PAUL ROBESON’S OBITUARY—
THE AFTERMATH

By Herbert Marshall

In response to my obituary on Paul Robeson in the last Spring bulletin for our Center, I received, as I anticipated, a letter from his son, Paul Robeson, Jr. I am publishing it here, complete with my reply.

From Paul Robeson, Jr.
April 29, 1976

Dear Professor Marshall:

I recently received a copy of the “Bulletin of the Center for Soviet and East European Affairs,” No. 17, Spring 1976. It contains an article by you about my father, titled “Obituary: Paul Robeson (1898-1976).” I am writing to you in outraged protest because this article contains numerous irresponsible falsifications.

You were certainly not my father’s “closest friend and professional colleague.” The fact is that my father would not see you for the past sixteen years because he did not wish to have any contact with you. Furthermore, the letters from Paul Robeson that appear in your article are undated. The first letter was written more than sixteen years ago. The second—the letter of recommendation—was written thirty-eight years ago in 1938. You give the false impression that the letters were recent.

Your statement that I agreed with your remarks when you visited me some years ago is absolutely false. At the time of that visit I branded as false the statements that you repeat in your article.

The statement that my father returned home in 1963 because of my wedding is not true; I was married in 1949, and my parents were, of course, present.

Your statement that my father remained in complete seclusion after his return home is likewise false. The fact is that from 1963 through the summer of 1965 he made numerous public appearances, gave newspaper interviews, and saw a great many people.

Your description of events that supposedly occurred during two of Paul Robeson’s post-war visits to the U.S.S.R. are wholly false according to my father’s personal recounting of these visits to me. Many published statements prove that your hearsay stories are pure fiction.

Poor health forced my father’s retirement after 1965, but his basic convictions never changed. In 1973, he sent a taped message to his 75th birthday celebration at Carnegie Hall. Some 3,000 people heard his voice. The text of that message is enclosed and speaks for itself.

Your arrogant and transparent attempts to depict yourself as the “great white father” to Paul Robeson are as patronizing as they are false. And your racism is barely beneath the surface when you write:

“... Paul was like Othello in life: he was a man profoundly trusting in the cause he had given life to. . . . That trust, like Othello’s, was profoundly and tragically violated . . . . Like Othello he collapsed into a state from which he never recovered . . . .”

You have exhibited monumental bad taste by writing this diatribe about my father under the guise of an obituary. One cannot help but question the motives of one who could write this and yet call himself “friend.” Ironically, it is not Paul Robeson who acted out Othello in real life; it is you who are playing a crude and shabby Iago.

Since, under these circumstances, it is essential that the readers of the “Bulletin” have access to the facts, I have written to the Dean of the College of Communications and have requested that he publish my letter in the “Bulletin” in the near future.

I have also written to the Black Affairs Council.

Paul Robeson, Jr.

Let us, however, deal with Paulie’s letter. In general, it is perfectly clear that he is not defending Paul Robeson. He is repeating the Communist Party’s version of the reason for Paul’s breakdown. Now Paulie, of course, is lucky. He can live as an American citizen, having been trained in the Soviet Union as I was, and he can attack the very government and system that gives him the democratic freedom to attack them. To do so in the Soviet Union would be totally impossible. No one, white or black, in the Soviet Union would be allowed to defend the capitalist society in America and work actively for the overthrow of the existing state structure of the U.S.S.R. But with all its defects, democracy gives Paul Robeson, Jr. the right to defend the Communist Party.

Let me reply to his letter paragraph by paragraph: Paulie denies the fact that I was his father’s closest friend and professional colleague. Yes, I exaggerated perhaps in stating that I was his closest friend, but I was one of his closest friends and professional colleagues, as will be seen from the various ways in which we cooperated between 1935 and 1963, when he left for the States.

In Paragraph two he says, “The fact is that my father would not see you for the past sixteen years because he did not wish to have any contact with you.” Totally false. I have already stated that from 1960 to 1963, I was invited by Essie to visit him in the Roehampton Hospital and at his home in the West End of London. To prove that we were still closely collaborating in the sixties, here are some more facts:

First, in 1961, at the suggestion of Paul, I proposed to the Soviet government the making of a film on the life and death
of Ira Aldridge. For many years Paul and I had been hoping to make this film, but were frustrated by various circumstances beyond our control; but under Khrushchev, between 1961 and 1963, it seemed possible. I put in a project, it was accepted and passed on to Moscow to the Committee for Cinematography of the U.S.S.R., who eventually passed it on to the Leningrad Film Studios as being the most suitable place. The action of the film, by and large, was on Ira

Aldridge's sojourn in St. Petersburg. A contract with the Studio, which I still possess, was signed for that scenario, and Paul was to be the commentator. Alas, he was too ill and too old to play the leading part, but he volunteered to do the commentary. I wrote and submitted the first script. This plan was in active preparation until Khrushchev's overthrow and Paul's final breakdown.

