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economics
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anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

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berkeley, calif. (racist u.s.a.)

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the editors

To the Peoples of Afroamerica, Africa, and to all the Peoples of the World:

We the Editors of SOULBOOK subscribe to the view expressed by the great Black martyr Patrice Lumumba that; ".without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and with-independence there are no free men." Furthermore, we adhere to the view that it will take a radical socio-economic transformation within the United States before the freedom of the Black man in the U. S. , the Congo, and anywhere else the victims of racial discrimination have been maimed by this gorgonesque practice can be won and guaranteed for all time.

Thus to further the cause of the liberation of Black peoples we feel that this Journal and all ensuing issues of it must be produced, controlled, published and edited by people who are sons and daughters of Africa.

By this control we feel we can more freely present to the world the widest scope and the highest quality of thoughts, ideas and works that will most accurately describe racial oppression and how best it is being and/or how it can be fought against and destroyed.

We feel by having Black control of SOULBOOK we can be sure that the poetry and prose presented in this Journal will give the most meaningful understanding of what Blackness is, and be sure that it is expressed, as much as possible, as a natural fact of experience. We are certain that the necessary prerequisite to achieve these two ends is that the authors of this literature be Black.

Black American literature has tended to be parochial simply because most Black writers did not actually believe that their experience and understanding of the world was valuable merely because it was theirs (and real), but rather because they were Black or half-Black or "passing" or even because they could pretend not to be any of these, and by such act make a display of "culture" in the White man's hopeless world.

The Blackness of the best Black writing is not only in the fact of its creating myth and emotion that has legitimately been got by translating into art the peculiar emotional life of the Black man, but as world gesture that should be understood by any human

being.

Lastly, to be sure that no one misunderstands where our commitment lies, we publically dedicate our publication to Felix Moumié, Medgar Evers, Reuban Um Nyobé, the six child-martyrs of the Birmingham bombings of 1963, Patrice Lumumba, Ronald Stokes, Antonio Maceo, the dead Freedom Fighters of Kenya and Algeria, and the endless number of other known and unknown Black Freedom Fighters who have been gunned down by the imperialist oppressors in Afroamerica, Africa, Latin America and Asia. *

the editors

*Reuban Um Nyobé was the co-founder of the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), a militant political party and guerilla force which fought against colonial oppression in the U. N. Trusteeship of the "French" Camerouns (located in West Africa). In 1958 Um Nyobe was killed fighting to free his country from Gallic imperialism. Felix Moumié along with Um Nyobé founded the UPC in 1948. The French feared Moumié so much that they had him poisoned to death while he was attending a conference in Geneva, Switzerland in 1960. Medgar Evers was the secretary of the Mississippi branch of the NAACP until he was murdered by a White American racist in 1963. The six child-martyrs of the Birmingham bombings of 1963 were massacred while praying in a church in Birmingham, Alabama; two of the six were killed in the ensuing violence after the church bombing. Ronald Stokes was murdered in 1962 in Los Angeles, Calif. by the local police. He was obviously killed because he was a black man who practiced the faith of Islam in Christian, white America. Patrice Lumumba was the unforgettable Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo (Leo) who was assassinated because he wanted to guarantee that the Congo would benefit primarily the Congolese people. Antonio Maceo was born of Afro-Cuban parents in 1848. In 1896 he had beaten every contemporary top Spanish General and he was on the verge of destroying Spanish rule in Cuba. However he was murdered by Spanish soldiers before he could complete his patriotic mission.

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black nationalism on the right: *

an exposé of "cullud" opportunism in the
los angeles and san francisco bay areas

by

ernie allen

: all footnotes will be found at the end of this
article. this includes the definition of any
words from the afroamerican dialect that are used
in this paper.

During the past two years there has arisen on the West Coast a hybrid, reactionary sort of so-called "black-nationalism" which has confused the concept of Black Nationalism, and in particular, the concept of Revolutionary Black Nationalism. In the present paper this opprobrious phenomenon which we are tentatively describing as "cullud nationalism" will be analyzed; in a future paper an alternative to Black Opportunism will be offered.

"Black nationalism on the right" has its roots in the post-slavery program of Booker T. Washington.¹ The greatest differences between Washington and his modern-day counterparts, however, are the stronger identification of these "nationalists" with Mother Africa and, also, their seeming militancy (which can only be interpreted as "loud-mouth" conservatism): when it comes to speaking out on "Black" issues. Just as Washington had thoughts of establishing trade with Africa during his time, "nationalists" today are often heard spout their schemes of "trade" between the Afroamerican Community and developing African nations. What variety of trade proposed is for the most part left vague, but one is given the impression that this "trade" centers upon African art imports to the U.S. (which we will purchase with our \$20 billion, naturally!).

In order to establish a stronger identification with Africa it is customary for "cullud" nationalists" to take on African names; this is seemingly a militant position (and can be) inasmuch as it is "radical" for Black people in the context of the "American way of thinking." However, when we consider the opportunistic policies which these "nationalists" pursue, it can only be concluded that their names should be relegated to the class of the Tubman's, Kasavubu's, Mobutu's, and Tshombe's, all of them reactionary, African "leaders."

The seeming militancy of reactionary "nationalism" arises when

we consider the manner in which these "nationalist" groups vociferously denounce both the so-called "black bourgeois" and the present "Civil Rites"² movement. It is certainly true that these bourgeois elements within the Black Community should be denounced (as well as have their "heads whipped"); it is equally true that the "Civil Rites" program is leading itself up a "blind alley" to the extent that it depends on the Federal Government to step in at the point where the movement has reached a "dead end"³, or where it relies upon the morality of "Hunkies"⁴ to bring about a solution to the multitude of antagonistic contradictions inherent in the Black man's presence in America. Thus, criticism of the "Civil Rites" movement is indeed justified in many cases.

The greatest contradictions of reactionary "black nationalism," however, present themselves when we examine the "nationalist's" program for the solution of the dilemma of the Afroamerican; what most of our "cullud nationalists" propose is some sort of ambiguous "self-help" program⁵, complete with befuddled slogans as "each one teach one," "Pride and Dignity," etc., as if "self-help" by itself were going to solve the basic problems of Afroamericans (let alone slogans). It is our belief that these "nationalists" expect "Pride and Dignity" to arise from a vacuum, especially when we consider that self-hatred among Afroamericans will disappear only when Black people either establish some sort of control over the white-oriented mass media or at least have the power to project a satisfactory Black Image to the masses.⁶ Our position on "self-help" as expounded by these reactionary "nationalists" is that their program has not developed to such a point that it might benefit the masses of Black people in the racist U. S. In fact, "Pride," "Dignity," and "self-help" alone cannot and will not accomplish the arduous task of Black Liberation, a point upon which we shall elaborate later.

One implication of the "self-help" program is that Afroamericans ought to pursue the same path that virtually every minority group of the U. S. has followed at one time or another during its history in this racist quagmire; that is, by rejuvenating the ghettos in which they live (in terms of improvement of building and of stimulating greater economic activity in the Black Community), going through the "bootstrap scene," and eventually becoming an integral part of the so-called "affluent society." Now, all of this above nonsense would make prolific material for a very interesting Horatio Alger novel (as applied to the "success story" of a mass of people), but in terms of economic realities it is strictly "not on the case."⁷ First point: during the time which mino-

...
 rity groups made their "debut into the mainstream," the U. S. Economy was in a state of expansion therefore affording the members of these groups ample opportunity for "upward mobility." Today we find U. S. reactionary capitalism in its highest stage of development (that of Imperialism) and totally inadequate to provide a sufficient number of jobs for white workers (let alone black workers).⁹

Even if racial discrimination in the U. S. were to be abolished, Afroamericans would have few areas of the economic sphere into which they could expand (besides these decadent, economic wastelands of real estate, mortuaries, and drinking establishments).¹⁰ Second point: Jews, Italians, Poles, Germans, and others who came to this country of their own volition always had a group which they could exploit economically in order to "make it" on the American scene; that group was the Afroamerican Community. Presently, the only group which Afroamericans can exploit is themselves (who else is on the bottom?). This does, in fact, occur, and thus arise the internal class contradictions within the captive nation of Afroamerica, with the result of further entrenchment, economically, of the "black bourgeoisie" into "Whitey's" economy (and the relative economic downfall of the Black masses).

It is characteristic of these reactionary "nationalists" to spout cliches about a non-existent, American "free-enterprize;" if our brothers had done their reading on economics faithfully, they would perhaps realize that "free-enterprize" was dead in Europe in the late 1800's and got "whipped on back"¹¹ in the U. S. during the early 1900's (along with the formation of the first billion-dollar trust in history, United States Steel). The "free-enterprize" which is spoken of as if it were still a reality in the racist U. S. A. just "don't hardly exist no more," and in actuality exerted itself only for a short period of time during the Industrial Revolution in the U. S.

Let's "bring it down front": "self-help" for brutalized Afroamericans at the present stage (of development) of "Whitey's" economic system is a necessary but not sufficient condition for Black Liberation. Evidently, some Afroamericans feel that Black people need only pool their financial "resources," establish "Black-owned-and-controlled" banks, and from this dream (and it is a dream) create a vast network of Black businesses in the spirit of the "American Ethic," which, by the way, is an ethic of demagoguery and "trick-nology." We shall now proceed to "pull the covers off" these myths.

In the first place, we "ain't hardly got no bread"¹² with which to invest in the dubious undertaking outlined above. Oftentimes the figure of approximately 20 billion dollars is offered as

being the purchasing power of Black people in the U.S. This is quite an impressive sum, especially when we consider the fact that it is at present greater than the Gross National Product of Canada. But where does this \$20 billion go? The answer is that this sum is dissipated in the Afroamerican's expenditures for basic necessities. This "purchasing power" merely goes toward maintaining Black people on a subsistence level: that is, the majority of this \$20 billion pays for an oftentimes inadequate supply of food for the Black family, rent payments (which on the average are higher than those for white families), and for the cost of utilities. In 1959, according to the latest Bureau of the Census Report, the median income of non-white households (families and unrelated individuals) was \$2,520, or 49.5% of the median for white households (which was \$5,088). This disparity is shocking, but the brutal reality of the Black man's position in the "wilderness of North America" is even more startling when we consider that, economically speaking, Afroamericans are in virtually the same position that they were ten years ago; "The previous Census (of 1950) didn't collect similar figures by color. But the Census did conduct a comparable sample survey. It showed for 1949, a median of \$1,533 for non-white households, or 48.9% of the \$3,138 for white households."¹³ "No matter how one measures it, Negro incomes are still less than half those of whites, and have not made any significant gains in narrowing the margin during the past decade. When allowance made for the larger size of the average Negro household, it turns out that the median per capita income of non-whites is only around 44% by a first approximation of that of whites. The effective difference is also increased by the fact that Negroes generally have to pay more for poorer quality goods and services, and by other considerations."¹⁴ And in order to substantiate our position further that "self-help" is a necessary but not sufficient condition for Black Liberation, let us for a moment examine the situation of Afroamericans in that degenerate jungle known as Mississippi; The per capita income of Mississippi is \$1,173, the lowest per capita income of any state in the union. "If, however, you are a Negro living in one of five or six counties studied by the Commission (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights), you may have an income of only \$531 a year."¹⁵ "In the last 77 years there have been 578 lynchings of which 538 were of Negroes."¹⁶

"If you have children in one of the 151 school districts (none desegregated) the state will expend \$174 a year on your child. Less than any other state. Federal funds for the Negro

Zallen

Public Schools amounted to 42% of \$193,061.¹⁷ "If you are a Negro woman and had a child in 1959 and the child died at birth, it was one of 51.3% per 1,000 Negro infants who died that year in Mississippi."¹⁸

Finally, if we consider that from approximately June to October of 1964, 34 churches were either bombed or set on fire by white-racist, two-legged dogs in Mississippi, we can well imagine what might occur if any appreciable number of "self-help" businesses were established by Afroamericans in the "deep" South.

