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THE GRIOT



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THE GRIOT

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. . . . . .

IN ANCIENT AFRICA
'GRIOT' WERE THE COUNSELLORS OF KINGS, THEY CONSERVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF KINGDOMS BY MEMORY ALONE. . . IT WAS FROM AMONG THE GRIOTS THAT KINGS USED TO CHOOSE THE TUTORS FOR YOUNG PRINCES. . . FOR WANT OF ARCHIVES, (THEY) RECORDED THE CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS AND GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF KINGS. . .

SUNDIATA, DJIBRIL T. NIANE

. . . . . .

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Regional Variations in Rootwork Symptoms? Some Findings from Folklore, Ethnography and the Clinic[1]

— George Brandon

In an article written in 1978, Ralph Kuna noted a phenomenon which this author noted in 1981 without knowing of Kuna's article. This concerns the symptomatoiogy of rootwork/hoodoo as it is reported in the literature.[2] One of the earliest descriptions of the classic symptoms and progression of rootwork comes from Herron and Bacon who used Hampton Institute students to document Black folklore in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. In their descriptions, the symptoms included ''sudden onset with sharp pain (frequently in the stomach) accompanied by swelling. The victim cannot walk, eat or sleep or sleeps all the time, lingering, pining away until engulfed by blindness and/or insanity. The condition gets worse, rather than better, under a physician's care and increases in severity until the person has live things inside their body (often rats, lizards or snakes) and makes strange barking or howling noises. Eventually the victim lies as if dead for hours at a time, refuses medicine and, finally, dies''.[3] There is a marked difference between the symptoms described in these folklore accounts and what one finds in accounts from clinics, particularly those outside the South.[4] Kuna described this difference in terms of a hypothetical 'evolution of behavioral disorders', an

> evolution of behavior disorders according to cultural patterns logically creating the consequent movement from conversion and hysteriform disorders involving voluntary neuro-muscular or sensory-perceptual systems to a Euro-American psychosomatic form of illness founded on disorders of the autonomic and vegetative bodily systems.[5]

As its starkest, what Kuna hypothesizes is a continuum of coordinated change along the following polarities, 'the cultural patterns logically creating the consequent movement'.

Kuna assesses the differences in the reports as due not to differences in the settings of observations (clinic vs. naturalistic folk setting), but as resulting from a series of culture-ecological changes. In otherwords, he views the differences in symptoms in the context of the continued urbanization and migration of Black Americans over the past ninety to one-hundred years (note: reverse migration the last ten to twenty years and midwestern and western trends). This occurs within a general process of Euro-directed acculturation, taking the form not only of an assimilation of Euro-American culture, but also the acquisition of urban Euro-American

SOUTH ——————————————→ NORTH
RURAL ——————————————→ URBAN
HYSTERIFORM SYMPTOMS ——————→ PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS
CONVERSION REACTIONS ——————→ DELUSIONAL SYSTEMS
VOLUNTARY NERVOUS SYSTEM ——→ AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM
AFRO-AMERICAN ——————————→ EURO-AMERICAN

ways of becoming ill.

After examining the cases Kuna cites, as well as Hyatt's volumes on conjuration and rootwork, plus the results of interviews with rootwork victims conducted by Dr. Vivian Garrison or Dr. Garrison and myself, this author is basically convinced that Kuna's characterization of the cases he considers is substantially correct.[6] However, my assessment is not without caveats; some of the cases are ambiguous.[7]

Conversion hysteria certainly does seem a likely label for the southern rootwork cases. The sudden onset of disturbances of sensory and motor functions, and the fact that the symptom phenomena do not reflect known anatomical functions, neurological pathways or neurophysiological responses also point in that direction. Many suffering from conversion hysterias are blessed with an unnatural lack of concern about their disability. This is clearly not characteristic of the southern rootwork cases. Rootwork victims are described as terrified or resigned to death but are not indifferent to what has happened to them and may actively and persistently seek help. Although the predisposition to develop hysterical symptoms arises out of the experience of the past, the symptoms are usually activated by experiences in the present, by a frightening or threatening event, a situation of sexual conflict or situations calling for an important demonstration of strength, judgment and competence. The use of rootwork as an exercise in magical power often occurs in these same kinds of situations, and when sufferers and those around them make their own emic interpretations of rootwork-caused illness, it is to these kinds of situations that they refer, especially to sexual conflict and jealousy. The most controversial aspect, however, involves the supposed underlying cause of the symptoms, a forbidden or repressed emotion, desire or wish which finds an indirect outlet through the disabling of a sensory or motor function of the body.[8] The symptoms are supposed to have a clear symbolic function and through the symptom the body becomes a vehicle for an unconscious nonverbal form of communication. However, as Ludwig has pointed out, the existence of organ symbolism can only be based on deductive interpretations rather than on any kind of empirical observation.[9] Moreover, since the nature of the particular hysterical dysfunction reflects, not the actual anatomy of the body, but, instead, the patient's notion or concept of what a dysfunction should be, both the manifestations and the characterization of the experience as rootwork occur within the symbolic reality and the subcultural definitions of southern Black rural culture. This area is hardly penetrated at all in the reports on which Kuna relies. Despite recognition of the fact that in virtually all reported cases patients arrived at both their disorder and final cure within their own culturally constituted reality, the exact status of that reality is not known and has not been described.[10]

Kuna errs in lumping delusional systems along with somatic preoccupations and psychosomatic illness as characteristic of the northern urban rootwork symptoms. This entire complex appears in few of the cases he cites and is not characteristic of those observed in Newark at ICSS. In reference to cases where rootwork appears in clearly delusional patients, it seems to be a kind of cultural 'coloring' to one corner of their delusional system and not the core of that system or the major problem. Tinling gives a good example of this in his description of E. E., a nineteen year old Black male from Mississippi who was presented by his family in an emergency room in Rochester, New York. E. E. had been withdrawn, but on the day of his admission, burst out

with a lot of bizarre material. He was God; his sister was dead; he lived on smell rather than food; and he had been hexed as a child. Later, in a calmer frame of mind, E. E. felt that he must have been hexed to act the way he had and, upon his discharge, left the psychiatrists with the impression that his apparent psychosis was simply a "transient reflection of his cultural beliefs."[11] He returned to the emergency room two days later with an additional facet to his array of delusions (he was now a woman), but also he was still hexed. After a month of close examination, E. E. was diagnosed as acutely schizophrenic, and the relation of his cultural background to the his symptoms was considered very differently: "it became evident that he was acutely schizophrenic and that his cultural background was allowing for the peculiar delusional expression," i.e. his rootwork self-diagnosis.[12] The relation of cultural background to symptoms was now seen as the inverse of what it had appeared before. From being the psychosis, rootwork was now seen as a cultural coloring to the ongoing schizophrenic process. Although there are reports of visual and auditory hallucinations from the non-Southern urban rootwork victims, these symptoms are lacking in the rural southern cases. Conversely, the instances of sudden blindness, paralysis, swelling, prolonged constipation, and disfiguration that stand out in the southern folklore accounts are missing in the northern urban clinical cases. More important for Kuna's point, though, is that the organ symbolism so characteristic of conversion reactions is absent for most of the cases and the physical symptoms of the disorders are centered on the autonomic nervous system.

If both illness and therapy are seen as the meeting place of culture, social relations and the body, and consciousness of the sufferer, then patterns of interpersonal tension and distrust become part of the symptomatology of rootwork. Sorcery formulates the extreme of distrust and feared power and assigns the cause of suffering (and the loss of control or personal and spiritual power) to some other person; therefore, it matters who that person is and whether that is known. Further clues concerning this aspect of the symptomatology of rootwork come from folklore as well as the slim body of clinical cases.

In a comparison of rural southern hoodoo folktales with northern urban ones, Kulii observed several features that seemed to be unique to the northern urban tales of hoodoo and rootwork. One of these he called the theme of Ultimate Evil.[13] While the practice of rootwork to bind a spouse or lover is not an uncommon theme or occurrence, rootwork directed at children, and even more so, directed at children by their parents, is rare in the rural lore. While some hoodoo tales detail the destruction of families, the 'putting on' or 'feeding' is always done by someone outside the family. The Ultimate Evil in the northern urban tales occurs when people within the nuclear family employ rootwork against each other. One example Kulii gives from his own collection of tales from Indiana is an account of a mother so obsessed with controlling her family that she places a controlling spell on her husband and four sons, and 'feeds' the husband in his morning coffee. All of the males in the household are compelled by the rootwork to automatically turn over their money to her to maintain the household, but they all also become alcoholics. The result of the spells and feeding is the slow disintegration of the husband and sons and the eventual destruction of the entire family.[14] Sometimes in the tales it is a case of good intentions gone too far; sometimes this intrafamilial sorcery is fueled by an unexamined and unrestrained obsession with money. In

either case, such stories need to be viewed against the backdrop of the actual poverty, anomie and family disorganization forced upon so many Afro-Americans.

Concomitant to this feature of the northern urban hoodoo tale, and surfacing in the nonsouthern/urban clinic cases, is the phenomenon of rootwork victims who claim that they were hexed in childhood or at birth.[15] These rootwork victims do not show the sudden onset of rootwork-caused illness, or the steady deterioration, wasting away or paralysis supposedly characteristic of the classic southern rural rootwork case. Their situation seems to be different. They cannot point to who rooted them and they cannot locate the 'trick'. Having been rooted at birth, they cannot locate a point in their conscious lives when it occurred; and they have never been without its effects. Despite the fact that they are using the same words within the same rootwork idiom as their southern counterparts, the relation of these words to their lives and reported symptoms seems to turn them into a different kind of statement. These patients are not saying that they were poisoned at some point in time; they are saying that their whole lives have been poisoned, and poisoned at the root. In this way their statements become the symbolization — from the point of view of the victim — of the results of the Ultimate Evil.

Returning to Kulii's folklore comparisons again, we note another motif of the urban hoodoo lore that surfaces in other observations, the independence motif, i.e. the greater independence of the actor in the urban tales as compared with the rural southern tales.[16] In the urban tales the victim, or seeker, understands that some amulet or counter-charm has to be made to counteract the sorcery influence. In the southern tales this fact has to be revealed by the healer who makes and administers the medicines for each case or finds the trick as in this example from Hyatt:

> One day as I was hanging up de clothes, I found in his [her husband's] pocket a little bag. It was sewed in the bottom of one of his coat pockets. So I'd taken the bag out and opened it and it was a lotta dust or something like that — pepper and salt mixed up and different stuff....Well I opened this bag and I smelled it and took on a fainting headache. Well, after that I was taken sick and with the headache. I never could get rid of it. I went to several medical doctors and I never could get rid of it. Well I went to this doctor...named Doctor Spencer — he supposed to be a root doctor.
>
> Well after I went to him, he put me up on the table and he examined me and he told me I was sick. Well, I wanted to know what it was, and he told me, say, "Well, now I'll be out to see you tomorrow." ...Well then Doctor Spencer came out to me the next day, and he told me that he wanted to investigate around my house but he didn't wanta do it until night and he would show me something. That night he came back and found a little bottle...he told me that that was causing my headache and when that stopper would have blown out, he said I would of died, if I hadn't come to him no quicker.[17]

The client is totally dependent on the healer for both diagnosis and cure in the rural tales. In the urban ones this is not the case; the total dependence on the practitioner is discarded in the northern urban tales and this is mirrored in the accounts of some northern spiritual healers. Since these healers almost never, if left to their own 'impressions,' diagnose someone as a rooted, it is the clients themselves that bring in this diagnosis and

they may even attempt to force it upon the healer.

> Rev. C: I would not be able to give a good count but I would say that at least one-third of the people coming to me feel as if they if they've been rooted.
> ICSS: What is your approach to them?
> Rev. C: My approach to them. I usually ask them why they feel this, that they've been rooted. And sometimes their reasons aren't really relevant, and sometimes I'm able maybe in that one session to convince them that they're not. Sometimes I ask them, well, how? How does a root, how does an article or a piece of anything change your life?....If I can establish the fact that they are just purely confused at the time and they need to think about it, then that's it.....
> ICSS: When people resist that how do you handle it?
> Rev. C: Well, then I wait for my impression. Wait for my feeling to how I should treat this person. And there are people who really want medicine, want you to do something for them and sometimes you just have to do something for them just to get them started, or to give them confidence so that they can respond to whatever you might do.[18]

As just mentioned, the northern spiritual healers may carry out the ritual that the client desires. While remaining ambivalent about the effects or usefulness of such ritual, they may still regard it as a worthwhile thing to do because it increases the client's trust in them and lessens the client's anxiety. This does not constitute the end of treatment because the spiritual healer, unless (s)he accepts the client's rootwork diagnosis literally and completely, still has to operate out of their own framework, diagnosis of the case, and rites. The spiritual healer may tell the person what to do and may even leave the work of securing the main ingredients or performing the ritual to the client. What they do not do (and what is almost the sine qua non of the rural rootwork cure) is go to the client's house and find the 'trick', i.e. the sorcery materials, the buried root, the bottle with the strange oil in it, the nailed object or powder spread under the door step. They do not even have the client locate it or tell him where to find it while describing it nonspecifically (''look there and destroy what you find''). Instead, the necessity of finding the trick disappears entirely from the treatment.

The ethnography of Afro-American folk medicine is in its infancy. Only in the past twenty years or so have social scientists turned their attention to the subject.[19] Our knowledge is sketchy and primitive and a lot more research needs to be done, especially in urban areas and outside of the south. Fuller treatment of the differences in these cases would involve the analysis of the practices, attitudes and strategies of several samples of healers and patients from areas outside the south and a comparison with what is known of their southern counterparts. In fact, very little is known about either so any conclusions presented here can only be tentative at best. The very limited data available does suggest that victims of rootwork exhibit some differences in symptoms in different areas of the United States. These differences in symptoms should be seen in relation to other regional differences in the folklore surrounding rootwork and in the concepts, attitudes and strategies of folk practitioners who treat it and differences in symptoms accompanied by the differences in diagnosis and in the behaviors of clients and healers in the treatment encounter. One way of looking at these dif-

ferences is as regional variations resulting from migration, urbanization and culture change. The precise nature of that change, and its causes, are not entirely clear. If folklore and the accounts of the spiritual healers are to be believed, the northern urban client is more active than the southern rural client in his interactions with the healer and the healers themselves encourage and promote this interaction by their style of treatment. Their style of treatment is affected by their evaluation of the reality or efficacy of rootwork as sorcery and by their conception of spirit, both of which may be considerably different from those of their clients and their southern rural counterparts.

An alternative hypothesis which cannot be ruled out (especially with such a small number of cases) is that these apparent differences are artifacts of the processes through which the data were collected rather than the region of the country in which they were obtained. While this need not necessarily apply to the folklore accounts as a whole, it does point up the difference between hoodoo tales as oral traditions and accounts of hoodoo experience as told by victims of their relatives. The extant clinic cases need to be supplemented by more reports from all parts of the country. Surely more cases are observed in hospitals, clinics and mental health centers than described in the literature. Collection and publication of this kind of data, therefore, would be good either to confirm or disconfirm either hypothesis.

What has been accomplished in this essay is to describe some of the significant differences and to analyze them to a small extent. The concepts that come most readily to mind in attempting to explain the factors (urbanization, migration, acculturation, assimilation, etc.) reveal their true nature when confronted with a case like this. They are orienting concepts. They point the direction in which to look, but they provide a picture without specificity. For example, Kuna views the direction of change in rootwork symptoms as going from Afro-American towards Euroamerican manifestations, as if Afro-American culture and community itself were uniform and without regional variations. One could argue that even at the more Euroamerican end of the polarity Kuna proposes, the rootwork victims are still operating within Afro-American culture. At the least, they have maintained both the belief in the Afro-American folk illness rootwork as well as the disease label rootwork (or its synonyms). Furthermore, they still resort, in many cases, to Black folk doctors who are, by definition, subcultural specialists. The differences in treatment style may also be adaptations to the human and social ecology of non-southern urban life on the part of the healers as well as, perhaps, doctrinal differences specific to the spiritual churches. Even if the spiritual healers are seen as being at the more Euro-peanized end of Kuna's polarities, they are still able to negotiate a common cognitive framework between themselves and the sorcery victim that allows them to treat this type of client with some success. What we need to understand is, first, how this is possible — which involves investigating the nature of the symbolic reality in and by which rootwork, and Black medicine in general exists; and, second, why it is necessary — which involves both the acknowledgement of, and the classification of, the regional variations of Black American culture and community life. The present data ought to be supplemented by epidemiological work which is methodologically sophisticated and culturally sensitive. Psychiatrists, anthropologists, rural sociologists, historians and folklorists all have much to contribute towards illuminating the nature and evolution of the Afro-American folk medical

tradition.

