

CARTON 2:4

THE GUARDIAN

COLUMN FOR THE GUARDIAN,  
BY ROBERT ALLEN

1973

2017/103  
c

Guardian story

Interview Bobby Seale  
after Oakland  
election



Guardian Column

Ruchell Magee verdict

Atlanta School Squabble

African Liberation Day

(Jet 3/29)

Do African article  
Pan-Africanism, African socialism  
views of Nkrumah + Cabral  
1500 - 1800 words: due 5/5  
at Guardian



# THE **BLACK** SCHOLAR

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BOX 908 • SAUSALITO • CALIFORNIA 94965

Ideas for Guardian column:

Brownsville case

African Liberation Day

Political Defense mvmt

Black Health

Caribbean struggles



Bot -

F41 good clip.

Counting on that piece  
for August.

Jan  
6/20

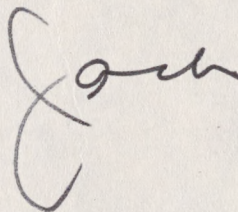


4/18/73

Bob Allen:

PS to my note about "progress" for blacks. A few weeks back Kenneth Clark had an article in the Sunday Times Magazine along these lines. I don't have copy. L.A. library might.

Just wait till you cross the bridge between Hong Kong and China. It's an incredible experience. You'll soon see what I mean, the moment you step on Chinese soil.





April 11, 1973

Bob Allen  
The Black Scholar  
Box 908  
Sausalito, Calif. 94965

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending the copy of Black Scholar along.  
I'll be mentioning it ( again) in my column soon.

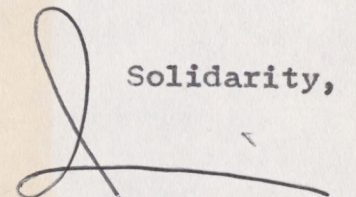
It would be very helpful for us to get about 4 or 5  
copies of each issue since a number of staff people are  
anxious to receive it and read it for themselves. If some  
of the folks at Black Scholar wanted to get the Guardian,  
maybe we could work out a bundle swap.

Whatever you do, get to China. The experience will  
have a profound effect. Best preparatory reading is the  
CCAS book and Hinton's two books, "Turning Point" and  
"100 Day War."

Virtually no limitations on photography ( aside from  
a few obvious military security no-nos). Barbara came back  
with 70 rolls of film. Bring lots of film along. Interviews  
are more difficult simply because you'll be traveling in a  
group and on a fairly tight schedule. However, you should  
bring a cassette and undoubtedly opportunities will present  
themselves.

Best from everyone.

Solidarity,



Irwin Silber



April 7, 1973

Bob Allen

Dear Bob:

The enclosed article by Roscoe Drummond from today's Christian Science Monitor gives me an idea.

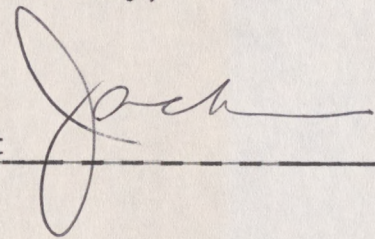
The article is about a report published in the April Commentary magazine on the "significant progress" U.S. black have made in the last decade or two. As Drummond notes, attempting to refute him, people like Julian Bond deny the notion of "progress" having been made.

What's the true situation? That's the idea--an article or series of articles to be published by the Guardian on the question of what "progress," really, has been made by the masses of blacks since, let's say, the 1954 decision on schooling?

Are you interested?

Fraternally,

Jack





# 'Black Progress, Liberal Rhetoric'

By Roscoe Drummond

## Washington

Two able political analysts, Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, are convinced that Democratic liberals are doing themselves and their party a grave disservice by belittling the tremendous progress which American blacks achieved during the past decade.

They make a strong case on both points — that somewhat more than half of the nation's black population has made economic and social gains which are "nothing short of revolutionary," and that the Democratic left has been disdaining and distorting the record.

## No change?

They quote Julian Bond, an influential black spokesman and a prominent figure at the McGovern convention, as saying:

"In a great many ways . . . things have either not changed at all, or have become much worse." They quote Sen. Edmund Muskie, who may well be a contender for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, as saying:

"You can see the failure everywhere. . . . Liberals have achieved virtually no fundamental change in our society since the end of the New Deal."

If this is a false picture, as Scammon and Wattenberg contend, what is the true picture? They set out the record with great care in a documented article in the April issue of *Commentary* magazine.

