

# Books By Gerald Horne

## Gerald Horne

**The Counter Revolution Of 1836** Gerald Horne, 2022 Texas has become a leader of ultra-right forces nationally--especially since the 1950s--when the notorious oilmen were the bulwark of support for McCarthyism. One lesson from Texas history though is that repression was so severe because resistance was so daunting--a lesson to keep in mind as this century unfolds.

**I Dare Say** Gerald Horne, 2023-10-03 I Dare Say: A Gerald Horne Reader is a timely and essential collection of the many works of Professor Gerald Horne--a historian who has made an indelible impact on the study of US and international history. Horne approaches his study of history as a deeply politically engaged scholar, with an insightful and necessarily partisan stance, critiquing the lasting reverberations of white supremacy and all its bedfellows--imperialism, colonialism, fascism and racism--which continue to wreak havoc in the United States and abroad to this day. Drawing on a career that spans more than four decades, The Gerald Horne Reader will showcase the many highlights of Horne's writings, delving into discussions of the United States and its place on the global stage, the curation of mythology surrounding titans of 20th Century African American history like Malcolm X, and Horne's thoughts on pressing international crises of the 21st Century including the war in Afghanistan during the early 2000s, and the war in Ukraine which erupted in February 2022. As we continue to observe the chaos of our current times, I Dare Say: A Gerald Horne Reader foregrounds a firmly rooted, consistent analysis of what has come to pass--and provides illuminating insight that better informs where we may be headed, and outlines what needs to be done to stem the tide of growing fascism across the Western world.

*White Supremacy Confronted* Gerald Horne, 2019-05-09 Based upon exhaustive research, this is the most comprehensive account to date of the entangled histories of apartheid and Jim Crow that culminated in 1994 with the election of Nelson Mandela as president in Pretoria.

Fire this Time Gerald Horne, 1995 In August 1965 the predominantly black neighborhood of Watts in Los Angeles erupted in flames and violence following an incident of police brutality. This is the first comprehensive treatment of that uprising. Property losses reached hundreds of millions of dollars and the official death toll was thirty-four, but the political results were even more profound. The civil rights movement was placed on the defensive as the image of meek and angelic protestors in the South was replaced by the image of rioting blacks in the West. A white backlash ensued that led directly to

Ronald Reagan's election as governor of California in 1966. In *Fire This Time* Horne delineates the central roles played by Ronald Reagan, Tom Bradley, Martin Luther King, Jr., Edmund G. Brown, and organizations such as the NAACP, Black Panthers, Nation of Islam, and gangs. He documents the role of the Cold War in the dismantling of legalized segregation, and he looks at the impact of race, region, class, gender, and age on postwar Los Angeles. All this he considers in light of world developments, particularly in Vietnam, the Soviet Union, China, and Africa.

**W.E.B. Du Bois** Gerald Horne, 2009-11-12 This biography of W.E.B. Du Bois gives full measure to his entire life, including his controversial final decades. This revealing biography captures the full life of W.E.B. Du Bois—historian, sociologist, author, editor—a leader in the fight to bring African Americans more fully into the American landscape as well as forceful proponent of them leaving America altogether and returning to Africa. Drawing on extensive research, Gerald Horne, a leading authority on Du Bois and a versatile and prolific scholar in his own right, offers a fully rounded portrait of this accomplished and controversial figure, including the often overlooked final decades without which no portrait of Du Bois could be complete. The book also highlights Du Bois's relationships with and influence upon other leading civil rights activists both during, and subsequent to, his extraordinarily long life, including Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Jesse Jackson.

**Jazz and Justice** Gerald Horne, 2019-06-18 A galvanizing history of how jazz and jazz musicians flourished despite rampant cultural exploitation The music we call “jazz” arose in late nineteenth century North America—most likely in New Orleans—based on the musical traditions of Africans, newly freed from slavery. Grounded in the music known as the “blues,” which expressed the pain, sufferings, and hopes of Black folk then pulverized by Jim Crow, this new music entered the world via the instruments that had been abandoned by departing military bands after the Civil War. *Jazz and Justice* examines the economic, social, and political forces that shaped this music into a phenomenal US—and Black American—contribution to global arts and culture. Horne assembles a galvanic story depicting what may have been the era’s most virulent economic—and racist—exploitation, as jazz musicians battled organized crime, the Ku Klux Klan, and other variously malignant forces dominating the nightclub scene where jazz became known. Horne pays particular attention to women artists, such as pianist Mary Lou Williams and trombonist Melba Liston, and limns the contributions of musicians with Native American roots. This is the story of a beautiful lotus, growing from the filth of the crassest form of human immiseration.