Excuse the expression, but "how in the hell" could a program of "self-help" function under the conditions of such a decadent "society" as this, unless one is speaking of "helping-self" to bazookas, cannons, and mortars? These facts underline the bankruptcy of the "cullud nationalist's" program which is out of touch with economic realities in the North and completely impotent in the South.

This paper has pointed out previously that "Whitey" has found himself in a "trick bag" relative to the prospects of continually expanding the U. S. Economy (at least with respect to the present job situation); U. S. Imperialism is suffering more and more each day as a result of the "head whippings" it is receiving in Southeast Asia. At a recent conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo, "Whitey" was denounced for his involvement in the Congo fiasco. Now, "The Beast" needs markets and cheap sources of labor and natural resources in order to insure his continued realization of super-profits, but because of his past "trickery" he finds that many nations now close their doors when they see him coming. What is the solution to his problem? At least with regard to Africa, "Whitey" is attempting to gain a greater economic foothold through the "patriotic" acts of "cullud," bourgeois mercenaries (including such Negro Mythologists as publisher John H. Johnson of Ebony Magazine and Uncle Ralph Bunche, Emerson Payer, et. al). "Big Charlie" is not particular which Afroamerican lackey he sends abroad as long as this lackey "brings home the ham hocks." He would logically, therefore, be willing to send reactionary "nationalists" to Africa as well as Uncle Toms in order to do his bidding; as a matter of fact, this has already occurred.¹⁹

Now, we realize that the American "black bourgeoisie" would like very much to reap the economic "goodies" from the Motherland, but let us not overlook another important fact: it is precisely the markets of Africa, also upon which our "nationalists" focus intense interest. Thus, concomitant with their "self-help" program they wish to help themselves to Africa's magnificent source of wealth; their desire to exploit our "Blood Brothers" and Blood Sisters" in

the Motherland in order to raise the economic level of "Bloods" (mainly themselves) in the U.S. takes on the characteristics of reactionary, "cullud" opportunism.

Brother James Lacy, an Afroamerican presently living in Accra, Ghana, had this to say in an unpublished paper: "Why should Africans help a segment of the largest capitalist country in the world, even a Black segment, to strengthen its position and in that economy? Doesn't their entrenched economic interests represent another source by which Africans will be exploited? Doesn't the strengthening of the Black man's economic position in America imply that American government action in Cuba, South Vietnam, the Congo, South Africa, and Latin America have to be supported by all who have interests in the American Economy?"²⁰

Let us keep in mind that the racist U.S.A. did not become a "have" nation and the vast, Black World²¹ become a group of "have-not" nations simply because "Whitey" worked diligently while the rest of the world set back on its hind quarters; the role of U.S. "tricknology" and imperialism with respect to the Black World is well documented,²² and need not be belabored here. However, the point which we have scored in preceding paragraphs is not irrelevant to our present discussion. As will be demonstrated later, Afroamericans will definitely find it necessary to procure support for their struggle from peoples through out the world, particularly the Black World. In order to achieve this support it is imperative that Afroamericans not only denounce, but boycott (among other things) the system which seeks to destroy humanity.²³ Any other position taken by Afroamerica offers only a reactionary myth-solution to its problems, a "solution" which, because of other realities, is destined to fail.

Now, evidently our "cullud nationalists" don't really care to "tell it like it is," otherwise they would not "shuffle" into the pitfalls and contradictions inherent in their programs; either they are grossly ignorant of the "economic facts of life," receive "kickbacks" from reactionary "ofays," or both. There is evidence to support the fact they are receiving these monetary "crumbs" from right-wing "Beasts"; therefore, we accuse them (in the words of a militant Brother) of "spreading ignorance, perpetuating confusion, and fostering illusions" about "Whitey's" so-called "free enterprize," chiefly in order to bolster their own economic position in racist, U.S. "society."

Previously the relationship of the "black bourgeoisie" to the white power structure was given in regards to the role of U.S. vis-u-vis African nations. We shall now examine this "black bourgeoisie"

in greater detail and discuss its relationship with opportunistic "nationalism."

The late E. Franklin Frazier pointed out in Black Bourgeoisie that "there are only eleven Negro banks in the United States" and also that these "Blood" banks had "total assets amounting to less than a single white bank in many small cities."²⁴ This disclosure should have relegated the fable of "Black Economic Power" to the realm of "Negro Mythology," but the myth evidently has not yet been buried, for the "black bourgeoisie" as well as "nationalists" still act as if they had never heard of Frazier. And further, it is a fact that the small amount of surplus capital "controlled" by the "black bourgeoisie" is virtually dependent upon the white power structure (this surplus capital must eventually trace its source to white-controlled banks)-so much for "Black Economic Power."

However, Frazier also mentioned the fact of expenditure of "large sums of money" by the "cullud" bourgeoisie towards "conspicuous consumption."²⁵ For example, the "black bourgeoisie" in the Los Angeles area intends to spend \$25,000 for a float in the 1965 Rose Bowl Parade this coming January. Reactionary "nationalists" argue that we should obtain funds from this black middle-class for the Black Liberation Movement-funds such as those which are being wasted in the above manner. It is our contention that the "nationalists" cannot really be serious about this matter. Now, let's be realistic; in order for Black, middle-class "freaks" to have obtained their "fortunes" in the first place (as well as maintain them after acquisition) it was necessary for these bourgeois "Bloods" to climb on the backs of others in order to achieve their goals. We ask the "nationalists": Do you really expect Black "buzhies" to give up "coins" to their less fortunate "Blood Brothers?" As a matter of fact, one of the main connections that middle-class "Bloods" have with the Black masses²⁶ lies in the establishment of service enterprises (owned either by the Black middle-class or Jewish-dominated, "cullud-corporation" facades) in the Black Community: funeral parlors, "fry shops"²⁷ restaurants, and the "numbers business." Another connection would be the concern that both the black masses and the "buzhies" have with regard to "Civil Rites," though the interpretation of the mystic phenomena by either group would depend upon class perspective and interests. If the Black middle-class gave appreciable "coin" to help the masses it would certainly result in their taking of a contradictory position, for their economic level with respect to the Black masses would obviously be lowered, and as was pointed out previously, they did not accumulate surplus capital in order to give it away. The "nationalist's" position is

that Afroamericans should support "Black Business," but this merely presents another dilemma to the Afroamerican: Would you rather be exploited by your "Black Brother's" private enterprise or by "Whitey's" monopoly capital? These are the only alternatives available within the context of the present system.²⁸ Further, "nationalist's" decry the fact that bourgeois "Bloods" live outside the ghetto areas while still obtaining revenue from their Black Brothers in th ghetto. The only alternative given by "nationalists" is that the "black bourgeoisie" maintain their homes in the Black Community and work to "make the ghetto respectable." Thus the problem of exploitation of Blacks by Blacks is neither resolved or fully brought to light by "nationalists," and business continues as usual.....Today the masses of Afroamericans are floundering in virtually the same conditions of poverty that they've always known and experienced, while bourgeois elements of the Black Community "flee to the suburbs" (..... to practice integration²⁹) in order to enjoy and perpetuate the "American way of life." "Crumbs" fall to the masses of black from the "cullud" bourgeoisie just as "crumbs" fall from the tables of White America to Black America (which means virtually no "crumbs" at all).

Quiet as it's kept, our "nationalists" are not really "anti-bourgeoisie." In fact, they oftentimes exhibit a bourgeois outlook themselves (in terms of their own "conspicuous consumption," i.e., the ownership of "fino" cars and suits, etc.), and we have already discussed the similarities of "nationalists" and the bourgeois "Bloods" with respect to "whitey's" role of world-wide Imperialism.

Let's examine one last "bag" in the repertoire of the "nationalist"; this is another "stick" from the "self-help" tree, and its called "education." According to our brothers, "education" is virtually a panacea for problems of Afroamericans (and they of course are speaking of that stilted, bourgeois education characteristic of American "freak-factory" schooling). The "cullud nationalist's" position on education is that Black students should stay home and study so that they might receive "honor grades." During the riots of the summer of 1964, one of these "nationalists" was heard to say, "If these Black students who were rioting had been home studying to make 'honor grades,' riots would not have been necessary." This statement merely illuminates once more the complete ridiculousness of the "cullud nationalist" "self-help" program. Was not 15 year old James Powell³⁰ on his way to a remedial reading class when viciously shot down by the thug-cop Lt. Gilligan? Was not Lemuel Penn, a noted Black educator,

murdered by a white racist who fired a shotgun into the car in which Penn was riding? What good did "honor grades" do for him? Being "good old darkies" did not save Afroamericans from being brutally extirpated during slavery, and acting as "good Negroes" today does not keep Afroamericans from being "whipped" by either racist thug-cops in the North or the Ku Klux Klan in the South. As before, our position on education is that it forms a necessary but not sufficient condition for liberation of Afroamericans. It is absurd to speak of education for Afroamericans when survival is becoming one of the most basic problems.

Now that we have "wasted" the reactionary program of bourgeois "nationalists," let us discuss their opprobrious connection with the American right wing faction. First, let us note that the "self-help" program for Afroamericans plays right into the hip-pocket of the "white-wing" conservatives.³¹ As long as "Whitey" can keep Black people running after a non-existent "free-enterprise" he can keep the real issue "under the covers," that is, the issue of economic and political power; hence "Whitey" hopes to avoid the eventual and imminent clash with the "have-nots" of the U.S. (and, in fact, the "have-nots" of the rest of the world). For this reason "cullud" opportunism (with its false and misleading "philosophy") is necessary for "Whitey's" purposes, and also for this reason it is necessary that groups of this sort be crushed. Those "nationalists" involved are not important enough to mention in this paper³², however, many of the illusions which they have spread in the Afroamerican community are misconceptions important enough to get "wasted" in the above text. In conclusion, we say to these opportunists with regard to accusations made in this paper: "if the drawers fit, wear 'em!"

FOOTNOTES

1. The most significant parallel between Washington's program of "race uplifting" and that of modern-day Booker T.'s lies in the fact that both received support from whites who had become alienated to Afroamericans possessing more militant programs, programs which placed the burden of the "Negro problem" on "Whitey" for its solution. Just as Washington urged black people to "cast down their buckets..... ..," modern-day Booker T.'s exhort black people to demonstrate "responsibility," practice "self-help," and not to ask "Whitey" for jobs, but to develop their own industries. "Whitey" is delighted to hear talk of "free enterprise" from "responsible Negro leaders," and rewards his lackeys well.
2. This movement formerly went under the name of "Civil Rights." However, as this movement in the past few years has been led for the most part by Masochistic Mystics, Ghandi Hunchers, and other lackeys of the

white power structure, we wish to preserve the sanctity of their "non-violent" program by blessing it with the appropriate name, "Civil Rites."

3. We need only point out the failure of SNCC in the South this past summer; unfortunately, SNCC's summer program was dependent upon the protection of voter-registration workers by the U.S. Justice Department and F.B.I. The deaths of three SNCC workers and two other apolitical Blacks (not even counting the 36 churches burnt in the State) in Mississippi last summer testified to the impotency of a program which depends upon the help of the racist Federal Government (in spite of all of LBJ's "humanitarian" concern).

4. white people

5. "Self-help" in the current use of the term implies that Afroamericans should unite to pool their economic resources to establish factories, service enterprises, etc., in order to strengthen their economic position in the U.S.

6. Kardiner and Ovesey, Mark of Oppression, pp. 309-10

7. has no basis in reality

8. This expansion occurred about the same time the U.S. embarked upon its role of overseas imperialism.

9. According to Michael Munk in the National Guardian of April 18, 1964, p.5, the annual Manpower Report of 1963 revealed "that the private sector of the economy was responsible for a net loss of jobs since 1957 and that what job growth has occurred is due to the public sector." The net contribution of private enterprise to total national employment since 1957 has been a loss of 600,000 jobs. Also, the report states that "unemployment among Negroes, at 10.9%, remained more than double the white rate, which increased slightly from 4.9% in 1962 to 5.1% last year."

