# A MARXIST-LENINIST CRITIQUE OF ROY INNIS ON COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION AND MARTIN KILSON ON EDUCATION
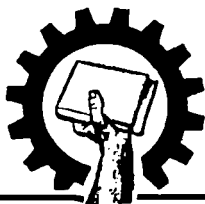
## HENRY WINSTON

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1966, was born in Mississippi in 1911. His grandfather was a slave. At the age of 19 he joined the Young Communist League and entered the struggles of the unemployed in New York City. In the 1930s he was a leader of the YCL. He participated in the National Hunger March to Washington in 1932, aided the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, and took part in other major struggles. During World War II he served in the Army engineers and received an honorable discharge. Over the years he has held a variety of leading posts in the Communist Party. In 1956 he began an 8-year prison sentence under a Smith Act frameup. While in prison he became blind as a result of deliberate neglect of his health by the prison authorities. World-wide protests brought about his release in 1961. Henry Winston is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets. During the attempted frameup of Angela Davis he gave special attention to organizing the movement which led to her acquittal. His first book, *Strategy for a Black Agenda: A Critique of New Theories of Liberation in the United States and Africa*, was published this year by International Publishers.

# A MARXIST-LENINIST CRITIQUE OF ROY INNIS ON COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION AND MARTIN KILSON ON EDUCATION

BY HENRY WINSTON

NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS

New York

November 1973

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# "COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION": AN IDEOLOGY OF SURRENDER TO RACISM

## *A CRITIQUE OF ROY INNIS*

Solidarity with our African brothers and sisters and their solidarity with us are interchangeable, but the strategy for Black liberation in the United States and for Africa is not. In fact, the strategy for liberation is not even interchangeable between one African country and another. Ironically, Roy Innis, director of CORE, reverses these realities: he advocates an African strategy for this country, while simultaneously undermining the basis for anti-imperialist solidarity with Africa.

According to Innis, the future of Black people in the U.S. demands a political strategy whose goals—like those for African and other nations forced into a condition of underdevelopment by colonial domination—would be "self-determination" and "economic development." The basis for "self-determination" and "economic development," asserts Innis, is the Black ghettos scattered across the U.S.

In order to advance this strategy—which would divert the Black liberation movement from its historic struggle to break out of the racist-imposed ghetto prisons of inequality and poverty—Innis is now making an effort to revive support for CORE's "Community Self-Determination Bill" of 1968. This is the subject of a full-page article by Innis in *The Afro-American*, August 14-18, 1973, in which he writes:

"A serious problem exists when considering economic development in the black communities of the United States." This problem, according to Innis, is that "the only time politics and political im-

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plications of economic development are considered is when the experiences of newly developing countries are discussed."

If there is a real foundation for Innis' complaint, it is indeed an encouraging sign. It would suggest that the views of those who see "economic development" in its proper perspective—i.e., in relation to "newly developing countries"—are in ascendancy in the Black liberation movement, as opposed to the narrow self-defeating nationalism of Innis (in its conservative form) and Carmichael or Baraka (in pseudo-radical guise).

The "importance of politics and the political unit—the concept of sovereignty," continues Innis, "is fully understood" only in the emerging nations. "Surprisingly enough," Innis complains, "that awareness is not transplanted to the United States." Although "we sometimes try to apply the same kind of economics" to the ghettos —termed "so-called ghettos" by Innis—"as is applied to the developing nations of the world, it is impossible to make a proper comparison."

While it should be apparent that it is impossible to "apply the same kind of economics" to the ghettos as to the developing nations because they are such vastly different formations, Innis sees it otherwise. It is impossible "to make a proper comparison," he asserts, "because these American internal colonies lack sovereignty." Thus, according to Innis, once "sovereignty" is attained, we can properly "apply" the economics of the developing nations to the ghettos. In other words, the ghettos have the same potential for "sovereignty"—for independent existence and development—as a colony, despite the fact that, unlike a colony, they possess no common territory nor any of the other prerequisites for separate economic development.

It is hardly surprising that Innis' idea of transplanting the concept of "sovereignty"—applicable as the starting point for liberation and social progress for imperialist dominated colonies outside the United States, but not to the Black condition in the U.S.—is being met with increasing skepticism and outright rejection in the Black

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liberation movement in the U.S. By contrast, it is the concept of the interchangeability of solidarity—not of strategy—that motivates the Black liberation movement. This, for example, is what inspired the representatives of all segments of Black Americans who attended the first National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation, a great conference of solidarity with the peoples of Africa struggling against the common enemy, world imperialism, headed by the U.S.

### "Natural Sociological Units"

Certainly the question of sovereignty and economic development is central to liberation and social advance for the African countries. Independence and the ending of imperialist control would mean that in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, etc., the country's total economy and resources would come within a single sovereign political unit and viable economy.

Although most African countries have won formal independence —sovereignty—they still remain under varying degrees of neo-colonial domination. Economic development, even in such large areas as the former African colonies where it is possible to build a viable economy, remains out of reach as long as the economies of the emerging countries are dependent on world imperialism—as long as their political and economic policies are primarily linked to the capitalist instead of the non-capitalist path, as long as they pursue the politics of anti-communism instead of anti-imperialism, as long as they fail to establish expanding ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp and all the world anti-imperialist forces.

In his concept of sovereignty, Innis—who rejects anti-imperialist struggle as the common bond between the U.S. Black liberation movement and the African countries—equates the scattered ghettos of the U.S. with the nations of Africa. In developing this thesis, Innis asserts that Black people "live in natural sociological units.

They are, in fact, local. They are the smallest political unit operating. But black people have not been considered a natural sociological unit." Instead, continues Innis, "They are considered a kind of colonial appendage of both the urban centers and rural areas of America. Blacks do not now exist as a political unit."

It should be unnecessary to remind Innis that the first "natural sociological units" in which Blacks lived in this country were the slave quarters—and they were kept there by the lash, gun and state power of the slavocracy. The contemporary "natural sociological units" in which most Black people live are the ghettos—and they are kept there by power descended from the slave owners to state monopoly capital.

Just as the inhabitants of the slave quarters could exist only through their labor in the plantation economy controlled by the slave owners, their descendants—who inhabit the grim reality of Innis' "natural sociological units"—can exist only through labor within the country's total economy. And just as freedom from chattel slavery could not be won within the slave quarters, but demanded a national struggle to break the power of the slavocracy, liberation from racist oppression—the survival of slavery—can be won only through a broad people's struggle to break the power of the monopolists.

Innis attempts to make his fantasy of "self-determination" within the ghettos appear plausible by claiming that Black people constitute "a kind of colonial appendage" of the U.S. Although there is only too much similarity between the genocidal treatment of Black Americans and of Africans, it is none the less absolutely false to describe the objective relationship of Black people to the U.S. economy as that of a "colonial appendage." It is another example of how the "internal colony" theory, which would sidetrack the Black liberation movement, has been taken up by conservatives like Innis as well as by pseudo-radicals.

Describing the status of Black people as a "colonial appendage" implies the existence of that which is nonexistent. It implies that

within the so-called "natural sociological units" scattered from Harlem to Watts exist the resources and territory needed for a unified, viable economic development—once these "units" become sovereign.

Transplanting concepts that apply to African countries can lead only to abandoning the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S.

## When One Speaks of a Colony . . .

When one speaks of a colony, one is speaking of a *separate* society, a separate economy within a common territory. When a colony succeeds in freeing itself from the status of an appendage to the separate economy of an imperialist power, it opens the way to taking possession of its own resources, economy and future.

It is true that during and since slavery Black people have been treated by the racist ruling class as a super-exploited "appendage," a reservoir first for unpaid and then for underpaid labor. But the fundamental difference between a colony and the Black condition in the U.S. is revealed in the fact that this super-exploitation has never taken place within two completely separated societies.

The Black condition in the U.S. has evolved as a relationship basically different from that of a colony and a "mother" country. The colony analogy—with the ghettos seen as a "colonial appendage"—is simplistic, totally misleading. If the Black condition conformed to that of a mere "appendage" to the economy, then the history and development of this country, logic and reality instead of fantasy and demagogy, would be with Innis in his call for "self-determination" in the ghettos of the U.S.

Even during the period when the economy and political power in the U.S. were *divided* and *shared* by the slave owners and the rising capitalist class, two independent societies did not exist. It was never possible for the slavocracy to survive as a separate society: it could exist only so long as the blood and toil of the slaves nourished the accumulation and expansion of capital in the non-

slave area of the economy. In that period, the economy of chattel slavery and of wage labor was interconnected, interdependent, each involved in the interrelated process of capital accumulation from the unpaid labor of Black slaves and the cheap labor of white workers.

Today, with the U.S. economy fully unified under the control of monopoly capital, the central, all-pervasive fact of the Black condition is triple oppression: racial oppression, opression as workers, and oppression as a people. This is the reality, a reality that did not evolve within a separate or even potentially detachable "colonial appendage"—but within a historic process which has locked Black people, along with the white masses, into the single society of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

But Innis does not recognize this reality. Instead he argues that:

> Black people live in different areas from whites—geographically and spatially. In the urban areas especially, most black people live in the Harlems of New York City, the Roxburys of Boston, the Wattses of Los Angeles and the South Chicagos of Chicago.
>
> Whites live in other areas of the same cities. Black people number more than 30 million of this country's citizens. That represents more people than most of the populations of the independent countries of Europe.
>
> Yet the people of each of these nations are recognized as a people.

It is ironic that Innis demands Black people be "recognized" on the basis of conditions monopoly capital has *imposed* upon them: the monopolists "recognize" them as a people to be racially oppressed and super-exploited, and as an integral part of this they are forced to exist in the ghettos of Harlem, Watts, Roxbury, etc. Now Innis would have Black people accept a hopeless fate within these enclaves of segregation. By urging that these barren areas,

devoid of material resources and without the possibility of developing an independent economy, be "recognized" as "sovereign," Innis assists corporate monopoly in condemning Black people to an even more sharply defined and oppressive neo-apartheid status.

In effect, what Innis proposes is that Black people—after spending over 350 years, in and out of slavery, building up the most industrially developed economy in the world—should voluntarily cut themselves off from an equal share now and in the future in this economy's immense potential for ending poverty, unemployment and ghetto slums, once the power of the monopolists is broken. He would have 30 million Black Americans abandon their fight for a rightful place in this industrially developed economy—built with their plundered labor—in exchange for "under-development" without a chance for development! *CORE's fantasy of "Community Self-Determination" in the ghetto simply amounts to a call for unconditional surrender of the Black liberation movement to the racist corporate monopolists.*

## No Socially Redeeming Features

In asking that Black people exchange their right to an equal future in a highly developed country and instead turn their attention to "economic development in the black communities," Innis is projecting an indecent fantasy without a single socially redeeming feature. Nor is there a single redeeming feature to any other aspect of the "internal colony" concept, which simultaneously forms the basis for Innis' ideology of "Black capitalism" and for the various versions of pseudo-radical "theory" advanced by Baraka, Carmichael, Forman, etc.