FOOTNOTES

This essay is a revision of part of a longer paper presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Psychiatry and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico on September 28, 1984.

[1]The author's field work was carried out under the auspices of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey through the National Institutes of Mental Health and US Public Health Grant No. 5 R01 MH28567, the Inner-City Support Systems Project (ICSS), Dr. Vivian Garrison, Principal Investigator. The project studied the folk healers and practices found within Newark, N.J.'s Euroamerican, and Hispanic communities and established a sample of fifteen Afroamerican folk healers. Statements concerning Black spiritual healers refer to the subsample of eight spiritual healers who were informants in this study. For a similar project in Miami, Florida, see Weidman: 1978.

[2]Roots, rootwork, mojo, fix, trick, conjure, hex, crossed, and hoodoo are all terms found in the literature of Black folk medicine that refer to the condition or vehicle of sorcery. The core meaning of all these terms, for them, involved the practice of malign magic in which it is necessary to enlist the aid of a spirit to cause harm to a human being. Hyatt defines this as the core of hoodoo. "To catch a spirit, or protect your spirit against the catching or to release a caught spirit; this is the complete theory and practice of hoodoo" (Hyatt: 1935: 361).

[3]Numerous other folkloric accounts detail similar manifestations of rootwork-caused illness. The overwhelming majority of these accounts are from the rural south and form part of a folk tradition and experience which goes back into the antebellum period. Some of these accounts take the form of hoodoo stories and constitute a genre of folk tale. Dorson (1952, 1964) and Kulii (1982) are collections of these folk literary accounts. Others are presented as recollections of personal experiences or witness. Hyatt (1970-1974) contains many of both kinds of accounts, as does Puckett (1926). Jordan (1973) is based in part on the author's father's practice as a hoodoo doctor and so combines recollection with observation. Of course, the recollections of former slaves also furnish folkloristic accounts based on personal experience as in the WPA Slave Narrative Series. For an example, see Interview with Virginia Hayes Shepherd, WPA Folklore File, II, 2 at the University of Virginia.

[4]It should not be thought that rootwork cases are confined either to the past or to the South or to the realm of folktales. Contemporary Black folk healers frequently see clients who claim to be victims of rootwork; cases have been reported in the Midwest, Southwest, and West Coast as well as the North; and several cases have been documented in clinical settings. See Kimball (1970); Maduro (1975); Saphir (1967); and Tinling (1967); Wintrob (1973); Cappanari (1975). For the remainder of the paper whenever the author refers to clinical reports, he is referring to these publications.

[5]Kuna (1978: 143). The distinction between hysteriform and psychosomatic symptoms has been an important one in psychiatry because hysterical symptoms are thought to be under a higher type of control. Psychosomatic symptoms are seen to be the physiological consequences of emotional states. These states themselves are mediated by the autonomic nervous system and thought not to be subject to voluntary control. One of the defining characteristics of hysterical symptoms, however, is that while unconscious processes seem to be responsible for the specific disburbances, the functions affected are under the dominance of the voluntary nervous system and potentially can come under conscious control or be subject to suggestion.

[6]The following section of the paper has benefitted greatly from discussions with Vivian Garrison.

[7]For an example see Tinling (1967: 486) on the question of conversion reaction in the case reported there.

[8]Milt (1974: 34).

[9]Ludwig (1986: 277).

[10]Kuna (1978).

[11]Tinling (1967: 487).

[12]Tinling (1967: 485).

[13]Kulii (1982: 130-132).

[14]Kulii (1982: 130-131).

[15]See Tinling (1967) cases 2 and 3, and Wintrob (1973) case 3. Similar cases have been seen at ICSS in Newark.

[16]Kulii (1982: 132-134).

[17]Hyatt (1970: vol. 1, p. 311-312).

[18]Tape interview with Black Spiritual healer Rev. Ada Carroll (pseudonym) August 6, 1981, Newark, N.J.

[19]Of particular relevance to the subject of this paper are Baer (1981, 1982); Hall and Bourne (1973); Hurston (1931); Kuna (1978); McCall (1973); Mitchell (1978); Snow (1971, 1973, 1977, 1978); Stewart (1971, 1976); Watson (1984); Weidman (1978, vol. 1), Whitten (1962) and Winslow (1969).

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Constructive Engagement and Mozambique: An Analysis of United States Foreign Policy Towards Mozambique Under President Reagan

Kenoye Kelvin Eke

Introduction

Mozambique, unfortunately and fortunately, has never received much attention from the makers of foreign policy for the United States. This inattention is especially glaring when compared with the kind of attention that its sister state in the southern Africa subregion -Angola- has been receiving in United States foreign policy circles.[1] Like the continent of Africa, Mozambique has received U.S. attention mostly in times of crisis, and even then, only if the crisis is perceived as presenting an opportunity by the policy makers in Washington for a U.S. advantage in the East-West contest. On the one hand, this relative inattention is unfortunate for two reasons: (1) Mozambique's geostrategic location, and (2) its as yet untapped mineral resources. However, on the other hand, this inattention is fortunate for Mozambique. The situation in Angola is enough evidence that U.S. foreign policy attention does not always bode well with the recipient-nation's interests.

In order to comprehend and appreciate U.S. foreign policy towards Mozambique under the Reagan administration, it is imperative to take a brief look into the history of the relationship between the two nations. It is important to remember that until Mozambique's attainment of independence in 1975, the United States defined its relations towards Mozambique by U.S. relations with Portugal. From the time when the liberation struggle against Portugal's ultra-colonialism[2] started under the leadership of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) until 1974, the U.S., whether intentionally or unintentionally, aided Portugal in its war of attrocities against the Mozambican people. This aid appeared in many forms: refusal to support Afro-Asian efforts within the United Nations to get the organization to impose sanctions on Portugal; direct bilateral military aid; and covert and indirect military support for Portugal[3] which was then one of the weakest links in the NATO chain.

Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, while the U.S. gave rhetoric support in the U.N. and other international fora for self-determination in Portuguese Africa, it usually acted in a fashion that was supportive of the status quo. The U.S. even provided small but nonetheless significant military assistance to the Portuguese regime. This military aid was justified with the argument that it was being given to satisfy the U.S.' NATO commitment of defending Western Europe. The fact that the military material was being used offensively against the Mozambican people[4] apparently did not make any

difference.

During the Nixon years, the U.S. increased its embrace of the Portuguese position vis-a-vis Mozambique, abandoning even the rhetorical support that it had hitherto given to the concept of self-determination for the Mozambican people. This shift in U.S. foreign policy from one of covert and indirect support for the Salazar and later Caetano regimes to one of overt support was evidenced by the increased economic and military aid to Portugal. Ostensibly given in return for Portuguese extension of the Azores Pact (1971)[5] under which the U.S. maintained military bases in the Azores, it was never in doubt that this aid was given to strengthen Portugal's hands in its war against the liberation of Mozambique.

The Nixon administration's policy of warming up to Portugal was shaped by option two of the infamous National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) No. 39 commissioned in 1969 by then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger. The study, based on the premise that whites would remain in control in Southern Africa, recommended increased economic and military aid and Export-Import bank loans to Portugal.[6] The purpose of the aid was to shore up the racist regimes in Southern Africa, and reduce the opportunities for "Communist" inroads into the sub-region. Obviously, the Mozambican situation was seen as one aspect of the East-West contest. This Kissingerian globalist *Weltanchaung* which was to shape U.S. policy relevant to Mozambique throughout the Nixon and Ford Administrations, prompted a U.S. effort to create a "moderate" alternative grouping that would challenge FRELIMO's leadership during the transition government of Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano. Although the U.S. made an effort to start a dialogue when the inevitability of FRELIMO's ascendancy to power was finally recognized, this was a brief interlude in the cool relationship that was to exist between the U.S. and Mozambique throughout the Ford presidency.

Thus, on the eve of FRELIMO's ascension to power in Mozambique, the group saw the United States as one of its enemies.[7] Witness then FRELIMO's President's, the late Samora Machel, definition of the enemy:

> "There are three enemies: the direct, the indirect and the enemy hidden in our midst. The direct enemy is Portuguese colonialism which attacks us with bombs and helicopters. The indirect enemy is more dangerous; it is Portugal's allies..."[8]

This definition was made even clearer in Machel's Independence Day[9] speech to the people of Mozambique:

> "...The attempt to terrorize our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiriyamu, Joao, Chawola and Inhaminga, sharpened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.
>
> At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members at NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad..."[10]

Under President Carter, U.S.-Mozambican relations, which were never good during the Ford years,[11] improved somewhat. Mozambican leaders, like most African leaders, had greeted the Carter administration with optimism.[12] There was no doubt that this optimism was based on Carter's

promise, before taking office, to view U.S.-Third World relations with North-South as opposed to an East-West lenses; and his appointment of Andrew Young as his liaison with the Third World in general, and African in particular. The optimism with which these leaders greeted the Carter administration, as it turned out, was for the most part, not warranted. While the administration may have been more willing to seek the opinions of African leaders in dealing with African and Third World affairs and had shown more sensitivity to African issues, occasionally, fits of anti-Sovietism controlled the administration's Africa policy.[13] Anti-Sovietism gained complete control of the administration's policy after the resignations of Ambassador Andrew Young and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. However, the period did show signs of improved relations between the U.S. and Mozambique as evidenced by the opening of a U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) mission in Maputo.[14] This occurred in spite of the fact that Mozambique did not have a diplomatic mission in Washington.

Reagan, Constructive Engagement, and U.S. Policy Towards Mozambique:

In the beginning, United States-Mozambican relations under President Ronald Reagan were chilly, but following diplomatic efforts, relations improved into a wary friendship. The chill in the relationship was initiated by Mozambique's expulsion of U.S. embassy officials in Maputo for spying activities. Consequently, the U.S. revoked its food aid to famine-stricken Mozambique. To further aggravate matters, the U.S. Information Agency began broadcasting the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) propaganda reports about Mozambique.[15]

Under President Reagan, the U.S. has stopped defining its relations with Mozambique by its relations with Portugal, but has made the equally grievous mistake of defining these relations by way of South Africa, coupled with a heavy dose of anti-Sovietism. This is evident in the policy of "Constructive Engagement" which has shaped U.S.-Mozambican relations since Reagan took office in 1981. Although it was presented as a regional policy, it is a thinly veiled fact that the policy is based upon a globalist worldview and is aimed at undermining Soviet influence in the sub-region and protecting the privileged position of South African Whites. In the article which helped catapult him to his current position as Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, Chester Crocker, the architect of "Constructive Engagement," argued that:

> ...The real choice we will face in Southern Africa in the 1980's concerns our readiness to compete with our global adversary in the politics of a changing region whose future depends on those who participate in shaping it. The choice has global implications, but the immediate decisions are, more often than not, regional ones... Constructive engagement in the region as a whole is the only basis for Western credibility in Salisbury and Maputo...[16]

Based on the view held by policy makers in Washington that the U.S. and South Africa share a common interest in maintaining South Africa's position as a sub-imperialist power within the Southern Africa region, the regional policy of Constructive Engagement was designed as Elliott Skinner stated, "largely to protect white privilege in South Africa."[17] This sense of shared interests with South African Whites is glaringly evident in Chester Crocker's brief to then Secretary of State Alexander Haig in

1981 in which he stated that:

> "The political relationship between the United States and South Africa has now arrived at a crossroads of perhaps historic significance; the possibility may exist for a more positive and reciprocal relationship between the two countries based upon shared strategic concerns in Southern Africa, our recognition that the government of P. W. Botha represents a unique opportunity for domestic change, and willingness of the Reagan administration to deal realistically with South Africa.... The United States could work to end South Africa's polecat status in the world and seek to restore its place as a legitimate and important regional actor with whom we can cooperate pragmatically..."[18]

Consequently, a non-aggression agreement between South Africa and Mozambique similar to the Nkomati Accord was seen as a major part of the policy of Constructive Engagement. South Africa and Mozambique, for different reasons, were to make this possible. For South Africa, it was through the destabilization of Mozambique carried out by two means: (1) financial, military, and technical support for the adopted Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)[19] in its terrorist activities against the FRELIMO government; and (2) direct military attacks by the South African Defense Forces (SADF) under the guise of "hot pursuit" of ANC guerillas. While the U.S. may not have instigated the destabilization effort, President Reagan's statements accepting the South African theory of "hot pursuit" and the administration policy of overlooking South Africa's support for MNR terrorist activities served as encouragement for actions of the Pretoria regime.

Although the Reagan administration was cognizant of the danger that South Africa's destabilization efforts might drive Mozambique further into the Soviet camp, the thinking seems to have been that a war-weary, yet nationalistic[20] Mozambique would be more likely to negotiate with South Africa and, by so doing, help the U.S. achieve one of its objectives in the region. This strategy worked because as Mozambique began to weaken from the combined effects of South Africa's war effort, natural disasters and the resultant massive economic and social dislocations, the FRELIMO government became more willing to negotiate with South Africa.[21] The Reagan administration seized the opportunity to press both Mozambique and South Africa for negotiations. Although some administration officials later started to downplay the U.S.'s role in the negotiations, the statement by Ambassador Lawrence S. Eagleburger, then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, in an address to the National conference of Editorial Writers in San Francisco, is very revealing. He stated:

> "We have moved to rebuild our relations with strife-torn Mozambique. We have responded to Mozambique's difficult economic circumstances with food aid and will shortly send an ambassador there. We have *pressed* for dialogue between South Africa and Mozambique and an end to cross-border violence. Our efforts have been rewarded with two rounds of talks at ministerial level between the governments and a commitment to a continued search for understanding despite the pressures of recurring violence."[22]

The resultant Nkomati Accord'[23] signed by South Africa and Mozambique on March 16, 1984, committed Mozambique to withdraw any mate-

rial and logistical support from the African National Congress (ANC) in return for a South African pledge to cut off its here-to-fore denied support for the MNR. As a result of the agreement, the U.S. succeeded in helping South Africa to stymie the ANC's ability to do much damage on South Africa via Mozambican territory. The agreement also allowed South Africa to move in the direction of changing its image from a pariah to one of a state interested in peaceful coexistence with its neighbors. In otherwords, the agreement fulfilled one of the Reagan administration's objectives in the region as described in the policy of Constructive Engagement.

For Mozambique, the benefits of Nkomati were to have been threefold: (1) a reprieve from South Africa Defense Force (SADF) raids on Mozambique; (2) a cut-off of South African aid to the MNR resulting in a gradual death of the group; and (3) improved ties with the U.S. manifested in increased economic aid for Mozambique's strife-torn economy. Unfortunately, none of these objectives were realized to any significant degree. While Mozambique has kept its end of the bargain and closed ANC offices in Maputo, with a resultant loss of credibility in Africa, the SADF has not totally ceased its cross-border raids on Mozambique. Aside from that, the MNR continues to be a menace, thanks to South Africa's continued military and logistical support for the group[24] and the support from other countries.[25] Although the accord resulted in a 1985 Presidential visit to Washington by the late President Samora Machel, the massive economic aid which Mozambican officials were expecting[26] as a by-product of the Nkomati Accord has yet to materialize. Instead, U.S. aid has come, if at all, in bits and pieces in spite of the fact that the U.S. Congress lifted its earlier ban on development aid to Mozambique in the aftermath of the Nkomatic Accord.[27] Staunch opposition to U.S. aid to Mozambique has been championed by conservatives in Congress such as Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Senator Steven Symms of Idaho, Rep. Dan Burton of Indiana and Rep. Mark Siljander of Michigan; and a conservative Washington think-tank —the Heritage Foundation.