**African Americans & a New History of the USA** Gerald Horne, 2024-12 The recent popularity of the 1619 Project, which posited that the origins of the USA reside not in 1776 but with the arrival on these shores of Africans destined for enslavement, suggests that a new vision of the history of African Americans is long overdue. First of all, the roots of this epochal arrival can be found well before 1619, and 1492 too. With the publication of this book, we now have a new story that argues that the roots of racism can be found in a pre-existing era of murderous religious conflict—Christians v. Jewish;

Christians v. Muslims; and, especially Protestant v. Catholic--underscoring the pernicious religiosity that undergirds anti-Blackness and white supremacy alike, meaning more innovative approaches are needed to subdue this pestilence. Likewise, this book posits a contradiction between the class struggle that drove the unpaid sector of the working class; i.e. enslaved Africans, and the class collaboration that undergirded the settler colonialism that descended on North America and dispossessed the Indigenous and those of Mexican origin too. This has necessitated internationalism as a strategic objective for Black Liberation (and, indeed, working class advance), which reached a new stage with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and continues to this very day with the rise of China and Socialist Cuba. This New History inevitably will give rise to new approaches in the struggle for a Socialist USA.

**The Rise and Fall of the Associated Negro Press** Gerald Horne, 2017-08-04 For nearly fifty years, the Chicago-based Associated Negro Press (ANP) fought racism at home and grew into an international news organization abroad. At its head stood founder Claude Barnett, one of the most influential African Americans of his day and a gifted, if unofficial, diplomat who forged links with figures as diverse as Jawaharlal Nehru, Zora Neale Hurston, and Richard Nixon. Gerald Horne weaves Barnett's fascinating life story through a groundbreaking history of the ANP, including its deep dedication to Pan-Africanism. An activist force in journalism, Barnett also helped send doctors and teachers to Africa, advised African governments, gave priority to foreign newsgathering, and saw the African American struggle in global terms. Yet Horne also confronts Barnett's contradictions. A member of the African American elite, Barnett's sympathies with black aspirations often clashed with his ethics and a powerful desire to join the upper echelons of business and government. In the end, Barnett's activist success undid his work. Horne traces the dramatic story of the ANP's collapse as the mainstream press, retreating from Jim Crow, finally covered black issues and hired African American journalists. Revelatory and entertaining, *The Rise and Fall of the Associated Negro Press* tells the story of a forgotten pioneer and the ambitious black institution he created.

*The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* Gerald Horne, 2018-03-12 Chronicles how American culture - deeply rooted in white supremacy, slavery and capitalism - finds its origin story in the 17th century European colonization of Africa and North America, exposing the structural origins of American looting. Virtually no part of the modern United States—the economy, education, constitutional law, religious institutions, sports, literature, economics, even protest movements—can be understood without first understanding the slavery and dispossession that laid its foundation. To that end, historian Gerald Horne digs deeply into Europe's colonization of Africa and the New World, when, from Columbus's arrival until the Civil War, some 13 million Africans and some 5 million Native Americans were forced to build and cultivate a society extolling "liberty and justice for all." The seventeenth century was, according to Horne, an era when the roots of slavery, white supremacy, and capitalism became inextricably tangled into a complex history involving war and revolts in Europe, England's conquest of the Scots and Irish, the development of formidable new weaponry able to ensure Europe's colonial dominance, the rebel

merchants of North America who created “these United States,” and the hordes of Europeans whose newfound opportunities in this “free” land amounted to “combat pay” for their efforts as “white” settlers. Centering his book on the Eastern Seaboard of North America, the Caribbean, Africa, and what is now Great Britain, Horne provides a deeply researched, harrowing account of the apocalyptic loss and misery that likely has no parallel in human history. The *Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* is an essential book that will not allow history to be told by the victors. It is especially needed now, in the age of Trump. For it has never been more vital, Horne writes, “to shed light on the contemporary moment wherein it appears that these malevolent forces have received a new lease on life.”