10. This is due to the advanced state of the U.S. Economy; under the present system it is ludicrous for Afroamericans to think in terms of owning or controlling their own industries, particularly heavy industries. The naked, white reality of already-existing, huge trusts and holding companies, plus the relative lack of surplus capital in the Afroamerican Community clearly illustrate the Black man's dilemma; this is not defeatism-it is an honest appraisal of actual economic conditions in America. Note that we have not even considered the problem of competition of Black industry with U.S. monopoly capital in the form of existing "automated and cybernated" industries even if sufficient surplus capital were obtained by the Black Community, nor did we consider the obvious dependency that these industries would have on "Whitey's" stockpile of raw materials.

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11. was on the decline
12. the term "bread" refers to surplus capital used for purposes of investment.
13. Perlo, Victor. Negro Income is still less than half of White, p.5 People's World (October 6, 1962)
14. loc. cit. (emphasis added by the author of this paper)
15. Profile of a State: If You Lived In Mississippi, This is What It Would Be Like, p. 5 People's World (October 6, 1962).
16. loc. cit.
17. loc. cit.
18. loc. cit.
19. Recently, one such "nationalist" took a trip to the Motherland and was given a "cold" treatment upon his arrival, the reason being Africans were quite aware of the implications vis-à-vis Africa of his reactionary program. And on his return to the U.S. the "nationalist" reported that "Africans hate American Negroes."
20. James Lacy, An Open Letter to the Afro-American Association, p.13
21. meaning African, Asian, and Latin-American nations
22. For example see Snyder, Louis L. The Imperialism Reader: Documents and Readings on Modern Expansionism.
23. As a result of "Whitoy's" machinations involving genocide, savagery, barbarism, and "tricknology" (à la "humanitarian" missions in Stanleyville, Congo) which have occurred over the past 400 years, we cannot honestly justify at present the inclusion of his race under the definition of "humanity."
24. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, p.134
25. The purchasing of goods chiefly for ostentatious display.
26. A secondary relationship between the masses and middle class is that of "Blackness" (much less important to the "Black Bourgeoisie")
27. "Cullud" hairdressing establishments
28. On the other hand, if our Brothers are speaking of "Black Businesses" in terms of having Black-owned cooperatives (such as supermarkets and shopping centers) where prices will be lowered for co-op members (who, for the most part, will be Black), then they will be beginning to make progressive moves towards betterment of the despairing and wretched conditions in which Afroamericans find themselves today.
29. That period of time during which the first Negro moves in and the last white moves out.
30. An Afroamerican who was murdered in the streets of Harlem, New York on July 16, 1964.
31. Recently an opportunistic "cullud" group in the Los Angeles area went about campaigning for Goldwater among the Black Community, however, most of their speeches were made in the presence of predominantly

white audiences. In fact, when this group finally did go down to the Black ghetto in order to spread ignorance, they "got their heads whipped"-much like the John F. Kennedy Library which recently got "wasted" in Cairo, Egypt.

32. For they will fall to the wayside as their programs become more reactionary (and this will be even more necessary as the economy "tightens up" and "Whitey" gets scared), and thereby cause greater indignation of the oppressed African American nation to these programs.

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"THE NEGROES SHOULD BE LEFT TO BECOME EXTINCT THE NATURAL WAY. A GOOD NEGRO IS A DEAD NEGRO." Senator Goldwater April, 1964. This quote was contained in a brochure published by the United States Information Agency which was sent to several influential African leaders.

20 the editors

To: Eric Hoffer, a true believer in the ideology of the white man's burden.

From: The editors of SOULBOOK.

Re: Your erudite article in the New York Times Magazine.*

We are amused to know that you call Kwame Nkrumah, the President of the Republic of Ghana a "pseudo-intellectual." We thought about writing you a long letter criticizing and condemning your ludicrous, condescending statement but we felt it was enough to inform you of the following facts:

- 1) In 1927 Kwame Nkrumah graduated from the Government Training College in Achimota, Accra.
- 2) In 1939 He graduated from Lincoln University with B.A.
- 3) In 1942 Mr. Nkrumah graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with M.Sc. AND He also graduated from Lincoln University with B.Th.
- 4) In 1943 He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with M.A.
- 5) in 1947 He wrote Towards Colonial Freedom.
- 6) In 1948 He founded the Accra Evening News.
- 7) In the year 1957 the President of Ghana published His autobiography, Ghana.
- 8) I speak of Freedom, a collection of His speeches was published in 1960.
- 9) In 1963 His Africa Must Unite was published.
- 10) In 1964, Consciencism- Philosophy and Ideology of Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution- which is probably President Nkrumah's greatest work to date, appeared in English, French and Arabic editions.

Sincerely,

The Editors of SOULBOOK

* Hoffer, Eric. "The Negro is Prejudiced Against Himself." New York Times Magazine, (November, 29, 1964) p.113

In each issue of SOULBOOK there will be a selection from the African press concerning some controversial subject in Africa.

In this issue we present the viewpoint of The Spark which is published weekly in Accra, Ghana. The subject of this article is the United States intervention in the Congo, and the U.S. State Department's subsequent snub of the Reconciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity.

The Commission, appointed by all the African governments is headed by the eminent African Statesman, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of the Government of Kenya. It has been this group of African Leaders who have attempted to bring an end to the Congolese civil war (despite the American government).

It is true that after this article was printed in The Spark the State Department decided to meet with the Commission. But this was a pharisaical, superficial gesture because they still refused to confer with the Commission on the issues of United States intervention and white thug-mercenaries slaying Blacks in the Congo. Therefore in substance this editorial is still valid.

Indeed the recent events at Stanleyville, Congo only prove conclusively the thesis put forth by The Spark. IT IS NOW MORE APPARENT THAN EVER THAT THE "HUMANITARIAN" ORIENTATED U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT (ALONG WITH "SOCIALIST" ENGLAND, AND BELGIUM) ARE INTERESTED PRIMARILY IN PROTECTING WHITE LIVES AND WHITE OWNERSHIP OF THE RICHES THAT RIGHTFULLY BELONG TO THE BLACK CONGOLESE. IT IS NOW MORE APPARENT THAN EVER THAT MOST AFRICAN STATES ARE INTERESTED IN SAVING BLACK LIVES AS WELL AS WHITE LIVES AND AT THE SAME TIME SEEING TO IT THAT ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE CONGOLESE NATION BE PROTECTED.

Therefore this is clearly a confrontation of epic proportions. For it is a battle that has been fought many times through history; it is that struggle of the forces of righteousness against the dung-infested rabble of iniquity.

Who will win? Patrice Lumumba answered this question in the last letter he ever wrote:

"I know and feel deep in my heart that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of their internal and external enemies, that they will rise up as one in

order to say "No" to colonialism, to brazen, dying colonialism, in order to win their dignity in a clean land." *

We agree completely with our late Brother Lumumba.

-the editors-

U.S. and the O.A.U.

The Leader of the "un-holy alliance" of the imperialist powers, the United States of America, has unmasked its mailed fist.

The last moment refusal of the United States to meet and confer with the Reconciliation Commission of the O.A.U. which was due to leave for the United States within the next twenty-four hours, constitutes one of the best object lessons for the whole of Africa and indeed, for the whole of the decent world.

We are neither surprised nor impressed. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, who knows imperialism for what it is, we have never been taken in by the double talk, and hollow claims on the part of the United States. The claim that their country stands for world peace!

There can hardly be any leader in Africa today, having observed the activities of the United States in the Congo, who will still remain unconverted about the dangers which imperialism hold over our heads in Africa and the world. Which African leader, seeing the manner in which the United States has presented one affront after another to Africa over the question of the Congo, can hold back the wrath of the people of our continent? He will be a brave man indeed who will continue to pretend that the interests of the people of Africa coincide with those of the United States.

With the ruling class in a country like the United States which is without conscience, and without scruple, the interests of the people of the Congo can go hang, so long as the puppet Government does the imperial bidding, and opens the door wide for capitalist exploitation. What does the United States care for the welfare of the people of Latin America and nations like the Congo, so long as the resources of these countries are exposed to foreign investment.

Had the interests of our people in the Congo not been our concern, we would have like to sit back, and permit the United States to reveal its selfish designs some more. We should have let the arch-imperialist nation, the United States, invite by its actions the intervention of the only powers which are its match.

But, alas, the people of the Congo are our own people. Their misery is our misery. This being so, we cannot stand idle while the United States spins Tshombe and Kasavubu around as if they were so many tops in the hands of children at play.

Now that there can be no doubt as to the intentions of the United States on the Congo, viz., to foment trouble in the area, and prevent the much needed reconciliation. Let all the African peoples rally together in unity and throw off the evil influence.

In a spirit of compromise, African leaders have admitted M. Tshombe to the meeting of African Foreign Ministers. We will not regret the decision. But, M. Tshombe has yet to prove that the hands outstretched to him are not repulsed.

We see that power, a heady stuff, can get into the heads of peoples. Thus, the United States has dared to flout the will of a whole continent. OUR power in Africa lies in our morality and in our unity.

(reprinted from The Spark, No. 93 (Friday, September 25, 1964) page 8. The right to reprint this article was given by the Editor of The Spark, Brother Kofi Batsa to the Brother Editors of the SOULBOOK.

*Patrice Lumumba, fighter for Africa's Freedom.
Moscow: Progress Publishers. translated from the Russian, p.156.

"THIS BATTLE (the Congolese people's war against imperialism) NOT ONLY CONCERNS THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE. IT IS A BATTLE OF ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND DIGNITY, THE DIGNITY OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE." Modibo Keita, the President of Mali



Cover for Cannibalism

Cartoon by Lan Chen-an

from Peking Review

REJECT NOTES

george murray

w. best

carol freeman

wm. patterson

christmas morning i
got up before the others and
ran
naked across the plank
floor into the front
room to see grandmama
sewing a new
button on my last year
ragdoll.

carol freeman

Pure Soul

Deep, black multitude
Of beautiful spirits,
With jazz overtones
Of angels' wings;
Prepare tomorrow's creations
From invisible matter.
Sunlight browning the wheat
In atomic chain-like rhythm.
Finally, coming to rest
In a bosom of pure soul.

w. best

i saw them lynch festus whiteside and
all the limp white women with lymphatic greasy eyelids came
to watch silent silent in the dusty burning noon
shifting noiselessly from heavy foot to heavy
foot licking beast lips showing beast teeth in
anticipation of the feast
and they all plodded forward after the
lynching to grab and snatch the choice
pieces, rending them with their bloody teeth crunching on his hollow
bones.

carol freeman

mr. willie Frelow died
getting some off my
mother while i watched
through the crack he
was straining and hauling his skinny
white ass in the air like
he was pulling up one
of our mules

carol freeman

when

my uncle willie saw

aunt mimmies new baby he

look at his big cracked black hands the thick

pink nails split then

he looked at black mimmie with her gold teeth flashing and

he look at the baby

then

later on he brag to every body how he

got indin blood from his grand mama _____

thenwhen

my uncle willie and aunt tee mimmie had

nother baby he

look at auntee then he

lock out the window he

look at the midwife who smiling a little

shaking her head a

little

and he say it albinodontyall member us got albinirs on mah cudin Tim side?

Aunt tee she grinsome then she laugh then she say williesherrif merriweather

say ef this a boy if ah names his merriweather he gon give you fi' dollars?

then

i seen uncle willie cry some.

carol freeman

Beyond the shadows with red skies.

Beyond the lonely.

Above the proud.

There is a state.

The meek are its dwellers

The poor bask outside of its walls

Beyond the shadows of the twilight where grasses bow and sway

laden with dew.

There is a state.