Internal Politics and U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Mozambique:

The U.S.-Mozambique rapprochement,[28] born of the regional application of Constructive Engagement, had a lot of support within the U.S. State Department. This is evidenced in the State Department's efforts in trying to help Mozambique secure U.S. aid as a way of demonstrating its commitment to the Nkomati Accord and Mozambique's security. Since the policy which led to the rapprochement placed an emphasis on undermining Soviet gains in the Southern Africa region, it complimented the globalist *Weltanchaung* of the key policy makers that have served the administration, such as, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig,[29] Secretary of State George Shultz, former National Security advisor Richard Allen, and those in the administration who in the words of Alexander Haig were "unschooled in foreign policy" such as the President, former Deputy Secretary of State and NSC advisor William Clark, whose ignorance of Africa was very well demonstrated during his Senate confirmation hearings, and Edwin Meese. For the second group, those unschooled in foreign policy, the anti-Sovietism and racism that undergirded Constructive Engagement and the benefits which accrued to South Africa and the U.S. as a result of its application, were reasons for support.

Opposition to the administration's policy vis-a-vis Mozambique came mostly from conservatives in Con-

gress who did not support the distinction made by the State Department (which received White House support) between states that allowed "communist" combat presence and those that espoused Marxism. To this group of hard liners, this distinction which had facilitated the "rapprochement" was hogwash. As a result, they fought and succeeded in reducing the level of U.S. economic aid to Mozambique and in killing an administration proposal in 1985 to give $3.2 million in non-lethal military aid to Mozambique. The group led by Rep. Dan Burton and Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming further pushed for the application of the "Reagan Doctrine" to Mozambique, and sought to get Congress to extend a $5 million military aid package for the MNR. This was especially embarrassing to the administration since it was done during the September 1985 visit to Washington by the late President Samora Machel. The activities of this group were reinforced by those of the Heritage Foundation which since has played an active role since its inception in 1973 in opposing U.S. policies aimed at improving relations with socialist regimes.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, anti-Sovietism and racism as manifested in the preeminent concern for maintaining the privileged position of whites in Southern Africa, has shaped U.S. foreign policy toward Mozambique. The first objective, undermining Soviet influence, has taken the same shape and form since the 1960s with very little variations. The second one, racism, has been demonstrated in two forms. Prior to the independence of Mozambique, it took the form of the U.S. helping the Portuguese to maintain their privileged position in Mozambique. Under Reagan, it has taken the form of the U.S. helping white South Africans in their effort to maintain their privileged position within South Africa, as well as, their dominance of the Southern Africa sub-region.

Thus, Constructive Engagement as applied to Mozambique, with the Nkomati Accord as one of its manifestations, has been a failure. The United States must develop a foreign policy towards Mozambique that is divorced of racism and the globalist worldview that has resulted in Mozambique, like other African countries, being viewed as a mere pawn in the East-West contest. It calls for U.S. policy toward Mozambique which focuses on Mozambican realities as opposed to one which views Mozambique through East-West or South African perspectives.

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[9]The fact that U.S. officials were not invited to the independence day celebrations is evidence of the poor start in U.S.-Mozambican relations.

[10]Samora Machel, "A State Born of Our People's Struggle," in Ben Turok, ed., *Revolutionary Thought in the 20th Century,* (London: Zed Press, 1980) p. 129.

[11]It took some months before the Ford administration extended U.S. recognition to Mozambique. Furthermore, relations between the two countries were affected by the U.S. efforts, led by Henry Kissinger, to impose neo-colonial settlements in Angola and Zimbabwe. These efforts drew sharp criticisms from the FRELIMO government which further exercebated the strains in the relationship.

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[22]*U.S. Department of State Bulletin,* August 1983, p. 10.

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[27]See, Salih Booker, "The Other Engagement," *Africa Report,* January-February 1986, p. 52; and Ann Seidman, *The Roots of Crisis in Southern Africa,* p. 129.

[28]Mozambique opened an embassy in Washington in December, 1983.

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Problems of Blacks in Urban Ghettos

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This paper is a review of the literature on some of the problems of Blacks in urban ghettos and in Black America generally. An attempt will also be made to focus on race relations as a major factor for the majority of the problems discussed. The paper is divided into four areas (a) Historical overview, (b) Growth and development, (c) Social class stratification and (d) Present and future problems. A summary and recommendation are also included.

Historical Overview

According to Lewis (1955) the concept of "ghetto" originated among the Jews in Europe. He wrote that America has contributed to the concept of ghetto by restricting persons to a special area and limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin color. He further stated that the residential segregation of Black people is virtually complete and that there is some evidence that, rather than diminishing, it is increasing. In addition, there has been an increase in the Black population, an increase caused by a rise in urbanization. This rise coincided with the migration of Blacks from rural areas of the south to urban areas of the north and northwest.

Lewis later wrote that during the second decade of the twentieth century, the United States entered World War I, which caused an acceleration in northward migration, due to restrictive immigration laws against Europeans. The Blacks northward movement subsided during the Depression of the 1930s, but accelerated again when the United States entered World War II. This regional redistribution and urbanization, with more than three million Black people moving from the south to the north, continued in the period from 1940-1960.

Growth and Development

Pinkney (1975) wrote that until the second half of the twentieth century Blacks were predominantly rural people concentrated in the south. Although interregional and intraregional redistribution of Blacks had persisted since the turn of the century, so heavy was the concentration of Blacks in the rural south that only in recent years have they become heavily urbanized and reasonably evenly distributed between the south and non-south regions of the country. He pointed out that the proportions of Blacks living in urban areas now exceeds that of the population as a whole living in urban areas.

Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) wrote with regard to this urbanization developmental distribution that Blacks have been forced to live with other Blacks whether urban or rural people. Freedom of choice in residence has always been and will continue to be an issue about which white Americans maintain strong negative views. White Americans live in communities based on education,

income, occupations and other criteria of status, but Blacks whatever their status, have been always mainly forced to live with other Blacks. Voluntary associations among Black people tend to be limited to those of similar status, but the general residential pattern has been one in which Black people of all status levels must live side by side in sections of the city to which they have been relegated. Therefore, residential segregation is as characteristically American as any other aspect of the culture, no matter what the city. The rule is that the Black section of town is a distinctive one.

Osofsky (1965) reported similar developments of Black neighborhoods. He stated that one outgrowth of racial discrimination is "racial succession," that is, Black Americans taking over homes formerly occupied by whites.

Social Class Stratification

This section will focus on the existence of class distinction as a problem which holds for Blacks throughout the United States. More specifically, upper class Blacks, middle class Blacks, lower class Blacks, and the under class Blacks will be the focus of discussion.

Upper Class Blacks

In a definition given by Frazier (1957), upper class Blacks are defined as those who have the most money, the greatest amount of education, the best family backgrounds, and who wield the greatest political power. He also indicated that the upper class Blacks tend to associate with upper class Blacks. Their entertaining, according to Frazier, takes place in the home, except public events which they sponsor. They are active in religious and social clubs, especially fraternities and sororities, and support civil rights activities through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or the Urban League.

Middle Class

According to Clark (1965), the middle class Blacks are not necessarily limited to those persons of appropriate income and occupations. Rather, the middle class is delineated from the lower class by patterns of behavior expressed in stable family and associational relationships, great concern with "Front," respectability and a drive to get ahead. The Blacks maintain the proper associational relationships necessary for advancing themselves. Like upper class Blacks, the middle class expends considerable time and energy in social clubs and other social organizations, especially fraternities and sororities.

Because of the "risky" status of the middle class Blacks, their overriding concern is with maintaining respectability. This concern has frequently led to self-hate characterized by contempt for lower class Blacks. Clark later took a rather harsh view of middle class Blacks and the fantasy world they shared with upper class Blacks. He wrote:

> The emphasis upon "social" life or society is one of the main props of the world of make believe into which Black bourgeoisie has sought to escape from its inferiority and frustration in American society. This world of make believe, to be sure, is a reflection of the values of American society, but it lacks the economic basis that would give it roots in the world of reality. In escaping into a world of make believe, Middle Class Negroes have rejected both identification with the Negro and his traditional culture. Through delusions of wealth and power they have identified with white America which continues to reject them. But these delusions leave them frustrated because they are unable to escape from

the emptiness and futility of their existence.

Lower Class Blacks

In a study done by the U.S. Department of Labor in 1965, it was indicated that two-thirds of the urban Black population constituted the bottom class structure in the Black community. It is of the lower class Black that so many stereotypes have developed. These are the Blacks who are chronically unemployed, work at the lowest-paid jobs and are still defined as "lazy" and make up a high proportion of the welfare rolls in urban areas. The lower class Black is most often a recent migrant from another area seeking to improve his status in the city. It is also the lower class Blacks to whom widespread social problems are attributed. Finally, it is lower class Blacks who in many ways were the major target of the war on poverty. Historically, these are the individuals who have received fewer social rewards than any other group. They are crowded into the slums of the largest cities and are only noticed when acts of violence (real or imagined) are attributed to them.

Under Class Concept

In explaining the under class concept, Glasgow (1980) suggested that it derives from the social stratification theory, the arrangement of statuses in a society, the performance of social roles attendant to those statuses, and the differential rewards and privileges that accompany them. The American stratification system is generally described in terms of different social classes, the traditional categories being "Upper Class," "Middle Class" and "Lower Class." He further stated that the under class came to prominence with the migration of members of the middle class out of the urban black comunities. This exodus was facilitated by the success of the Civil Rights Movement against housing discrimination. A critical consequence of this development left members of the lower class without the positive values, institutions, role models, and social controls that their middle class brethren had formerly provided. By these developments taking place, the Black under class consists of the worst-positioned persons among the Black poor. The Black under class, by prevailing societal criteria, is not and has relatively little prospect of becoming self-supporting or socially mobile, with the current size of this under class ranging from an estimate of five to seven million persons.

Present And Future Problems (Of Urban America)

This section will list and discuss several salient points relative to some present and future conditions of urban America.

Housing

In examining the changes and differences in housing quality for Blacks and Whites, Amin and Mariam (1987) pointed out that over the past two decades there has been a concerted effort aimed at providing adequate housing to all Americans regardless of race. The extent to which this effort has met success is open to debate. They further stated that segregation and other historically restrictive practices in access to housing have adversely affected residential opportunities for Blacks. There is ample evidence to show that Blacks continue to be segregated in urban areas where quality housing is in short supply. Substantial evidence also exists showing Black—occupied housing units rarely reverting to White occupancy which perpetuates the pattern of housing segregation. Thompson (1987) in his article "Blacks: Endangered Species" (*Final Call Newspaper,* April 22, 1987) wrote that what happened to American Indians yesterday is happening to Blacks today. Black Americans today are victims of a grand Black removal, white resettle-

ment and the destruction of every level of Black institutional life. He further stated that Black Americans are being systematically phased out of the centers of American's major cities or coerced to relocate to the decaying outer neighborhoods and suburbs of the returning Whites who fled 30 years ago. And what is the Black community's response to these new 21st century challenges? None.

Education

The results of a study by Robinson (1987) "A Nation at Risk," indicated that America is virtually ignoring the nation's "at risk" Black children. This study showed related organizations such as the Urban League, Children's Defense Fund and National Alliance of Black School Educators spoke to the point of the plight of "at risk" children, those who are poor, nonwhite, handicapped or female. He further stated that in the rush by politicians and educators to reform American schooling, the problem of Black students continue to expand in alarming and threatening proportions. He further described some of the problems of Black students as: Black girls having babies; young Black men dropping out of school; work ethics; developing false notions of manhood; becoming involved in drugs; and resorting to careers in crime. Also linked to the problems of Black students are those of Black teachers. Because of the increased opportunities in other professions, low teacher compensation, status and prestige, and low passing rates of Blacks on teacher pre-service and in-service examinations, the most important role model for Blacks in the education enterprise may be virtually eliminated. In 1980 Black teachers represented 8.6 percent of all teachers, K-12. But if competency testing continues, along with retirement and teacher burn out, the Black teaching force could be reduced to less than 5 percent by 1990.

Economics

According to Swinton (1986) in describing the status of the Black community throughout the Reagan era, the economic status of the Black community has continued to decline, despite modest improvements in the economic conditions of Black Americans during 1985 and 1986. The report indicated that the four-year-old recovery has had such weak impact on Blacks that their current labor market conditions are still more depressed than they were at the bottom of all previous post war recessions. It was also explained that most standard indicators of economic life continue to record the highest levels of racial inequality since the mid-1960s. The national data on income, poverty rates, and labor market status showed the extent of economic distress in the Black community. Moreover, since the advent of the Reagan administration, racial inequality in income, employment, and wages has increased. On the national level, six years of Reagan policies have produced no gains for Blacks. He further described the low income levels of the Black population that were reflected in high Black poverty, which indicated during 1985 that nearly one of every three Blacks (31.3) had incomes which placed them below the poverty level.

Civil Rights

With regard to the law and civil rights for Black Americans, Chambers (1987) pointed out that few would have thought that more than thirty years after *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) and twenty years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Black Americans and their supporters would today be commiting most of their resources in an effort simply to preserve past gains, which has been the necessary focus of activity by most civil rights groups since the Reagan administration took office. Chambers also reported, in the discussion, on attempts of the Reagan ad-

ministration to carry on an agenda of undermining effective enforcement of civil rights laws. In general, Chambers felt that the courts, including the Supreme Court, have rejected the most important arguments of the administration and have continued to interpret broadly the civil rights statues. With a new senate, the administration's efforts to fill the judiciary with rigidly ideological judges, as well as to press for legislation that will limit opportunities for minorities, should be more difficult.

Based upon the above discussion, the failure of the administration to achieve its goals to date has not been an accident. The determined opposition of civil rights organizations and their allies who represent Blacks, women, other minorities and disadvantaged Americans has been a major factor in opposing efforts to turn back the clock on civil rights progress.

Drugs

Primm, Cook and Drew (1981) in their study on the problems of drugs in the Black community, indicated that drug abuse in the Black community is the most serious and perplexing problem facing Black America. Any discussion of this problem must include tobacco and alcohol, for they are more detrimental to Black America than the abuse of those substances considered by most Blacks as the most common substances of abuse (heroin, cocaine, marijuana, PCP, and sedative hypnotic drugs). The writers also pointed out that alcohol use and abuse is so common in the Black community that it has become accepted behavior. Its availability in urban areas is such that there is no great distance to walk to procure it.

The writers later linked alcohol as a drug related problem of the Black community to the slave-master giving alcohol to slaves on the weekends and holidays to prevent uprisings. It was given to slaves to be consumed in a fashion that mimicked white consumption.

Curry (1986) reported that "cocaine-based drugs leave human bodies twisted in streets of the U.S." He described "Crack" as the worst drug to ever be unleashed on people. It is gnashing its way through Harlem, the Bronx, suburbs and the estates. It has spilled like the white plague to affect all communities and all people. He later wrote that one observer said:

> Heroin came and didn't work, Angel Dust and that didn't work. But the Crack is turning Harlem out, it's the dragon blowing flame and its burning Niggers up. When dope was king, there were always people who sniffed on weekends and took care of business during the week. With this Crack, ALL THE PINS FALL.

The report indicated that the Crack epidemic continues to ravage New York, leaving twisted, dehydrated human frames in its wake and that city and federal officials wage war and point fingers under the pressure of mounting concern.

AIDS

According to Primm (1987) in a special report on AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), that infection with the human immuno deficiency virus (HIV), is one of the most serious problems facing members of any society. This problem is of particularly grave importance to the Black community, for its members are disproportionately represented among those who have been found to be HIV—antibody positive (meaning they have been exposed to and are infected by the virus, and they are infectious to others with whom they have sexual contact or share needles). They may not have any symptoms for years, if ever, but they remain carriers for the rest of their lives. He further reported the following results relative to AIDS:

1) More Black adults with AIDS (62 percent) than white adults with

AIDS (33 percent).

2) The mode of transmission differs among races. Homosexual or bisexual men who had AIDS and patients who acquired AIDS from blood or blood products were predominantly white. Patients with a history of intravenous drug abuse or heterosexual contact with persons of risk for acquiring AIDS and patients with no identified mode of transmission were predominantly Black or Hispanic.
3) The proportion of Blacks with AIDS was high in all transmission categories, with the exception of hemophilia.
4) That AIDS poses a definite challenge to the physical and psycho-emotional health of Black women nationwide.
5) That of the total U.S. pediatric AIDS cases, 82 percent, or 204 of the 250 babies, were born to Black women.

In view of the above findings both men and women should ask about a partner's past health and sexual experiences, while at the same time reassessing their own sexual habits and practices for personal and community health precautions.