From the Barrel of a Gun Gerald Horne, 2015-12-01 In November 1965, Ian Smith's white minority government in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) made a unilateral declaration of independence, breaking with Great Britain. With a European population of a few hundred thousand dominating an African majority of several million, Rhodesia's racial structure echoed the apartheid of neighboring South Africa. Smith's declaration sparked an escalating guerrilla war that claimed thousands of lives. Across the Atlantic, President Lyndon B. Johnson nervously watched events in Rhodesia, fearing that racial conflict abroad could inflame racial discord at home. Although Washington officially voiced concerns over human rights violations, an attitude of tolerance generally marked U.S. relations with the Rhodesian government: sanctions were imposed but not strictly enforced, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of American mercenaries joined white Rhodesia's side in battle with little to fear from U.S. laws. Despite such tacit U.S. support, Smith's regime fell in 1980, and the independent state of Zimbabwe was born. The first comprehensive account of American involvement in the war against Zimbabwe, this compelling work also explores how our relationship with Rhodesia helped define interracial dynamics in the United States, and vice versa.

**The End of Empires** Gerald Horne, 2009-09-15 In the past fifty years, according to Christine So, the narratives of many popular Asian American books have been dominated by economic questions—what money can buy, how money is lost, how money is circulated, and what labor or objects are worth. Focusing on books that have achieved mainstream popularity, *Economic Citizens* unveils the logic of economic exchange that determined Asian Americans' transnational migrations and national belonging. With penetrating insight, So examines literary works that have been successful in the U.S. marketplace but have been read previously by critics largely as narratives of alienation or assimilation, including *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, *Flower Drum Song*, *Falling Leaves* and *Turning Japanese*. In contrast to other studies that have focused on the marginalization of Asian Americans, *Economic Citizens* examines how Asian Americans have entered into the public sphere.

Red Seas Gerald Horne, 2009-09-01 During the heyday of the U.S. and international labor movements in the 1930s and 1940s, Ferdinand Smith, the Jamaican-born co-founder and second-in-command of the National Maritime Union (NMU), stands out as one of the most—if not the most—powerful black labor leaders in the United States. Smith's active membership

in the Communist Party, however, coupled with his bold labor radicalism and shaky immigration status, brought him under continual surveillance by U.S. authorities, especially during the Red Scare in the 1950s. Smith was eventually deported to his homeland of Jamaica, where he continued his radical labor and political organizing until his death in 1961. Gerald Horne draws on Smith's life to make insightful connections between labor radicalism and the Civil Rights Movement—demonstrating that the gains of the latter were propelled by the former and undermined by anticommunism. Moreover, *Red Seas* uncovers the little-known experiences of black sailors and their contribution to the struggle for labor and civil rights, the history of the Communist Party and its black members, and the significant dimensions of Jamaican labor and political radicalism.

**Revolting Capital** Gerald Horne, 2023-04 In this sweeping history, Gerald Horne traces this phenomenon over a century, in a book which should be understood and studied by all anti-imperialist and progressive forces. This relatively small metropolis also has influenced profoundly its neighbors in Maryland and Virginia, especially in the potent area of labor organizing.

You Can't Kill a Man Because of the Books He Reads Brad Snyder, 2025-02-04 The story of a young, Black Communist Party organizer wrongly convicted of attempting to incite insurrection and the landmark case that made him a civil rights hero. Decades before the impeachment of an American president for a similar offense, Angelo Herndon was charged under Georgia law with “attempting to incite insurrection”—a crime punishable by death. In 1932, the eighteen-year-old Black Communist Party organizer was arrested and had his room illegally searched and his radical literature seized. Charged under an old slave insurrection statute, Herndon was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to eighteen to twenty years on a chain gang. *You Can't Kill a Man Because of the Books He Reads* chronicles Herndon's five-year quest for freedom during a time when Blacks, white liberals, and the radical left joined forces to define the nation's commitment to civil rights and civil liberties. Herndon's champions included the young, Black Harvard Law School-educated attorney Benjamin J. Davis Jr.; the future historian C. Vann Woodward, who joined the interracial Herndon defense committee; the white-shoe New York lawyer Whitney North Seymour, who argued Herndon's appeals; and literary friends Ralph Ellison, Langston Hughes, and Richard Wright. With their support, Herndon won his freedom and reinvented himself as a Harlem literary star until a dramatic fall from grace. A legal odyssey of Herndon's narrow escape from certain death because of his unpopular political beliefs, *You Can't Kill a Man Because of the Books He Reads* explores Herndon's journey from Alabama coal miner to Communist Party organizer to Harlem hero and beyond. Brad Snyder tells the stories of the diverse coalition of people who rallied to his cause and who twice appealed his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. They forced the Court to recognize free speech and peaceable assembly as essential rights in a democracy—a landmark decision in 1930s America as well as today.