Second, I reprint here an appeal from Unity Theatre,

Twenty six years ago, a tumble-down building, once a mission hall for unemployed men, was converted into a theatre. London's trade unionists gave their time, skill and money to create Unity Theatre. And Unity Theatre Society Limited started to pay rent.

Now, a hundred and seventy productions later, the Society has the opportunity to buy outright the premises it has occupied for so many years - for only £3,500 freehold.

Together with our fellow trustees and sponsors we want you to help towards that purchase.

And more, because we envisage not only freehold ownership, but also vast improvements - a real cultural centre with ample room and facilities for all sorts of activities. A splendid new theatre from the shell of the old has been designed by Arthur A. Stewart, FRIIBA, and Colin Penn, ARIBA, in consultation with Herbert Marshall. You can see two illustrations for this theatre over the page. It will incorporate the latest ideas in theatre design. The plans allow for new and exciting methods of stage presentation; facilities for training new actors and craftsmen; and room for the many other activities which now crowd every corner of an inadequate building.

To do all this we need lots of money. At least £50,000. This is a big appeal for a big advance in the life of Unity Theatre, and we believe the Labour Movement and everyone interested in theatre will want to help.

We are certain that the spirit which created Unity is still very much alive today. Please join with the Sponsors and Trustees to make this appeal a resounding success.
where Paul worked with me, signed by Paul Robeson and Alfe Bass, in which he praises the theatre plan, on which I had worked as design consultant. You will also see that the appeal is illustrated by a picture of the two actors in my production of Plant In The Sun. The appeal was made in 1963!

Third, Paulie can read the Ukrainian translation of Ira Aldridge in which there was an introduction by Paul Robeson, translated into Ukrainian and I have the English original that Essie gave me. He praises my work on the book and says, “Aldridge has been neglected. Fortunately, this neglect has now been corrected by Herbert Marshall, who together with Mildred Stock, has written a very interesting, comprehensive, beautifully documented book Ira Aldridge. Negroes, Russians, and especially Ukrainian readers will be particularly interested in this book because it tells the story of how this magnificent Negro actor was one of the first to bring to life the great Shakespearean characters in the theatres in the many cities and towns of Russia and Ukraine.... My friend Herbert Marshall has made an important contribution... in this biography of Ira Aldridge, and in his translations into English of the beautiful poems of Taras Shevchenko—translations which do justice to the genius of the poet.” This was July 1966!

Let me now quote from the Ukrainian Pravda, dated May 15, 1966, in which there is a review of the Ukrainian edition of the book.

CENTER FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES
Herbert Marshall, FRSA, Director
Michael Glenn, Research Associate

RESEARCH AND PROJECTS, ACADEMIC AFFAIRS
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Dr. Byron Raisiz

and for the Ukrainian edition, Paul Robeson wrote an introduction which is here translated into Russian for the readers of Pravda.***

Yet Paulie says: "The fact is that my father would not see you for the past sixteen years." Here I can prove in print that he was associating with me and cooperating with me, both in regard to my book and to our film on Ira Aldridge up to 1965. Up to the time he and Essie left for the States, but then I was forbidden entry to the USA! I too, like Paul, was on McCarthy's black list and his minions had tried to sabotage my work for Prime Minister Nehru, who scorned their efforts!

I regret I don't have a tape recording of our discussion but I am clear that you admitted that everyone in the movement went through a traumatic experience after the Khruschev revelations of the terror under Stalin, and that there were different reactions. You took it one way, Paul another, some committed suicide, others went into seclusion or self- exile parallel to what Paul did, and as I did in getting away from it all by going to India, and as did Professor M.B. Haldane. He was one of the world's great scientists and a loyal Party member until the last straw came when the CPGB actually demanded he adopt the theories of Lysenko because they had been approved by the Russian Communist Party and Stalin! He disagreed with Lysenko, which he could do in England, but if he had been in Russia he would also have been 'liquidated.' He finally realized the real nature of the Party he had so faithfully served and emigrated to India, took on Indian citizenship and went into self-imposed silence about what happened. As I believe Paul did—he would not say a word about his disillusionment—the wounds were too deep. Particularly when later Lysenko was exposed as a charlatan, who had aided and abetted the CPSU in imprisoning and murdering many of the leading scientists in Russia.