Above the mountain and below the sea, there is a mode of life,

most sadly forgotten, as lost as yesterday, and as unyield-

ing as tomorrow.

george m. murray

Message to Brother's

This is an uncertain transformed truth
The eagle wings speak of voluptuous pleasures
Breaking boundaries given birth by genocide.
Lice become lice constantly pulling away from pretentious
Evolution, accepting the role of bigot Kings.

Tomorrow's slender winds bring reality the ultimate avenue
Patronized in nightmares.
A cup of wine sweetens as swaying hips keep time in calculated
Unawareness.
Harmonious claws grow artful in sacrificing politics to become
Cringing worms attacking sacrificial wounds.
The knot untangles; the guilty looks to desperation's aid
Lurking in the last corner of darkness the Lion licks a paw
Eyes saying come on down.

wm. patterson

Sam's Moment

Lady Day moaned for somewhere
Sam sat wanting a reason
Reaching out with her
Somewhere gently.....gently carressing
Brief rhythmical echoes.....pregnant sighs
Folly.....tears.....loneliness
Now shrilling.....now piercing
Tight drawn sinews.....Sam whispering
Hush Billie, let my bad times be
I saw Sam cover his soul with his elbow

wm. patterson

When i-was young and small with ashy grey legs, that had little rivulets
of black from where the pee had driped, i used to run head long into
thin cutting places of johnson grass, hiding from the greying sun, and
the grass would rustle static and still, and hoarse huffs of noise would
limp from my open lips, and the grass would jab little slivers of pain
into me, as the seeking wind parted the grasses, and jabbed cold
fingers up my nose and whispered you're it.

carol freeman

"FOR THE WHITE MAN HAS, FOR THREE THOUSAND YEARS, ENJOYED THE PRIVILEGE OF SEEING WITHOUT BEING SEEN; HE WAS THE PURE VISION; THE LIGHT OF HIS EYES RESCUED EVERYTHING FROM ITS NATIVE SHADOW, THE WHITENESS OF HIS SKIN WAS ALSO A VISION LIKE THAT OF CONDENSED LIGHT. WHITE MAN, WHITE BECAUSE HE WAS MAN, WHITE LIKE DAY TRUTH AND VIRTUE, ENLIGHTENED ALL OF CREATION LIKE A TORCH, UNVEILED THE SECRET ESSENCE AND WHITENESS OF THINGS. TODAY, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE REGARDS OF THESE BLACK MEN OUR REGARD RE-ENTERS OUR EYES; BLACK TORCHES LIGHT THE WORLD AND OUR WHITE HEADS ARE NOTHING MORE THAN SMALL FLAMES BALANCING IN THE WIND."

jean paul sartre

the real reasons tanganyika and zanzibar
united and became tanzania

by

kenn m. freeman

On April 23, 1964 President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika, President Abeid Amani Karume of Zanzibar signed articles of "Umoja"* in which both of their nations became one sovereign state under the name of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar¹ (in October, 1964 it was changed to Tanzania).

Geographically it was a natural union. Both of them lie on the edge of the Indian Ocean on the East Coast of Africa. The islands that make up the Peoples Republic of Zanzibar lie less than 25 miles off of the coast of Tanganyika. Thus one must start with the fact of the proximity of these territories, the inhabitants common fear and experience of being victims of European Imperialism, U. S. Imperialism and Arab slavery, and the common tongue spoken by all the people living in this area virtually proscribes a political union of these African peoples.

Of course there were many other reasons that motivated this East African federation, but the reasons already mentioned are those which make this political union at least acceptable to the peasants, proletariat, intellectuals and politicians in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

To the majority of people in both of these historically rich lands the boundaries were the means by which the imperialists egregiously "legalized" the traumatic effects of the resultant separation of African mother in Tanganyika from her African son who had often gone to Zanzibar to find means for a meager livelihood for his large, extended family. Also African politicians and intellectuals realize that these same boundaries had divided Africans to such an extent that it was relatively easy for Europeans to conquer and rule Africans for generation after generation. (this does not imply Africans did not fight against European Imperialism)

Thus this newest move towards African unity (and most African unification schemes) is motivated by a desire to find a way to insure that Africans will never be enslaved and conquered by non-Blacks.²

In addition to these motivations behind the East African merger one must always consider at least three more motivations of Black African intellectuals and politicians which are probable causes in any merger between Africans: (1) African political unifications are looked upon as a means that would prove the political genius of the Black race. Thus Blacks would merit and achieve--it

is hoped--the respect of the world, (2) the desire that Blacks shed their "colonial mentality" imposed on them by imperialist educational institutions and regain their self-confidence in African abilities and respect in their African past and culture,³ and (3) to find more successful means to industrialize and raise the living standards of the mass of African peoples. Usually a merger is specifically designed to enlarge the internal market and to eliminate competition between the African countries for development aid from the developed countries. The implication here is that this will also strengthen the bargaining position of the underdeveloped African country vis-à-vis the developed countries.

As far as Karume's motives are concerned he was probably influenced more by his friendship to Nyerere, and the fact that Nyerere had long helped Karume's Afro-Shirazi Party oust Arab feudal rule in Zanzibar (Nyerere sent 300 Tanganyikan police to Zanzibar to help maintain order after the pro-Black, anti-imperialist revolutionaries succeeded in ousting the Arab feudal regime). Probably Karume felt that he owed Nyerere something that would help Nyerere maintain his government. In fact there is evidence indicating that Nyerere "helped" Karume come to this understanding. Because a few days before the announced union Nyerere publically threatened to withdraw the Tanganyikan police from Zanzibar. Since it is common knowledge that Zanzibar had no immediate source of police protection (which was greatly needed at the time because all other Zanzibari military forces were busy curbing counterrevolutionary moves on the islands) other than the Tanganyikan force, one could suggest that Nyerere was applying pressure on Karume in order to gain concessions that primarily benefited Tanganyika and Nyerere.

Certainly there is little question that Nyerere needed, at that particular time, something to rebuild his past image as a Black Nationalist leader. And certainly Nyerere realized the union would rebuild his political reputation (and the confidence of the Tanganyikan people in their government) after it was virtually destroyed on account of the Tanganyikan army mutiny***, and his government's subsequent failure to successfully use its own, or African resources, to quell the disturbances. The disgrace was complete when Nyerere brought in imperialist White English troops--the army of Tanganyika's former colonial oppressors--to crush the Black African troop rebellion, and bring order to Tanganyika.

Thus one of the obvious results of this East African federation is Nyerere's image as a Black Nationalist, African Nationalist

and PanAfricanist has been considerably rebuilt.³ Sheik Karume of Zanzibar, riding on the crest of a wave of enthusiasm engendered by the recent African Revolution in Zanzibar, certainly had no personal need comparable to Nyerere's to enhance his political image. Thus one must conclude that it was Nyerere who had more personal motives and did gain more personally out of the merger.

The reactionary, conservative, and "liberal" U.S. press purposely proscribed mentioning one of the chief reasons behind the timing of this spectacular merger. The American mass media, with their attitudes of monolithic condescension towards any efforts by darker-skinned people to do anything on the intellectual level, started squealing the ludicrous assertion that the real cause of Zanzibar's and Tanganyika's merger was to avert a Communist takeover and/or Communist influence in Zanzibar. The facts do not justify this interpretation.

The reasons that the U.S. "experts" on Africa give for their prognostication that Communism was imminent in Zanzibar can be summarized in the following points: (1) The Vice President of Zanzibar, Abdulla Kassim Hanga is a graduate of Friendship University in Moscow. (2) The Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Babu is one of the Editors of the Marxist-orientated monthly magazine Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution. (3) The revolutionary regime had redeemed all pawn tickets on the islands without paying the pawnbrokers. (4) They had started grocery cooperatives all over the islands, along with nationalizing all the former feudal land holdings. (5) They had destroyed all rickshaws because they were symbols of human servitude. (6) They had understood the neo-colonialist role of English technicians in Zanzibar and therefore they had deported all of them, and subsequently asked for technicians from socialist countries in order to help build socialism in an African context on Zanzibar. (7) They had taken over the U.S. missile tracking station on Zanzibar and completely dismantled it.⁴****

Certainly there is no evidence to suggest that the Union was designed to eliminate these reforms and positive trends. In fact if one looks a little closer one finds that Oscar Kambona, Tanganyika's Foreign and Defence Minister, and former roommate of Zanzibar's "Communist" Vice President Kassim Hanga, is described by one U.S. Africanist as "a militant PanAfricanist who is considerably (sentence and paragraph continued on page 42)

a (and at the same time rebuilt the confidence of the Tanganyikan ---people in their Government.)

to the left of Nyerere...and is not and anti-Communist..."⁵ was the leader in the discussions that worked out the basis of the merger. Indications are that he is one of the biggest fans in Tanganyika for the progressive trends in Zanzibar.

Even more significant in this context is the fact that most competent Africanists agree that Kambona is right now the man who actually controls Tanganyikan political power. Thus we must say that it is very unlikely that Anti-Kommunism was a significant factor or motivation in the causes of the East African merger. And what further supports this view is that both Hanga and Babu have been given important posts in the new cabinet of the Republic of Tanzania. Therefore their influence has increased since it is now not only in Zanzibar, but also in Tanganyika.*****

Just a few days before the merger U.S. Naval Fleet movements in the Indian Ocean had angered most people in East Africa to such a high pitch that even Nyerere (who up to this time was not known to make strong, anti-American statements) was publicly calling these yanqui intrusions off the Tanganyikan coast an insult to Africa. Even a correspondent in Tanganyika of a conservative, English periodical called the U.S. Naval maneuvers in that area "ostentatious and rather pointless."⁶ But what was clear to both Tanganyikan and Zanzibari officials was that Washington's politicians were close to dragging Africa into the cold war. Naturally, none of the African parties involved wanted any part of this kind of harassment and aggression that the U.S. has inflicted upon revolutionary Cuba (in this sense no militant African nationalist wants a "Cuba" in Africa). Therefore both Tanganyika and Zanzibar felt--and rightly so--that by politically uniting their respective countries they could insulate themselves from the COLD WAR, and stop U.S. red-baiting of (and an imminent invasion) Zanzibar. At least on a short range basis they have succeeded in averting an immediate threat of a Bahia de Cochinos*****invasion in East Africa.

The above reason, and the need to resuscitate the much-needed confidence of East Africans in their respective governments were probably the most important motivations of Tanganyika's and Zanzibar's timing of their announcement of unification. And amazingly enough they went a long way in achieving both of these objectives concomitantly with the objectives that are everpresent in the hearts of all East Africans, and for that matter all PanAfricanists throughout Africa, and other parts of the world inhabited by the sons and daughters of Africa.

FOOTNOTES

*It means unity in Kiswahili, the lingua franca of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, northern Mozambique, Eastern Congo, and parts of Uganda.

1. "Tanganyika and Zanzibar sign agreement to Unite." New York Times, April 24, 1964 (an unsigned news story) p. 1.

2. Freeman, Kenn M. "Notes on Relationship between Black Nationalism, African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism." (an unpublished paper) p. 5.

3. Ibid.,

** It means brother in Kiswahili.

*** Certain Marxists who are short on knowledge about underdeveloped countries, and especially African countries, have stated that Nyerere's crushing of this troop mutiny was solely a counter-revolutionary act. This position is worth keeping in mind, but it is at best an oversimplification because it cannot be assumed the mutiny of this army was an index to the popular tide in East Africa. This army-like most armies in nations just liberated from the colonial yoke- was mercenary in character. It had been trained by the British imperialist to remain apart and antagonistic to the interests of the people and especially vis-a-vis the African Nationalist movements. e.g. It was virtually the same Black troops that rebelled in Kenya that fought against the Mau Mau revolt there. Also it must be remembered that the Tanganyikan troops' demands (higher wages, replacement of white officers with Black officers, -all legitimate, progressive demands- were granted by Nyerere's government).