They have credentials. Scammon was director of the Census Bureau (on whose data their study is based). Wattenberg is co-author of numerous respected political studies. They call their article "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric." It is eminently worth reading. They demonstrate what, I suspect, many people do not yet realize: the enormous headway which black families have been making.

## Measure of progress

They show that:

- In a society that prides itself on being middle class, "blacks are now moving into the middle class in unprecedented numbers."

- In a society that scorns the high school drop-out, "blacks are now finishing high school and significant numbers are going on to college."

- In a culture that has a clear idea of what is a good job and what is not, "blacks are now moving into good jobs."

How do you measure this kind of progress?

Scammon and Wattenberg use two yardsticks. They find, according to the 1970 census, that a "majority of black families" moved into the middle class during the '60's. They find that, while income for white families went up 69 percent in the '60's, the income of black families rose 99.6 percent. Thus black family income doubled in a single decade.

Is that retrogression, as Julian Bond contends? Is

that failure, as Senator Muskie contends?

Obviously this remarkable progress does not mean that middle-class blacks have achieved affluence. It does not mean that discrimination against blacks has been removed from the face of our society or that job opportunities are not more readily accessible to whites than blacks.

## No Scrooge budget

But it does mean that progress has been so substantial and encouraging that, in the Scammon-Wattenberg view, liberals should not be arguing that anti-poverty programs should continue because they have failed, but rather they should continue because they have succeeded.

There is probably no way to determine precisely whether an expanding economy or federal programs did more to help so many blacks achieve so much. Probably it was a mix of the two.

The record of gains does not seem to me to conflict with President Nixon's effort to cut back some anti-poverty programs. Since more than half of American blacks have already moved into the middle class, then some cutback of federal spending would seem reasonable. Nixon's proposed ceiling of \$269 billion for fiscal 1974 is not a Scrooge budget and in areas of health, housing, education, and aid to the elderly and the handicapped, it is twice what was spent four years ago.



April 3, 1973

Jack --

Given the closeness of the deadline I asked the RNA folks to send direct to you news clippings, photos and press release about the March 31st Solidarity Day. If they sent it to me I wouldn't get it before the deadline. If there are further questions the person to contact in Jackson is Chokwe Lumumba 601 355-7495. He was chief organizer of the event and the contact person with whom I've been in touch. He knows that I write for the Guardian.

Please tell Bob Schaecher that I've started looking at the Malcolm X book and I should be able to get the review in next week.

I like the present arrangement with me doing articles on a (more or less) regular basis. I think we should keep things flexible for the time being until I get a better feel for how it can develop.

I like the way the Guardian is developing as a Marxist-Leninist newspaper. From what I have seen, I can say that the Guardian is playing a key role in providing ideological leadership for forces on the left that are ~~xxxx~~ in the process of defining their political line. And these forces, I think, will be of crucial importance to the future of the socialist struggle in this country. Quite an advance over the old days of vague "radicalism." Some say the Guardian has become sectarian, but I think that in the editorials and analytical pieces you're pushing forward the ideological struggle in a very principled manner. Keep it up; we all need it. These are just some thoughts off the top of my head. I'll ~~write~~ write more later.

Regards to all,



Bob Allen



MAR 20 1973

March 16, 1973

Bob Allen  
The Black Scholar  
Box 908  
Sausalito, Calif. 94965

Dear Bob:

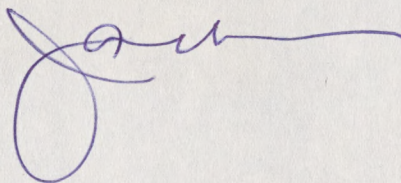
I agree with the suggestions regarding your writing for us in your letter of March 5. (The article on Brownsville, incidentally, is scheduled this next issue.) We very much look forward to the Malcolm X review.

What you have in mind, I think, is to write news analysis articles (which could or could not appear in column format) as opposed to a column of regular opinion-polemic. Actually, this could be even more valuable. I rely on you to supply us with upcoming story ideas. A few suggestions from us might include: Nixon and Blacks; the Black political caucus. (I'm compiling a large general list of future article possibilities and will ~~also~~ send you a copy).

Nothing to report yet on the question of a tour of black journalists to China. Irwin and I are working on it. We've still got several more guardian tours which you can fit on in future months should you want to and if the journalists group doesn't get off the ground.

I'd be interested in your ~~and~~ opinions and criticisms of the contemporary Guardian when you get the ~~time~~ time.