The scattered ghettos in which most Black Americans live cannot be compared either to African colonies or former colonies. The only possible perspective for jobs for most Black people lies *outside* the dispersed Harlems and Roxburys. The present and future of 30 million Black people is *inseparably* linked to the same national

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economy upon which the white masses depend for their existence. Through their control of this national economy, a few hundred magnates of corporate monopoly exploit the white majority and triply oppress the Black minority who live and work within the same society, the same economic system.

While there is no prospect for jobs on a mass scale or for economic development within the ghettos, an opposite situation exists in the African countries. When the people of each of these countries take the resources and the economy out of alien, imperialist control, their future can be internally assured. But no such conditions or resources for separate economic development exist within the ghetto areas that Innis views as the territorial and economic conditions for Black liberation. He writes:

> The productivity of Black Americans can be measured by using one parameter—their $40 billion contribution to the nation's gross national product. That's a great many dollars.

Innis then goes on to say:

> The fact is that the $40 billion in GNP represent more goods and services than those realized by many independent nations in the world.
> Closer to home, that $40 billion is the same dollar sum as the combined assets of America's three largest corporations—General Motors, Standard Oil (N.J.) and the Ford Motor Company.
> Or measured another way, the black GNP is the equivalent of the combined annual sales of GM and Jersey Standard—and we know what power these industrial giants wield in both national and international politics and in the domestic and global economy.

In the first place, we must point out that the $40 billion described by Innis as the Black contribution to the Gross National Product represents the *income* of Black people—and that income

is, in fact, only a small portion of the value of what they contribute through their labor to the Gross National Product—and the profits of monopoly. The monopolists' accounting methods embodied in the Gross National Product—which Innis does not question—conceal the billions in super-profits extracted by monopoly from the triple oppression of Black Americans. This $40 billion figure would be massively greater if Black people were in a position of equality in this economy. But only when monopoly's power is broken by an anti-monopoly coalition will the conditions exist for unlimited material and social advance for Black people and the entire society.

Further, Innis' acceptance of the Gross National Product as the "parameter" of "productivity" for Black Americans obscures the fact that even less of the income of Black people than of white working people originates from the productivity of monopoly-controlled technology and automation. The increased productivity of technology under state-monopoly capitalism increases monopoly profits, but intensifies worker exploitation and creates greater unemployment—with the consequences felt by Black and other minority workers first and most severely.

Instead of revealing the reality of the lack of Black economic power, Innis tries to make it appear that this power is very great —by making an analogy between the total income of *30 million Black people* and the total sales of two of the corporate giants who control the total U.S. economy, exploiting the majority of whites while oppressing and exploiting Blacks and other minorities. The $40 billion income of 30 million Black people—Innis would have us overlook the fact that almost three times $40 billion goes each year for armaments and war!—cannot be stretched far enough to give even the appearance of papering over the Black masses' increasing poverty.

Innis treats this $40 billion figure as something positive instead of revealing what it is: a reflection of monopoly's robbery of the entire working class, and especially the super-exploitation of Black

and other minorities. It is from the profits of this super-exploitation that U.S. imperialism conducts its military, economic and political drive to suppress national liberation movements not only in the Middle East but in all of Africa, as well as Asia, and Chile and other parts of Latin America.

But no matter how Innis manipulates these facts and figures, they nevertheless demonstrate that the solution to Black poverty and oppression is directly opposite to what he proposes. Innis claims that Black people's lack of control of the economic, social and political institutions in the ghetto accounts for the Black condition. However, it is what Blacks do not control outside of the ghettos that forces them into ghettos in the first place, and determines their poverty and inequality within them.

The mines, the mills, the total industrial and agricultural economy is controlled by a handful of racist monopolists. The *lack of control* of the economy by the Black, brown, yellow, red and white masses of this country is what accounts for the conditions of Black people, as well as the other minorities and the white masses.

In analyzing Innis' "Community Self-Determination" concept, it becomes apparent that it would help perpetuate, rather than help to end, monopoly's triple oppression of Black and other minorities. Innis' advice notwithstanding, at this very moment front-rank fighters for the entire working class and all the oppressed are emerging from the ghettos and barrios. They will be among those of all colors who forge and lead a great anti-monopoly movement to end race and class oppression in the U.S.

But Innis rejects the concept that joint struggle against the common monopolist enemy is decisive for Black people and other minorities and the great majority of whites. Instead, he advances policies that would help monopoly capital to perpetuate its control.

**Reviving the Myth of "Majority Rule" in the U.S.**

To bolster his thesis that Black people and the white masses

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have no common interests—and, instead, that the white masses and the white monopolists are one—Innis goes to great lengths to instill new life into the bourgeois myth of "majority rule" in the capitalist U.S.A. He states, for example:

> Clearly no other people in the history of mankind have been so distributed within the widespread boundaries of such a vast country as America, or under such extreme conditions of oppression wielded by a majority at the height of its military power.

No manipulation of reality can erase the fact that the military power "wielded" by the monopolist minority in their genocidal aggression in Vietnam was opposed by the majority of the people in this country, Black and white. And it was only the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese, with the support of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, together with the massive protest of Black and white in the U.S. and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, that forced these monopolists—who also "wield" military as well as economic and political power over the majority in the U.S.—to withdraw their military machine after more than a decade in Vietnam.

Clearly, there is a precise objective in Innis' effort to revive the old "majority rule" fable: if, as Innis claims, the white majority—instead of the white monopolist minority—wields power, then Blacks would have to reject the possibility of building a broad anti-monopoly coalition, based on the common interests of the non-white minority and the white majority, to defeat the power-wielding white minority, and instead accept Innis' illusory goal of "self-determination" within the ghetto "natural sociological units."

Innis, in other words, would have Black people give up their right to wield power jointly and equally with the white majority within the "widespread boundaries of such a vast country." By claiming there is already majority control in the U.S.—that is,

control by a white majority—Innis obscures the brutal reality of white minority monopolist control. In attempting to camouflage the enemy monopolists by their color, Innis assists them in their aim of continuing to wield power over the majority, the Black and non-Black masses. By opting for "self-determination" in the ghetto, Innis is telling Black people they can gain control over their future separate from and outside the framework of a struggle against the monopolists.

As more and more white workers understand the ABC of oppression and exploitation—i.e., the white minority exploiting them is the same white minority oppressing and exploiting Black workers—the unity of Black and white workers will bring about an anti-monopoly coalition of labor and its allies. Black liberation cannot come about outside this process, nor can the needs of white workers be realized. Racism—along with anti-communism—is the major block to this process, and it is the responsibility of white workers to recognize racism for the divisive poison it is and struggle against it. There is no alternative to this process—for either Blacks or whites. By mislabeling the majority of whites the enemy, Innis denies the possibility of change in white workers. Therefore, he denies the possibility of breaking monopoly's power, and instead retreats before it in the name of "Community Self-Determination."

Yet at one point in his article, in contradiction to his central thesis of white majority rule, Innis lets slip who the real enemy is. He admits that "we know what power these industrial giants wield in both national and international politics and in the domestic and global economy." Once this admission is made—unless Innis cares to maintain that the monopolists wield political and economic power over everyone in the U.S. except the most oppressed section, Black people—one must ask: can Blacks alone control the giants of monopoly? Can Blacks alone—without a policy of alliance with all those whose interests conflict with the monopoly class—take on even one of "America's three largest corporations," let alone the power of that class as a whole, the class that owns the decisive

sectors of the economy, and through this ownership controls the total economy in and out of the ghetto?

It is impossible for any segment of the oppressed and exploited —including the exploited majority of white workers—to effectively take on even a single corporation in their fight for better conditions, as the struggles of the workers at GM, Chrysler, Ford, etc. will attest. When workers take on even a single corporation, they encounter the *collective* power of the monopolists, brought to bear —with the assistance of government—against their just demands. This is the meaning of state monopoly capitalism, whose collective power is decisive in the daily lives of the masses of working people, whatever their color or origin. If no segment of the workers—not even the white majority—can by itself effectively challenge even one corporate monopoly, how can the Black minority, separate from the rest of the oppressed and exploited, effectively take on *all* the monopolists, the power of state monopoly capitalism? In the real world in which we live it is impossible to challenge monopoly without an alliance with those whose interests also demand an anti-monopoly struggle.

Yet, in the face of this, Innis advances a separatist theory that would have all segments of the working class, as well as the Black and brown people as a whole, reject a strategy to counter the collective power of state monopoly capitalism with the collective power of all the oppressed and exploited. Innis asserts, "it is in the interest of all black people and white people to support the program of black nationalism"—i.e., separatism. If the masses, Black, brown, red, yellow and white, were to accept his advice, all segments of the oppressed and exploited would remain divided, without the means of resisting monopoly's twin weapons of racism and anti-communism—without a unified strategy to oppose the unified strategy of the monopoly oppressor.

Innis' ideology presents no challenge to those who control the national economy. On the contrary, by concealing the identity of the oppressors, it would undermine the struggle against them.

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## "Mutually Satisfactory to Both Sides"?

Innis' approach would divert the struggle of the Black liberation movement from the goal of sharing and controlling this total economy together with the other segments of the population now excluded from power—the masses of all colors. Control of the economy by those now exploited and oppressed can come about only through the joint action of the white working majority and the Black people and other minorities. This kind of control—the sole source of power for the masses—is the basis for solving the problems of the people imprisoned in the ghetto. Innis, however, argues to the contrary:

> But we black people are oppressed in the land of the oppressor, with the oppressor being the premier military power of the world. That is a different problem; it requires very special solutions, because the normal solution to oppression is to boot out the oppressor.
>
> Unless we have plans to ship the Europeans home, the alternative and unique solution—and the one black people hope to achieve—must be mutually satisfactory to both sides—black and white.
>
> It requires that both sides understand that Black people cannot have political power without an economic basis.

Although Innis repeatedly asserts that the white majority have power and are therefore the oppressor, he cannot hide the fact that real power lies with the monopolist minority. Therefore, when he talks of coming to a "mutual agreement," he is referring to an agreement with the white minority—the monopolists. Thus he proposes that Black people determine their future not in a united struggle with all the oppressed and exploited against monopoly, but by arriving at a "mutually satisfactory" agreement with the white racist monopolists who wield, as even Innis is forced to admit, global power—economically, politically, militarily.

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But Black people do not share Innis' social and historical amnesia. They know that since the betrayal of Reconstruction, the magnates of capital—following in the footsteps of the slavocracy—have through a "mutually satisfactory" agreement done everything in their power to deny every single right and every single opportunity to the oppressed and exploited. When he proposes that Black people come to a "mutually satisfactory" agreement with their oppressors, can Innis have forgotten how the oppressors welcomed Booker T. Washington's apeal for a "mutually satisfactory" agreement—the notorious "Atlanta Compromise" of 1895? Has he forgotten that this "mutually satisfactory" arrangement ushered in a new era of segregation, lynch law, and economic and social genocide?

Of course, the monopolists find Innis' proposal of "self-determination" in the ghetto as the economic base for Black liberation as welcome a "solution" as their predecessors found Washington's "Atlanta Compromise." But despite the monopolists' hopes, not Innis but the Black people will have the final word on what constitutes an acceptable solution to their problems.