Black and Brown Gerald Horne, 2005-02-01 Honorable Mention for 2005 Gustavus Myers Outstanding Book Award Brings

to light the lives of Black Americans living along the Mexican border during and immediately after the Mexican Revolution. The Mexican Revolution was a defining moment in the history of race relations, impacting both Mexican and African Americans. For Black Westerners, 1910–1920 did not represent the clear-cut promise of populist power, but a reordering of the complex social hierarchy which had, since the nineteenth century, granted them greater freedom in the borderlands than in the rest of the United States. Despite its lasting significance, the story of Black Americans along the Mexican border has been sorely underreported in the annals of U.S. history. Gerald Horne brings the tale to life in *Black and Brown*. Drawing on archives on both sides of the border, a host of cutting-edge studies and oral histories, Horne chronicles the political currents which created and then undermined the Mexican border as a relative safe haven for African Americans. His account addresses Black people's role as “Indian fighters,” the relationship between African Americans and immigrants, and the U.S. government's growing fear of Black disloyalty. He also considers how the heavy reliance of the U.S. on Black soldiers along the border placed white supremacy and national security on a collision course that was ultimately resolved in favor of the latter. Mining a forgotten chapter in American history, *Black and Brown* offers tremendous insight into the past and future of race relations along the Mexican border.

**The Counter-Revolution of 1776** Gerald Horne, 2016-09 Illuminates how the preservation of slavery was a motivating factor for the Revolutionary War. The successful 1776 revolt against British rule in North America has been hailed almost universally as a great step forward for humanity. But the Africans then living in the colonies overwhelmingly sided with the British. In this trailblazing book, Gerald Horne shows that in the prelude to 1776, the abolition of slavery seemed all but inevitable in London, delighting Africans as much as it outraged slaveholders, and sparking the colonial revolt. Prior to 1776, anti-slavery sentiments were deepening throughout Britain and in the Caribbean, rebellious Africans were in revolt. For European colonists in America, the major threat to their security was a foreign invasion combined with an insurrection of the enslaved. It was a real and threatening possibility that London would impose abolition throughout the colonies—a possibility the founding fathers feared would bring slave rebellions to their shores. To forestall it, they went to war. The so-called Revolutionary War, Horne writes, was in part a counter-revolution, a conservative movement that the founding fathers fought in order to preserve their right to enslave others. *The Counter-Revolution of 1776* brings us to a radical new understanding of the traditional heroic creation myth of the United States.

**The Dawning of the Apocalypse** Gerald Horne, 2020-06-30 Acclaimed historian Gerald Horne troubles America's settler colonialism's creation myth. August 2019 saw numerous commemorations of the year 1619, when what was said to be the first arrival of enslaved Africans occurred in North America. Yet in the 1520s, the Spanish, from their imperial perch in Santo Domingo, had already brought enslaved Africans to what was to become South Carolina. The enslaved people here quickly defected to local Indigenous populations, and compelled their captors to flee. Deploying such illuminating research, *The*

Dawning of the Apocalypse is a riveting revision of the “creation myth” of settler colonialism and how the United States was formed. Here, Gerald Horne argues forcefully that, in order to understand the arrival of colonists from the British Isles in the early seventeenth century, one must first understand the “long sixteenth century”- from 1492 until the arrival of settlers in Virginia in 1607. During this prolonged century, Horne contends, “whiteness” morphed into “white supremacy,” and allowed England to co-opt not only religious minorities but also various nationalities throughout Europe, thus forging a muscular bloc that was needed to confront rambunctious Indigenes and Africans. In retelling the bloodthirsty story of the invasion of the Americas, Horne recounts how the fierce resistance by Africans and their Indigenous allies weakened Spain and enabled London to dispatch settlers to Virginia in 1607. These settlers laid the groundwork for the British Empire and its revolting spawn that became the United States of America.