Summary

This paper has sought to bring into focus some of the widely held ideas concerning a number of problems in the Black urban ghettos. However, if the information presented makes one uncomfortable, perhaps it will also serve as a motivator for Blacks to seek new and creative solutions for problems in Black America. Yet, as the end of the twentieth century is approaching, Black America must forge a national commitment to equality, justice, and goals that were once landmarks of the country's national policies. Furthermore, by becoming involved in a national commitment of this nature would serve to remove the smoke screens which help too many people pretend that real problems do not exist in Black America.

Recommendations And Activities

With regard to the many problems reviewed in this paper concerning problems in Black urban ghettos and the Black community in general, the writer makes the following recommendations according to *The state of black America 1987,* which focused on programs that are necessary and achievable. The book listed ten activities and programs pertinent to Black America:

1) Racism—Racism in any of its insidious forms, exacts a toll on those who practice it, those who tolerate it, and those who suffer from it.
2) Civil Rights—The Justice Department's failure to enforce the spirit as well as the letter of civil rights law collaborates in the perpetuation of injustices against Blacks and other minorities.
3) Affirmative Action—Affirmative action policies and practices on the part of the government and the private sector are still needed as a remedy for past and present racial discrimination.
4) Full Employment—Joblessness has a devastating impact on unemployed people in lowered self-esteem, higher levels of illness, mental strains, and family problems. Full employment is vital because it produces crucially important humans and social benefits.
5) Social Welfare Reform—Social welfare reform must insure a comprehensive, adequate, equitable, publicly acceptable, universal and dignified system of benefits. The welfare system should ideally be linked to both

adult employment and youth training opportunities which provide a living wage. Reform of the welfare system should provide an income floor below which no child should fall.

6) Education—Almost 63 percent of Black students attend predominantly minority schools. In an economy that is restructuring to emphasize highly skilled jobs and technical know how, students must have access to the appropriate use of an educational technology.
7) Health—The nation's Black community suffers from an unequal standard of health care due to a complexity of social problems: lack of financial support, resources, inadequate education, little job training or job opportunities.
8) Housing—A lack of affordable housing is the crux of the nation's housing crisis. Congress should be committed to developing and funding a national affordable housing program with primary emphasis on meeting the housing needs of low-income families.
9) Legislation And Advocacy—Attacks on "big government" too often focus on the problems experienced in the implementation of programs without enough attention and creativity devoted to solving the problems that government programs were developed to address (i.e., federal, and state social and economic development as well as urban revitalization).
10) The Responsibility of Black America—While government has an obligation to care for all of its citizens, Black America should become active participants and leaders in the struggle for equality to make a world of difference for the Black community as well as the whole of American society.

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A. Rabiul Hasan

Luxor

You will love Luxor. Come here in winter.
The local tour guide mimics your tongue. Arabic for sure.
The lady who is sitting beside you is from Mississippi. Hello.
  Do I know you?
Wherever the bus stops, you compare your notes; the past so vivid
and picturesque. You remember the college you attended.
  What year was that?

Come to Luxor when you are ready. Take the early morning train from Cairo.
A few hours in Thebes. Walk to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings:
  Tutankhamen
was exhumed here. Take a look at the royal mortuary temple
of Queen Hatshepsut, you get your money's worth. Ruined Roman baths
and dilapidated Arab mosques—your camera shoots them all.

If you decide to move on, the Temples of Luxor and Karnak must you refuse
to pass by. Amenhotep III and Ramses II are alive in your watch; it was
only yesterday. The local tour guide, impatiently polite, spits in the air.
Next stop does not worry you a bit, you charge your Master Card proudly
at the checkout counter. American Express with a smile. You do not
run out of luck: night air calls you to the belly dancer's
navel—the last thing you will like to do in downtown Luxor.
You will love it here. Come to Luxor in summer. Come another time.

Buoyancy

When I hold you in my arms,
My buoyancy returns: a river, a cathedral, a Montana.
The walrus swims ashore from across the Arctic Ocean.
And the rolling ocean, sobered by your lips, rolls back into the Atlantic.

For Marion

A man loves a woman.
A woman loves a man.
A dwarf loves a midget.
But who loves you?
I do, I do, I do.

B. Yvonne Ochillo

Quite an Undertaking

They did not shrink. Languor layered thick with time
They seized the task to undo, to heal the past
Fixing their seal to reshape history
Tired of freak laws that crippled will
Fired by just laws which signalled hope
Laws that asserted human dignity
Laws for the good of all - not just for some.

They jumped the barricades of schools and stores
Looked miscreant patriots squarely in the eye
Defying cowardly rage and klannish spleen
Armed with no weapon but determination
Courage to enact their own salvation
Courage to let run floodgates of justice free.

It's our turn. A world complacent waits
Darkness spreads its wings and ignorance thrives
Seekers despair - New insights must be forged
Constant defeats have sapped warm strengths they shared
Hope frowned then slumped and left them dry
Hope that inspires the will to do and be
Hope must do battle assiduously.

Sophomore Prayer

No more unity of place and song. No more
  World Literature 201
No more waking at 9:00 a.m. to attend her
  lousy class at ten
You wretched papers, Go to Hell! Without you
  I can do very well
From pop-quizzes, O lord, grant me ease. Th'
  instructor strides in "Thin
  yourselves out, please!"
The paper returns - eight of twenty. And that
  I do consider plenty
Have so many dates, can't get her work done
Got to start dropping them one by one

Lord knows I read when time permits
If only she'd slow down a bit
Just when I try to buckle down
Br-r-ng goes the phone, my books go down
"Hello, pick you up later tonight. There's
a show uptown - its's outa sight"
"Hi there, feel like going out to eat?"
"But Baby, I'm on Flunking Street. . ."
Shakespeare and Wright both claim my attention
Just hate the idea of discrimination
Oedipus squared and Antigone. The Sophoclean
Trilogy one, two, three
Myths of Africa, Greece and Rome -
Ulysses will never make it home
Faustus and the rest of them to Dante's
Inferno I gladly condemn
My instructor I'll banish to Circle Number Ten
No more of her when this term shall end
So, Lord, just make a way for me. Next
time I'll work hard - that's my plea-
Come, Sleep and Leisure, my long lost Pride
And welcome dear voluptuous life!

C. Ron C. Samples (The Grandson)

Songs in the Key of Carson Robert

I live the black aesthetic.
And, as I do,
I, too, write songs.

But, songs
In the key of Carson Robert,
Whose spirit is remembered
And, thus, is not dead.

Songs, too,
That must be sung.
But in the untrained voice of life,
And B. B. King

Songs
Not in the shape of me,
But, in the shape of family,
That, too, is the shape of community,
The shape of "we,"
And, of we, because of the shape.

Songs
Not art, but life,
And art because of life,
And because of the remembered spirit of Carson Robert,
My grandfather, who,
As also my son,
Thus, is not dead.

Songs, also thus,
That are not mine,
But, transcriptions
From books without words,
And words without books,
But no less books and words,
And, more true, than ever
I,
Or Carson Robert,
Alone, could ever write,
And live the black aesthetic.

And I do live the black aesthetic.
And, as I do.
I, too, write songs.
And, it is through these songs,
And my sons,
And my remembered spirit,
That I, too, will live.

Prophecy

When the revolution comes
  it will not come boasting,
  it will not come protesting,
  it will not come knocking on your door,
    asking for your subscription,
    watching your shadowed curtain
      as you pretend you are not home.

No;
when the revolution comes *this* time
it will come quietly,
  silently,
  known only to the revolutionaries
    in an old, dark-shadowed way.

. . . But the silence will be all too loud
in its accusation of those who did not participate.

Poem: For Unevened Edges

Ebon man:
strong
deep
dark brown hands
whose tender toughness
touches her
warn midnightness
in all the right places,
places her
in the context of earth-toned love,
loves her
brandy brownness,
finds her
the metaphor,
a liqueur,
the brandy she brings for
his roughened edges, her
soft strength, strong softness
a polish, the finish she lends
to long broken images.

To the Council of Elders

Once it was with us
that a maiden slain
brought a maiden
and a life
in recompense:
Just so was the lovely virgin given
and much-loved Ikemefuna
caused to die, for
it was that which was lost
and it was that which thus—
  by cruel, exacting peace
  and the ever-grudging hearts and minds of living men
—must be returned;

Maidens have been taken from us now,
and warriors too.
Shall lives and maidens be our just demand,
or shall we ever, impotent,
hold them in our debt?

Author's note: the allusion here is to events and characters depicted in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart.*

Why the Grandson Speaks of Love

(in answer to the question of black poetry)

You ask me why I speak of love,
  escaping thus the world.
Well, because I am a carpenter,
builder of nations
and cities
like kissed in-betweens
of metaphorical thighs,
plumb,
Whitmanian,
maker of connections,
in-terpretive to the hilt,
ironic,
both sire and obstetrician
penetrating private parts
    to bring forth
life from death,
order from chaos,
something from nothing:
earth from world, hence
master capitalist of communist mind,
creator demon of definitive context,
warping the zero manifold
I AM GOD!
. . . from whom all blessings flow.

The Caretaker

Some strange caretaker it is
Who keeps old men from their graves
And coffins above ground
In times of high water.

Carpenter and confidante, once, to kings
Architect, now, of the future;
Keeper, thus, of the mausoleum,
  their trinkets,
  their funny bibles,
  their broken strings of dragons' teeth.
And makin something of this.

Presence in absence,
Kiss the centers of opposing spheres,
Allow escape to this mind-made place,
Complete this task of revision.

D. Leonard Slade

To An Apostle of Peace

We notice, Dr. King,
that America celebrates
your birthday now
a national holiday
in most States.

We observe
that your words
are louder
your deeds nobler
since your fall
on a balcony in Memphis.

We understand
your fire
burning now
in hearts and
why your blood
cried for justice.

We failed you
in Memphis but you
gave us peace
hope and truth and
left a legacy for
children, the oppressed,
for presidents and kings.

We study your pictures
your speeches in books
your biographies in libraries.
We feel your spirit,

You live!

Meal

coffee purcolating
aroma scenting
skillet burning
temperatures rising
bacon crackling
eggs scrambling
pancakes buttering
juices sweetening
no room for more

Mountains

mountain chains
free us
from earthly things
elevating a higher order
like snow
dressing trees
skiers kissing condominiums
a congress of
families and friends
under the stars
a cornucopia
of natural elements
a bloody moon
bowing to the sun
a microcosm
of the Divine
giving us
new life
from the Heavens.

The Poet

The poet writes
truth
without fear
for his readers

He has words
like Pindar and
shares them
with Goethe and Hughes,

sends his messages
to each generation
and has concern
for the universe, yet

he writes what
he must and
takes criticism, scribbling
images for

his ideas
like clouds sprinkling
sweet rain
over earth's flowers.

The University Faculty Dinner

When faculty accept an invitation
to dine with an entrepreneur
fear of the unknown looms
mates march to a hotel

in outfits arrayed like
Brigadier Generals' uniforms
camouflaging skin white
black red and more

an army of teachers tonight
court multicultural experiences
before rows of wine bottles
at attention on wooden shelves

brandy ready to drown growls
hearts palpitating a sense of
duty, we taste fire and march
to circular dinner tables

parking ourselves, someone
questions our purpose here, as
if friends of contrast and lovers
of learning were hungry for power

as if charcoal steak and red fish
white bread and pure water were
inadequate for appetites
I tell him under chandalier lights

in his perceived dining room
cage why we are here:
love is the answer
the ice melts
we dine.

E. Nagueyalti Warren

Deep River

Pulsating brown like the people you shipped
Down, down your river banks.
Deep river languid, deceptive:
Friend to Huck Finn and Jim
Enemy to families washed apart.

Deep river who wants to cross over
When it's all the same?
Only thing changing is the name.
Tenn a see klan on both sides and
North and South of your gaping river mouth.

Deep muddy/bloody silent guilty river
Deep river, sinful river
Where does one cross over into
Canaan Land?

Killing Winter

Hog killing time was almost as horrendous
As the midnight sheriff Butts drug Big Black River
Fishing out a huge green/gray whale—I thought.

Then I saw human eyes popped and body parts missing.
The stench rising from the bloated body
Smelled like the hog's guts.

They dragged him by his shoeless feet
Mumbling "nigger"—I wondered how they
Could tell? Nobody cut him to let the
Blood run out, like grandpa did the hog.

Piano Player

(to my absentee father who played by ear)

fingers long 'n' lean on ivory keys
ebony stroking bone—stroking bone
a mellow 'C' sliding into high 'C'
dies in midair somewhere above my head
sharp tune—piano man
notes are birthed beneath the firm
presses of your fingers
those bass tones bursting forth
reveal your southern heritage
treble clef moves up North
you take the 'A' train
your melody flows soft and lovely
like a sunset in some foreign land
off an oceaned shore
striking chord

your silver-toned strain rises like
voluptuous tides kissing stoned pebbled beaches
piano man your medley jingles loose in me
a memory so remote
it's sounding like chains—piano man
sounding like chains breaking in the wind
it's sounding like freedom
freedom in 'F' sharp

Swimming

Soft Southern girls with long brown legs
narrow feet and slim behinds—fat black
plaits or skinny rows of braids
never swam in the smoldering summers
of their youth.

Couldn't swim.
For how could a little lady undress
herself and slip naked into a muddy
swimming hole like her brothers did
with such wild abandon and glee:

Exposing their private parts
comparing sizes and keeping a sharp
eye on the trees for any land owner
who might appear or watching the
bushes for the barrel of an aimed
shotgun?

Till's Death Did Us Part

Grand grandmothers and Great grandfathers
Somehow go with great memories of childhoods
Spent deep in the South where they let us
Run wild and free in the woods away from
Store front churches, liquor store corners,
Street cars and other such kifo that sap
A child's breath.

Where they loved us, rocked us, prayed over us
Overfed us and kept us safe from an unknown
Unseen, unspoken of harm—keeping us from
Going to town 'cause we didn't say "yes Sir"
And "yes Ma'am"

Keeping us each summer until 1955
When fear caused the train trips South
To end and our great grands journeyed North
Looking strange under tall buildings
Loving us still but so out of place
And us with no place to run.

An Interview With Ishmael Reed

Resinald Martin

Ishmael Reed was born February 22, 1933, in Chattanooga, Tennessee. When he was still a child, he and his family moved to Buffalo, New York, where Reed grew up, eventually attending the University of New York at Buffalo from 1956-1960. His first novel, *The Free-Lance Pallbearers,* was published in 1967, and his publications have now grown to include six other highly acclaimed novels: *Yellow Back Radio Broke-Down* (1969), *Mumbo Jumbo* (1972), *The Last Days of Louisiana Red* (1974), *Flight to Canada* (1976), *The Terrible Twos* (1982), and *Reckless Eyeballing* (1986); four volumes of poetry: *Conjure* (1972), *Chattanooga* (1973), *Catechism of D Neoamerican HooDoo Church* (1970), and *A Secretary to the Spirits* (1978); two plays: *The Ace Boons* (1980), and *Hell Hath No Fury* (1982); two edited anthologies: *19 Necromancers from Now* (1970), and *Calafia* (1979); and two collections of essays: *Shrovetide in Old New Orleans* (1978), and his latest work, *God Made Alaska for the Indians* (1982). This bibliography could not bear the amount of space necessary to include the numerous articles and individual poems Reed has published since *The Free-Lance Pallbearers.* He has been nominated twice for the National Book Award, once in poetry (*Conjure*) and once in fiction (*Mumbo Jumbo*), both in 1973.

Reed continues to be publisher and editor of the *Quilt* volumes, a journal published by Reed, Cannon and Associates. His play, *Savage Wilds,* was presented in New York, June 30, 1986. Reed is currently serving as executive producer of a soap opera, *Personal Problems,* airing on cable television. His WORKS IN PROGRESS include a second jazz album, *Conjure II,* based on his poetry and fiction and a sequel to *The Terrible Twos,* entitled *The Terrible Threes. Quilt 4* was published in 1987.

The following interview with Ishmael Reed was conducted July 1-7, 1983, in Emeryville, California, a suburb of Oakland and San Francisco.