Unlike Innis, the Black masses will not overlook the fact that these same corporate giants and their representatives in government are doing everything in their power to bring about recolonization of the newly independent nations. Unlike Innis, they will not overlook the economic and military assistance these monopolists provide to racist imperialism in all of Southern Africa, and to Israeli aggression against the peoples of the Middle East and in the northern part of the African continent.

It is literally astounding for Innis to propose that 30 million Black people should seek a "mutually satisfactory" agreement for an "economic basis" from the U.S. imperialists who are bringing massive economic, political and military power to bear on the African continent to prevent more than 50 African nations from controlling their own material resources as the "economic basis" for independence and development.

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Because "we black people are oppressed in the land of the oppressor," Innis would have us believe it is impossible to get rid of the oppressor. It is true that no single segment of the oppressed and exploited—not even the white masses who are the majority—can through separate action "boot out the oppressor." This can come about only through joint action of *all* the oppressed and exploited.

By refusing to acknowledge the enemy as a tiny white monopolist minority—oppressing and exploiting a Black and non-Black majority—Innis is able to claim that it impossible to "boot out the oppressor," and then proceed to his own "alternative": "Unless we have plans to ship the Europeans home, the alternative and unique solution must be mutually satisfactory"—that is, the monopolists must grant Black people an "economic basis" for "sovereignty" in the ghetto.

In order to make his "alternative" seem valid, Innis has presented us with a false issue—i.e., booting out the oppressor is synonymous with booting the oppressor out of the country. But in the U.S., booting out the oppressor means booting the monopolist enemy *out of power*. And when the oppressors are correctly identified as a tiny minority of monopolists, booting them out can be seen as the only realistic solution.

Of course, in the U.S. we are not yet at the point where the issue is booting out the monopolist aggressor from ownership of the dominant sectors of the economy. We can arrive at that goal only through a great popular struggle to break monopoly control of government at all levels. This is the strategy—requiring the joint struggle of labor and the majority of the working masses of all colors, together with the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation movements—that will open the way to basic change, the strategy for a winning struggle to boot the monopolists out of control and ultimately establish socialism.

But Innis, advising us that it is impossible "to boot out the oppressor," proposes instead a goal of "Community Self-Deter-

mination"—that is, perpetuation of the ghettos, with a few crumbs for the small Black bourgeoisie and acceptance of a system of continued racial oppression for 30 million Black people.

What George Padmore's policies sought to accomplish for imperialism in Africa, Roy Innis' policies seek to accomplish for imperialism in the U.S. *and* Africa.

## "Separate But Better"

To understand the full implications of Innis' concept of separate development within the ghetto "natural sociological units," one must keep in mind not only their direct relationship to such other "natural sociological units" as the Black slave quarters and South Africa's apartheid areas. One must also consider the ideology accompanying establishment of these "natural sociological units."

One must recall, for instance, that according to the slave owners and their apologists the Civil War did a disservice to the slaves: the destruction of chattel slavery meant the end of "security" for the slaves. Therefore, concluded the apologists, the Civil War and Reconstruction were reactionary, while the special oppression, the separate existence of Blacks within the slave system was "progressive." This was the core of the slave owners' "separate but better" argument, the antecedent of the "separate but equal" ideology used to justify the betrayal of Reconstruction—which was written into law to institutionalize racism in every facet of life of the post-Reconstruction South, and which had such sweeping effects in establishing de facto segregation in the North.

Within this context, Innis' aim of "separate but equal development" within the ghetto "natural sociological units" can be seen for what it is: an attempt to lead Black people backward, to get them to accept concepts they have never ceased fighting.

Because of the Black people's historic rejection of "separate but equal," it is, of course, necessary for Innis to present his concept so it appears to be something other than what it is. Innis there-

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fore tries to put his idea across by identifying it with the African struggles for which Black people have such a deep sense of solidarity. He wraps the old racist myth of "separate but equal" in new phrases, suggesting that the ghettos have the same potential for "self-determination," "sovereignty" and "economic development" as the emerging African nations.

Innis would have us believe that he imported his "separate but equal" concept from the African liberation movements, but actually it followed quite a different route. Originated by the U.S. slaveholders, "separate but equal" was taken over by the monopolists who replaced them, and was later imported into South Africa by its white imperialist rulers. There it served as the doctrine establishing "separate but equal" fascist-enforced apartheid in the so-called Republic of South Africa. And now Innis has repatriated "separate but equal" back to the land of its birth—to the land now the center and global enforcer of race, class and national oppression.

Seen in true perspective, this is the meaning of Innis' "Community Self-Determination" proposals. In the present domestic and world context, this concept—whether Innis realizes it or not—assists U.S. monopoly in its aim of applying to the Black people of the United States an Americanized version of the "separate but equal" "self-determination" in the Bantustan "homelands" (i.e., reservations) of South Africa.

Innis' assertion that Blacks can attain "sovereignty" in the ghettos scattered across the U.S. clearly jibes with the racist claim that Africans have won self-determination within these scattered Bantustan "homelands." Each of these several separate "homelands," surrounded by white areas, is larger than the combined area of all the U.S. urban ghettos. Yet not one of these reservations by itself or all of them together could develop a viable economy. (And even if separate economic development were possible in these "homelands," acceptance of such a perspective would mean surrender by the Africans of most of their land, their immense material re-

sources and national economy to the racist minority.)

All the best land as well as the resources lie outside the "home-lands." And the white ruling class controls South Africa's economy —built with the labor and blood of Africans—that surrounds and locks in these "homelands." And that is not all that surrounds them. The armed forces of the fascist apartheid state encircle each of these "homelands." They enforce the apartheid laws determining who goes into and who goes out of these rural ghettos. No man, woman or child can move into or out of the "homelands" without a pass. These passes are issued by the apartheid-enforcers of the racist South African government. The supreme task of all agencies of government—the army, the police, the courts—is enforcement of the separation of the races and total control of population movements down to the last man, woman and child. And these same agencies also control what products go into or out of the "home-lands."

Here in the U.S. abolition took the fugitive slave law off the books, and the Civil Rights struggles brought an end to legal segregation, making legal movement for Black people possible in certain previously forbidden areas. Nevertheless, control of the Black population's movements still continues, with the job primari-ly done by the laws of capitalist economics buttressed by the all-pervasive racist practices of this country. In South Africa police violence is carried out against Africans in the name of enforcing legal apartheid. In the U.S. police violence is carried out illegally —but in "the name of the law," with the sanction of the racist government and judicial agencies—against the inhabitants of the ghettos and barrios.

Of course, the similarities between the economic and social fea-tures of racist oppression in the U.S. and South Africa must not blind one to the basic distinctions in the struggle against racist and class oppression in these two countries. Tens of thousands of Black workers in all parts of South Africa continue the struggle for the right to form unions, to advance beyond starvation wages

and in defiance of the pass laws—the foundation of apartheid fascism—in the face of the police power which recently murdered striking miners.

In the U.S., monopoly capitalism ceaselessly resorts to repressive measures to turn back the struggles of Black people and labor as a whole. And Nixon's Watergate clearly reveals the danger of the imposition of fascism in the U.S. But extreme reaction has not succeeded in bringing this about. On the other hand, in South Africa, where monopoly capital rules with the support of U.S. imperialism, the form of rule is open fascist violence. This difference outweights the similarities between Black oppression in the U.S. and in South Africa, and is basic to the strategy for South Africa—where the African workers and masses fight to smash apartheid fascism as an indivisible part of the struggle for liberation.

## Self-Determination and State Power

Innis' projection of "sovereignty" and "self-determination" within the ghetto has, as I have shown, no more substance than the fraudulent claim of South Africa's rulers that the African majority have achieved "self-determination" in the racist dominated and encircled "homelands." In reality, Innis' call for "sovereignty" within the "natural sociological units" of the ghetto is a strategy for *formalizing* the racist concept of "separate but equal," camouflaged as "Community Self-Determination" for 30 million Black people.

What, one must ask, is the scientific basis for Innis' use of "self-determination"? Do Black people possess a common territory with mineral and agricultural resources? In other words, do the conditions exist in the ghettos for developing a viable economy within a common territory upon which *state power* could be established and maintained by Black people? Even to ask these questions is to expose the fantasy of "self-determination" in the ghettos.

The issue of self-determination cannot be separated from state power. In Guinea-Bissau, for example, the people—under the leader-

ship of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)—have, after long struggles, been able to "boot out" the Portuguese oppressor from more than 80 of their country's territories. They have established state power on their own common territory. Their own lands and resources are now in the hands of the people and they can, with the solidarity of the Socialist countries and all the world anti-imperialist forces, begin to develop their own viable economy as the basis for independence and social progress. Now they are in a position to strengthen the people's military forces, an arm of state power inseparable from the struggle to maintain the sovereignty of the former colonies. As of this writing, the Soviet Union and more than 40 other countries have recognized the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, headed by Premier Luis Cabral, brother of Amilcar Cabral who was murdered by the Portuguese allies of U.S. imperialism.

Although Innis writes about "self-determination" and "sovereignty," he says nothing about state power—nothing about the fact that there can be no sovereignty without state power. The question of state power *can* be resolved within the territory of a former colony such as Guinea-Bissau. That is why the slogan of self-determination is applicable to Guinea-Bissau. But state power cannot be attained within the U.S. ghettos. Nor can a change in control of state power in the U.S. be brought about by Black people alone. The power of state monopoly capitalism prevails over this entire country. The monopolists' rule can be broken only by the power—of a united front of all who are oppressed by monopoly—of a national anti-monopoly coalition, with the working class, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, Asian-American and white as its foundation and leadership.

Since "self-determination" is a fantasy when the conditions for separate economic development do not exist, the issue for Black people in the U.S. is not the "Community Self-Determination" Innis calls for. The issue is how to break the state power which is

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ination" can there be in the ghettos
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f "self-determination" for the ghetto
arallels the concept used by the fascist
to rationalize the "homelands" they
interview with Dr. Nicholas Dieder-
Minister. In the interview, given to
a while Diederichs was in Nairobi for
Monetary Fund, and reported by the
0, 1973), Diederichs stated:

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correspondent, writing from Johannes-
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. . . the so-called "homelands," or separate provinces, which critics here regard largely as eroded, broken up tracts, incapable of supporting their large designated populations.

This description is another confirmation of the comparison I have made between the South African racists' plans for "separate but equal" development in the "homelands" and Innis' proposals for "separate but equal" "development" and "sovereignty" within the "eroded, broken up tracts" comprising U.S. ghettos.

The *Times* correspondent also comments on the conditions of South African workers:

The very low wage figures of black workers do not tell the whole story of their misery. For the migratory system requires millions of workers to leave their families in the "homelands," and they cannot send home enough money to prevent widespread malnutrition.