**** This author has learned from reliable sources that the missile "tracking" station in Zanzibar in actuality was a missile base and within a few hours could be set up for the latter purpose.

4. "The Zanzibar Move." New York Times, April 25, 1964, (unsigned editorial) p. 26.

5. Sterling, Claire. "Tanganyika: The Tribulations of a Good Man." The Reporter. (April 9, 1964) pp. 21-25.

FOOTNOTES cont.

6. "Everybody climbs on the Zanzibar Dhow," Africa 1964, No. 9 (May 1, 1964), p. 3,4.

***** The fact that none of the social reforms achieved by the Zanzibari revolution, and that many more radical measures have been added since the merger shows that the Union was not a counterrevolutionary move against Zanzibar. In fact the recent decision to bring Chinese arms and military advisors into Tanganyika is certainly an index to the growing Zanzibari influence on Tanganyika. Also President Nyerere's public denunciation of the uncovered U.S. plot to overthrow his government, and his censure of U.S. and Belgium's "humanitarian" intervention in the Congolese Civil war are also indices to the heightened political consciousness of the Dar es Salaam officials.

The unresolved problem of whether to recognize West Germany or East Germany seems to be at an impasse with West Germany technically the only one recognized by Tanzania, but Zanzibari officials are still demanding diplomatic status on Zanzibar for the East Germans. Indications are that this problem-created by West Germany- will be solved by Tanzanians to the advantage of all Tanzanians & all Germans.

***** The site of the April, 1961, U.S.-backed invasion of free Cuba.

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Freeman.

The Reporter. "Tanganyika: The Tribulations of a Good
Man." pp. 21-25, (April 9, 1964).

TseTung, Mao. On Methods of Leadership, Peking: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960.

This short, concise pamphlet by the leading Marxist theorician of the day is a must for all Afroamerican leaders, non-communist and communist alike.

The author states two rules that Leaders should employ in carrying out any task:(1) linking the general with the specific, (2) linking the leadership with the rank and file.

He tells us that general directives when linked with specific guidance(e.g. attending to details, investigating a few branches and giving personal guidance to some) they were carried out successfully, however when this was not done failure occurred.

"The scattered and unsystematic views of the masses are summed up, that is, brought together and unsystematized after examination, and then the summing-up is explained and popularized until the summarized ideas become more nearly correct, more vital and more meaningful." This is the only way Mao sees the leadership can be linked with the rank and file. At this point one begins to wonder, what does he mean by "more nearly correct, more vital and more meaningful"? On this phrase there is a wide latitude for divergency, especially between Marxists and non-Marxists.

There are two particular points that are of especial interests to the emerging revolutionary, Black leadership in the U.S. : "The harder the struggle, the greater is the necessity of closely linking the leadership with the demands of the rank and file(p.9)." The second important point is: "Not more than one central task should be assigned at any one time to any one locality-though the central task may be supplemented by tasks of secondary and tertiary importance."(p.8)

In such a short work this great thinker renders in poetically-precise language what many were never taught in four year courses of political science in racist, bourgeois, western Universities.

reviewed by mamadou lumumba

"puddn'head" and the negro

by

bob hamilton

The purpose of this paper is to discuss Mark Twain's anti-Negro sentiments in his novellette, "PUDDN'HEAD WILSON." Before doing that, I shall clear the air lest the reader contest me on issues which are not the concern of this paper. Whenever Twain is criticized for the way he treats the Negro in his works, his disciples start to wildly wave "documents" which show that he dearly loved "spirituals" and that he was against slavery, but we cannot assume that anti-slavery means pro-Negro. Harriet Stowe's "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" was an anti-slavery tract, but she certainly felt that the Blacks were inferior and should be turned out to pasture back in their native Africa. To her slavery was cruel in the same way that fox hunting and bear-baiting were cruel. "It's true they were inferior, but that's no reason to enslave them," is the way the sentiment goes. Therefore we must not assume that anti-slave means pro-Negro, nor does it mean that we should overlook the race insults of a man, merely because he is, or was against slavery, a dead system that the Negro himself would not allow to be re-established anyway.

Of course the last resort of Twain's defendants is to cite his paying the expenses of a black student for four years at Yale. Yet "PUDDN'HEAD" was written after he, "held himself responsible for the wrong which the white race had done to the black race in slavery."¹ This is the same man who later said, "The idea of making Negroes citizens was startling and disagreeable to me, but I have become reconciled to it..."² To be reconciled is to quietly submit, to acquiesce, to adjust, hardly a description of a committed "liberal," let alone passionate radical. The point that Twain had a guilty conscience about his attitude, and I suppose the black man at Yale should have been grateful for that, as I suppose the present day Negro should be grateful for a successful NAACP law suit, though some of the funds come from white people, who would be horrified at the thought of one of those "poor oppressed people" buying a house next to theirs. Well so much for the introduction. I shall have to refer to some of Twain's other writings in the body of this paper for the obvious reason that a social issue which is taken up in a novel, cannot be taken up in (sentence cont. on page 49)

one piece, if the writer has done other works which treat on the same subject,

PUDDN'HEAD WILSON

"PUDDN'HEAD WILSON" is a contrived, predictable work which tells the story of a slave woman who has a baby boy of her own, and who takes care of the master's infant, born at the same time as hers. She switches babies, since they both look alike, and rears her own child as that of the master's and that master's son as her own slave child. The rest of the book is devoted to recording the fortunes and behavior of the "imposter" who grows up as the ward of his patrician-gentleman uncle after the death of his own "parents."

There is a significant irony in the fact that the above novel is an anti-slavery piece; the novel was written in 1894, the blacks had been free since 1865 when Twain was thirty years old! The period of anti-slavery fiction began in 1838 with a fictionalized biography titled, "A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, A Black Man."³ Anti-slavery literature, both fact and fiction went out of business in 1865 for obvious reasons. What characterized anti-slavery fiction beyond the portrayal of abuse and the degradation of the black was that the slave heroes, who were insurrectionists, outlaws and fugitives, were always of mixed blood. The "pure" blacks were servile and content. The white writers could not bring themselves to portray dignity and courage in the black persons over whose plight they did so much breast-beating and self righteous finger pointing! Those Reconstruction writers who were not out to glorify the good old ante-bellum south continued to put the destiny and dignity of black Americans in the personages of mixed bloods. Mark Twain in 1894 was anachronism, in the sense that the cause was passé, but he was current and true to form in his smug and patronizing attitude toward the black man. You don't have to be a psychologist to discern that you only patronize people about whom you harbor negative emotions.

Of course the red flag which arouses the bull in black people and most liberal whites is the use of the term nigger. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary has this to say about the term: "A substandard term, 1. A Negro-often used familiarly, now chiefly contemptuously. 2. Loosely, a member of any dark-skinned race(See Negro)." For the term "Negro" it says:"1. A person of the typical African branch of the black race (formerly called Ethiopian)

inhabiting the Sudan, or loosely, any of the black races, including, besides the Negroes proper, Bantus, Pygmies, Hottentots, and Bushmen. "A black man; ssp, a person having more or less Negro blood." We see that the terms are both redundant and fuzzy as far as true definition is concerned. The slaves brought here were taken from various tribes: Hausa, Ibo, Fan, Yoruba, etc.,. There was no Negro tribe. The Portuguese first applied the term as an adjective; it meant black. After the destruction of the civilization found there, and the taking of slaves, the term underwent a transformation, a social metonymy for economic reason, a transformation which focused on a detail, which substituted a part for the whole in order to justify the degradation and subjugation on which the slave system was based. This illuminates the "ingenuity" of the Mediaeval European for though slavery was an old institution, it had never before been based on skin color. The term "nigger" then is a further degradation of a term which was already corrupt by the time the colonization of the New World reached its peak. It is no defense then to say that the term nigger did not mean the same in Twain's time as it does now, nor is it true; it was both familiar and derogatory.

Roxanna who is one-sixteenth African, uses the term throughout the book, of course she is for all practical purposes white, but the physically black slave, who is in the tradition of the anti-slavery-Abolitionist writers is seldom given the dignity of an insurrectionist, a hero, also uses the term. The only realistic explanation for this "phenomenon" must lie in the psychological attitude of the authors themselves and that attitude is anti-black, white supremacist in origin, residual though it may be.

Roxy's son who, it turns out, was sired by a white patrician-gentleman, grows up with all the advantages of a white man, but Twain gives him the mean traits that are supposed to be the birthright of the black slaves. He is selfish, he cheats, wastes his uncle's money, and he even sells his mother down the river into slavery again in order to get money to cover his losses at gambling; Roxy had been freed by her master on his death-bed. Twain has Roxy say of her son that there, "aint nigger enough in him to show in his finger nails, en dat takes mighty little-yit dey's enough to paint his soul."⁴ This can be explained you may say in the historical fact that the blacks were received in a slave environment and naturally they repeated the stereotypes of their masters. Perhaps so. Then again perhaps not; remember that according to (sentence and paragraph continued on page 51)

the friendly critics, Roxy is supposed to be an heroic figure, rebellious and proud. In any event Twain gives his game away in an earlier chapter where he says that "Tom was a bad boy from the very beginning of his usurpation."⁵ Of course, blood does tell in the end and Tom's "curse" drives him from one blunder and misdeed to another, he kills his uncle and is exposed by Pudd'n'head Wilson, who had taken both his and the real Tom's fingerprints at various stages of their childhood and youth. The usurper, Tom, is sold back into slavery to pay for the losses and the real Tom is out of place because he has been brought up as a slave. This last has been frantically grasped as "proof" that Twain did not believe in inherent inferiority, but that he was showing the effects of environment. The "proof" is rather tenuous though; we must remember that Roxy and her son, a "nigger" who was raised as white are the central characters.

Twain's supporters always speak of his erudition and keen sense of perception; I can either accept or doubt this. If I accept the appraisal, I say then that Twain could not overcome his racial history of four hundred years of cultural and racial arrogance (add six more centuries if you want to include the crusades against the Moslems) in his encounter with other people; perhaps it is too much to expect. But there were records despite those that were "lost" through censorship of real slave mulattoes or octoroons, who fit so nicely into the romantic patterns of the abolitionist anti-slavery writers. Between 1526 and 1864 there were at least 126 recorded uprisings. After 1759 there was at least one slave revolt somewhere in the country every year. Nine took place in Missouri during Twain's lifetime. He can forgive the others, but Twain was "learned," where did he get his picture of the rebellious slave while he was busy "eruditing" himself? On the other hand if I doubt his erudition, I can dismiss hi as a provincial writer who committed the cardinal sin of writing about things he was ignorant;

Twain has disparaging remarks to make about the French, Italians and Turks too.⁶ I suppose the passages cited in the footnotes can be dismissed as true, or they can be used to show that he was not "anti-Negro" that he was "anti-everybody." But then the Turks and French and Italians do not have to live in America as an oppressed minority. He does speak briefly of an expatriate in Italy, who has become a guide and who feels no compulsion to come to America again. Twain says his judgement is

right. Another time he speaks of his friend "Fred Douglas," whom he admires for his spunk. But Twain only gets mellow and nostalgic over his Aunt Hamahs, his Aunt Rachels,⁷ to say nothing of his colored spirituals. I love the spirituals too but I am sure my reasons are not those of Mark Twain.