Regarding the occasion of Paul's returning to U.S.A., this is a trivial slip about the actual date of your marriage. I know Essie told me that now you were married she decided, because of Paul's condition, they should be with you.

I was not aware of the domestic details as to Paul's seclusion, because I wasn't allowed into U.S.A. until after 1965 and then with Essie's death and my eventual settlement in U.S.A. I found I was not allowed to see Paul. I didn't believe he was personally responsible—it took me some time to arrive at what I believed to be the real reason—a cover up.

Regarding Paulie's statement as to the falsity of my description of events that Paul experienced in the Soviet Union. I am lucky that there is an independent witness, the daughter of Solomon Mikhoels, that great actor and friend of Paul, who was murdered by Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with many other members of the other Jewish intelligentsia in 1969. The daughter emigrated to Israel and has written an account of her father's death which is published in a Russian language journal called TIME AND US. Paulie can read it in the original. Here she told exactly the same story I had heard from Eisenstein's widow, (she heard it from Benjamin Zaskin a fellow actor of Mikhoels). I quote here the translation of what she said:

"Some years later we were told that in the summer of 1951 Paul Robeson came on a tour to Moscow. In their travels in U.S.A. Mikhoels and Pfeffer had met him many times. And now Robeson expressed a wish to once more see his 'Soviet friends.' He was told that Mikhoels had died from tuberculosis, (A lie, of course H.M.) but Pfeffer—with pleasure—could be seen. They went to Pfeffer's apartment, got his best suit from the sealed rooms and went to fetch Pfeffer from Lubyanka (the KGB headquarters and jail in Moscow—H. M.). There they changed his prison garb to his best suit and straight from jail took him to the Hotel MOSKVA accompanied by two 'translators.'

There were rumors that during the third-degree they tore out Pfeffer's finger nails.

What did they want to torture out of him? . . .

Pfeffer was shot on August 12th, 1952."***

So again Paulie is refuted. It was not I who invented or imagined this.

It is still totally mysterious (if my point of view is ignored) as to Paul being physically and mentally ill and kept incommunicado and yet at the same time messages would be brought out as if he were in good health. If such apparently normal messages were forthcoming, why couldn't he deliver them himself personally or be interviewed or questioned about them, if not by journalists by his old friends? Because of this I refused to accept them without his personal confirmation.

Fredda and I were in correspondence with Essie in 1964, who planned to acquire Fredda's wonderful bust of a Black Sailor for Harlem, but then she tragically died. From that time on, Paulie and the Communist Party 'guardians' prevented my having any access to Paul.

Then Paulie sinks, I'm sorry to say, to a very low level. He uses the typical tactics of the Communist Party to try and blacken and slander the name of one they consider an opponent. He says that I tend to depict myself as "the great white father" and that "your racism is barely beneath the surface when you write that Paul was like Othello in life." By this, Paulie is saying not only that his great father was a dupe, but was working so closely in his creative work, and in his private life for nearly 30 years, with a man who had racism just beneath the surface! That, I think, is the deepest insult to Paul's memory.

As a matter of fact, Paul and I got on very well together for a very interesting reason, of which I wasn't conscious at the time. When we started rehearsing PLANT IN THE SUN, this was the first time I had directed Paul as an actor. I was using the basic Stanislavsky Method, in which I'd been trained, and applied it to any actor who worked with me, no matter how distinguished. They all had to go through the same method: Paul Robeson, Michael Redgrave, Bernard Miles, Peter Ustinov. After about a week Paul said how grateful he was that I used this Method, and how much it helped him; he also said, "Did you know that in reality this is the first time in my life I've been directed?" I said, "But, my God, you've been directed by many of the distinguished theatre and film directors of the world." He said, "Yes, but they always had a strange block, a bee in their bonnet. They really didn't direct me. They assumed that I was the native genius of my folk, and therefore didn't need any direction. On the other hand, they were so afraid of treading on my so-called colored corns, and not wanting to think that they were insulting me if they disagreed with me, so they let me go my own way. The result was in my first Othello in 1930, I was floundering about on the stage, completely at a loss, not knowing what I was doing. I dared not to tell this to anyone, and they were frightened to tell me. Now," he said, "In working with you, I find you are colorblind. There isn't the slightest difference between your treatment of me and anyone else, and this to me is the most wonderful thing that's happened to me and I'm so happy to work with you." That was a great compliment, and it was indeed a truism that I found applied throughout my life. I had worked with all colors, and

*From the article in Russian The Murder of Mikhoels by his daughter Natalya Mikhoels-Vositi in the Russian language journal Vremya I My, published in Tel-Aviv, Israel 1976, p. 190.