The racist minority in South Africa has a vested interest in perpetuating these conditions responsible for the inequality, the misery of the African majority. U.S. monopolists—who play a decisive role in maintaining this system in South Africa—also have a vested interest in perpetuating the conditions responsible for the misery and inequality of Blacks in this country. CORE's "Community Self-Determination" concept fits into the aim of the monopolist offensive against the Black liberation movement: to prevent Blacks and other oppressed minorities from gaining equality and joint control—along with the exploited white working majority—of the total economy.

## "Clear Advantage" To Whom?

Black people have an investment of over three centuries of life and blood in this total economy, now totally controlled by monopoly capital. The path to Black liberation lies in the struggles for joint control of this economy by all the oppressed and exploited.

But Innis' "Community Self-Determination" concept would divert Black people away from an anti-monopoly fight. Presumably designed to serve the interests of Black people, the "Community Self-Determination Bill" clearly serves an entirely different purpose:

> . . . gaining managerial control [writes Innis] of the institutions functioning in black areas provides an immediate way of creating guaranteed markets. It will give black people the chance and the ability to satisfy a demand and offer them a clear advantage.

If one is to determine to whom Innis' proposals offer "a clear advantage," it is necessary to analyze the meaning of "gaining managerial control of the institutions functioning in black areas." Which institutions? The monopoly-controlled chain stores, banks and utilities? The governmental institutions—schools, hospitals, police?

Let's look first at the question of "managerial control" of monopoly-owned institutions. There is a matter of jobs involved here, and certainly an end must be put to job discrimination in every category, in and out of the ghetto, for Blacks. But any manager, Black or white, who thinks management of a branch of a monopoly-owned supermarket, bank or public utility will lead to ownership of that institution is in a sadly deluded state indeed. As for the jobs themselves, one must distinguish between what is involved in managing a supermarket as compared to a bank, since the prime duty of a ghetto bank manager is to encourage Black people to believe they "have a friend at Chase Manhattan," or the Bank of America, etc.—the same "friends" who control most ghetto real estate and who also have a vast "friendly" stake in fascist apartheid in South Africa.

As for governmental institutions, certainly Black people must be represented in them at all levels, in elected, appointed and job capacities. This means that Black people must be in a position to exert maximum influence on governmental institutions not only in

the ghetto but city-wide, state-wide, nationally. To win decent health and educational facilities (for example, Harlem, unlike any white community of its size, does not have even *one* high school!), maximum power must be exerted within and far beyond the ghetto. And to put an end to police brutality and the other outrageous violations of police power in the ghetto requires pressure going far beyond the local precinct!

Obviously, "control" is related to much more than "markets." Nevertheless, Innis' conception of markets is a misleading one. When he states that "gaining managerial control" will provide "an immediate way of creating guaranteed markets," he speaks as though ghetto "markets" are separate from the total economy. He talks as if the market for Blacks is determined by who manages a particular branch of monopoly in the ghetto. And, by ignoring the fact that all but a tiny fraction of Black people's total income results from jobs outside the ghetto, he makes it appear that there is no relationship between market and income!

In asserting that "gaining managerial control" would be an "immediate way of creating guaranteed markets," Innis also obscures the fact that in every society the nature and size of the market, consumption and distribution, are determined by the *class* character of production—that is, by the class controlling the means of production. In obscuring this fact, Innis compounds his fiction of "community control"; he makes it appear that "managerial control" over monopoly's ghetto institutions would serve the people instead of the corporate giants controlling production, distribution and consumption in all parts of the country, including the ghettos. Innis' proposals would, at best, provide jobs for a few select Blacks in what he calls "managerial" positions, leaving unsolved the fundamental question of jobs and economic equality for the Black masses.

Therefore, Innis' proposals would provide a "clear advantage" only to the monopolists who own the principal instruments of production in auto, steel, transportation, etc.—who, in fact, own

or control everything upon which the jobs and incomes of the overwhelming majority of Black people and all other segments of the working people depend. And Innis' proposal would in reality not offer an "advanatge" even to that small minority of Blacks for whom he presumes to speak. It would instead be a "clear advantage" to this minority to support a course of struggle against monopoly, rather than offer themselves only as its "managerial" servants in the Black communities.

As another facet of an approach that serves monopoly instead of the people, Innis fails to distinguish between monopoly's institutions and the people's institutions inside the ghetto. But it is these people's institutions—as part of a wider movement combining struggles within and outside the ghetto—that are essential to liberation.

The destiny of Black people will not be determined by a minority with the goal of becoming "managerial" servants of monopoly capital in the ghetto, but by the millions of Black workers in auto, steel, transportation and other industries fighting against job and pay inequality, and the millions of Blacks of all ages who can meet their crucial needs only by a strategic struggle relating to the monopoly-controlled industries and the government of state monopoly capitalism outside the ghettos. This is the only alternative that will give "black people the chance and the ability to satisfy a demand and offer them a clear advantage."

## "Managerial" Service to Monopoly

Innis' approach would perform a "managerial" service to monopoly by separating Black workers and the entire Black people from the anti-monopoly struggles. When Innis asks the Black people to put their support behind his "Community Self-Determination" goal, he is telling Black workers to give up the struggle against the monopolists who rob them at the point of production, and instead fall in behind those Blacks who aim to manage the affairs

of these same monopolists within the Black communities. He is, in other words, telling Black people to accept the leadership of the Black bourgeoisie, which is primarily concerned only with its own narrow interests.

That Innis' proposals offer a perspective only for a small minority of Blacks willing to serve monopoly's interests in the Black community is additionally confirmed when he writes:

> It is obvious that nobody can compete with black people in the area of supplying services to their own communities.
> The primary reason that this will work is because it provides a pragmatic means of diffusing the catastrophic confrontation course upon which the U.S. is currently embarked.

This statement can only be described as a "pragmatic means" for informing the monopolists that it is to their "clear advantage" to assign a small minority of Blacks the exclusive "managerial" franchise for "supplying services" to the Black community —that this will, in fact, provide the "means for diffusing" the Black liberation movement, by leading it away from an alliance with non-Black masses to win control of monopoly institutions that dominate life in and out of the ghetto.

Innis describes his proposal as:

> . . . a solid, well-planned step toward the reorganization and redefinition of the relationship of black people with white America. It provides the means through which coexistence and tranquility can be guaranteed.

Certainly the struggle against oppression requires "reorganization" of the oppressed and exploited of all colors—into a multi-racial anti-monopoly coalition. But this is not the "redefinition" Innis calls for. Instead he asks for "coexistence" with racism, for "tranquility"—instead of struggle against racist institutions, re-

lationships and practices.

## "I Am Not Saying—As Are the Revolutionaries . . ."

There appears no end to the lengths to which Innis will go to assure the monopolists that he will not join in a movement to challenge their control. He writes:

> I am not saying—as are the revolutionaries—that black people will change white institutions. I am not saying that black people want to reform the entire economic system under which the majority has flourished.
> I am saying, however, that we want to be able to control our own destiny. . . We want to do this by creating our own institutions, quite apart from white institutions.
> This does not really conflict with the vital interest of whites.

Isn't it strange that a Black man, professing to speak for the interests of his people, would assure the monopolists he has absolutely no intention of calling for any "change" in the institutions they control? It is not "the majority" that "has flourished" through these racist institutions, but a small minority. It is through these institutions—which, according to Innis, should be allowed to conduct business as usual—that the white majority is exploited, while the Black, brown, Native American and Asian-American minorities are oppressed and exploited.

Innis asserts that his proposals do not "conflict with the vital interest of whites." But one must ask, which whites? Certainly they do not "conflict with the vital interest" of the white monopolists (and by placing the question as he does, Innis again attempts to camouflage them by their color). And if these proposals do not "conflict with the vital interest" of the monopolists, they most assuredly *do* "conflict with the vital interest" of the Black working class whose interests, in turn, correspond most fully and consistently with those of the entire Black people.

Innis asserts that he does not want to change or even reform "the entire economic system," claiming that Black people can "control our own destiny" through "self-determination" in the ghettos, "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." But he fails to show how his proposals for "self-determination" in the ghettos would enable Black people to "control our own destiny"—any more than fascist-imposed "self-determination" in South Africa's Bantu "homelands" has enabled the African majority to determine their "own destiny" "quite apart from" the "entire economic system" and "institutions" of South Africa.

Keeping Black people "quite apart from" the "entire economic system"—except as a source of super-profits—is central to the policies of the white minority controlling this country. In describing his aim of separating Black people from their just claim on the entire "economic system," Innis gives the dominant forces of racism and reaction additional assurance that his proposals do not "conflict with" their "vital interest":

> When the black population of America ceases to relate to the larger nation as a dependent and as a colonized people and begins to assert power through institutional control of capital instruments, the black "internal colonies" will then in fact be a "nation within a nation." It will then be necessary to redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship between the citizens of both nations—that is, between blacks and whites.

After rejecting the fact that Black people have a rightful claim on the total economy, on the "instruments" of capital—the resources, industry and economy of the entire country—Innis talks of beginning "to assert power through institutional control of capital instruments." But what "capital instruments" of any consequence are or would ever be available to Black people within the ghetto "natural sociological units"—separate and "quite apart" from the total economic system? Who controls the gas, electricity, the

communications systems and even water? Innis talks about "control" of the "instruments" of economic existence in the ghetto when these "instruments" are all outside the ghetto—and all owned by the corporate giants who control the total economy.

It is correct to say that it will "be necessary to redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship" between "blacks and whites." But this objective will never be won if it is regarded as having no immediate relationship to the vital interests of Black people, but merely as something to be postponed to the day when Black people succeed in doing the impossible, i.e., turning the barren ghetto "natural sociological units" without the conditions for nationhood into "a nation within a nation."

To determine their destiny, it is essential for Black people to control every possible instrumentality and institution for self-organization in the ghetto, and to fight for change through trade unions and every other possible type of organization outside the ghetto to "redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship" between Blacks and non-Blacks. This ghetto-based power of Black people must simultaneously be used to exert maximum pressure at every level of government, industry, politics, education, etc. and to engage in joint action with allies at every point of mutual interest. This approach must be central to the strategy of the Black liberation movement *now;* it must not be postponed, as Innis advises, until "self-determination" and "sovereignty" are achieved in the ghettos—which would be never. Moreover, this struggle should have as its goal not the illusion of "control of capital instruments" within the ghetto and "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." Its goal must be to break the monopolists' control of the "capital instruments" of the entire country.

But Innis aims to keep the Black liberation movement "quite apart" from the fight to "assert power"—i.e., to "boot out" the oppressor controlling the "capital instruments" of the "entire economic system." It is only too evident that Innis' politics offer no chal-

lenge to "the catastrophic confrontation course upon which the U.S. is currently embarked." His approach would contribute toward "diffusing" the struggle "to redistribute power proportionally," instead of helping "to redefine" the relationships in this country to bring about racism's end.

## In the Most Strategic Sectors of National Economy

Almost 10 percent of the Black population now work in the most strategic sectors of the national economy, especially steel, mining, auto and transportation. (Millions of others are denied jobs in the construction industries.) In addition to the 10 percent who form a vital part of the most strategically placed section of the working class, the overwhelming majority of Black people work—when they can get work—outside the ghetto, within the total national economy.