Reginald Martin (RM): You have said that some artists exhibit "bizarre behavior" simply because they are labeled as artists and feel they do not have to play by the same rules as others. I think, perhaps, the excuse that may be offered is that they're responding to a mixed-up, crazy system, so the artist is pushed outside this system and he has to act in his own sort of individualistic way, and sometimes those ways are misinterpreted.

Ishmael Reed (IR): Well, a lot of those people are not artists, and a lot of those people need professional help. Just think if everybody were going to behave that way, going around, pretending that they're hearing voices and s---, giving them a higher calling that puts them above the law. Just

like a lot of liberals criticized Nixon for thinking he was above the law. These same liberals will go out and romanticize these criminal artists—it's that whole Genet business you know: "We're oppressed, we're obsessed," all that stuff we were fascinated with in the 60's. I think that a lot of the people on the left support [Amiri] Baraka for the same reason. You know, that romance, and I think whatever he does, these left-wing poets like Allen Ginsberg will support him no matter what he does.

RM: Let's discuss your thoughts on the current writing of other Afro-Americans. What do you think of Ntozake Shange?

IR: She's a very talented person, writer. She's gone through this period of railing at certain things, attacking certain things; she's had things she needed to get said. . . a very talented writer.

RM: What about her first novel, *Sassafrass, Cypress, and Indigo*?

IR: I haven't read that yet, but she's quite talented. I'm sure she can write anything well. Everyone has to get even with the oppressor, and I think she's done that, a lot of women have done that; now they can do something else. I think Michelle Wallace—I gave her a blurb for her book *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, it's interesting; I think a lot of her perceptions are correct, but I wonder about the motives of Gloria Steinam and her editor, Joyce Johnson, toward black men. Because I read a book by Joyce Johnson called *Minor Characters*, and it seemed to me to be just a diatribe against men, an attempt to get even with all the men who had ever crossed her, but not explaining how her father died of ulcers; it may have been attributed to her shenanigans, her bohemian shenanigans.

RM: One may see in the acceptance of certain books, such as you were just describing, the double standard that exists for women and black male writers. If a black male writes of vengence, real or figurative, he's condemned as hateful, bitter, misguided—

IR: I'm trying to raise some money for a project called "Black Men Talk Back," which collects the opinions of black male artists, musicians, writers, people in the community, to respond to all the stuff that's come down the last ten years, all this criticism, because it has become a free speech issue. And trying . . . the media loves this stuff, all this stuff about black men as rapists, and trying to respond to the media is like trying to talk to God . . . they love those negative images. It's come to a free speech issue, where they find a scape-goat for all the ills of society and the scapegoat can't respond . . . and they play these women up and everything. Black men are still writing books . . . John A. Williams' *Click Song*, which won an American Book Award, just a great book, a formidable book, and women ate that book up, because he was accurate about so many things. I think what black feminists need is a Hannah Arendt, who will go back and discuss what really happened during slavery. Was there collaboration between black women and slave masters? I mean, were they all raped or what? Or what role have black women played in creating a generation of children who are just anarchists? And this teenage pregnancy thing . . . I just read a paper by Umma Alladi, Indian woman, very fine paper, but who based all her ideas about the relations between black men and black women on the works of people like Alice Walker, who are really aiming their work at a liberal, feminist market. You know, these women are fascinated with the rape romance, and they're really racist against black men, which is what Hooks and Angela Davis are getting criticized by feminists for, bringing this racism to everyone's attention, feminist racism. I think there should be some forum for

black men to respond to all this. I'm trying to get money together to do a film on it . . . *if* I can get the money (laughs).

RM: That comment by the way, brings to mind that *Rocky III* was on television last night—

IR: Oh God that was awful! I saw it in Mexico City and it was awful, terrible.

RM: I hadn't seen it before—

IR: Yeah, you see all the metaphors going on there.

RM: And then they showed *Death Wish II* right after that—

IR: Oh sure.

RM: So you get this poor, defenseless white girl being savagely, anally raped by a black man.

IR: Well, she's raped once, but the third world woman, the maid, is raped, gang-raped. There's a double standard. I thought *Death Wish I* was okay, at that time. You know, I was criticized a lot for bringing up the issue of black-on-black crime in *Louisiana Red*, and now I see *Ebony* has this entire issue devoted to these people taking all this money out of the community and stifling development. I was called right-wing then by Houston Baker, who had romanticized all these criminals, because he was on a nice campus away from it. I think, I'm still smarting behind that *Black American Literature Forum* piece; in fact, some guy came up to me the other day and his only credential was that he had been published in *Black American Literature Forum*, so he thought he knew about black people. He mouthed some of the same things that Weixlmann and Baraka said, which is I'm getting too much publicity.

RM: Which I think you answer very well in the preface to the Settles bibliography. You said that you submit things all the time that are not accepted.

IR: Oh sure, I'm still getting rejection slips. I have a new book by Ernie Gaines where this certain character got away for a long time, but when they finally caught him, they beat him and beat him and beat him and beat him. I mean, you can get away for only so long. Oh sure, I think the black man is going to face this strange kind of hostility every day. And it's a worldwide thing. You know, people all over the world are fascinated by black men, this strange sexual presence . . . hostility mixed up with desire. People are fascinated by certain myths they've heard about black men, and they don't know whether to investigate it or whether they're attracted to it. I read a lot of feminist literature, as a matter of fact, I just read this diary on this fiasco conference they had up at Barnard College, this forum between black women and white women. And the white women accused the black women of not being totally candid about sex.

RM: They wanted to know more?

IR: Right. They wanted to know more, because they said it's a myth, this idea of racial separation, because black women and white men have been at it for a long time, for centuries. It's only black men and white women that have been separated, and they're the ones being denied sexual fulfillment.

RM: What do you think of Harold Washington and his recent troubles with racism?

IR: I was interested in the fact that he got a large percentage of the Hispanic vote. If the blacks, women, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and some of the gays got together in this country, you'd have a new voting majority. I think racism is exaggerated in this country. I'm always amazed at what they will do. I see that, I'm very interested in the fact that Jesse Jackson is coming in third in straw votes for Democratic nominee for president; 8% of the vote. I remember a couple of weeks after Reagan was elected— I mention this in *God Made Alaska For the Indians*—they took a poll and 68% of the people in the

country were for affirmative action. So the media plays up this racism angle. There's probably more positive things going on in this country than negative. But there's a lot of money to be made in racism. Look how much money was made in the racial angle of the Holmes-Cooney fight; it became a racist media event and made a lot of money for a lot of people. We have bad cultural leadership on both sides.

RM: How about this new idea of merit pay for teachers? Do you feel this will have a snowball effect in training better teachers who will present more—and more honest—cultural instruction in a more effective way? Perhaps this would help solve some of the problems you just mentioned.

IR: I have no ideas on that. My position is that if you want to make some money, get on the anti-affirmative action band-wagon, like these opportunistic neo-conservatives. God knows, I read in an article in *Dissent* that 50% of the Jewish philanthropy comes from the government. A lot of Jewish intellectuals, well, call them white men, they don't identify with Jewishness, they're just white men, so call'em that—I know real Jewish intellectuals with roots. A lot of these white men, in order to get into the Anglo-establishment, it's like a ritual, you have to scalp a nigger to get in, it's a fraternity, a ritual, but they're saying that the reason I got published a lot in the 60's is that I was black. This scalping is the motive behind a lot of these white guys, Richard Kostelanitz, Mike Kransey, and all these other people. But they said the same thing about Jewish writers after the war—that the only reason there was a big market for Jewish writers was because of this guilt after the war. But all these neo-conservatives making all this cash, like Midge Dector, making all this money writing these illiterate articles writing for the *New York Times*. There's more money to be made in anti-affirmative action views than there are people who actually benefitted from affirmative action. I can't think of many people who actually benefitted from affirmative action. I read in this article in *Black Corporation Life* that there are not that many more blacks in executive positions, less blacks in the medical profession. And though women try to view themselves as an oppressed group, they have 50% of the medical profession, 50% of the lawyers, 50% of the people in college. Even though they use black male rhetoric to hit black men over the head with, people like Gloria Steinam and Susan Brown-Miller, who were in SNCC, so they picked up this black male rhetoric, and they use their black mid-wives to hit black men over the head about affirmative action, so that's what I feel about stuff like that.

RM: And you black men rape on television—

IR: (Laughs) Yeah, and we rape, too. Although, 75% of the rapes in this country are committed by white men, but I don't see anything about that on television. Maybe that's one of the privileges of being a white man. You know, we were talking about Mr. T. earlier, and if you noticed in that movie, he could have been anything; he could have been black and Indian, whatever. It was like Fort Apache: wipe out all the minorities with one swoop—they had the Irish do the dirty-work—the Anglos always have the Irish do the dirty-work against the minorities. No, I think they like that, people like Mr. T. I've heard some of the greatest female intellectuals say that they are intimidated by articulate black males on television. He's like a genie.

RM: George Peppard credits Mr. T. with saving him from alcoholism.

IR: I remember him from the Ali-Sphinks fight in New Orleans. He was Sphinks' body-guard . . . enterprising young fellow. More power to him if he can make money from all these fears and fantasies about black men.

RM: Speaking of Mr. T., I was wondering what you think may be the results of kids of now-famous athletes and entertainers whose parents will be able to send them to the best schools . . . give them more from the material part of society. Do you think there will be positive effects from that phenomenon?

IR: Well, literacy rates among black children are climbing all over the country—though you'd never know it from television. They're not going to mention this from the roof-tops. They're always talking about black deficiencies. I was noticing on the *Today* show—every time Bryant Gumbel is off they pull up some disgraceful racist episode—but they were showing that the kids in this Jewish school could pass this test that the black teachers failed in Florida. But it turned out that the kids had been prepared. (Laughs) The national chess champions were from a black high school last year. Black kids contributed to an experiment that went aboard the space shuttle. But you don't hear about these things—experiment involving ants. But you don't hear about that stuff. But that's been the press . . . if you read a book called *Betrayal of the Negro*—that's my Bible—

RM: Isn't that by Logan?

IR: I think so. That book just goes back and shows you how the press and the media treated blacks over the years. What we have to do—it's a big world. I'm working in television now, as a matter of fact, I just completed a script of a television movie called "Hell Hath No Fury," which I call "Mother Hubbard," which was performed first at the Actor's Studio in New York, which I think will reach a lot of people. Al Young did one-page treatment of a tv movie, which Steve [Cannon] and I turned into a soap-opera for tv called "Personal Problems."

RM: I found it interesting that Etheridge Knight had to go through Italy first to get published.

IR: Well, there are a lot of outstanding writers out there, and most of the prominent ones, including myself, I guess you could call them tokens. I wouldn't be realistic if I didn't admit that the reason I get my name in the paper a lot and get reviews is that I have somehow become prominent after sticking with it for 20 years. But as Hoyt Fuller said, "For every one Ishmael Reed, there are a thousand Ishmael Reeds in the ghetto." Hoyt Fuller said that.

RM: One goes from the base of saying, "I know what I am—"

IR: Yeah sure. I try to separate myself from the scene where tokens are manufactured. But now the long arm of New York has reached out here and involved me in this controversy, where these guys are about to gouge each other's eyes out about who is going to be the next Baldwin or Ellison, and these people aren't even cold yet, y'know?

RM: Are these tokens "like men;" man-like, but not really human?

IR: Oh yeah. I think even the women . . .

RM: You've said that there are whites who can convince editors that they know something about Afro-American literature, and that turns into a very lucrative enterprise. Could you elaborate on that?

IR: Well, some of them do. There's a difference between a man like Lawrence Levine, who wrote *Black Consciousness*, and some of these white male critics who know very little about Afro-American culture, but who are able to sell themselves as authorities—a certain opportunistic type of person, I could name some, but I won't. I guess you could call them white soul brothers—the Indians have written essays about white men who try to be shamans, and some of the whites have accused us of putting Indians up to attack them. But these are very good essays. I think the same thing is true of whites who attempt to cash in on the blackness thing in the

60's, though they don't do it as much as they used to in the 50's. But I think a man who does his homework, like Lawrence Levine, and others, there's no reason why they can't infuse the subject of Afro-American literature with original ideas.

RM: No, I don't get the impression that you're saying that whites should be allowed to write about Afro-American literature—

IR: No, no. I'm talking about the carpet-baggers.

RM: You're not giving a similar line, such as Addison Gayle, Jr. gave at the end of *New World Writing*, where he says that everyone who disagrees with him about Afro-American literature should be machine-gunned?

IR: No, I think that's an example of excessive rhetoric in the Afro-American tradition. I don't think he really meant that. Those of Addison Gayle's generation have certain rhetorical flourishes, a certain baroque way of doing things. I don't think he really meant that.

RM: Do you think your publishing ventures have received criticism because the critics, themselves, such as those from the avant-garde *and* the conservative arena, are fighting for a small piece of the publishing market?

IR: Of course. Their disagreements with most people are very minor, but when it comes to culture, they all stand together. They want to preserve western civilization. But when you observe history, one could say that Europe has spent most of its years in barbarism. There really is no such thing as western culture—but this is a discussion I don't want to get into. It's just that Europe is not monolithic. It's just that a certain critic had a lot of salacious material in an article.

RM: Do you want to bother to name him?

IR: No, I don't want to bother to name the guy. Everybody knows him. He's been a crank since the 60's. Begrudging people who get grants, thinking of niggers as stealing money, all the 19th-century stereotypes. This person is no different than the average cracker. Actually, I can go down to Fayetteville, Arkansas and get along better with people who could be dismissed as rednecks, better than I can get along with some of these racist Europhiles, Aryan types who dwell on the lower-east side of New York.

RM: Joyce wrote that the worst thing about a people who are oppressed is the damage they do to themselves. Could you respond to that comment under the grid imposed on Afro-American literature by the members of the black aesthetic elite?

IR: I don't think the black aesthetic is as strong as it used to be. If I comment on that—you know, people accuse me of overkill, that I love combat—I have three controversies at home that I'm trying to deal with which shouldn't . . . which didn't begin with me, which began somewhere else, where I was provoked. I guess no one knows about these except my wife and people close to me; they know I don't go out to get controversies, they come to me. For example, a person recently hit me very hard in a magazine, made a lot of personal attacks on me, and when I replied, they said it was overkill. I thought the reply was very delicate. I think it's probably my size. Somebody told me that if I were really petite or slight, I'd have it made in the literary world. But I look like a heavy-weight boxer and I'm writing and doing lots of other things . . . it's considered—you gotta be Mr. T. or George Washington Carver. You know, a monosyllabic Mr. T. or—you can't be in-between. So what I want to do now with my projects is take them abroad. I know with the film I'm considering seriously having that done first in Spain, maybe call someone who knows me, like Victor Cruz, and get him to help me.

RM: Could I throw out some names

and titles and have you respond to them as we come toward the end of the interview?

IR: Sure.

RM: Have you read *Our Nig* yet?

IR: I haven't read it yet. I have a copy.

RM: David Bradley?

IR: I haven't finished *The Chaneysville Incident* yet, but I hear it's very good.

RM: Michel Fabre?

IR: I think Michel is a very important critic, and someone who has created an Afro-American program at the Sorbonne, when I can't get one at three-quarters of the universities in this country. I have a tremendous amount of respect for him. I'm still corresponding with him. I had the pleasure of spending some time with him and his wife and kids when he was here.

RM: J.A. Rogers?

IR: I think J.A. Rogers was one of the first influences on my notions of history when I was a kid. I was greatly interested in J.A. Rogers' material; it was some of the first material I read when I was in the second or third grade.

The Educational System of Eritrea during the Pre and Italian Colonial Periods

Adane Taye

Introduction

This study tries to explain how Eritrea is a historically, and politically integrated region of Ethiopia. Due to its political, commercial and military strategic location and its closeness to the sea, from time to time, it has been a political target for European powers. As a result, it was successively under the control of the Arabs, Ottomans, Egyptians, British and Italians. The interference of these outsiders has affected the educational system of the region.

This paper pinpoints the concepts and understandings of the roles of the traditional, mission and Italian colonial educational systems of the region. It puts more emphasis on the types and effects of the Italian colonial educational system. The contents of the curriculum during the Italian colonial period were based on racial discrimination, segregation and white supremacy. There were different and separate schools for the native and nationals. Education for the natives was mainly limited to the elementary level, grades 1-4. The natives were not educated but were trained for the lower positions in the Italian administration as clerks, farmworkers, interpreters and field assistants. They were not allowed further studies.