*Negro Comrades of the Crown* Gerald Horne, 2012-02 While it is well known that more Africans fought on behalf of the British than with the successful patriots of the American Revolution, Gerald Horne reveals in his latest work of historical recovery that after 1776, Africans and African-Americans continued to collaborate with Great Britain against the United States in battles big and small until the Civil War. Many African Americans viewed Britain, an early advocate of abolitionism and emancipator of its own slaves, as a powerful ally in their resistance to slavery in the Americas. This allegiance was far-reaching, from the Caribbean to outposts in North America to Canada. In turn, the British welcomed and actively recruited both fugitive and free African Americans, arming them and employing them in military engagements throughout the Atlantic World, as the British sought to maintain a foothold in the Americas following the Revolution. In this path-breaking book, Horne rewrites the history of slave resistance by placing it for the first time in the context of military and diplomatic wrangling between Britain and the United States. Painstakingly researched and full of revelations, *Negro Comrades of the Crown* is among the first book-length studies to highlight the Atlantic origins of the Civil War, and the active role played by African Americans within these external factors that led to it. Listen to a one hour special with Dr. Gerald Horne on the Sojourner Truth radio show.

**The White Pacific** Gerald Horne, 2007-05-31 Worldwide supplies of sugar and cotton were impacted dramatically as the U.S. Civil War dragged on. New areas of production entered these lucrative markets, particularly in the South Pacific, and plantation agriculture grew substantially in disparate areas such as Australia, Fiji, and Hawaii. The increase in production required an increase in labor; in the rush to fill the vacuum, freebooters and other unsavory characters began a slave trade in Melanesians and Polynesians that continued into the twentieth century. *The White Pacific* ranges over the broad expanse of Oceania to reconstruct the history of blackbirding (slave trading) in the region. It examines the role of U.S. citizens (many of them ex-slaveholders and ex-confederates) in the trade and its roots in Civil War dislocations. What unfolds is a dramatic tale of unfree labor, conflicts between formal and informal empire, white supremacy, threats to sovereignty in Hawaii, the origins

of a White Australian policy, and the rise of Japan as a Pacific power and putative protector. It also pieces together a wonderfully suggestive history of the African American presence in the Pacific. Based on deft archival research in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Hawaii, the United States, and Great Britain, *The White Pacific* uncovers a heretofore hidden story of race, labor, war, and intrigue that contributes significantly to the emerging intersectional histories of race and ethnicity.

**Black Revolutionary** Gerald Horne, 2013-09-30 A leading African American Communist, lawyer William L. Patterson (1891-1980) was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the defeat of Jim Crow by virtue of his leadership of the Scottsboro campaign in the 1930s. In this watershed biography, historian Gerald Horne shows how Patterson helped to advance African American equality by fostering and leveraging international support for the movement. Horne highlights key moments in Patterson's global activism: his early education in the Soviet Union, his involvement with the Scottsboro trials and other high-profile civil rights cases of the 1930s to 1950s, his 1951 We Charge Genocide petition to the United Nations, and his later work with prisons and the Black Panther Party. Through Patterson's story, Horne examines how the Cold War affected the freedom movement, with civil rights leadership sometimes disavowing African American leftists in exchange for concessions from the U.S. government. He also probes the complex and often contradictory relationship between the Communist Party and the African American community, including the impact of the FBI's infiltration of the Communist Party. Drawing from government and FBI documents, newspapers, periodicals, archival and manuscript collections, and personal papers, Horne documents Patterson's effectiveness at carrying the freedom struggle into the global arena and provides a fresh perspective on twentieth-century struggles for racial justice.

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## Table of Contents Books By Gerald Horne

1. Understanding the eBook Books By Gerald Horne
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Books By Gerald Horne
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Books By Gerald Horne
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Books By Gerald Horne
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Books By Gerald Horne
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Books By Gerald Horne User Reviews and Ratings
  - Books By Gerald Horne and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Books By Gerald Horne Free and Paid eBooks
  - Books By Gerald Horne Public Domain eBooks
  - Books By Gerald Horne eBook Subscription Services
- Books By Gerald Horne Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Books By Gerald Horne eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Books By Gerald Horne Compatibility with Devices
  - Books By Gerald Horne Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Books By Gerald Horne
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Books By Gerald Horne
  - Interactive Elements Books By Gerald Horne
8. Staying Engaged with Books By Gerald Horne
  - Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Books By Gerald Horne
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Books By Gerald Horne
  - Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Books By Gerald Horne
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
  - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions

- Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Books By Gerald Horne
  - Setting Reading Goals Books By Gerald Horne
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Books By Gerald Horne
  - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Books By Gerald Horne
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
  - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
  - Integration of Multimedia Elements
  - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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