Therefore, when Innis informs both the monopolists and their racist labor lieutenants that he is not concerned with changing either the "institutions" or the "entire economic system," he is abandoning the Black working class. Black workers are among the most militant in the expanding movement to sweep aside the Meanys who are blocking the struggle to end racist and anticommunist practices in the labor movement. Black workers are playing a leading role in this movement because they recognize that they cannot defend their interests "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." Black workers are becoming increasingly aware that their destiny and that of Black people as a whole is bound up with a united struggle of all workers, Black and non-Black, to win control from the corporate giants who exploit and oppress the majority of all colors.

When Innis disclaims all interest in changing the "institutions" of this country, he is in effect endorsing the status quo in racist-dominated unions. But Black workers, along with increasing numbers of workers of all colors, are struggling to break the con-

trol of the employers and the Meanys over these unions, and transform them into basic instruments of the working class in the struggle against monopoly.

## Certain Parallel Implications

In South Africa, the so-called "Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act" of 1959, establishing apartheid reservations in the name of "self-determination," was preceded first by the "Suppression of Communism Act"—the key to the repression of opposition to fascist-imposed apartheid—and then by the "Population Registration Act," the foundation of racial separation of Black, Colored, Asian and white.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that CORE first projected its "Community Self-Determination Bill" in 1968, at a time when reaction was beginning to give renewed impetus to the McCarthyite, racist, anti-communist measures challenged by a decade of civil rights struggles. Now, in 1973, when these attacks on the people's struggles have reached a still sharper, Nixon-Watergate level, Innis is reviving this bill.

There are still other parallel implications between the "Bantu Self-Government Act" and the logic of Innis' "Community Self-Determination Bill." Passage of the "Bantu Self-Government Act" abolished the "Native Representation Act," eliminating even the token representation of the Black majority in the Parliament of South Africa. Just when the level of mass struggle was reaching the point where it would have been reflected in their increased representation—aiming at Black African majority control of their own country—every semblance of representation was wiped out in the name of "self-determination" in the apartheid "homelands."

In the U.S., CORE's "Community Self-Determination Bill" is of assistance to the racist monopolists and their political servants who would turn back the advance in Black representation in Congress and other levels of government.

Innis' call for ghetto "self-determination" offers a "clear advantage" to the monopolists. While it is a fantasy alternative for Black people, it is a *real* asset to the monopolists. The propaganda campaign behind Innis' "Community Self-Determination Bill" is a most valuable "managerial" service to the corporate giants—because it creates a diversion from a winning strategy.

In South Africa, behind the fantasy of "self-determination" in the "homelands," the reality of increased separation of the Black African majority from the Colored, Indian and Asian minorities was imposed—in order to sidetrack the struggle of the oppressed for control of the entire country and its economy.

CORE's call for "Community Self-Determination" in the ghettos is a U.S. adaptation of the South African strategy which keeps a white racist minority in power through racial separation. In the U.S., CORE's approach would intensify and fix—instead of helping to overcome—the division between the oppressed and exploited Black minority and the exploited white majority. It would also increase division between Blacks and the other oppressed minorities. Innis' proposal would, in sum, divert from the only liberating strategy: a united anti-monopoly struggle for control of the national economy. Only the joint struggle of the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American minorities with the white majority can win the battle against poverty, exploitation and oppression. This is the only strategy which can "boot out the oppressor" and establish people's control of the entire economy.

# EDUCATION:
## NOT BACKWARD TO BOOKER T. WASHINGTON—BUT FORWARD TO BLACK LIBERATION

### *A CRITIQUE OF MARTIN KILSON*

"The Black Experience at Harvard," an article by Martin Kilson, a Black professor of government at Harvard (*New York Times Magazine*, September 2, 1973, adapted from a two-part series in *The Harvard Bulletin*) is clearly ominous in relation to its most immediate target, Black college students. It serves as a signal to non-Black colleges throughout the country to open up on Black students: to see that they "stay in their place" on campus—while making it tougher for them to get there at all and tougher in every way to remain there.

The impact of this article goes far beyond the student sector and is, in fact, directed against Black people as a whole. It followed a publication route similar to that of the notorious Jensen article —the ruling class' up-to-date version of the age-old racist myth of Black "inferiority"—which appeared first in the *Harvard Educational Review* and then in the *New York Times Magazine*. Coming at a time when the monopolists have made a transition from "benign neglect" to malign attack, Kilson's article, key point by key point, parallels their strategy against the Black liberation movement at home and the liberation movements in Africa. For instance:

At a time when the monopolists are trying to make the ghetto an ever-more impenetrable prison for Black people, Kilson demands an end to the admission of ghetto youth to "elite" universities—and advocates limiting Black admissions to middle-class youth. At a time when the monopolists have used all available means to

destroy the growing solidarity of Black people—from the assassination of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and the imprisonment of Angela Davis to ideological diversions disseminated on a mass scale—Kilson applauds what he calls "cracks" in "the black-solidarity wall" on campuses—in an article that will be read by virtually every college administrator in the country.

At a time when the monopolists intensify their drive against Black political power as part of their offensive against the formation of a people's anti-monopoly coalition, Kilson attacks the "politization" of Black students. At a time when the Nixon administration, in order to facilitate its cut-back of funds for anti-poverty programs, has revived on a super-scale the ancient stereotype of "lazy Blacks" who enjoy being on welfare, Kilson decries "the serious waste of scarce university resources" on "ill-suited Negro students." And at a time when the mass media have created an identification of Black militance with crime and drugs, Kilson tells us that "the most zealous militants" on campus have established "bizarre standards of 'blackness' (including drug culture and criminal acts)." Furthermore, at a time when Black colleges should be expanded—but instead must fight for their very existence because the monopolists are trying to undermine them—Kilson in effect dismisses them, stating that "70 percent of all blacks now in college attend white institutions . . ."

Kilson's article, in short, parallels the master class' master strategy against the Black liberation movement—and calls for close analysis.

## Behind the "Crisis"

At "most major white colleges," writes Kilson, "black students have reached a crisis, one that has coincided with their rising enrollments and one that has been created in large measure by black separatism and militancy."

In other words, Black students face a "crisis" not because there are too few of them (and too few Black administrators and faculty

members)—but because there are too many of them. And the problems they ceaselessly encounter stem not from institutionalized racism—but from their attempts to deal with it. Nor is the crisis caused by racism. Instead, the students' *reaction* is designated the *cause*, and described as "black militancy and separatism"—terms which Kilson equates (just, as we shall see, as he uses "black solidarity" and "separatism" interchangeably).

The "gnawing ambivalence of loyalty experienced by Negro students," continues Kilson, "forced to choose between their subcommunity and the university in general and the resulting black-white tension have all combined to have a nearly disastrous impact on the academic achievement and intellectual growth of Negro students. While the all-black behavioral paradigm may have its strategic value in the inner city, it is a failure on campus."

Perhaps Kilson feels a "gnawing ambivalence of loyalty" in identifying with the interests of the white monopolists instead of the Black masses. But the Black students he attacks have no such problem! They have clearly demonstrated that their choice is not "the university in general"—which reflects the interests of the racist ruling class—but Black solidarity. The Black students' refusal to give in to university pressures for conformity to patterns of "integrationism"—i.e., tokenism—has, according to Kilson, created a "nearly disastrous impact" on their own "achievement and intellectual growth"—which would apparently flourish if pursued in harmony with the racist status quo!

Kilson also tries to keep Black solidarity "in its place" when he states that it "may have its strategic value in the inner city," but "is a failure on campus." In asserting that what may be good for "the inner city" is bad for "the campus," Kilson reveals a disdain for the Black masses.

The Black students, in their attempt to create Black solidarity —even when this mistakenly assumes a separatist form—are seeking to maintain their ties with the Black masses. Their aim is to use their university education to advance Black liberation instead of

pursuing the individual "success solution" that monopoly capital —trying to contain the pressure from the Black masses—permits for token Blacks.

Kilson, striving to make Black university students regard themselves as an elite, does not take a negative view of separatism when it involves separation of Black students and intellectuals from the Black masses. On the contrary, he advocates it. And there are other forms of "separatism" which Kilson pursues.

For instance, he separates "black-white tension" from racism —and links it instead with Black people's rejection of racism. He separates the problems Black students face in attaining "academic achievement" from the inferior elementary and high school education they received. He separates "academic achievement" from the racism that confronts them in the form of administrators, professors and students. He separates it from the difficulties they encounter in finding housing and establishing a social life on campus. He separates it from the economic pressures they face.

For Kilson, "academic achievement" is unrelated to the contradiction that Black students see between the university curriculum (except for isolated and limited Black studies departments) and their deep desire to contribute to Black liberation. They are determined not to go the route of some Black intellectuals and professionals of the past who returned from universities separated from their people.

At the same time, Black students are well aware that they can graduate from Harvard or some other "elite" university and proceed to a future of low-paying dead-end jobs—or unemployment. This is the crisis Black students face—but Kilson directs his fire at their attempts to *solve* these multiple problems, while *ignoring* the problems themselves.

That these problems have changed little from those faced by Black graduates of years past is confirmed in a recent article in the *New York Times* (September 10, 1973), by Paul Delaney, on a Department of Labor-sponsored study of Black professionals—majors

in science, business administration, engineering and law.

Described as "the first attempt to investigate what happened to black male college graduates after they joined a white company" with 100 or more employees, the study first of all reveals that a total of *only* 5,000 Blacks are with such companies in a "professional" capacity.

"The survey," relates Delaney, "found that while blacks were confident of their ability to perform as well as their white colleagues, they nevertheless exhibited a marked pessimism about their opportunities. They felt [the positions] they already occupied were quite poor,' the report stated."

That this feeling is only too well founded is "confirmed by . . . the tendency of salaries to reach a plateau at about the ninth year of service, and the very small number of respondents in supervisory and managerial positions." In addition, ". . . there is an effective ceiling on black advancement in business, together with a limit on the kinds of jobs for which they are accepted." Using average salaries as the gauge for advancement, the survey found they were approximately the same for men with 15 years or more of employment as for those with only nine or ten years.

## "Dispersal . . . Throughout the Nooks and Crannies"

Kilson looks back with nostalgia to the days when "there were seldom more than 50 Negroes" at Harvard. While "individual Negroes participated in all-black relationships, like Greek-letter Negro fraternities" (he doesn't mention all-white fraternities and what they did to stay that way!), there was "a *dispersal* of the small number of Negro students throughout the nooks and crannies of Harvard College." (Emphasis in the original—H. W.)

*"Dispersal"*—this is what Kilson counterposes to Black solidarity! But Black students—like the masses of Black people—are sick and tired of being "dispersed" in the "nooks and crannies" of a racist society. And Black solidarity—as part of a broad multi-racial, anti-

monopoly coalition—is what will bring Black people out of the "nooks and crannies" of the ghettos, the "nooks and crannies" of dirty, low-paid jobs, the "nooks and crannies" of prisons and dilapidated housing in which racism has imprisoned them.