The Eritreans were discriminated in all areas of social activities, such as, areas of residence. They were openly told of their inferiority compared to the Italians residing in Ethiopia. In spite of all the malicious and malevolent activities, most of the Eritreans reflect the values and attitudes of the Italians. For example, until the eve of the Red Star Campaign, all bars and institutions and shops were in Italian names.

Historical Background

Eritrea, the second largest and the most northern administrative region of Ethiopia, lies 544 miles along the coast of the Red Sea. West of Eritrea lies the Sudan; to the south east is the territory of the Republic of Djibouti and to the south lies the other Ethiopian administrative regions of Gondar, Tigrai, and Wollo. Including the offshore islands of Dahlak, Eritrea has a total area of 47,876 square miles, with a highly diverse land surface. The land surface of the area is composed of the plateau highlands, the Red Sea coastal plain, and the broad plains of the western lands. It has a general elevation of 2,000 meters. Its highest peak is Amba Soira in Akele-Guzai with a height of 3,013 meters above sea level.

The pattern of Ethiopian history is long, varied and, at times, obscure. In order to understand its history, one has to look to the far north, to what is now the Eritrea and Tigrai regions for its beginning. Eritrea, historically, culturally and politically, is an integrated region of northern Ethiopia. The region has enjoyed an ancient civilization which formed part of a larger semitic civilization of northern Ethiopia founded about a thousand years before the birth of Christ.[1] Before the Italian colonization, Eritrea was a great avenue of human and commercial movement in the ancient times, and a corridor between Africa and the Middle East crossed by traders and pilgrims.

Due to its strategic location, and its

closeness to the sea, Eritrea has been a target throughout its history to invading people, and continually exposed to the influx of ever new peoples, friends as well as enemies. With the growing importance of the Red Sea, especially with the opening of the Suez Canal as a link between Europe and the East, European powers have become more interested in the Eritrean coast.

For example, through unlawful acts and the political sabotage of European powers, the Port of Massawa on the Red Sea was successively under the control of Arabs, Ottomans, Egyptians and Italians. The Italians, through the combined efforts of the Catholics, traders and the British, were able to secure a foothold in the northern frontiers of the districts in 1885. According to J. M. Roberts, the British, who had established a consulate in Massawa in 1849, supported the Italians.

> In the course of the 'Scrambles for Africa' in the 1880's the Italians occupied the northern coastal province of Eritrea on the shore of the Red Sea. The British, who were fully occupied elsewhere, encouraged Italian plans for penetration into Ethiopia since they had no wish to see a greater and less friendly power fill the vacuum and establish itself on the route to India.[2]

Despite all the diplomatic mechanizations that led to the occupation of Massawa in 1885, Ras Alula, Governor of Eritrea, destroyed the Italian garrison at Dogali, near Massawa, in 1887. It was a set-back for the Italians. However, because of the period of discord and unrest that followed in Ethiopia, the Italians were able to recover from their defeat. Due to the death of Yohannes IV at the battle of Metema with Derbish in 1889, the Ethiopians were preoccupied with internal problems and the struggle for power. They were not able to devote much attention to the external problems of northern Ethiopia. Even the cause of the internal problems of Ethiopia was mainly due to the political sabotage and intrigue of the Europeans. The control of the central government was so loose that the Italians were able to move without any resistance to the mainland in 1890. What is now known as Eritrea was named from Mare Erythrean (Red Sea) by a Roman geographer.[3]

Otherwise, this part of Ethiopia was known as Mareb Mellash (beyond Mareb River) or Midre-Baher (land of the sea) and ruled under the title of Bahir Negash before the colonial period.

Traditional Education

Prior to the coming of the Italians, education in Eritrea had been in the hands of two institutions, the Orthodox Church and the Mosque; as it was true in the other parts of Ethiopia, education was the responsibility of the church in Christians area and of the mosque in Moslem areas.[4]

In Eritrea, since the introduction of Christianity in 330 A.D., the Orthodox Church was the sole institution responsible for all educational activities, either formally or informally, through its church schools, monasteries and religious services. The aim of the church's education was to prepare young people for priesthood and to produce a significant number of individuals who could read and write.

In general, it provided elementary, secondary and higher education. Much of the teaching of the church was devoted to reading, writing, music, theology, history and poetry. In principle, education in Ethiopia was based on Christian ethics. As a result, most of the textbooks were on religious literature and fictions (Awalid).[5]

Wherever Islamic people existed,

there were Koranic schools with a curriculum that was limited to the teaching of Islam. These schools more or less put emphasis on the memorization of the holy work, Islamic laws and customs. The students also learned Arabic.

These types of church and mosque schools exist today, and one can see small groups of children gathered around the respective teachers of each institution. There were not any significant contradictions or jealousies between the two institutions. They were able to independently work according to their religious orientation. Each institution was responsible for the teaching of the youth to be good members of the community. Although the content of education was some what different in the institutions, the purpose was the same; to prepare young people to live in and serve the nation and to transmit the knowledge, skills and values, and attitudes of the nation to the next generation. Therefore, the motto of the two institutions was based on the wisdom of the quotation, "Religion is personal; the state is common for all." This concept was also stated by Mohammed, the prophet, when his followers were suffering from persecution of the Qurysh in South Arabia. He advised his followers to go to Ethiopia, a land of peace, where they could get relief from what they were suffering. Ethiopia was then a land of peace and tranquility and continued to remain one where the two religions co-existed peacefully for a long period of time. This was the main reason that Ethiopia was exempted from "Jihad."[6]

Until the Europeans arrived, as nationals, all Ethiopians (Moslems as well as Christians) held the same outlook for their country. Then intrigues of "divide and rule" penetrated the regions. Otherwise, unity against their enemies was a common factor for Ethiopians.

For centuries, the education traditionally offered by Ethiopian church and Koranic schools produced many well educated intellectual and wise men in different fields. They served the country well. They understood their country and their countrymen, and they were able negotiators in foreign affairs. Christianity through the church and Islam through the mosque have passed on a great cultural heritage and values to Ethiopia.

Mission Education

After the expulsion of the Portuguese mission in 1632, the new operation of missionaries in northern Ethiopia commenced in the year 1829 when Reverend Samuel and Reverend Christian Kugler arrived at Massawa in December, 1829. From the time of their arrival, the missionaries began to establish religious centers in places when and wherever they were able to penetrate and manipulate the local people.[7]

Based upon the historical evidence and experience of the Portuguese, the Jesuit's failure in the conversion of the Ethiopian people to Catholicism in 16th century and their expulsion from Ethiopia caused the missionaries to change their tactics in dealing with the local people. This was necessary in order to appease the reinforced suspicion of foreigners and the hatred of missionaries that the Portuguese Jesuits mission had left behind.

The French traveller, M. Rochers, advised the new coming missionaries, "only to present themselves at first as chemists or mechanics"[8] (in order to avoid the bad experience of the Portuguese Jesuit mission of the 16th century). Although the missionaries changed their method of approach in the handling of the local people, their primary purpose was to spread their religion by establishing seminars for the training of priests and ministers and to spread their religion through these native seminarians, and at the

same time, to provide an atmosphere of influence for their European powers and/or imperial counterparts.

The European states from which the missionaries came were committed strongly to their missionary enterprise and made it their particular responsibility to support missionary work. The missionaries were regarded as providing a means of political influence in Ethiopia as it was seen in other parts of Africa. The missionaries were politically active in the internal affairs of Ethiopia, creating deterioration of the relationships among nobles and princes who were struggling for power and thus, undermining the unity of the country. There was also political pressure from European powers under the name of religious tolerance. This was stressed from time to time in the letters sent to Ethiopian leaders from European powers.[9]

With such supports behind it, the missionary work spread through many parts of Northern Ethiopia, particularly the region now known as Eritrea. The missionaries spread religious doctrines and tried to win converts to the faith they represented. The Catholics were mainly concentrated in two strategic areas, Akele Guzai and Hamasien. In 1869 there were about 10,000 to 12,000 Catholics in Akele Guzai and about 15,000 to 16,000 in Hamassen. These two regions were important for their fertility, as well as for their routes to the mainland.[10]

The missionaries established churches, schools, clinics and other services. Since literacy was necessary for conversion, the missionaries were mostly concerned with literacy. In fact, the elementary schools were designed for this purpose. The elementary schools were considered to encompass the broad masses of the people. They were believed to be important as means towards reaching the religious objective which was the conversion of the native people to Catholicism. It was through the schools that the missionaries hoped to win the present and future generation to their cause.

Training in carpentry, masonary and agriculture was also common at mission centers. This practice had two goals: to respond to the shortage of white workers and to employ natives in the more ordinary types of work in carpentry and farming in the mission centers.

However, the missionaries placed religion at the forefront of the school curriculum. Bible teaching was the backbone of all school efforts.

The Aims of Colonization

Starting from 1870, Italy slowly and gradually, with the help of missionaries, Italian individuals and European powers, penetrated into northern Ethiopia. In 1890, Italy declared Eritrea as its colony when it occupied Asmara.

Italy's aim of colonization of northern Ethiopia was to provide more room in which its people could live, to increase trade by providing a market for the goods manufactured in Italy, and to gain more sources of raw materials. It was also based on securing military advantages and increasing the prestige of Italy.[11] Eritrea also served as a landmark for launching Italy's invasion and expansion to the main land of Ethiopia in 1896 and 1935. Italy's aim in the colonization of Eritrea was not any different from the general aims of the other European powers in Africa in the 19th century.

Policy of Colonial Education

At first, the Italian government like all other colonizers moved slowly in establishing schools in Eritrea. It depended mainly on missions to provide educational facilities. Since the missions were experienced in establishing centers, education for some time remained in the hands of the missionaries. Eventually, the religious centers were transformed to schools.

At the same time, the Italian program was directed against the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a symbol of Ethiopian feelings of nationalism and a center of resistance. Ethiopian schools and monasteries were discouraged and threatened.

As it could be seen from the historical evidence, the missionaries were the forerunners of their European powers in creating an atmosphere of influence. Really, they were the clearing road and the stepping stone for colonization.

In 1909 all missionaries took on a definite national orientation. The schools became the institutions through which Italian culture and language were taught and promoted. The Italians began to design the curriculum of education in Eritrea. The curriculum was planned in such a way as to meet the requirements of the colonial needs and aspirations which were based on segregation and discrimination.

On January 31, 1909, a new educational policy was declared. The educational policy was based on the principle of separate schools for Italian children and Ethiopian children, the nationals and the subjects.[12] This principle was declared in the decree on education in Eritrea on January 31, 1909. In this decree, Article I stated that elementary education is compulsory for nationals in the colony and was based on the "Programme of the Kingdom," with some modifications as might seem desirable in the light of local conditions. The law required that all white boys and girls between 7 and 16 should attend schools. The curriculum of the elementary schools for nationals followed closely the curriculum of the schools in Italy.

On the other hand, with the same decree, education for the natives or subjects was stated in Article II. It was to be under full control of the governor. He was responsible for establishing rules and regulations of schools for natives in terms of attendance requirements and program. The schools' program was to include the Italian language, arts and crafts, hygiene, agriculture, history, geography and arithmetic.[13] The educational act gave the governor full control over the non-white schools. The educational policy for the native was directed to start with a "tabula ras" upon which they could write their own doctrine of white supremacy.

The missionaries, the Catholics and the Protestants, who were the most dominant, were forced to follow the same educational policy of the Italian government. The Italian government was displeased with some of the Protestant missionary teachers. The problem was that the instruction given at the Protestant schools was not in accordance with the educational policy of the government. The education offered at the Protestant mission schools did not appear to inculcate enough obedience and submissiveness in the minds of the natives for them to become good Italian subjects.

However, the Catholic mission was favoured by the Italian government. This was because of the agreement between the state and the church which was known as the "Lateran Treaties." The treaties established normal relation between the Roman Catholic Church and the Italian government. The agreement, to some degree, gave the state an upper hand in the national and international affairs of the Catholic church. According to the agreement, persons who were unfavourable to the Italian state policy were not to be appointed to positions in Catholic Action (the church political organization). In turn, the Catholic Church was well presented in the Italian government in Italy and Eritrea. The agreement survived during the remainder of the rule of Benito Mussolini.

As a result, the Catholic missionaries in Eritrea were encouraged

and allowed to run government schools which came into existence. Italy was considered a Catholic country, and Catholicism was a national religion. So, Catholicism and the Italian state became two sides of the same coin. The Italians intended to spread Roman Catholicism and Fascism. The tie between the church and the state was not in vain. Both had one common purpose. This was their hostility towards communism which both thought as a great evil and the real danger to Italy and Catholicism.[14]

The Objectives of Colonial Education

The objectives of education were based on colonial requirements and policy which put more emphasis on indoctrination and subordination. It was based on segregation and discrimination, separate schools for natives or subjects. A significant number of schools were established for natives as a means of exploitation and oppression, to stabilize the differences of race and superiority, and to signify the Roman supremacy as a race and society.

The instruction in these schools was limited to the early four years elementary level. School instruction was given in the Italian language, while the indigenous languages were suppressed. Italian became the dominant language in every school in Eritrea.

The curriculum, in general, was mainly restricted to two main concepts. The first one was to give some knowledge of spoken Italian language, which was essential as a means of communicating about Italian civilization, its greatness and glories. The geography and history of Italy, and hygiene were also offered. There was a complete omission in the native syllabus of the teaching of the history of the Italian struggle for nationhood, and independence. Hygiene was not taught for its use and advantage of the natives.[15] Instead, it was offered so that the native students might have some understanding about hygiene and thus, reduce the possibility of contaminating Italians with diseases. No information about Eritrea or Ethiopia was included in the curriculum. On the contrary, propaganda was disseminated to make the people of Eritrea believe that they had never been citizens of the ancient Ethiopia realm.

The second emphasis on the curriculum was purely manual. For males it was intended to inculcate habits of work and attachment to soil. All over Eritrea, the fertile lands were in the hand of the Italians, so they wanted local semiskill and cheap labourers for their agriculture. Education for girls was restricted to the care of the household. This was to fill the needs of house servants by Italian families. The main Italian educational activity was to prepare agricultural workers, artisans, and servants to work for the Italian masters. In addition, the teaching was limited to the level of traditional methods and crafts.

In general, the Italian educational system emphasized loyalty to the Italian state, the Italian flag and the virtue of obedience to white supremacy.

The following statement from a colonial textbook illustrates the attitudes, character and behavior expected of the colonial students.

> "O! children of Eritrea, love the three colors of the Italian flag, because it is your flag, salute it, raise your right hand to it and promise it with faithfulness and honour."
>
> "Love....your teachers who teach you to love Italy, the common mother, be always obedient children."
>
> "When you enter class in the

morning, child, salute your king. He is the supreme head of the nation, the first citizen of Italy.''[16]

Therefore, the schools were instruments of indoctrination of obedience for the Italian government and rulers under the supervision of white men. They were a means of adoption of a sense of Italian culture, superiority and love for Italy as the motherland. As a result, the schools attempted to make second class Italians out of the natives instead of educating them to become more useful citizens of their own native land. Without a doubt, the colonial schools existed for the sake of the colonizers and not for that of the natives.

This was ensured from time to time by the rules and regulations issued to the schools. One of the confidential directions sent to Italian head masters by Signor Andrea Festa, Director of Education in Eritrea, stated:

> ''By the end of his fourth year, the Eritrean student should be able to speak our language moderately well; he should know the four arithmetical operation within normal limits; he should be a convinced propagandist of the principles of hygiene; and history he should know only the names of those who have made Italy great.''[17]

The Italian government established a central office for native education in Eritrea. The purpose of the office was to exercise technical and disciplinary supervision and to ensure that education was in accordance with the colonial principles. Thus, native school remained at a lower and ordinary elementary level for more than fifty years.

The Organization of the Native Schools

The structure and organization of the native schools were divided into three sections.

1. There were ordinary primary schools. These schools provided four years of instruction in the Italian language, geography, history and arithmetic.
2. There were arts and crafts schools which were also based on a four years course. Students who had already completed two years in primary schools were taken to these schools. It was believed that these students had acquired the first elements of the Italian language.
3. There were also schools offering a two years course. These schools were known as complementary schools. These schools admitted students who had already completed the four years in primary or elementary schools. The students who were admitted to these schools were supposed to have acquired and integrated the modest education offered in primary schools. This was the highest stage of learning during Italian colonization of Eritrea.