I became a specialist on the Blacks. "The Black in the Performing Arts" is a course I gave at SIU and elsewhere and I founded and produced the first all Black company in London, named after Ira Aldridge."

And distinguished Blacks can vouch for my lack of racism, to name only a few: Mr. Fred O'Neill, former Chairman of American Actors Equity, an actor whom I met and worked with in London when he was on tour with the black production of ANNA LUCASTA, together with my dear friend and fine actor Frank Silvera. I quote from the last letter he wrote me: "Dear Herb: Congratulations! It was nice to hear from you. I have often thought of those stimulating sessions in London. Too few—too long ago. I am in Spain working on 'Valdez is Coming.' But Lancaster's next . . . I am interested in your proposal. Unfortunately I cannot specify a time . . . Will communicate when I am back in the States. All the best to you in the New Year. (Signed) Frank"

I had invited him to come and talk on our Campus, during my course on BLACK IN THE PERFORMING ARTS. Those 'stimulating sessions in London' were special lectures I gave the group on the Stanislavsky Method, which they found as helpful as Paul did. Alas he died tragically by sheer accident. The other Black I invited and who came was the other distinguished actor Mr. Raymond St. Jacques, who thoroughly appreciated my work. Another leading black actor, director and author, Mr. Ossie Davis can vouch for me, and has adapted my IRA ALDRIDGE work for a radio performance. Finally that outstanding actor Mr. Jimmie Earl Jones, when we first met, told me that my book IRA ALDRIDGE had been his bible. There are others but I think these are enough to outweigh his slander.

However, as to Othello, Paulie actually says it is I who am playing a crude and shabby Iago! I know, and eventually Paul knew, who the real Iago was: Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This realization was the terrifying blow that destroyed him. Curiously enough, Paulie is answered by what Paul and I had planned as the basic theme of Othello in the production that I was to direct. Until now, Othello has just been a drama of racist jealousy, sexual jealousy and Iago's over Cassio. But in the course of years, I have come to the conclusion the play is really about something more fundamental: it is about the true nature of things, the truth as it is, and Paul readily agreed with me, and said that he was beginning to realize the same thing. This was brought out by the choice we made of two sayings of Iago and one of Othello.

Iago says: "I am not that I am," (Act 1, Scene 1) in other words he puts up a facade, a Potemkin village. And goes on: "The Moor is of a free and open nature, that thinks men honest that but seem to be so." (Act 1, Scene 3).

What better description of Paul could there be? And so much more profound his disillusionment, for Othello affirms, positively: "Certain, things should be what they seem." (Act 2, Scene 2).

His great tragedy was to discover that what had seemed to be an adulterous wife, what had seemed to be a faithful comrade and friend were just the opposite in reality. His tragedy was in finding out that things were not what they had seemed. This applies exactly to what Paul eventually realized was the behavior of the Communist Party and its cover-ups, its numerous Potemkin villages. Just as Othello collapsed on realizing the truth, so Paul collapsed when he realized the truth of the real-life Iago.

Furthermore, I have had letters from various black people who have said they had the same suspicions because they, too, were not allowed to visit Paul, although they had been old friends. I give here a quotation from one of those letters. A Black Bibliophile in New York wrote me offering also fresh evidence. He said my article: "confirms a theory which I have had for over ten years but which has been very difficult to document—that Paul little by little broke, or wanted to break, with the Communist Party, but due to his infirmity was never able to make his position known to the outside world.

I have enough peripheral evidence to warrant this conclusion; but since his guardians would never allow me (nor Riddick, nor reporters from Philadelphia papers, nor almost anyone else except 'safe' people) to see him, it simply was not possible to produce any tangible proof. The turning over of the biography to Lloyd L. Brown will presumably not improve matters."

Incidentally, I now asked the head of Black American Studies at SIU Mr. Charles Robinson his views and he replied, "Your new information only supports what my black friends long ago understood, that Paul became disillusioned with the Soviet Union."

The well-known black singer Mr. Warfield was recently performing at SIU in our Black Musicians Week. I asked him if he had known Paul and what he understood. He replied that he had always heard that Paul had become disillusioned and found out that no one was allowed to see him. He and his wife Leontyne Price, the famous black opera star, had offered to pay their homage by singing at the celebration of Paul's 75th birthday and to their astonishment were refused. He realized that they must have been political. Again further evidence of the cover-up.