During the years when there was a "dispersal" of the few Black students at Harvard, Kilson continues, "their academic and intellectual patterns were not markedly different from their white peers." Kilson's evaluation of the Black students of yesterday is no more accurate than his views on Black students today. Of course, there were some in the past who shared his views (and no doubt there are still a few today). But the majority of yesterday's Black students were also seeking ways to end oppression—which made their "intellectual patterns" markedly different from most of their "white peers" at Harvard. How, for example, can the "academic and intellectual patterns" of such an outsanding Black Harvard graduate as Benjamin J. Davis Jr., who was a national leader of the Communist Party and a New York City Councilman, be compared with his "white peers at Harvard—the sons of monopolists, who conformed to the Status Quo?

Today's militant Black students, whether or not they share his Marxist-Leninist outlook, do share the legacy of Ben Davis' rejection of Harvard's "academic and intellectual patterns"—and his conviction that conformity to such "patterns" leads not to liberation from racist oppression but its continuation!

Kilson's nostalgia for a past Harvard becomes even more questionable when he admits, for instance, that the Black students who began to enter that university in the late sixties had to overcome "nearly a century of racial and sociologcal barriers to a sizable black presence at Harvard."

Since Harvard was founded in 1636, the barriers have been up for somewhat longer than "nearly a century." Although these barriers are still up (according to Kilson there are 600 Black students at Harvard—but he doesn't mention that the total student body is 22,000), one might imagine that Kilson would find something

admirable in a generation of Black students who have made an impact against them. But such is not the case.

## "Militancy and Political Threats"

"Militancy and political threats perpetrated by Negro students," declares Kilson, speaking about Black people in the language of the racist mass media, "paved the way for major alterations in Harvard's recruiting and admission policies."

Certainly the "militancy" of Black students (which Kilson equates with "threats") was a vital factor in winning the admission of larger —though still token—numbers of Blacks to "major white colleges." Nevertheless, these gains did not come about as a result of isolated student activity. The context for these advances was the historic struggles of the Civil Rights Decade, the mass anti-war movement, and student protest activity as a whole—particularly, of course, where white students joined in Black-initiated actions against racist admissions policies.

Kilson's distorted conception of the way in which increased Black student admissions came about quite logically carries over to his view of the present phase of the campus crisis: although a "five-fold increase in black enrollment" was attained, "the politization surrounding this development plagued virtually all aspects of black-white relationships, dividing blacks and whites into mutually exclusive communities."

What plagues "black-white relationships" is, of course, racism. In evading this fact, Kilson sounds like the mayor of a Southern town speaking of how fine "race relations" were before "those troublemakers from the North stirred things up."

Struggles by Black students against Harvard's centuries-old racist barriers have not by any stretch of the imagination divided "blacks and whites into mutually exclusive communities." Quite the contrary! As Kilson admits, before the actions of "militant," "politicized" Blacks, "there were seldom more than 50 Negroes" at the

college. What could be more "mutually exclusive" than a community of white students attending Harvard, while the community of Black students was almost totally barred? "Militancy" and "politization," in other words, lead in the direction of ending of "mutually exclusive communities"—that is, lily-white universities and other all-white institutions.

Now that Blacks are present at Harvard and other "major white universities" in larger—but still far from representative—numbers, Kilson would have them "disperse" as they were forced to do in the past—and "integrate" into the status quo by ones and twos.

The Black student struggles to break down racist barriers are not a thrust for such "integration" but for *equality*. Black students do not intend to "disperse," to dissolve the solidarity that made it possible for them to enter these universities in the first place. They want to strengthen this solidarity, keep up the drive to bring more Blacks onto the campuses—and maintain their ties with the masses of Black people in the "inner city."

Black solidarity, unlike Kilson's conception of it, by no means implies separatism. On the contrary, Black solidarity, properly based, is indispensable to the struggle to open up every phase of this nation's life, including all activities of the universities, to the participation on an equal basis of Black people.

### "Militant Students . . . Constantly Politicizing"

Instances of "black-white tensions" on campus, says Kilson, "are legion." To illustrate his view of what causes this "tension," Kilson turns to the sports arena: "Militant Negro students, often academically marginal, supply a cheering entourage for black basketball players at Harvard, separating themselvs in a section of the stands, denying white students access to this section and constantly politicizing basketball games—including an occasional brawl with white students."

In this statement Kilson most unfortunately parallels the latest

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racist stereotypes: "militant" students are not only "academically marginal," he says, but are also responsible for the violence marring the otherwise peaceful (!) sports scene across the nation! In reading this, the proverbial visitor from Mars would never guess that a Black baseball player currently on the verge of beating the decades-old home-run record of a deceased white ball player has received so many threats to his life that he now requires the protection of a bodyguard!

(In *The New York Times Magazine* of September 16, 1973—two weeks after its publication of Kilson's article—there is a story about this white ball player, Babe Ruth, by *Times'* sports columnist Red Smith. In it, Smith relates, "All redcaps at railroad stations were [called] Stinkweed," by Ruth. Smith does not comment on the meaning of Ruth's calling Black men "Stinkweed," but instead treats this racist epithet as if it were a humorous nickname. Such "humor," Smith's attitude toward it—and the *Times'* promotion of it—are all part of the heritage and perpetuation of racism in sports and throughout this society that produce today's threats against Hank Aaron.)

Although certain actions taken by Black students influenced by separatist ideas are self-defeating, one must look beyond the actions themselves to their underlying causes. *When, for example, Black students try to establish claim to an area of their own, they are reacting against the pervasive racism that keeps innumerable places "off limits" to them. And while white students must certainly demonstrate their concern for everyone's right to sit—as well as live, eat, study and work—wherever he or she wishes, they must carry on this fight where racist exclusion exists: in the white areas of the nation.*

One might think that Kilson would find something to admire in the Black students' aim at Harvard which, he admits, is "to translate their unity into greater leverage with which to influence a variety of Harvard operations such as admissions, hiring, curriculum, faculty, and so on." But no. "Negro students who assert their

individuality within this situation are reprimanded," states Kilson. To "assert one's individuality" in a matter of this kind means, of course, to stay aloof from the common effort to "influence a variety of Harvard operations" and instead leave them to the discretion of a Harvard administration whose old school traditions include the exclusion of Blacks and sons and daughters of workers for over 300 years.

Comment must be made, however, on the concept of "leverage" presented here. Because most white students have not yet lived up to their responsibilities in the fight against racism, Black students are forced to the conclusion that "leverage" in the anti-racist struggle will come only from them. But when Black students are supported by the majority of white students, there will be enough "leverage" to begin to change the entire anti-democratic character of the universities.

Kilson, who expresses such concern when students who break the Black solidarity front are "reprimanded," is scathing in his criticism of students who support it. Nor does he hesitate when it comes to sharply "reprimanding" faculty members who back student aims—and he also resorts to one of monopoly's key weapons, anti-communism, in doing so:

> . . . white liberals and leftists in the faculty, seeking to expiate guilt accumulated from a century of white-supremacist treatment of Negro Americans, reinforce this situation in a variety of ways. Black studies programs, initiated by militant pressures from black students, are established with slight concern for the academic standards that prevail at Harvard generally.

It is ironic that Kilson slurs the motives of whites who support Black demands, while not questioning those of the white monopolists who will do anything to block them. And in attacking "white liberals and leftists in the faculty," Kilson is helping the monopolists revive the on-and-off campus witch-hunts of the fifties that now

merge with Nixon's Watergate tactics of the seventies.

It is gratifying to learn that Harvard's Afro-American Studies Department reflects "slight concern for the academic standards that prevail at Harvard generally" and at universities throughout the country—since these "academic standards" typically include: history departments that omit and/or distort the role of Black people; government departments that downgrade or exclude the question of Black representation, sociology departments that slander Black people; economics departments that serve capitalism at home and neocolonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America; literature departments that exclude the work of almost all Black poets, novelists and essayists; theater departments that ignore the plays of Black writers; and faculties that, save for an occasional token here and there, have Black professors only in the Black studies department, *if* they have one.

Each of these departments has a role to play in disseminating bourgeois class and racist ideology. Thus, a major product of these university intellectual assembly lines is a massive outpouring of anti-Communism, monopoly's twin weapon to racism. With the emergence of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, as the most decisive force within the world revolutionary process— always in the front line of support to the liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America, imperialist, neo-colonialist strategy has become increasingly based on the concept that perpetuation of racist oppression is more and more bound up with anti-communism at home and internationally.

Kilson blames the problems Back studies departments face on "black militants" and "white liberals and leftists." In doing this, he is conceding to the heavy pressures of anti-communism and racism focused on these departments. The very real problems Black studies departments face—understaffing, underfinancing, over-supervision, interference in curriculum—can all be traced to anti-communist, racist-oriented administrations. Further, so long as the rest of the universities' curricula, faculties and administrations do not fully reflect the role and participation of Black people, Black studies

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departments will be *segregated* departments—and segregation is one of the ruling class' oldest methods for walling in Black people and restricting their achievements.

Continuing his assault on Harvard's "highly politicized" Afro-American Studies Department as "the main base of operations of the black-solidarity forces," Kilson returns to a question which obsesses him: "To whom do Negro students owe primary loyalty? The demands of the black-solidarity forces or the academic and intellectual processes of Harvard College?

To all but the tiny fraction who identify with the Black bourgeois elite, the answer is clear: Black students feel a solidarity and loyalty to the interests of the Black masses that is growing even stronger. *What loyalty should they feel to "academic and intellectual processes" designed to keep Black masses in the ghetto and a Black elite in the service of the U.S. monopolists at home and in Africa?*

These "academic and intellectual processes" have dominated the universities of this country since their founding. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois wrote his classic study, *Black Reconstruction in America,* published in 1935, to set history straight, to counter the racist version taught Black and white university students. (Certainly Kilson is aware that to this day no picture of Harvard graduate DuBois hangs in Harvard's Widener Memorial Library—kept out by the "academic and intellectual processes" of the administration.) In *Black Reconstruction in America* (The World Publishing Co., Cleveland), DuBois stated:

The chief witness in Reconstruction, the emancipated slave himself, has been almost barred from the court. His written Reconstruction record has been largely destroyed and nearly always neglected. Only three or four states have preserved the debates in the Reconstruction conventions; there are few biographies of black leaders . . . The result is that most unfair caricatures of Negroes have been carefully preserved; but serious speeches, successful administration and upright character

are almost universally ignored and forgotten. Wherever a black head rises to historic view, it is promptly slain by an adjective —"shrewd," "notorious," "cunning"—or pilloried by a sneer; or put out of view by some quite unproven charge of bad moral character. In other words, every effort has been made to treat the Negro's part in Reconstruction with silence and contempt. (page 721.)

At the same time, every effort has been made to hide and distort the role of whites who supported Black freedom:

Not a single great leader of the nation during the Civil War and Reconstruction has escaped attack and libel. The magnificent figures of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens have been besmirched almost beyond recognition. (*Ibid.*, page 723.)