Effects of Colonial Education

During the Italian colonial periods, Eritrea was educationally, a desert. There were too few schools and they were poor schools. Trained teachers were non-existent. Nor were there suitable textbooks available. Education in Eritrea remained at an elementary level. Within a span of fifty years, there were only twenty-four (24) elementary schools. The instruction was restricted to six years in technical and complimentary schools and four years in primary schools. The contents of the curriculum were restricted, so as to give some knowledge of spoken Italian language which was essential as means of communicating about the Italian civilization. The four arithmetic operations

were also introduced to the students on the normal level. The history and geography of Italy were included in the syllabus to glorify the greatness of Italy, its people, and the supremacy of white people in general.

Native students, even through benefactions, were not allowed to accept scholarships for study in other nations. However, some of the youth of Eritrea, from time to time, crossed the frontier into the main land of Ethiopia in order to get opportunities of education and employment which they were not able to get in Eritrea.

Through well planned policy and instruction, natives were reminded of race purity and white supremacy. The members of the white race had the best education, the best homes, the best jobs, and public services. As a result, their beliefs of superiority were strengthened, while the natives were constantly reminded of their inferiority. In fact, the natives had no social benefits, such as, those enjoyed by the white people. The colour bar was enforced. They were segregated from school areas of residence, eating and sleeping houses, employment and other public facilities. Even in regards to items such as clothing and shoes, the natives were limited to only locally made products. They were not allowed to purchase western types of suits and shoes. In addition, the people of Eritrea were made to remain agricultural and manual labourers, while higher technical and professional services were reserved for Italian immigrants.

In the course of time, as more and more Italian immigrants came, Asmara, the capital city of Eritrea, became the little "Rome" with a 40% white population. Asmara was divided into two main areas of residence for whites and natives, with distinctive demarcation. Cultural infiltration was high. As the demand for Italian speaking native servants increased, it became fashionable among the natives to speak Italian and adopt Italian values and attitudes. On the other hand, the Italian did not know a single word of the indigenous language and had no intention of learning it.

At present, to identify ones self as an Eritrean descendent, it is natural to utter Italian words such as, allora, Grazie, ciao, perche, and andiamo whenever one speaks an indigenous language in a daily conversation. Giving the time and date are done on the European style. Bars, cinema halls, hotels, and other institutions existed under Italian names (Corse, Roma, Dante, Capital, Bottego, Torino, Autisti...) up to the era of the Red Star Campaign. Most of the expressions of good wish and greetings on public occasions such as on Christmas and New Year are also still in Italian. For instance,

"Buone Feste"
"Buene Natale"
"Boun Natale"
"Felice Anno"

are some of the expressions one can observe on the windows of the shops (native shops) in Asmara.

However, the fundamental purpose of colonial education was to train and turn out indigenous people who could serve more efficiently in the Italian administration in the lowest position as subaltern cadres, clerks, interpreters, medical assistants, workers and so forth. These roles were indispensible to the colonial administration, business and military service. The main intention was not to educate the native people, but rather, to extend the Italian language and administration policies of the Italian state. There was no distinction between education, propaganda and indoctrination. All three shared the common task of changing and remolding the behavior, attitudes, beliefs and outlooks of the Eritrean people in a way acceptable to the Italians.

In spite of all the discrimination, segregation, oppression and exploitation that existed for fifty years, in

general, most of the Eritreans appear to have no rooted hatred or discontent with Italians.

Conclusion

It is believed that education changes people's values, attitudes and beliefs. Whether these changes of values, atittudes and beliefs could be favourable (positive) or unfavourable (negative) depend on the aims and purposes of the educational system. The educational system also finds its guiding principles and ultimate goals in the aims and purposes of the social order in which it functions. This practice has been true all through the history of education. As most behaviorists say, "To change behavior, do not change the individual, change the environment" asserts the concepts and understandings of this basic assumption.

The preceding pages have shown how the colonial educational system has undermined the Ethiopian values and sentiment of the region. The Italian colonial regime strove hard to insulate the Eritreans from the attitudes, values and feelings of nationalism of the Ethiopians and to change the character of the region. The Eritreans were repeatedly informed and brainwashed that they had never been citizen of the Ethiopian realm and that they were different from the Ethiopians. As the result, most of the Eritreans were embodied with foreign values and influence. They have developed attitudes and beliefs of alien elements, on the basis of ethnic and religious reasons, which have created a background for the regional problems in Eritrea and a deterioration of intra-regional relations. This deterioration is being fanned by the neo-colonialists and their reactionary supporters.

Hence, it is possible, from the historical point of view, to state that all the regional problems in Africa are the legacies of colonial impacts and influences. Eritrea is a prime example.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medival Ethiopian History to 1270,* United Printers, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 26.

[2]J. M. Roberts, History of 20th Century, *Ethiopia: Unclaimed Colony,* BPC Publishing Ltd., London, 1969, p.____.

[3]Stephen H. Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea,* Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1945, p. 120.

[4]Giuseppe Pulisi, Africa: *Rivista Mensile di Interessi Affricani: La Scuola In Eritrea lerie Oggi,* Rome Anno VII, No. 3 Marino, 1953, p. 69.

[5]Sergew, p. 167.

[6]Ibid., p. 181.

[7]James M'Queen, *The Journals of C. W. Isenburg and J. L. Krap 8,* Thomas Nelson Press, London, 1960, p. V.

[8]Ibid., p. XIII.

[9]Zewde Gebre Selassie, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: A Political Geography,* Clerend Press, Oxford, 1975, pp. 37-42.

[10]Ibid., p. 36.

[11]Stephen, p. 132.

[12]Richard Pankhurst, *Education in Ethiopia During The Italian Fascist Occupation* (1936-1941) mimeographed undated, p. 4.

[13]A. Festa, *Le Instituzioni educative in Eritrea,* Bolletimo Ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea, Rome, 1930, pp. 580-594.

[14]Christopher, Hollis, History of 20th century, *Latern Treaties,* BPC Publishing Ltd., London, 1968, p. 1092.

[15]Richard Pankhurst, pp. 4-5.

[16]R. Pankhurst, Ethiopian Observer, *The text books of Italian Colonial Africa,* Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 327-337.

[17]G. K. N. Trevaskis, *A Colony in Transition: 1941-1952,* Oxford University Press, London, 1960. p. 33.

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The Question of Culture: Black Life and the Transformation of Black Urban America: Seattle's Central District, 1900-1940

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Anyone who is familiar with the direction of Afro-American history is undoubtedly impressed with the tremendous outpouring of literature on the black urban historical experience. Since the 1960s at least 30 books have been published and innumerable articles have appeared in scholarly journals explaining the "rise of the ghetto." To be sure, black urban history has its roots in the sociological, and to some extent, polemical writing of earlier social scientists and political observers including W. E. B. Dubois, Robert B. Weaver, Ralph Bunche, Kelly Miller and others, but the era we are now in, which I would trace back to 1960, is clearly the heyday of scholarly writing on black urban America.[1]

Much of post 1960 literature focuses on the "rise of the ghetto," i.e., the development of institutions within that primarily serve the black community, namely churches, social clubs, civil rights organizations, social service centers, and so forth. This history has also been about spatial definition, and physical growth, in short, discussing the evolution of a particular area of the city into a clearly delineated all-black area, a racial ghetto, why the ghettoization took place and an examination of the response of the black residents to that change. Usually the literature includes a focus on the economic and employment structure of the black community; some explanation of the persistence of black urban poverty, and the usually apparent prosperity of many other urban groups. Indeed, the city in much of the modern world has been the fulcrum of economic advancement for enterprising individuals, if not ethnic groups, who have used its resources to promote their advancement. For many individuals, the urban experience has been the beginning of the rise to economic preeminence, the short road to opportunity.[2]

Despite some remarkable exceptions, the Afro-American urban experience has been portrayed historically, as a process of continuing poverty, continuous denial of economic opportunity, intensification of social malaise, and social anomie for the majority of black Americans. For them, the city was not the lever of opportunity, but instead, was the prison of despair and hopelessness as exemplified by the title of August Meier and Elliott Rudwick's popular Afro-American history survey, *From Plantation to Ghetto.*[3]

Finally, implicit in virtually all of this literature in some form, is the discussion of race relations. Of course, since

race relations define and determine action and reaction by numerous groups, this is to be expected. But much of the focus of the discussion is on the manner in which white racism defined and determined the physical, emotional, and intellectual parameters of the ghetto. This literature, perhaps inadvertantly and benignly, portrayed the "ghetto" as simply an outgrowth of, a reaction to white racism. The black experience was, according to most scholars, simply a consequence of racial denial and exclusion. Few authors of case studies of black urban America, this author included, moved beyond that focus. That explanation was not necessarily wrong; it was inadequate. The black urban experience was, and is, much more complex and enigmatic than the simple morality play of good vs evil which characterized much of the 1960s and 1970s writings on urban Afro-America. This is not to say that "race" and racial discrimination are no longer important in the shaping of the black urban experience; there is no "declining significance of race" thesis here. However, the process of creating an Afro-American community as opposed to a "ghetto," (which is simply a reaction, a holding area for a lost, alienated population) is far more problematic, intricate, contradictory, complex, and confusing than previously assumed. Racial discrimination and the resultant residential segregation, job discrimination and social malaise are certainly and undeniably present, but they are hardly the entire picture, and in many respects, are not the central picture.

During the 1960s, Clifford Geertz in his monumental study of the culture of Indonesian society advanced the idea of "thick description." Geertz argues that culture is

> "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[4]

In short, culture is created when people invest critical importance in the symbols, rituals and traditions that come to be commonplace in their lives. The manner in which they organize their lives around these symbols, and the value they give to the rituals and traditions, explains much about them and their way of viewing the world.

While Indonesian cultural anthropology seems, at first glance, quite distant from the world made by Afro-Americans in northern ghettos, the concept of thick description is applicable. Afro-American values came together to form a whole wherever large numbers of blacks resided. That process was more or less automatic, almost instinctive. However, Afro-Americans are also active agents in this cultural creation and cultural adaptation. They consciously choose to advance or promote ideas in the realm of what is called "political culture," the use of cultural norms and values to shape and determine behavior and action for a large number of theoretically independent individuals.

During the 17th century, according to historians of the period, Afro-Americans consciously wove a distinctive culture based on and reflected in language, norms, values which were brought from Africa, or to be specific, many small Africans, e.g., tribal groups. Out of this diversity, they evolved a distinctive Afro-American culture. Succeeding generations of slaves built on this foundation so that by 1865, the moment slavery ended, black culture, though greatly varying from place to place between the Virginia tidewater on the East and central Texas in the West, nevertheless, carried the seeds of common-

ality.[5]

Antebellum blacks were separated not only by distance or space, they were also increasingly differentiated by an urban as opposed to a rural culture. To be sure, urban black communities predated the Civil War in both the North and South but with the exception of sizeable Afro-American communities in Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Boston, New York and Charleston, the majority of blacks lived in a rural setting. Yet evidence of the cultural transformation was already available. Most importantly, urban blacks, driven by differing occupational needs, were far better organized and had a substantial degree of personal freedom when compared with rural slaves. [The differences between urban free blacks and urban slaves were less than those differences between urban blacks in general and rural blacks, who almost always were slaves.] There was a commonality of family structure, religious worship, and worldview which shaped the urban experience as opposed to the rural slave's world. This is not to say that urban slavery was "mild," whatever that means, or that urban blacks, slave and free, did not face a myriad of social, economic and political problems stemming from race, but we must recognize that the shared common problems were wholly unlike those facing the farm hand or the plantation gang laborer.[6]

Post-Civil War blacks, now all free, were still separated by the urban-rural dichotomy that was as pronounced as color or class; indeed, color and class may have reflected urban and rural differences as a disproportionate number of the black elite was already urban, and certainly much of the political leadership fit into this category. But this "talented tenth," which W. E. B. DuBois masterfully portrayed in much of his writing as a privileged urban elite, was soon to be joined by thousands of other Afro-Americans seeking opportunity. Indeed the urban elite was, even during the pre-Civil War era, miniscule compared with the urban masses, free and slave, but post-war migrations through the end of the 19th century allowed more blacks access to the city.[7]

By 1890, significant urban black populations had emerged in a number of cities including New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, to name those which in 1900 had populations in excess of 50,000. However, as DuBois argues, the migration of rural blacks to the urban centers caused a dilemma that until recently was the major characteristic of modern black life.

> "Yet it has everywhere been manifest in the long run that while a part of the negroes were native-born and trained in the culture of the city, the others were immigrants largely ignorant and unused to city life...Thus the history of the negro in Northern cities is the history of the rise of a small group growing by accretions from without, but as the same time periodically overwhelmed by them and compelled to start over again when once the new material had been assimilated.[8]

DuBois points out the central feature of black life in the 20th century, the ability of black urban communities to absorb and transform those thousands of urban newcomers. Afro-Americans were concerned about discrimination; they were concerned about employment and housing opportunity; and they were driven by the forces which generated the ghetto, but they were also concerned about "community," family, neighborhood, and the myriad of forces which confronted themselves, or more likely their cousins, brothers, sisters, friends who recently arrived in the city. How could they

make the best life for themselves given the circumstances which probably occupied much of their time and thought process?

This was no small task. Each generation had to "start over" as DuBois so aptly put it, had to begin anew the process of assimilation and acculturation. During most of this period, the task appeared almost overwhelming. And indeed some Afro-Americans recoiled, as many still do, at the thought of their "responsibility" for the newcomers, but most accepted the challenge and proceeded to intergrate the newly arrived residents as quickly as possible. After all, many of those involved in the assimilation process were themselves only recent arrivals to the city. Thus, one characteristic of black urbanization, and black urban culture becomes strikingly clear; each generation could transform the newcomers easily because the transforming generation itself could draw from and build upon the traditions most evident in the rural South. So, the black urban population was never so removed from its rural roots to have distanced itself or have forgotten "from whence it came." That is the genius of black urbanization, the ability to transform the newcomers precisely by building upon the traditions that those newcomers held so dear.

Implicit in my explanation is the recognition that much of what we call black urban culture, not only had its roots in the Southern past, it remained very much "rural southern" even as city conditions provided a veneer of newly found urbanity and sophistication. Afro-Americans in the cities built a culture that although "urban," was thoroughly grounded in the familiar values and concepts of the rural south. The church structure is a good example. In Northern black communities, newcomers always were struck by the amazing resemblance of the church service, and indeed the very church organization in their new homes with what they had known in the rural South. The clubs although certainly more formal, more elaborate in their ritual and structure, nevertheless retained the basic elements which made them such essential parts of the rural environment. Much the same can be argued about the fraternal lodges.

What then was truly urban? What was new in this setting? Not much. Yes, the civil rights organizations were not widespread in the rural areas because of the direct control exhibited by the former slaveholders and their political descendants. The rural class structure was more attenuated because of the paucity of occupations. Of course, in the city the very process of "coming together" created a critical mass so that blacks thought of themselves and their plight in light of the entire society rather than their own individual circumstances as their rural cousins often did. But much of the rest was the same.

Indeed, much of what is referred to as the problems of black urban America have their roots in the countryside. Juvenile delinquency, unwanted pregnancy, single-parent households are thought of as distinctly urban phenomena. They are noticeable in the city; their effects are heightened in the city, and social reformers go to great lengths (usually with great fanfare) to address these urban problems. But, their roots are in the country. Many of the problems DuBois, E. Franklin Frazier and other observers of black urban life discussed, were drawn from the earlier experiences of those in the rural setting. The country quite literally came to the city.[9]

* * *

Seattle was chosen as the focus of this exploratory paper precisely because it was not one of the major urban metropolises. Unlike New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other urban

centers, Seattle's Afro-American population grew slowly during the first four decades of the 20th century. Between 1900 and 1940, the black population expanded from 400 to 3,000 and never exceeded 1% of the total city's population. Yet, Seattle's black experience, although in many ways different from that of the urban centers, is nevertheless similar enough, to make certain assumptions concerning the shaping of all early 20th century black communities.