Finally my old black friend Dr. Edward Scobie, now Deputy Chairman of the Black Studies Dept., City of New York University and author of BLACK BRITANNIA, A history of the Blacks in Britain (Johnson Pub. Co., Chicago, 1972). He knows of my close association and friendship with Paul and was astounded when I was not invited to the 75th Anniversary celebration for Paul and rang me to say he had proposed to the organizers my inclusion as a key person in Paul's life. He too heard of Paul's disillusionment and realizes now the reason for my exclusion, a cover-up.

This is my reply to Paulie which refutes him factually and puts forward what I regard as a well documented explanation of Paul's behavior; an explanation which neither Paulie nor the Party have ever produced.

Indeed for Paul not to have reacted so emotionally to the tragic truth of Stalin's crimes would have been against his very sensitive nature. It hit him harder than most of us—there was a kind of delayed reaction and then complete collapse.

The tragedies of the Communist Party and Stalinism are still with us, and the great Communist cover-up in the typical Russian 'Potemkin village' manner is still being perpetuated by Paul Robeson, Jr. and his 'comrades.'

**THE PETITION FOR AMNESTY FOR PARADJANOV**

Continuing efforts are being made in the United States and abroad to gain the release of the distinguished film maker Sergei Paradjanov from a Soviet Gulag prison camp, where he is serving a five year hard labor sentence.

Recently in the United States and abroad, over 500 film directors, actors, critics, authors, professors, and students have signed petitions requesting amnesty for Paradjanov. Among Paradjanov's supporters in this country are:

A) the leading American film critics (including Pauline Kael, Penelope Gilliat, Vincent Canby, Andrew Sarris, Stanley Kauffmann, John Simon, Gary Arnold); the two major critics organizations (The National Society
of Film Critics; The New York Film Critics Circle); the editor of Film Quarterly (Ernest Callenbach); and the leading American organization of cinema experts, The Society for Cinema Studies.

B) film directors and actors, including Marcel Ophuls, Martin Ritt, Gene Kelly, Robert DeNiro, Terrence Malick, Burt Lancaster, Susan Sontag, Ivan Passer, Bob Downey, Willard Van Dyke;

C) faculty and students from universities throughout the United States, including leading authorities on Soviet cinema (Herbert Marshall, SIU; Jay Leyda, NYU; Vlada Petric, Harvard); department chairmen (William Simon, NYU, Film; D. Fanper, Harvard, Russian; Peter Bukalski, SIU, Film); and other academics including Noam Chomsky, MIT; Robert Cohen, Boston University; Stanley Cavel, Harvard; Gerald O'Grady, SUNY at Buffalo; Antonin Liehm, Richmond College; Amos Vogel, University of Pennsylvania;

D) film distributors, including Donald Rugoff, President, Cinema 5; Saul Turell, President, Janus Films; Leo Dratfield;

E) film festival and museum directors, including Richard Roud, Director, New York Film Festival; Joanne Koch, Administrative Director, Film Society of Lincoln Center; Ted Perry, Director, Museum of Modern Art Film Department;

F) authors, including John Updike, Philip Roth, I. F. Stone.

Internationally, Paradjanov has the support of such organizations as The International PEN, The Society of Filmmakers (France) and the International League for Human Rights; and leading film directors throughout the world, including Francois Truffaut, Alain Resnais, Luis Bunuel, Constantin Costa-Gavras, Jean Luc Godard, Federico Fellini, Louis Malle, Bernardo Bertolucci, Joseph Losey, Jacques Tati, Carlos Saura, Roberto Rossellini, Michelangelo Antonioni, Eric Rohmer. Francesco Rosi, Marco Ferrari, Jules Dassin.

This petition is now being submitted to the appropriate Soviet authorities, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and the USSR, as well as to the Soviet Ambassadors to USA and UN, in the hope that Paradjanov will now receive the amnesty he is entitled to.

**MOSCOW LENIN LIBRARY**

The Lenin State Library of the USSR, Moscow, is helping us in our research. The Department of Foreign Acquisition and International Book Exchange has sent us a microfilm of the Russian and Yiddish books that are not available in the USA and which include important information of use to us in our work on the World History of the Jewish Theatre. We are very pleased with this cooperation in an area where collaboration was very difficult in the past, if not impossible. We hope this is a harbinger of more co-operation in the true spirit of detente and Helsinki.

**GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANT REQUIRED**

A new Graduate Research Assistant is required for the new educational year commencing August 22, 1977. Must be highly proficient in modern Russian language and Soviet culture to work on editing and checking translations of future volumes of the Collected Works of S. M. Eisenstein and other Soviet works; and research in the areas of Soviet Cinema and Theatre. Can be a candidate for M.A., M.F.A., or Ph.D. in Theater Department or interdisciplinary.