To get back to Roxy, she goes to a job on a riverboat after she gains her freedom and becomes the good old servant gal, happy in her job, dressed in new clothes; she becomes the darling of white travelers, who go up and down the Mississippi. Good old Roxy! What happened to all that pride, fire, and defiance she is supposed to have had earlier? Foner makes much ado over Twain's "boldly" asserting that the slaves were justified in stealing from their masters--the passage is from "PUDDIN' HEAD" and it is too long to be quoted here. "Thus" he says "Twain rejected the concepts of literary figures in the post-Civil War in America, who glorified the plantation tradition... happy and faithful slaves... Kind and considerate masters..."⁸ Perhaps so, but Foner is confusing the issue; as I said in the beginning, Mark Twain's anti-slavery is not the issue. His "anti-Negro sentiment is;

Certainly stealing "massa's" chickens and pilfering his larder are not "bold" defiant acts and "massa" Twain's "justifying" doesn't make them any bolder; This is not the stuff of rebellion. Where does Twain "boldly" glorify Nat Turner or Denmark Vesey, to name two? He had plenty to praise about the French Revolution, but nothing to say about the ones going on in his own back yard during his life-time;

In the final analysis, I say that it is unjust to the white writer, in this country, to expect of him a wholesome and accurate picture of the Afro-American; after all he has to live with the sin he is still committing! The problem is not literary, but social.

Mark Twain is up for canonization again. Yes literature has its saints just as surely as the church has saints. I am one of those who sides with the devil's advocato. I grudgingly concede, with important reservations, that he is an outstanding writer. I need more evidence of his greatness. He is not less great because of his treatment of blacks in his works anymore than is Shakespeare for his "Merchant" or Dickens for his "Fagin." That weight I won't put on Twain; he has enough "literary" shortcomings without the lead of that extra straw. What I have been discussing here is a blind-spot common to all white American writers. The Jew does not look to the gentile to honestly round out his character in literature; the Catholic does not look to the Protestant for the same, blacks must not wallow in this error either. We shall have to make our own image; this one of the hard facts of life. On the other

hand we can discuss what has been said about us, and we must not be fooled!

I am reminded of the story of the Devil, who was taking a walk with his friend; up ahead they observed a man pick up an object, look at it, and put it in his pocket. "What was that?" the companion asked his friend, "A piece of truth," replied the Devil, laughing. "Why are you laughing?" the companion asked "That's too bad for you." "Oh no " said the Devil, "just wait and see what he does with it!

Though I went into some detail about the terms "nigger" and "Negro", I still used the latter term in places where it could have been avoided. I had both clarity and convenience in mind. After all I am an American of sorts and a fish finds it difficult to live out of its waters, middy though they may be.

FOOTNOTES

1. Foner, P., "Mark Twain: Social Critic," P. 192.
2. Ibid.,
3. Brown, S. "Negro in American Fiction," P. 31, P. 2.
4. Twain, M., "Puddn'Head Wilson," Chap. XIV, p. 87.
5. Ibid., chap. IV, p. 19.
6. Twain, M. "The Innocents Abroad," Vol 1, Chap. II P. 91; Chap.13, p. 120; Chap. 21, P. 209; Chap. 25, p.271; Vol. 2, Chap. 6, PP. 67 and 68.
7. Brashear, M. "The Art and Humanity of Mark Twain," p. 10.
8. Foner, P. S. "Mark Twain: Social Critic," P. 99.

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- IV Neider, C., Life as I Find it: Twain, Garden City, L. I.: Hanover House, 1961.
- V Smith, J., Mark Twain, on the Damned Human Race. Hill and Wang, 1962.
- VI Twain, M., Puddn'Head Wilson. New York: Benton Books, 1959.
- VII Twain, M., Innocents Abroad.

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON POLITICAL DETAINEES
AND POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA (sent to the
Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government
of the Republic of South Africa)

editors' note: A few days ago (Dec. 1) the 19th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was convened. Again in this body the brutal system of racial discrimination that exists in South Africa will be an important (euphemistically speaking) issue. Again the African, Asian, and Socialist countries will fight to put sharp, crushing teeth into the myriad, U.N. resolutions against Verwoerd's freak government. Again the U.S. and most NATO countries will shout platitudes about how they "deplore" apartheid, but again they probably will not take any action against the South African beasts-on-two-legs.

The western nations will of course be shocked when the offended parties involved (and many bystanders) call them hypocrites and devils. As far as this editorial board is concerned "you are what you do", and the so-called, free-world governments are cooperating, subsidizing and at the same time verbally "condemning" the racists of South Africa. How else are the oppressed of the world to interpret these individuals and governments who "constitutionally" proclaim the lofty ideals of the Sermon on the Mount but at the same time are helping and shielding gangsters? Fred Cook (a white man) put it quite aptly: "If World War I had undermined the fibre of western man and led to the depravity of Hitler, World War II had marked the virtual death of western morality. The fascist dictator began it and democracy, giving only lip service to the principles of Christianity, had aped the ways of the dictators."* Small wonder that so many of "the damned of the earth" describe the governments and the majority of the people of the paradoxical "free" world as devils!

How does the U.S. Government and its allies help South Africa? It is the U.S. Government and its allies who encourage their flourishing, and rapidly expanding trade with South Africa. It is the industrial aristocracies of the U.S. and Western Europe which are cramming investments into South Africa to reap one of the highest average annual net profits in the world.** This wealth is bringing affluence into South Africa so that these thugs can build one of the most cruel, efficient, police-state (to page 56)

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apparatus ever known to mankind.

If you doubt the thoroughness of the police state (in its most perverse form) existing in South Africa, just read the following memorandum which has presented to the United Nations at this General Assembly Session (19th). If you doubt U.S. and other capitalist countries complicity with these "civilized" criminals in South Africa read the annotated bibliography on the South African Situation, and then read and study every work that you find on this compilation. If you are not then convinced of the hypocrisy of the "free" world then most likely you yourself are a hypocrite.

-the editors

* Cook, Fred. The Warfare State. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964, (Collier Books).

** A recent United Nations investigation revealed American Companies were reaping a fantastic 27% average annual profit in South Africa.

The World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners wishes to bring to the urgent attention of your Committee new details of the treatment of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. The situation there, far from improving, has deteriorated and may deteriorate further, if positive action is not taken against the South African Government.

With the introduction of the 90-day Detention Law, in terms of the General Laws Amendment Act 1963, law itself was destroyed in South Africa. People have been taken into custody for successive terms of 90 days for questioning by members of the Security Police to obtain information from them about themselves or others in connection with alleged offences. However, many of the people so detained have been held on the whim of police officers, merely "to keep them out of the way", as stated by a police witness in the Rivonia trial.* Their conditions during this detention and the methods used to extract information are arbitrarily decided by members of the Security Police and those detained have no access to the Courts. In a judgment given on 14th August, 1964, when the wife of a detainee, Ivan Schermbrucker, applied to have her husband brought to Court to verify a message smuggled out regarding his treatment, Mr. Justice Snyman in dismissing the application stated that the interruption of the detention and that the Act specifically excluded access by the detainees to the Courts and transferred the power of protecting citizens-normally the province of the Courts-to the Minister of Justice, Commissioner of Police and his commissioned officers. (Star, Johannesburg 14.8.64)

A Magistrate visits detainees once a week, but these visits have afforded the detainees no protection whatever against physical and mental torture. All complaints are referred back to the Security Police who in some instances have used them as additional reasons for ill-treatment. The magistrates themselves are powerless to alleviate conditions.

With the operations of the Act, the Security Police have become the SS men and the Gestapo of South Africa. They are omnipotent and have their victims entirely at their mercy. The methods used by them to extract information have the ultimate aim of "breaking" the detainees. "It is not a very nice thing to see a human being broken. I have seen it.....The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for them," said Mr. D. J. Vorster, Minister of Justice, during the debate in Parliament on the 90-day detention clause. However, his police have been given the go-ahead for the hideous and brutal breaking of any person it pleases them to detain.

All 90-day detainees are kept in solitary confinement throughout their period of detention and despite the fact that the Geneva Convention lays down 30 days as the maximum for solitary confinement, at least 60 people have been detained for more than 90 days and 8 persons, including 3 women, for more than 180 days. One man, Alfred Nze, was detained for 247 days before being released unconditionally. Reading matter, other than the Bible, is denied them and they are kept in black painted cells with the light on all the time.

Immediately the law came into operation, the Security Police used physical torture in addition to the mental torture of these prolonged periods of solitary confinement and interrogation. Reports smuggled out and evidence by affidavits of former detainees alleged that African detainees were being subjected to electric shocks to make them "confess." They claimed that their heads were covered with sacks, while electrodes were attached to their fingers. As a result of this treatment Looksmart Ngudle committed suicide in his prison cell in September, 1963. After his death he was "banned" so that no statement made by him could be used publicly. In January, 1964 Sipho James Tyitya also hanged(sentence and paragraph continued on page 58)

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himself in his cell to end the unendurable tortures to which he was subjected. Ebrahim Siynvala, a former 90-day detainee, was arrested for a traffic offence, but afraid that he was again being held under the 90-day Act, he escaped and was found drowned in a river. On September 9th, 1964 Suliman (Babla)Salojee threw himself to his death from the seventh floor of the Security Police Headquarters in Johannesburg. Brigadier H. J. van den Bergh, Chief of the Security Police, stated in connection with Mr. Salojee's death, "Yes, it is true, Salojee jumped." When asked whether it was true that the man was being interrogated when he jumped, Brigadier van den Bergh stated, "He must have been because he jumped from the C.I.D offices." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg 10.9.64).

Many detainees have required psychiatric help after their release and at least 6 were so successfully "broken" that they were admitted to mental hospitals after their release. Mrs. Norma Kitson suffered severely from claustrophobia while in detention, feeling that the black-painted walls were closing in on her. Her screams and pleas had no results and she attempted to commit suicide by cutting her wrists. At this stage she was sent to a mental hospital and subsequently released from detention. Her husband is still in detention in his second 90-day period.

John Harris, champion of non-racial sport and Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, was brought to Court after seven weeks under 90-day detention, charged with the bomb incident at the Johannesburg Railway Station. He is being charged with murder and sabotage. His council said they were not arguing that he was not fit to plead, but that he was in no condition to concentrate on any evidence placed before the Court. In an affidavit he alleged that he suffered a broken jaw while in detention and from reports reaching London it is alleged that both Harris and Hugh Lewin, another 90-day detainee and former features editor of the newspaper Golden City Post, were both assaulted by members of the Special Branch.

Miss Stephanie Kemp, who has been detained under the 90-day law for more than two months, was required as a State witness, but declined to give evidence. A Security Branch officer told Mrs. Kemp that if her daughter agreed to become a State witness she would be released. Mrs. Kemp has raised the question as to whether the police are entitled to detain her daughter once interrogation has ceased, as the law permits detention only for the purpose of (turn to p59)

interrogation. Miss Kemp's attorney said he had received information that she had been assaulted by a policeman. Mr. Alan Brooks, who is also being detained, and who is a British subject, complained of a police assault on 2nd August. (Sunday Times, 20.9.64).

Recently a more subtle form of torture was introduced, known as the "statue" torture, the detainees are forced to stand in a small chalk square for periods which have ranged from 7 to 57 consecutive hours. Should they try to sit down they are jerked to their feet again and should they faint or lose consciousness they are revived and forced to stand again.

This "statue" torture was described in a letter smuggled out of jail by Ivan Schermbucker and formed the basis of the application to Court later dismissed by Mr. Justice Snyman. He stated inter alia, "I stood for 28 hours without moving an inch from 12 p.m. yesterday till 4 p.m. this afternoon.... Questioning under these conditions is the most terrible and cruel form of torture... I nearly committed suicide by jumping out of the window... But the main thing is that I don't think that anyone can stand on their feet for more than 36 continuous hours and NOT BREAK DOWN....." (Photostatic copy of letter attached).** His application is now on appeal.

Further details of the "statue" torture are contained in sworn affidavits by detainees Norman Levy, Paul Trehela and Dr. Costa Gazides. The Magistrate refused the application to hand these affidavits to the Courts. To comply with the provisions of the Prisons Act, the Sunday Times approached the prison and police authorities about the allegations contained in the affidavits. Neither of the two authorities denied the correctness of the contents of the affidavits. Norman Levy stated, "I was shown a copy of the Sunday Times of July 26th which featured on its front page pictures and news of a bomb explosion at the Johannesburg Station on July 24th. I said I had nothing to do with the incident and as I was not prepared to answer any questions as these might prejudice my position in the event of a trial....."