The monopolists are fearful of the potential which Afro-American studies departments have for helping develop a generation of Black and white students who, together, could play a major role in the struggle to make the universities function as institutions with a respect for truth. Instead of assisting the struggle to bring this about, Kilson assists the monopolists in promoting division between Black students and the Black masses, between Black and white students and white allies in general (i.e., his attitude toward "liberals" and "leftists")—in other words, Kilson's role parallels the racist, anti-communist role played by George Meany and others in the labor movement. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that such divisiveness can make itself felt only because the great majority of white students and the masses of white workers have not yet recognized why they must reject and fight against the racism poisoning the life of this entire nation.

## "Achievement Orientation"

"Black-solidarity forces," states Kilson, "are distinctly anti-intel-

lectual and anti-achievement in orientation . . . black students at Harvard celebrate black peers who display 'relevance' by participating in community affairs, adopting lower-class black life-styles in place of middle-class ones and posturing Black Power in relation to political issues like Harvard's Gulf Oil investments in Africa. But, alas, this is sheer fantasy. No ethnic group in American society has ever advanced its standard of living and status without accepting achievement-orientation as a desirable life-style."

How strange that Kilson would consider student opposition to Harvard's neo-colonialist "Gulf Oil investments in Africa" as "anti-intellectual"! In this opposition—as Kilson should know—Black students are following in the footsteps of the intellectual giant who blazed the path to African/Afro-American solidarity against imperialism's plunder of Africa—Harvard graduate W. E. B. DuBois.

In their refusal to adopt elitist "life-styles" and "by participating in community affairs," Black students reveal that their "achievement-orientation" is very high indeed: to be deeply identified with the Black masses in the fight to achieve Black liberation.

So far as Kilson is concerned, however, Black university students should have but one goal: to become part of a Black elite functioning either in Black-owned businesses or in varied situations on behalf of the monopolists. "Before the nineteen-sixtees"—a time which apparently brings back only happy memories to Kilson—the "relatively small number of blacks who attended elite white colleges" grasped "the significance of broad interaction with the success-oriented influences in these colleges. They also recognized that these colleges play a disproportionately large role in training those Negroes who compete for leading national roles in business, science, scholarship, law . . ."

To make proper use of their college careers today, Kilson continues, Black students must have "the capacity to shun peer-group constraints to penetrate the multilayered academic, cultural and success-oriented life-styles of elite colleges like Harvard." Most

Black students, however, do not want to "shun" their "peer group" in order to emulate the "success-oriented life-styles" of white upper-class students—which, translated into "life-styles" for Blacks, means acceptance of the status quo and pursuit of tokenism. For most Black students, success means advancing Black liberation. And this requires solidarity with their "peer group"—which is in reality the Black people as a whole.

## "The Tree of Blackness"

To back up his own views toward Black students and Black studies programs, Kilson refers to opinions allegedly expressed by Jack Daniel, Associate Professor of Black Studies and of Speech, and Chairman of the Department of Black Community Education, Research and Development, University of Pittsburgh, in "Black Academic Activism" (*The Black Scholar*, January, 1973).

Through partial quotes and unsubstantiated assertions, Kilson makes it appear that Daniel's views are in harmony with his own. But one need not agree with everything in Daniel's article (and we disagree with him on many points) to recognize that his direction is very different from Kilson's.

Kilson states, for instance, that Daniel "deplores" the "politicizing of Black studies . . ." No such attitude is expressed in Daniel's article either explicitly or by implication. In fact, Daniel's views point in an opposite direction. He states, for example, "DuBois didn't just investigate, create, and write. DuBois took his information to the people as all true, revolutionary scholars must." (page 50.) While Kilson deplores "politization" and the solidarity of Black students with the Black masses, it is clear from this statement, as well as many others, that Daniel welcomes both.

Kilson then goes on to attribute the following quote to Daniel: "They [Black students] can see the Songhai and Mali empires, but are blind to the totality of history. They can't see the forest of universal knowledge for the tree of blackness." (*Ibid.*, page 46.)

Kilson does not even supply dots at the end of the last sentence to indicate that something followed in the original. But something *did* follow. This is the last sentence in its entirety: "They can't see the forest of universal knowledge for the tree of blackness *even though the tree of blackness is first priority.* (My emphasis—H. W.)

The "tree of blackness" does indeed have "first priority" because for centuries the U.S. ruling class has presented students on every educational level with a "forest of universal knowledge" without a "tree of blackness" and Africa as a continent without a history. At a time when pressure from the Black liberation movement has forced some universities to finally reveal at least a few of the branches on the vast "tree of blackness," it is more than understandable that Black students would be deeply absorbed in what has been denied them and the entire country for so long. Why they —and Black people generally—have such intense feelings in this matter is beautifully expressed in a poem called "My Song Is For All Men,"* by a Barbadian poet, Peter Blackman, who went to West Africa in 1937.

Blackman concludes the first section of his poem—in which he speaks, with bitter irony, as an African who "accepts" the caricature of Africans created by the colonialists who came to loot that continent, exploit and oppress its peoples—by stating:

I am the subman
My footprints are nowhere in history.


Then, in the second part, Blackman assumes his true identity:

This is your statement, remember, this is your assessment
I merely repeat you
Remember this too, I do not ask you to pity me
Remember this always, you cannot condescend to me

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* Appears in *You Better Believe It*, Black Verse in English, Edited by Paul Breman, Penguin Books, 1973, Baltimore, Md.

There are many other things I remember and would have you
remember as well
I smelted iron in Nubia when your generations still ploughed
with hardwood
I cast in bronze at Benin when London was marshland
I built Timbuctoo and made it a refuge for learning
When in the chairs of Oxford unlettered monks shivered un-
washed
My faith in the living mounts like a flame in my story
I am Khama the Great
I helped Bolivar enfranchise the Americas
I am Omar and his thousands who brought Spain the light of
the Prophet
I stood with my spear among the ranks of the Prempehs
And drove you far from Kumasi for more than a century
I kept you out of my coasts, and not the mosquitoes
I have won bitter battles against you and shall win them again
I am Toussaint who taught France there was no limit to liberty
I am Harriet Tubman flouting your torture to assert my faith
in man's freedom
I am Nat Turner whose daring and strength always defied you
I have my yesterdays and shall open the future widely before
me.

## Whose Standards for "Scholarly Attainment"?

As part of his broadside against the Department of Afro-Ameri-
can Studies, Kilson claims its chairman "had no scholarly attain-
ment to his credit." But whose standards of "scholarly attainment"
does Kilson accept when he is "blind to" the historic role of the
Songhai and Mali empires, when he cannot see the "tree of black-
ness" in the "totality of history"—even though darker-skinned peo-
ple have been and remain the majority?

Kilson's assault on this department and its chairman does not,

however, end at this point. He goes on to endorse the "removal of students from participation in the department's academic affairs," and their replacement by an "interdepartmental faculty committee—*exclusive of the Afro-American Studies Department*—to select several new scholars for permanent appointments jointly in Afro-American Studies and an established department and to arrange for a successor to its present chairman." (My emphasis —H. W.)

At a moment in history when Black people's demand for representation in every area has reached a new peak, Kilson views as progress the fact that policy determination has been taken away from a predominantly Black faculty/student group and turned over to an overwhelmingly white faculty group outside the department—whose first act, following the racist takeover, was to "arrange" to get rid of the Black chairman. Precisely what is the "scholarly attainment" of the members of this faculty group in the field of Black studies? Are they familiar, for instance, with the role of white overseers in the history of Black oppression?

While the great mass of Black Americans seek ways to advance solidarity and self-organization, Kilson is constantly on the lookout for what he calls "cracks" in the "black-solidarity wall." One of the "cracks" he welcomes is, according to him, "the fact that only a few of the 600 Negro students are participating in the ideological and political programs of the Harvard Afro-American Cultural Center."

Although one must take Kilson's assertions with several large grains of salt, it is unmistakably clear that the Afro-American Cultural Center, along with the Afro-American Studies Department, faces the most severe racist and anti-communist pressures, which Kilson's article reflects and parallels. How can such a center flourish in an atmosphere aimed at destroying it?

Kilson does not stop even at this point in his drive against the Black students' every effort toward self-organization. He goes on to demand "the cessation of financing of black separatist be-

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havior by white colleges"—meaning, at Harvard, the Afro-American Cultural Center. Blacks, he continues, must be required "to find the resources from their own community to support this behavior. . . . For blacks to ask the very group held responsible for black degradation to finance black solidarity is a most profound and disorienting contradiction. It is precisely this situation that distorts the perception of reality by black students at white colleges. They extrapolate from this situation to the rest of life, believing that real power will also be forthcoming without costs and sacrifice."

It is not the students whose "perception of reality" is distorted. Only pressure from Black students and the Black people as a whole has forced such concessions as Black studies programs and Afro-American Cultural Centers from the monopolists' representatives who administer the universities!

The struggle for such centers is on the increase. At this writing, for example, Black and non-Black students at the University of Wisconsin are carrying on a mass protest against the administration's decision to close the Afro-American and Native American Cultural Centers for "budgetary reasons." The protests began with sit-ins and a march by almost 2,000 students—over half of them white—behind the slogan "They say 'cutbacks'—We say 'fight back'! "

In demanding a subsidy for an Afro-American Cultural Center, the students are only laying claim to what is rightfully theirs. In asserting that Black students must "find the resources from their own community," Kilson seems to have overlooked the glaring fact that the "resources from their own community" have been stolen from the Black people for centuries, first by the slaveowners and then the monopolists. Only one who identifies his interests with the white monopolists—whether he realizes this or not—could object to their getting even a miniscule share of it back. And who but the monopolists or someone unfortunately echoing their views, could demand *more* "costs and sacrifices" from Black

people!

The fight for Black studies departments and cultural centers is part of the struggle to break down racist exclusion of Black intellectual and cultural contributions from this country's educational institutions. It is a fight that has not yet run its full course, but has forced concessions from the monopolists—which they attempt to use to blunt further advance. But from the standpoint of Black students, these concessions are nevertheless a partial victory, to be used to continue and enlarge the struggle against racism. Yes, there are sometimes weaknesses in the way the students carry on the struggle. The problem is how to correct the weaknesses and advance the struggle.

### "The Value of Academic and Intellectual Achievement"

Further policy changes at Harvard, declares Kilson, must include "a serious effort . . . to restore a belief among Negro students in the value of academic and intellectual achievement." Since his article has already written off "the tree of blackness" as unimportant to the "forest of universal knowledge," classified anti-imperialist activity in solidarity with African liberation movements as "anti-intellectual," and lauded the racist takeover of the Afro-American Studies Department, it is only too clear that his concept of "academic and intellectual achievement" coincides with that of the university administration.

However, restoring this "belief" is, according to Kilson, a problem with "two aspects: one relating to bright Negro students"—defined by him as those who score well on the Scholastic Aptitude Test—"the other to those who enter white colleges with academic deficiencies."