Most Seattle Afro-Americans originated in Southern states, particularly the states of the upper South, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, etc. (A noticeable shift to the deep South states would occur after World War II, reflecting a change in migration patterns for the entire Afro-American community.) Most blacks entering Seattle were unskilled laborers, a peasantry from rural backgrounds. Most Seattle blacks, like their northern counterparts, believed the city represented hope for the future. They thought it would provide significant economic opportunity and hoped it would exhibit much less racial discrimination than their former homes. Most importantly, the numbers of migrants to Seattle although small by national standards, were nevertheless large enough vis-a-vis the resident black population to reflect DuBois' description of Northern Afro-American communities absorbing and assimilating much larger numbers of newcomers.

Seattle, Washington in most respects resembles other rapidly growing industrial cities of the period. Its steel mills, lumber processing plants, iron foundries, shipyards and emerging aircraft factories provided employment for nearly half of the city's workers. Twelve percent of the labor force worked as longshoremen or in railroad repair and maintenance reflecting the city's position as a major port and rail center. Seattle's labor force was multi-ethnic and multi-racial; foreign-born white workers primarily from Canada, Sweden, Norway and Germany comprised 33% of the city's laborers while Asians, principally Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos accounted for 4% in 1920.[10]

Afro-Americans were among Seattle's first settlers in 1852. Yet, the population remained small through the rest of the century. In 1900 only 405 blacks were counted among the city's 80,671 residents. Most 19th century Seattle blacks were common laborers, peddlers, bootblacks and janitors, with a few of attorneys, physicians, businessmen and minor government employees completing the occupational spectrum.[11]

Between 1900 and 1910 an influx of blacks increased Seattle's Afro-American population from 406 to 2,296. Newcomers, lured by better rail transportation, the hope of jobs with the railroads or in Seattle's numerous small factories, appeals of relatives already in the city, and by Seattle's liberal reputation in race relations, migrated west. They found a hostile city. Rising segregation and discrimination was readily evident; major theaters refused would-be black patrons or relegated them to balconies; downtown restaurants and lunch counters turned away Afro-American customers; Night club owners and employees made known their attitude toward black patrons by charging excessively high prices for drinks or deliberately smashing glasses after they were used by blacks.[12]

After 1910 the city's housing market became racially segregated as the black community was confined to the "Central District," an "L" shaped section in the heart of east-central Seattle stretching from the middle class East Madison neighborhood, south along 23rd Avenue and then turning sharply west along Jackson Street towards the waterfront. White apartment owners refused to rent to

blacks outside the area and restrictive covenants precluded blacks (as well as Asians and Jews) from becoming homeowners beyond this section.[13]

Despite the small population, black Seattle in most respects paralleled other major cities. Its Afro-American population quickly created, within the limits imposed by its small population, most of the organizations and institutions frequently found in major black communities. Churches evolved; civil rights organizations, including the NAACP and the Urban League, were formed; black residents of Seattle organized fraternal orders, social clubs, literary societies, all to create a setting that was both comfortable and familiar.[14]

It is in the creation of these organizations the core of black community development in Seattle, and by extension, all of urban black America, is most visible. The churches, fraternal orders, social clubs, nightlife, sports, etc., represent activities that help define and delineate the unique characteristics of the community. It has been assumed that most, if not all, of these institutions and organizations were created due to the exclusion of Afro-Americans from "white" organizations and institutions similar in nature. To some extent this is correct. However, Afro-Americans, whether consciously or not, also acted to create institutions with which they felt proud and comfortable.

Black Seattle forged the ethos of community, "a guiding complex of beliefs," to borrow a phrase from urban historian Blaine A. Brownell, concerning the nature and role of the urban black community and the Afro-American's place in that community.[15] Afro-Americans, most of whom were less than one generation removed from the rural South, attempted an accommodation between their rural folk heritage and the new urban environment. They created a host of organizations and institutions which simultaneously, and often ambiguously, carried the values and traditions of the past while preparing their members for the challenge of contemporary society. Seattle blacks were "poised between two worlds," to use Lawrence Levine's apt description, seeking to emulate the urban culture in an attempt to enjoy its privilege and status while identifying with many of their own cultural traditions.[16]

Various religious, social, fraternal and sports organizations emerged after 1910 to give form to that community ethos, but the black church provided its foundation. Ten churches ministered to the spiritual needs of the community. They ranged in size and style from the staid 600 member First AME, the oldest (founded in 1886) and largest black church in the city, to the exuberant, emotional 50-member storefront churches, such as, the Full Gospel Pentacostal Church and Father Divine's Temple of Peace, which emerged in the 1930s. The churches sponsored community picnics, dances, athletic teams, debating and literary societies. The four largest churches, First AME, Mt. Zion Baptist, Grace Presbyterian and Ebeneezer AME Zion, opened their facilities for public forums and rallies. Interested parties debated repeal of the Volstead Act or learned of African or West Indian cultures and political struggles at First AME; heard W. E. B. DuBois, Mary White Ovington, A. Philip Randolph and Congressman Oscar DePriest address black Seattle from the pulpit of Mt. Zion; or met at Ebeneezer AME Zion for protest meetings against union discrimination or police brutality and support rallies for the Scottsboro Boys or Ethiopia's resistance to Mussolini's invasion.[17]

Black fraternal orders were, after churches, the most broadly based organizations in black Seattle. Their membership crossed income, educational, occupational, denominational and age lines. The first fraternal

orders, the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias, date back to 1895, but by 1925 seven additional lodges, each with a women's auxiliary, were active in the city. Fraternal orders provided life insurance and low interest loans to their members as well as financial assistance to widows (or widowers) and children of deceased members. Moreover, their organizational structure, ritual and public activities afforded familiar surroundings for lodge members new to the city, thus easing the transition from a rural to urban society.[18]

Afro-Americans often joined these organizations for their pomp, pagantry and apparent power. Women and men were denied notoriety and prestige outside the Central District could regally strut down 23rd Avenue, the main thoroughfare in the black community, in their resplendent best during the annual Elks or Masonic parades. Afro-Americans who had been told that they could not sustain viable organizations, proudly pointed to the Elks Home and Masonic Hall, two of the most prominent landmarks in the Central District, as examples of voluntary, cooperative endeavor. Blacks could take center stage in their lodges where they formulated the rules, voted, held office, administered budgets and surrounded themselves with all the trappings of power.

Nightlife, while beyond the realm of organizational and institutional structure, nevertheless, contributed to the unique ambience of the Central District. With a population of less than 3,000, black Seattle's night life was remarkably vibrant and vital. Edward Pitter described the scene:

> We had dances all over town....We had fully dressed dances, I mean fully dressed. Tails, I've got my old silk hat, its up in the attic. I used to wear a silk hat and tails and I had a cape you throw back and monocle. I had a monocle.[19]

While churches, lodges and social clubs sponsored many of the dances, black nightclubs were the heart of the nightlife scene. The Afro-American Club, the Mardi Gras, the Little Harlem Club which boasted the best band in the city, the largest dance floor and a floor show every night, and Doc Hamilton's, arguably the city's most famous nightspot, created the elan which characterized the Central District. Often doubling as restaurants in the day and early evening hours, these clubs flouted law and custom by allowing gambling, after hours drinking, and interracial mingling. They were the only places where well-to-do white businessmen and socialites met black and Asian laborers and maids as social equals.

Seattle was on the circuit for numerous singers and musicians including Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, and Lionel Hampton who performed at downtown theaters or auditoriums and then visited local clubs in the Central District. Local entertainers also enriched the nightscene. Cecil Finley and his Californians were the most popular Seattle band, while singers Stella Jackson and Frieda Jones, who became a regular entertainer on the cruise ship "H. F. Alexander," appeared at Doc Hamilton's and other clubs in the 1930s. Sylvia Ford, a jazz dancer, joined Katherine Dunham's Dance Troup and eventually opened a studio in New York. Numerous unnamed and now unremembered singers, dancers and musicians helped fashion this remarkably dynamic musical environment that would later produce Quincy Jones, Ray Charles and Jimi Hendrix.[20]

For those who had little afinity for the jazz and blues scene which characterized much of black Seattle's night life, vaudeville, legitimate theater and the concert stage provided alternatives and introduced whites and Asians to black theater.

Dancers Dave and Tressie Stratton, vaudevillian comedians George McClennon and Tabor and Green played regularly at the Orpheum Theater. In the 1920s and 1930s, all-black troupes staged "Harlem Burlesque," "Change Your Luck," "Lennox Avenue Follies," and Eubie Blake's "Shuffle Along Jr." at Seattle's Rex, Paramount and Pantages Theaters. Occasionally dramas, such as Garland Anderson's three act play, "Appearances," were performed at the prestigious Metropolitan Theater. Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson also gave frequent concerts in the city.[21]

Sports also helped define and distinguish black Seattle. Afro-Americans, like most other ethnic or racial groups, vicariously identified with the accomplishments of their athletic kinsmen. But black Seattle, viewing Afro-American sports achievements as an unqualified refutation of racial supremacy arguments and as one of the few area where black abilities were readily recognized, invested athletes and athletic activities with greater importance than other city dwellers. Central District residents avidly followed the career of basketball star Charles Patterson when he played at Franklin High School and later became the first black athlete at the University of Oregon. Local boxers Gus West, George "Gorilla" Jones and Henry Woods and semi-pro tennis player Emmett McIver also excited residents with their athletic prowess and competitiveness. Baseball, however, was the community passion. Businesses, churches and fraternal orders sponsored teams that competed within and outside the district. In 1929 the community coalesced behind the Seattle Royal Giants, its first semi-professional baseball team comprised primarily of local athletes. During their first season, the Giants went undefeated until beaten in the city-wide championship by the Rainier Beach Nine. Subsequent seasons were less illustrious, but for many local blacks the flair and enthusiasm exhibited by the Royal Giants epitomized the spirit of the black community.[22]

Black Seattle's community institutions kept alive and in the process, helped define the Afro-American heritage. Often the names of institutions or organizations, such as, the Sojourner Truth Home, Phyllis Wheatly YWCA, Toussaint L'Overture Lodge, Prince Hall Masons, were conscious attempts to draw upon and identify with that heritage. Unlike the Swedes, Norwegians, Chinese or Japanese, Seattle's Afro-Americans had no linguistic or territorial focus around which to center their preservation efforts. Yet they, as much as any immigrant group, tried to conserve their cultural legacy by creating organizations which drew upon the values, modes of thought and action crafted over generations by people with a profound understanding of their unique and troubled past.

This is not to argue that blacks did not borrow from those around them, there was simply too much of importance that Afro-Americans could not afford to overlook. Afro-Americans did not tacitly accepted segregation or exclusion, they knew better than any other group the consequences of political and economic isolation. But Seattle blacks were proud of the social and cultural sphere they created and willingly defended it.

That pride, however, was tempered by anxiety and ambivalence. Public apprehension over Southern dialects and boisterous speech, fundamentalist preaching styles or the proliferation of jazz and blues nightclubs were not simply conflicts between old settlers and migrants or clashes of bourgeois and working class values, but the anguish of a people undergoing a transformation from the rural past to an urban present. The history of black Seattle, and numerous other urban communities as well, is rooted

in this apparent paradox of preservation and transformation.

Black urban community formation and development is a complex, contradictory and engmatic process. It appears, or at least has been presented, as simply the reaction of blacks to powerful economic, political and cultural forces they neither controlled nor fully understood. That thesis, while partially correct, nevertheless obscures the important role Afro-Americans played in shaping their own destiny, in creating a nurturing, supportive environment in a hostile world. This paper makes no claim to fully understand the manner in which the process of assimilation and acculturation evolved; that will be left to future studies. However, hopefully this brief discussion will cause historians of the black urban experience to raise, if they cannot always answer, important new questions about the nature of the modern Afro-American urban community, the home of the vast majority of black Americans.

NOTES

[1]The earliest of the historical case studies were Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of A Ghetto: 1890-1930,* (New York, 1963) and Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of A Negro Ghetto,* (Urbana, 1967). The 1970s studies include Lawrence B. De Graaf, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930" *Pacific Historical Review,* 39 (August 1970) 328-350; David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century,* (Urbana, 1973); Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930,* (Urbana, 1976); David Levine, *Internal Combustion: The Races in Detroit, 1915-1926,* (Westport, Conn., 1976) and Thomas Philpott, *The Slum and The Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago 1880-1930,* (New York, 1978). Four studies have already emerged in the 1980s, Douglas H. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco,* (Philadelphia, 1980); Thomas C. Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas, 1865-1915,* (Baton Rouge, 1982); George C. Wright, *Life Behind A Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930,* (Baton Rouge, 1985) and Joe W. Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-1945,* (Urbana, 1985). Oliver Zunz's *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920,* (Chicago, 1982); John Bodnor, Roger Simon and Michael P. Weber's *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960,* (Urbana, 1982), and the essays edited by Theodore Hershberg, in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the 19th Century,* (New York, 1981) while not case studies nevertheless contain valuable data on the interaction between blacks and immigrants.

[2]For surveys of the methodology of black community studies see Allan H. Spear, "The Origins of the Urban Ghetto, 1870-1915" in Nathan I. Huggins and others, *Key Issues in the Afro-Americans Experience,* Vol. II, (New York, 1971) and Kenneth L. Kusmer "The Structure of Black Urban History: Retrospect and Prospect," *Trends in History,* 3 (Fall, 1982).

[3]August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto,* (New York, 1966).

[4]Quoted in Ronald G. Walters, "Signs of the Times: Clifford Geertz and Historians, *Social Research,* 47 (Autumn, 1980), p. 545.

[5]See Vincent Harding, *There is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America,* (New York, 1983), pp. 1-23.

[6]See Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South,* (New York, 1976), pp. 284-315; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Black Americans,* (New York, 1974), pp. 169-187.

[7]Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South: 1865-1890* (New York, 1978), pp. 226-254.

[8]Quoted in Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* p. 162.

[9]Typical of this approach was George Edmund Haynes, "Conditions Among Negroes in the Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 49 (September, 191), pp. 105-119.

[10]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* Vol. 4, *Population,* 1920, *Occupations,* (Washington, 1923), pp. 1232-1233; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest,* (New York, 1967), pp. 436-441.

[11]See Esther Hall Mumford, *Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901,* (Seattle, 1980), pp. 118-119; Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle,* (Seattle, 1944), pp. 140-141.

[12]Horace R. Cayton, *Long Old Road,* (Seattle, 1963) p. 22. See also Quintard Taylor, "Blacks on the Urban Frontier: The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest," *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 64 (Fall, 1979, pp. 343, 349-350; Mumford, *Seattle's Black Victorians,* pp. 171-176.

[13]While most covenants in neighborhoods surrounding the Central District were directed

at blacks, the Broadmoor area northeast of Madison barred Asians and Jews as well. See N. P. Dotson, Jr., "Seattle Urban League Pilot Study of the Seattle Negro Community," unpublished paper, 1948, Urban League Collection, Box 15, File 1, University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington. For a detailed analysis of the role of restrictive covenants on the west's largest black community see De Graa, "The City of Black Angels," pp. 336-338; 346-349.

[14]See Taylor, "Blacks on the Urban Frontier," pp. 349-351.

[15]Blaine A. Brownwell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930,* (Baton Rouge, 1975), p. xvi.

[16]Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom,* (New York, 1977), p. 138.

[17]Accounts of these activities pepper the pages of black Seattle's largest newspaper, the *Northwest Enterprise,* from 1921 to 1940. For representative examples see February 3, 1928, p. 8, September 29, 1932, p. 6, April 20, 1933, p. 4.

[18]Interview, Sandy Moss, Seattle, Washington, December 21, 1972; Samuel P. DeBow and Edward Pitter, ed., *Who's Who in Religious, Fraternal, Social, Civic and Commercial Life on the Pacific Coast,* (Seattle, 1927) p. 10, passim.

[19]Interview, Edward Pitter, Seattle, Washington, November 19, 1973.

[20]*Ibid.,* Sandy Moss Interview. See also *Northwest Enterprise* editorial, "Seattle Celebrity Minded," May 28, 1937, on the influence of nationally famous entertainers on the Afro-American community.

[21]See for example *Northwest Enterprise,* May 24, 1928, p. 6, January 11, 1934, p. 2, February 25, 1938, p. 3.

[22]*Ibid.,* September 5, 1929, p. 6, January 24, 1936, p. 4, January 31, 1936, p. 4.

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