"At 4 o'clock that afternoon the interrogating team of about 9 men split into pairs and interrogated me by throwing "facts" at me for stretches of 4 hours at a time. I remained standing all the time. When I confronted Detective-Sergeant----with the cruel nature of this method of interrogation (meaning the virtual torture of making the victim stand), he replied that the number of consecutive (sentence and paragraph continued on page 60)

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hours during which a detainee may be questioned at one session had never been stipulated.

"The same procedure continued throughout the night. I advised each interrogating team that I had a cardiac complaint."

Despite the medical certificates submitted by his wife confirming his cardiac condition the interrogation continued for 42 consecutive hours.

In the affidavit of Paul Trehwala he said he was interrogated from 8 a.m. on 23rd July until 5 a.m. of 26th July. This was a period of 69 hours. During this time he was able to sit for about 12 hours and to snatch about 4 hours sleep at intervals.

Dr. Costa Gazides alleged in his affidavit that he was kept standing for 43 hours. During that time he was given 3 meals a day but nothing at night and he was allowed to drink from a water jar. (Sunday Times, 13.9.64)

In desperate efforts to end their detention many of the detainees have gone on hunger strike. Mrs. Ester Barsel fasted for 35 days despite the fact that she, too, suffers from a cardiac complaint and Mrs. Pixie Benjamin fasted for 48 days. Mrs. Benjamin's husband visited her with the intention of persuading her to stop her hunger strike. When he heard what she had to say and realized that was her only weapon he agreed that she was correct to continue with her hunger strike. The terrible isolation and silence of 90-day detention made it imperative for her to use this weapon for her own well-being, psychologically, although physically it was harming her. She weighed 90 lbs. when she appeared with Mrs. Barsel, Messrs Levy and Trehwala, Dr. Gazides and five others. Since then five others have been joined to the original ten, including Abram Fischer Q.C. and Ivan Schermbrucker.

It should be noted that the position at the moment is that detainees cannot bring evidence to Court of their ill-treatment while they are detainees and when they are charged the methods of obtaining "information" from them cannot be used as evidence in their defence.

A total of 3,355 people of all races have been detained in
(continued on page 61)

South Africa under various security laws during 1963, including 592 in the Transkei.***More than 800 people of all races are known to have been held in solitary confinement under the 90-day Act. Many of these are prominent members of the Liberal Party, a lawful Parliamentary party. 60 detainees have been held for more than 90 days and 8, including 3 women, for more than 180 days. (These last figures arise in a different context earlier in the memorandum). 400 have been charged in Court but more than 300 have been released without being charged. These people are therefore completely innocent of any offence, yet they have been subjected to intense mental and physical torture. 26 former detainees alleged that they had been kicked and beaten, 19 claim that they also suffered electric shock treatment in addition to being kicked and beaten. Many of these ill-treated have refused to give any details as they are in mortal fear that they will be detained again as a reprisal. More than 100 at the moment are being held under the no-trial Act.

Since March 1963 and August 1964 there have been 111 political trials in which 1,315 persons have been charged. Their fate is as follows:-

- 44 sentenced to death
- 12 sentenced to life imprisonment
- 994 sentenced to a total of 5,713 years imprisonment
- 1 sentenced to 6 lashes
- 340 acquitted.

These men and women in South Africa who have been tried and found guilty and are serving offences for political offences are treated differently from ordinary prisoners. They are automatically placed into the lowest of all categories-D Category- which, according to the report of the Commissioner of prisons ending 1962, is "for the type of prisoners with a previous record and/or convictions of serious crime of a daring or aggressive nature or convictions of rape, robbery or violence..." or of attempting to escape. The prisoner is kept in isolation for the first month and observed, to decide in which category he should be placed and to which of the 234 prisons in South Africa he should be sent. There are 5 Prison Boards who decide but for all political prisoners there is blanket treatment regardless whether their behaviour is good or not. The pattern has been that they are kept in D Category for the first year, in C Category for the second year and in B Category for the third year. From reports reaching us we now understand that prisoners(sentenced continued on page 62)

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who have served up to 2 years are still not necessarily being recategorized. All political prisoners in Pretoria Central are kept in their cells for 23 out of 24 hours each day. At one stage they were allowed to work with other white prisoners, but this is no longer the case and they now sew mailbags in their cells. During the exercise period each prisoner exercises in isolation in his own particular area.

The vast majority of ordinary prisoners are placed in B Category after the period of observation is over, when all privileges are very much improved, but politicals, because they are categorized as D prisoners, can receive only one visit and one letter every 6 months, in some instances their clothing is inferior and they can receive nothing from outside with the exception of study books in certain cases. All privileges are at a bare minimum. Information from Robben Island indicates that political prisoners are in cells 7' X 5' and they are locked in these for 16 hours a day. The water they are given is inadequate for drinking and washing and they are allowed only one shower per week. Prison regulations provide for a daily shower but even these regulations are disregarded, and prisoners are not all acquainted with their rights and are not always shown the regulations when they ask for them.

Affidavits have already been sent to your organization in connection with the brutal and degrading assaults to which some Robben Island prisoners have been subjected. However copies of three affidavits are attached**** and the following incident included in one of the affidavits is mentioned here to highlight the horrors that have taken place. This was an affidavit sworn before Mrs. Helen Suzman M.P. "...Minor assaults took place often, so we did not take much notice when a warder started to hit one of the prisoners, but then we saw he was being buried in a hole up to his neck. He called for water, but as usual not enough water had been brought. One of our span, whom the warders feared because they were so tough they would rather die than fail to resist manhandling, walked across to give him water, but before he got there Piet (the warder) began to urinate into the man's mouth". Subsequently three warders were dismissed from the prison service and eleven were transferred from Robben Island. A new Governor was appointed and, according to one of the prisoners, there was slight improvement in conditions.

The operation of "breaking" people is being extended from detainees to serving prisoners, Mr. Vorster must indeed take the (sentence and paragraph continued on page 63--)

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responsibility for them all.

World opinion has been stirred on the question of political prisoners in South Africa. In spite of the vote of the United Nations (when only South Africa voted against the resolution) calling for the abandonment of political trials and the release of political prisoners and in spite of all the pressures, the South African Government has not only completely disregarded world opinion, but in many ways she has increased her activities against her political opponents. The plight of political detainees and prisoners deserves the immediate and urgent attention of your organization. We call on you to use whatever pressure is possible and to take whatever action is necessary in order to ensure that the South African Government stops its killings and maltreatment of political prisoners and detainees.

* The Rivonia "trial" took place in May and June of 1964. Virtually all the leaders, who were not already in prison, of Black Africans in South Africa, the Indian and Jewish Communities were on trial for "attempting to overthrow the South African Government and instituting a Communist State." Actually it was an attempt to destroy as many of the top leaders of the militant anti-apartheid movement within South Africa as possible. Eight of the nine accused were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. The other defendant, Rusty Bernstein, was acquitted but he was immediately re-arrested to face new charges under South Africa's Suppression of Communism (!!!!!) Act.

** This letter was attached to the copy given to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid.

*** The Transkei is the so-called "self-governing" territory for Xhosa speaking Africans in South Africa. Actually almost all the levers of power within this colony are controlled by South African Whites.

**** These affidavits were attached to the copy given to United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid.

-the editors---

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION
-for those who are going to
solve it-

Apartheid in South Africa: Summary of the Report of the Special Committee on the Elimination of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. New York: United Nations Office of Public Information. (Document A15497) This a definitive, pervasive report by the U.N. Committee which was chaired by the present Secretary General of the Organization of African States, Diallo Telli.

Bunting, Brian. The Rise of the South African Reich. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964. A provocative, thorough comparative study of Hitler's Germany to Verwoerd's South Africa.

Fasulo, G. "The Powers Behind Apartheid." Africa, Latin America, Asia, Revolution, Vol. 1, Nos. 4-5 (Aug-Sept. 1963), 175-94. Probably the best analysis of who has power in South Africa, and how this power is being used in economic relations in that country.

Feit, Edward. South Africa, The Dynamics of the African National Congress. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. Good information into the organizational quality of one of the leading African movements against apartheid in South Africa.

Halpern, Jack. "Enclaves of Trouble in South Africa." The Nation, Vol. 197 (July 27, 1963), 49-52. A righteous analysis of contemporary relations between Republic of South Africa, and the "British" High-Commissioned Territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland.

Harmel, Michael. "High Drama in Pretoria." Labour Monthly, Vol XLVI No. 6 (June, 1964) 277-81. An expose of the egregious machinations of the Verwoerd Regime in the Rivonia "trial."

La Guma, Alex. And A Threefold Cord. Berlin: Seven Seas Publisher, 1964. A new novel about apartheid. It is a flesh and blood drama set in a black ghetto on the fringe of a South African town where hate and love, and the despair of poverty throb in unison with a passionate determination for release from apartheid which strangles all hope. Please read this in conjunction with M. Jackman's DELICATE CHILD which appears on page 73 in this issue of SOULBOOK.

Legum, Colin. "The West at Bay." The Nation, Vol. 197 (Aug. 10, 1963), 70-73. An eminent Africanist-journalist describes NATO powers' hypocrisy vis-a-vis South African racism.

Legassick, Martin. "The South African Police Agents of Fascist Repression." Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution. Vol 1, No. 10 (February, 1964), 106-15. A commentary on the South African police apparatus.

McKay, Vernon. "The Impact of World Opinion on South Africa," (Chapter 5 of McKay's Book, Africa in World Politics). New York: Harper & Row, 1963. An excellent and virtually unique work in this area.

Marquard, Leo. The Peoples and Policies of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. A general survey of South Africa and its problems.

Matshikaza, Todd T. "Protest Through Music in South Africa." Africa, Asia, Latin America Revolution. Vol. 1 No. 8 (December, 1963), 126-36. The one and only essay on how Africans in South Africa culturally express their hatred for racial oppression in this sad country where white people are uncivilized.

Molnar, Thomas. "The Transkei: International Decolonization." World View. Vol. 7 No. 6 (June, 1964) 7-11. This is an interesting view of the first "self-governing" Bantustan in South Africa.

Mphahlele, Ezekiel. Down Second Avenue. Berlin: Seven Seas Publisher. The autobiography of a Black South African. It is one that makes Black men proud and gives white men trepidations. But as Bobby Blue Bland says "Take it like ya' find it, or leave it like it tis'."

Rivo, Richard. African Songs. Berlin: Seven Seas Publishers, 1963. Short stories by a South African coloured writer. The scene is Capetown, South Africa, but the same stories have been relived in Harlem, U. S. A. many times.

Neame, L. E. The History of Apartheid: The Story of the Colour War in South Africa. New York: London House and Maxwell, 1963. A good history of racism in South Africa, the bastion of western depravity.

Ngubane, Jordan K. An African Explains Apartheid. New York: Frederick Praeger, 1963. This book is a better than average index to western educated Black African's attitude toward the South African race problem. His proposed solutions are ludicrous. He is a liberal, and decidedly anti-PanAfricanist!!!!!!

"Partners in Apartheid: United States Policy on South Africa." Africa Today, Vol. XI, No. 3 (March, 1964) This is the best survey that has been done on U.S. government's and U.S. investor's complicity with the South African thug-racist regime. It exposes the U.S. State Department's chronic lies about U.S. innocence vis-a-vis Apartheid.

Reeves, Ambrose. Shooting at Sharpeville; The agony of South Africa. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1961. It is a first-class account of what really happened at Sharpeville, South Africa in 1961.