*By accepting S.A.T. scores as the criterion for who is and who is not "bright," Kilson falls into the racist trap set years ago by "educators" who use I.Q. tests—which are a test not of intelligence but of information most readily acquired in a white bourgeois*

*environment—to stamp Black children as inferior and therefore unworthy of receiving an equal education and other equal opportunities. (The Jensen article, titled "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?", catapulted the racist myth of Black "inferiority" out of the past right into the center of current educational "theories.") If some Black students arrive at the college level with "academic deficiencies," it is a reflection not on their "intelligence," but on the system which deliberately deprived them of a decent preparatory education.*

As another step in the program to make it harder for Black students to get into universities, Kilson states that "admissions practices developed for black students over the past five years need rethinking." The "admissions practices" Kilson selects for "rethinking" are those of the *only* period in Harvard's almost 340-year history when its "racial and social barriers" were forced to give way in at least some degree to anti-racist pressures. Nevertheless, it is true that these practices *do* need rethinking: *all* racist and class barriers to admission must be removed. But this is not the way Kilson sees it:

"First of all," he continues, "these practices must be depoliticized." Why? "At nearly all elite white colleges new black admissions officials, appointed under the pressure of militant Negro students, have been allowed to politicize admissions criteria as applied to Negro applications."

Surely admissions practices were "politicized" when Black students were barred from universities, North as well as South. They reflected the racist politics of the monopolists—and they still do although pressure has brought about some changes. But Kilson, who applauds "cracks" in the "black-solidarity wall," seems to lament "cracks" in the white supremacy wall—through which a larger, but still very small, number of Blacks enter college. The monopolists are trying to seal up these "cracks"—and Kilson, whether or not he realizes it, is assisting them—instead of joining the struggle to batter down the walls.

If S.A.T. scores are not used as the sole criteria for admission of Black students to "white colleges" (Kilson displays no interest in admissions criteria at *Black* colleges), he declares that a "rigorous evaluation" must be made of these students: "They should display attitudes and habits that are conducive to high academic and intellectual achievement. They should be interested in reading, art, theater, museums, poetry or music."

Although I have already discussed Kilson's concept of "academic and intellectual achievement," there is yet another dimension to this matter: that is, wouldn't it be more to the point to demand that university administrations "display attitudes and habits that are conducive to high academic and intellectual achievement"— in other words, eliminate every trace of racism in their policies and practices?

As for Kilson's demand that Black students be required to demonstrate an interest in the arts, one must ask: Can he be unaware of the vast upsurge in theater, painting, poetry, music, dance and all the other arts by Black people? What is lacking is not Black "interest," but schools that will train Black artists, theaters that will produce their plays, museums that will display their paintings, publishers for their books, and jobs and all-around opportunities for all their performing artists. All this is overlooked by Kilson!

## "Misplaced Sentimentalism"

As another part of his comprehensive program for reinforcing the admissions barriers against Black students, Kilson asserts, "Perhaps the most important problem to surmount in admissions is the misplaced sentimentalism that is widespread among liberal white admissions officials (and black ones, too) at elite white colleges." (Again, the problem is the "liberals," the "leftists," *not* the racists!)

Despite the fact that virtually any cutback in funds hits Black

students and faculty first, Kilson calls for a special one against them, stating that "the bad admissions choices stemming from this sentimentalism have resulted in a serious waste of scarce university resources."

To "back up" his claim that scholarship funds are being wasted on Black students, Kilson goes even further than most white university officials dare go in public. That is, he echoes what many administrators say about Black students in private meetings—and what the media say about them on TV, radio, in newspapers and books: ". . . ill-suited Negro students at elite colleges usually end up among the most zealous militants. . . ." Such students, continues Kilson, "become the arbiters of black separatism at white colleges, establishing bizarre standards of 'blackness' (including drug culture and criminal acts) that the more talented Negro students are expected to follow"—thus completing a media caricature of "militant" but not-very-bright Blacks with a gun in one hand and heroin in the other. Kilson seems not to know that the white monopolists made drugs easily available to Black and white troops in Vietnam and continue to do so in the ghettos in order to *drain off militance!*

"One tragic instance," writes Kilson, "occurred at Cornell University in 1971. A highly talented 16-year old Negro student . . . had been transformed within less than two years from a high academic achiever to a zealous separatist and criminal. As the judge observed in his report when handing down a five-year probation sentence: 'As soon as defendant became involved with the residents of the university-owned black men's co-op, he became easily led by the wrong people.'"

Clearly, the danger to Blacks, according to this, comes not from racism but from other Blacks—who, it would appear, according to Kilson, are also obviously a danger to the entire university. It also follows, therefore, that there should not be more of them on campus, but less. And Kilson abets the monopolists' strategy for decreasing their numbers by proposing a quota.

Kilson advocates the use of quotas, he says, "in order to overcome past racist restrictions . . . on the growth of the American Negro elites." With this statement, Kilson not only relegates racism in these institutions to the past, he also alleges that the sole purpose of racist restrictions was to keep out *elite* Blacks. But their purpose was revealed in their accomplishments: they kept out *all* Blacks. Now Kilson advocates a quota that will, in his opinion, keep out "ghetto types," while allowing admission of members of the elite.

"Unqualified or ill-suited black applicants have often been accepted at top-rank white colleges in order to broaden the representation of what some admissions officials call 'ghetto types.' This reduces the number of middle-class Negroes in the black student body. . . . The blacks most likely to succeed in the competition at top-rank colleges must be encouraged, and if most of them happen to be middle-class (which, after all, is the case for whites, too), then so be it."

Despite Kilson's allegations, it is obvious that administration officials don't want "ghetto types"—i.e., working-class youth—in the universities. Only mass pressure has forced the admission of some. And these officials don't want too many middle-class Blacks either. By portraying ghetto youth as "ill-suited," by writing off their abilities, Kilson helps the administration limit the number of middle-class Blacks to be accepted as well—because the great mass of Black youth removed from consideration would leave the middle class isolated, without ties or backing.

Behind Kilson's facade of words about assisting the "growth of the American Negro elites" (Kilson's language, not mine—H. W.), lies the unfortunate fact that the quota system he proposes is equivalent to the one the racist monopolists have used for so many decades to restrict admission of Black and other minority youth. Kilson's quota would not only affect working-class Black youth adversely, but middle-class youth as well, because it would limit admissions to those conforming to a policy of tokenism, which

flows from racism and would be used to blunt struggles for equality. (Kilson's quota proposal brings to mind a little-known fact in the racist history of education: Dartmouth College was founded to train Indians. Who is aware of that now? Instead of helping to open the universities today to Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other minorities, Kilson's views are of assistance to the corporate monopolists, who would like to bring about their forced disappearance from Harvard and all other universities, just as Native Americans were forced out of an institution supposedly founded for them.)

As for those Kilson refers to as "ill-suited" Black youths (i.e., those who do not score well on the S.A.T.), either they would be kept out of college altogether or, as revealed by Kilson in the following statement, sent to Black colleges: "Some 70 percent of all blacks now in college attend white institutions, and the brightest black students are in top-rank colleges." This remark not only downgrades Black colleges, but also amounts to an attempt to return them to the Booker T. Washington concept, of Black colleges offering a strictly limited education.

Kilson's views toward Black colleges lead in a two-fold direction: to accommodation to racism within predominantly white colleges, and surrender to monopoly pressure to undermine Black colleges. Because of his elitist attitude toward the masses, Kilson has no confidence in struggle. This is why he despairs of change and has apparently opted to play the contemporary Booker T. Washington role. On the other hand, the confidence DuBois— who opposed Washington's ideas—had in the masses continued to deepen, leading him to a Marxist-Leninist outlook and membership in the Communist Party.

The fight to transform the "academic and intellectual processes" calls for joint struggle of Black and white students and faculty members, and must be pressed on two fronts: as a fight for truth in education and for equality for Blacks in the majority colleges, and a struggle for full and equal support to Black colleges.

Every white person concerned about the nation's most dangerous pollutant—racism—must realize that a real perspective for the transformation of education must advance the struggle for unrestricted admission of Blacks into the majority colleges and for saving and expanding Black colleges. Black colleges not only have a role to play in educating Black people, as they have done for generations. They must also be seen as exceptionally vital institutions for educating whites. Since these colleges are not permeated with racism, the white students' education would already be off to a head start over that offered at the majority colleges.

Dr. DuBois vividly illustrated this fact in the following passage contrasting his educational experience at Fisk University with that at Harvard:

> At Fisk, the problem of race was faced openly and essential racial equality asserted and natural inferiority strenuously denied. In some cases the teachers expressed this theory; in most cases the student opinion naturally forced it. At Harvard, on the other hand, I began to face scientific race dogma: first of all, evolution and the "Survival of the Fittest." It was continually stressed in the community and in classes that there was a vast difference in the development of the whites and the "lower" races; that this could be seen in the physical development of the Negro. I remember once in a museum, coming face to face with a demonstration: a series of skeletons arranged from a little monkey to a tall well-developed white man, with a Negro barely outranking a chimpanzee. (*Dusk of Dawn*, by W. E. B. DuBois, Schocken Books, New York, First Schocken Edition, 1968, pages 97-98.)

In his graduate studies DuBois encountered a variation of racism in education—identical at Harvard and in Germany, where it prepared the ground for Nazi ideology:

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In the graduate school at Harvard and again in Germany, the emphasis again was altered, and race became a matter of culture and cultural history. The history of the world was paraded before the observation of students. Which was the superior race? Manifestly that which had a history, the white race; there was some mention of Asiatic culture, but no course in Chinese or Indian history or culture was offered at Harvard, and quite unanimously in America and Germany, Africa was left without culture and without history. (*Ibid.*, page 98.)

## Proud of "Maladjustment" to Monopoly's Plans

What is needed are not quotas—which are an "effective ceiling" on university admissions—but a *ground floor*. There must be a truly representative minimum enrollment for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans and Native Americans—but *no* ceiling. The mass united struggle of Black, white, brown, yellow and red peoples required to bring about this democratization of the universities would simultaneously open up new opportunities for university education to white working class youth.

In urging that the universities limit Black admissions to an elite, Kilson objectively assists the monopolists in their aim of producing a "crack" in the wall of solidarity between Black students and the Black masses. It is no accident that the *New York Times* publishes this article at a time when Black students, Black workers and Black people generally are reaching a new high in understanding that solidarity with their African brothers and sisters against neo-colonialism is bound up with the struggle for Black liberation in the heartland of world imperialism. And despite what Kilson's own intentions may have been, it must be recognized that his article is of assistance to the monopolists' strategy of dispersing the Black liberation movement at home, while it aims at pushing the African peoples back into the "nooks and crannies" of colonial oppression from which they are struggling to emerge.

In his final paragraph, Kilson states, "it is imperative that the maladjustment of Negro students to the achievement and success-oriented life-styles of white colleges be corrected." The Black students are rightly proud of their "maladjustment" to the monopolists' plans to allow a token number of them to "integrate" into this racist system in order to help perpetuate it.

Black students owe no loyalty to the "university in general" and what it stands for. Their loyalty belongs to their people, to the fight to change the present-day standards of "academic and intellectual achievement" to conform to the needs of thirty million Black people as a vital part of the struggle for democratic advance for *all* the people of this country. This struggle for democratic advance also calls for the loyalty and support of all white students who want to transform the quality of life—on and off the campuses of the nation.

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