motivated.

It's one thing to visit to teach at a prestigious university, and another thing to try to find a job or housing. I was no anomaly in China, and when I passed someone who appeared of African heritage on the street or riding the subway, they barely gave me a glance. People, by and large, seemed indifferent to my presence. For me, being Black in Wuhan was no burden.

This is in contrast to being Black in the US. Despite nearly a century of distinguished achievement, W. E. B. Du Bois's bold, if not provocative, declaration nearly sixty years ago that in the eyes of some he was nothing more than a "nigger,"

speaks directly to the same frustrations many Black American academics like myself continue to feel today. Whether it's after being pulled over by the state police with a mini-van full of students on our way back to campus after a conference, or being questioned by police crossing the street near campus, in this and other moments I'm reminded that no matter how many degrees I hold my race remains the primary marker for how others continue to perceive me in the United States. With the upsurge in anti-Asian violence—fueled by political leaders and the media pundits who continue to frame COVID as the "China disease" and blame Wuhan for causing the global pandemic—it seems that all of those who have travelled to this beautiful ancient city along the Yangtze River need to educate the American public about their experiences being there. While such an education might not be enough to deescalate tensions between the US and China, much less prevent a Cold War 2.0, it remains sorely needed for what continues to be a deeply troubling world.

Notes

[1] The epigraph quotes a speech Du Bois made on the occasion of his ninety-first birthday party at Peking University in China. W. E. B. Du Bois, "China and Africa," *Peking Review*, March 3, 1959; Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868–1963. China and Africa. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).

[2] For a comprehensive essay on Black American radical engagement with China, see Robin D. G. Kelley and Betsy Esch, "Black Like Mao: Red China and Black Revolution," *Souls: Critical Journal of Black Politics and Culture* 1, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 6–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949909362183

[3] Du Bois, "China and Africa."

[4] Bill V. Mullin, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6–7.

[5] See Richard Wright, *Black Power: Three Books from Exile: Black Power*, *The Color Curtain*, *and White Man, Listen!* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008); Martin Delany and Floyd J. Miller, *Blake; or The Huts of America* (New York: Beacon Press, 1971).

[6] See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States Third Edition* (New York: Routledge 2014).

[7] See Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here?: Chaos or Community?* (New York: 1967).

[8] See Edward Snowden, *Permanent Record* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2019).

[9] See Christopher M. Finan, *From the Palmer Raids to the Patriot Act: A History of the Fight for Free Speech in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007).

[10] There is a long history of FBI harassment and intimidation of people of color who participated in movements that challenged state and federal forces. See Theodore Kornweibel, J. R., *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989); Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent* (Boston: South End Press, 1990); Raymond Sterling, "The FBI's Searches of Black Lives Matter Activists: A Budding Fourth Amendment Issue," *The New York Times,* January 19, 2022, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/us/portland-protests.html; Katie Benner, "U.S. Moves to Drop Cases Against Chinese Researchers Accused of Hiding Military Ties," *The New York Times,* July 24, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/24/us/politics/chinese-researchers-justice-dept.html.

[11] Angela Davis, interview by Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now!*, March 28, 2016.

[12] Robert O. Paxton, "I've Hesitated to Call Donald Trump a Fascist. Until Now," *Newsweek,* January 11, 2021, https://www.newsweek.com/robert-paxton-trump-fascist-1560652.

[13] Jodi Melamed, "W. E. B. Du Bois's UnAmerican End," *African American Review* 40, no. 3 (Fall, 2006), 533–50, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40027388

[14] John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and US Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War* II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8–9.

Selected Bibliography

Churchill, Ward, and Jim Vander Wall. *The COINTELPRO Papers Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent.* Boston: South End Press, 1990.

Delaney, Martin, and Floyd J. Miller. *Blake; or The Huts of America.* New York: Beacon Press, 1971.

Du Bois, W. E. B. "China and Africa." February 23, 1959. Delivered on his 91st birthday in Peking, China. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312) Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. China Central News and Documentary Films Studio. Welcome W. E. B. Du Bois. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

Finan, Christopher M. *From the Palmer Raids to the Patriot Act: A History of the Fight for Free Speech in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007.

Kelley, Robin D. G., and Betsy Esch. "Black Like Mao: Red China and Black Revolution." *Souls: Critical Journal of Black Politics and Culture* 1, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 6–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949909362183

King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Where Do We Go from Here? Chaos or Community*? Harper and Row: New York, 1967.

Kornweibel, Theodore. *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919–1925*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Melamed, Jodi. "W. E. B. Du Bois's UnAmerican End." *African American Review* 40, no. 3 (Fall, 2006): 533–550. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40027388

Mullin, Bill V. *Afro-Orientalism.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States.* 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2014.

O'Reilly, Kenneth. *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

Rowe, John Carlos. *Literary Culture and US Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Snowden, Edward. *Permanent Record*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2019.

Wright, Richard. *Black Power: Three Books from Exile: Black Power, the Color Curtain, and White Man, Listen!* New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008.