Tlale, P. "The Apartheid Economy Today." The African Communist, No. 18 (July, September, 1964), 48-59. This article is superb account of how whites get rich off Black labor in South Africa, and at the same time the poverty of the African population increases.

by kenn m. freeman

"NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES, NOT ONLY ECONOMIC DOMINATION, BUT ALSO ALL KINDS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY MEANS TO MAINTAIN OR RESTORE DOMINATION AFTER THE GRANTING OF FORMAL SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE TO A FORMER COLONY. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES THE IMPOSITION OF PARTITION OR TWISTED CONSTITUTIONS TO MAINTAIN REACTIONARY COLLABORATORS WITH IMPERIALISM IN POWER AFTER THE RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES THE MAINTENANCE OF IMPERIALIST MILITARY BASES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES ENTANGLEMENT IN IMPERIALIST MILITARY ALLIANCES LIKE CENTO OR SEATO, OR EVEN DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION TO RESTORE AN OVERTHROWN HATED DICTATOR, AS BY FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN GABON, OR TO DESTROY AN ELECTED PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY AND MAJORITY PREMIER AND ESTABLISH MERCENARY MILITARY GANGSTER RULE, AS IN THE CONGO, OR AS PRACTISED WHOLESALE BY UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND EASTERN ASIA, AND BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST." Dutt, Palme. "Who Said Neo-Colonialism?", Labour Monthly, Vol. XLVI No. 6 (June, 1964) p.242.

Freyre, Gilberto. The Masters and Slaves, A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization. d. freeman67

This book is in four sections: the general characteristics of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil; the native in the formation of the Brazilian family; the Portuguese colonizer; the Afro-Brazilian in the sexual family life of the Brazilian.

The Masters and Slaves is beautifully written in an almost "semi-poetic" style, with flowing and often very colorful sentences. Freyre shows himself to be a true artist and The Masters and Slaves a true masterpiece.

This book looks at Brazilian civilization as it developed through its three major ethnic groups, The Brazilian Indian (the natural inhabitant of the land), the African (brought to Brazil as a slave) and the Portuguese colonizer.

Freyre shows the effect of each group on the other, and their entire effect on contemporary Brazilian culture: the Indian woman giving herself to the Portuguese sailor, whom she thought was a god; the Portuguese clergy forcing Christian values on the Indians, the consequences often meaning death; the African, brought to replace the diminishing Indian in the Fields. Freyre notes the tremendous impact that the African had on Brazilian culture. The African, coming from a culture superior to that of the Indian and often to that of the Portuguese, was relegated to a subservient position.

Much of this book is spent destroying myths. For instance the provarication that it was the African who destroyed the morals of the Portuguese. He shows how it was the Portuguese who were the bearers of venereal diseases; he shows the Indian bathing six or seven times a day while the Portuguese often never bathed.

Freyre often gives the psychological as well as the historical causes. He is even at times philosophical, and it is at these moments that he becomes particularly inspiring.

Throughout Freyre's book, the author makes constant reference to the importance of the sexual union between races. According to Freyre, the Portuguese was indeed quite a promiscuous person. One of the reasons he gives for this seems quite far-fetched. He says that the Portuguese, lacking manpower consciously used his (paragraph continued on the next page)

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sexual promiscuity as a colonizing device. It is true that a byproduct of his promiscuity the "branco" did find future allies among the "mamelucos," but it would seem to me that the author placed too much importance on the sexual union of the Indians, Portuguese and Africans in their development of contemporary Brazilian culture. The Masters and Slaves, in my opinion, might be better subtitled "A study in the Development of the Brazilian Civilization through the Sexual Promiscuity of its Races."

-reviewed by donald freeman-

Oliver, and Fage, R. and J. D. A Short History of Africa. Baltimore: Penquin African Library, 1962.

Doctors Oliver and Fage, the Editors of The Journal of African History, decided to take a vacation from that more esoteric type of writing in order to enter the ranks of the composers that are more interested in diffusion than scholarship. These authors recent creation, A Short History of Africa, is a work obviously done with the latter purpose.

A Short History of Africa is done with a minimum of scholarly documentation and a maximum of subjective interpretation. This impression is supported by the fact that the authors depend, throughout the publication on phrases to preface most of their interpretations such as: "it is possible that.....," "it would seem that."

One of the more propitious characteristics of the book is that the chronological scope of it is all-encompassing. It includes all the various epochs of African history up to and including the present national revolution. Since this is done any reader who was previously ignorant of African history is well aware of Africa's diversity, the fact that the continent passed through myriad stages of development and practically all of its heritage is non-european and worthy of the utmost respect. Of course this negates the European stereotype of Africa as being a group of societies that has always been in a state of "monolithic primitiveness."

Unfortunately the authors seem to have a penchant to assume that "caucasoid" Africans were the creators of the African cultural tradition. Thus the authors assume that the Egyptians and Kushites were "proto-hamites" (meaning for one thing they were not "negroes") who brought their cultural and political institutions to the "Negroes" of subsaharan Africa. The real facts of the matter are that by present Western standards of race and that is the standard used by Fage and Oliver-both Egyptians at the time of the creation of the great Nile civilization, and the people of subsaharan Africa would probably be called Niggers in London, England, Jackson, Mississippi or San Francisco, Calif.

When the authors write of colonialism they imply that the main reasons for establishing the colonies were non-economic. Here is an example of this tactic: "The colonial powers had partitioned Africa as an insurance for the future, not because they had any present plans for its exploitation." Of course they never explain what kind of insurance sentence sentia

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for the future that was. I suggest the latter point, by these eminent journalists-Africanists, is merely an escape hatch from analyzing conclusively what were the real reasons Europeans decided in the late 19th century to conquer and politically rule Africa.

Given the fact that practically all of Africa was conquered by trading companies, backed by their respective governments, one wonders why they were not principally motivated to conquer for the purpose of creating and protecting more trade and investment opportunities. Trading companies are primarily interested in trade.

Of course statements like the above (The colonial powers had partitioned Africa as an insurance for the future..."etc.)-and they are quite numerous in the book-are designed to suggest that the concepts of imperialism and neo-colonialism are irrelevant to understanding African relations with respect to western Europe and the U.S. But the disparagement of these concepts becomes ludicrous when one picks up the newspaper and reads about the struggle for the control of Congolese copper, cobalt and uranium mines, the sight of an American racist-supported puppet Congolese government encouraging fascist South African mercenaries to murder Congolese citizens, and uncle tom Tshombe concerning himself with the welfare of a few white missionaries while the Congolese masses are forced to starve because they must pay for Tshombe's army of murderers, and at the same time the Congolese people are able to buy only the absurdly high-cost U.S. "food-for-peace"!

The authors' chronic use of the word "negro" to describe Black Africans indicates further their European prejudices and insensitivity towards the African. Any historian of Africa should know that this word is glutted with derogatory connotations and that Africans react to it as such. For as President Kwame Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana recently said to the Editorial Board of the Encyclopedia Africana:

"I hope that in(...) Encyclopedia Africana the term "Negro", whatever meaning or connotation has been given to it, will not find a place, except perhaps in a specific article proving its opprobrious origin and redundancy. I would like that people of African descent and Africans in general should be described as black men, or Africans.* I personally would like to be referred to as a black man, African or Ghanaian and not referred to as a "Negro". (The Spark, September 25, 1964, p. 2)*emphasis added by author

In summary it can be said that I left this book with ambivalent feelings and a candid hope that the authors henceforward concentrate only on their positions as editors of the English-orientated Journal of African History.

by kenn m. freeman

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....with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle.

Mao Tsetung

delicate child

by

marvin e. jackmon

Life meant jammin'. And jammin'? That meant everything. It meant fuckin' every and any girl you could--fuckin' so much, so long and so hard that it made you sick, but you still wanted more. It meant drinking wine: drinking wine until you was damn near dead; drinking 'til yo head was so bad and yo gut so full that when you walked, or tried to walk, everything around you looked like it was comin' toward, over, and under you; you drank so much that when you got up the next mornin' yo breath was funky, yo clothes was funky, and everything looked and smelled funky too. It meant blowin' weed. Sometimes it'd take you on a trip; sometimes it didn't; but you'd smoke the hell out of it, anyway. Life was jazz, and jazz was life: you listened to jazz so long, it took you so far out and so deep down that you damn near went crazy. The sex, the drums, and the piano played your song, your sadness, your joy, your hate, your love, your pain, your fear; over and over; day after day, you listened to the music that was you and you only; the music that told your story, that cried your cry, that preached your sermon, that was the soul of your soul, and you kept on jammin'.

Life was the crap game: seven and eleven, two numbers that was more holy to you than all the angels yo mama told you was in heaven; seven and eleven-- you got on yo knees, you prayed, "Lord, Lord, have mercy on ma soul"; and you let the dice roll, "C'mon little joe," you cried--the dice hit; you pick up the change; new point is eight--"Shoot a half, baby? Fuck it, borrow it a quarter then;" you shake the dice, pray like a motherfucker, sweat runnin' down yo face, you straighten yo shirt, give the dice another shake: "C'mon, baby, don't git ta jiven' now, treat me right one mo' time!"; you let them roll: six, then nine, four, then ten--"Where you at eight? Don't be late; c'mon, baby git straight!"--six again, then five, eleven, five one mo time, you crap--six-ace saves the borrow, so you git up an' jam: anyway, Mama sent ya after a pound of ground beef and a can of tomato sauce. Life meant stealin': stealin' ta eat, to git some rags, ta git where you wanted to go, ta keep from working, stealin' just for the hell of it. And you kept on jammin'.

Life meant fightin'. Fightin' everybody: yo brother, yo mother, yo friends--and the man. You fought the man with murder in yo heart--thank God it wasn't in yo hands; you fought everywhere you went; not because you had to, but 'cause you felt like, and you felt like it 'cause you was mad, and you was mad 'cause you was drunk, and why you was drunk, you didn't know; after the dance you fought: wit yo fists and feet and razors and rods, you fought: some nites them motherfuckers beat the shit out of you and some nites you put the hurt on them--but you kept on jammin'.

And then you blew yo cools. Yo fuckin' crap shootin', wine drinkin', pot smokin', jazz playin', gang fightin, and stealin' ceased: you got busted. The punk-ass cop smiled the first time you was there, smiled and told you you'd be back. You cracked up and told that motherfucker to fuck his self--but you came back. You damn near shitted when that judge gave yo black ass ninety days. You didn't crack up then. You sat in that cell like a goddam fool: day after day, you sat on yo bunk readin' last year's magazine, readin' 'bout what the no-good president said 'bout some country you'd never heard of; you throw the magazine down and stepped to the window; the sky was the same, the same way you'd left it--an hour ago? a few minutes ago? a day ago? last week? when in the hell was it? Shit, you don't know; all you know is that the sky looks the same goddam way. You come from the window and you go to yo cell door; you grab it, but it won't give; you snatch it, but won't give; you beat on it like a goddam fool, but it won't give; discouraged, you fall on the floor cryin; crying like you will the day yo mama dies; you crawl to yo bunk, pull yoself up, sit wit yo head between yo hands; the punk-ass tears fall from yo blood-shot eyes and run down yo black scary face--you think: why, why is you trapped in yo goddam cell; like a goddam animal: eatin' and sleepin' and pissin' when Charlie lets you; why is you there? Did the scheme have you? The scheme that beat you, that starved you, that raped you, that exploited you, that cursed you, that will kill you....Was it the scheme? Them chicken-shit days, funky nites, them shitty hours that passed like motherfuckin' centuries, them four goddam pale-ass walls that stared at you, that checked out every fuckin' move you made--gave you time to git yoself together, to figure out some trickology for the scheme. Now you gotta git out. So you pray. You pray like you never prayed before; you pray like you knew J.C. was comin' down the next mornin' to open yo cell door; you pray 'cause it ain't a goddam thing else you can do; you swear to God you won't come

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back, "Just git me out, Lord, just git me out; I won't mess up no
mo, Lord, I swear I won't mess up no mo"; and you believe He hears
you--you've got ta believe it, you make yoself believe it.....