Warm regards,





March 5, 1973

Dear Jack,

We're still not quite on schedule here at the Scholar, but I think we've gotten the production problems under control. This, combined with the fact that the Brigade is departing soon, means that I should shortly be able to start writing Guardian pieces. In fact, I asked Bob Schaecher to send me a copy of the new Malcolm X book to review. Thought a review might be a good way to kick things off.

I'm still not altogether clear on the column idea. In a way I would like to do background pieces rather than a straight column with logo and all. Or perhaps a better way of saying it is that I'm more interested in doing a news & analysis column than an opinion/polemic column. Also, I don't think the column should be pegged as a "black movement" column, although that might well be its main emphasis. As I develop materials I would hope to get a bit into the international situation, especially the Caribbean and Africa, as well as other areas of the domestic front, possibly education and health. All of this is very tentative as of yet, but I would be interested in any views you might have on the matter.



3/23/73

## RNA Organizes African POW Solidarity Day

by Robert L. Allen

In recent weeks Pentagon public relations officers and the mass media have been working overtime to whip up public sympathy for the returning American POWs. Predictably, in the midst of this carefully staged plastic patriotism no mention has been made of ~~the~~ imprisoned <sup>black</sup> freedom fighters in this country who consider themselves to be prisoners of war. The plight of these prisoners is kept hidden from public view and the reasons for their incarceration have been systematically obscured.

Such is the case of the RNA-11, members of the Republic of New Africa in Mississippi who have been charged with assault, murder, and waging war against the State.

In the early morning hours of August 18, 1971, police and FBI agents in Jackson, Miss., raided the residence of the RNA. The purpose of the raid, according to the authorities, was to find a man whom they thought was hiding out at the RNA house. Slightly more than a minute after they arrived, however, and before there was any sign of resistance from the occupants of the house, the lawmen opened fire.

(more)



In an interview published in a recent issue of Muhammad Speaks newspaper, <sup>(imprisoned)</sup> RNA president Imari Abubakari Obadele I (Richard Henry) described what happened on that fateful morning: "The 40 odd 'lawmen' fired gas guns, shot guns, and pistols into the RNA residence continuously for over twenty minutes, [but] none of the seven people inside -- including RNA Vice President Hekima Ana and his wife Tamu Sana Ana -- was injured. However, Jackson police Lieutenant William Lewis Skinner, head of the intelligence squad, was killed and another white policeman and an FBI agent were wounded. (All of the attackers were wearing battle-helmets and flack jackets and had gas masks.)

"Myself and three other New Africans -- then Information Minister Sister Aisha Salim, Brother Tawwab Nkrumah, and Brother Spade de Mau Mau -- were arrested simultaneously at the RNA office several blocks away. There we were fortunate enough to have

2/2/77 Day  
challenged the FBI and police cars in front of the house before they fired on us, and we were arrested without an exchange of gunfire.

"The court record now shows clearly that the police and FBI thought I was at the government residence, and it is commonly believed by blacks in Jackson that the attackers opened fire so suddenly there because they hoped to assassinate the RNA President in bed; my sudden appearance at the door of the office over on Lynch Street -- where we were working on the New African Newspaper -- caught the smaller squad that had been assigned there by surprise and threw them off balance long enough to prevent the usual 'accidental' police murder in the street."

(more)



This attack <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ one part of a "secret war" being waged against the RNA because of its efforts to establish a New Africa republic in the South, Obadale contends. In Mississippi, RNA has been seeking to organize a plebiscite in black-majority counties for the people to choose between being U.S. citizens or citizens of New Africa. The RNA has also purchased land in Mississippi, and is demanding \$300 billion in reparations payments from the U.S. government to be used for building cooperatively-owned new communities and industry in the South. For its efforts, the RNA has been constantly harassed and persecuted by the state ~~authorities~~ and the FBI.

To dramatize the ~~case of the~~ RNA-11 and to call attention to the situation of other imprisoned liberation fighters both in the U.S. and Africa, the Republic of New Africa has called for an International Solidarity Day for African Prisoners of War to be held March 31st in Jackson, Miss. Joining the RNA in issuing the call were the National Black Political Council, the Pan African Congress (USA), the Cairo United Front, CORE, the Congress of African People, and several other national and local organizations.

It is expected that several thousand black people will converge on Jackson to take part in the Solidarity Day, and that sympathy demonstrations will take place in many other cities in the days ~~immediately~~ immediately preceding March 31st.

According to RNA Minister of Justice, Chokwe Lumumba, the specific purposes of the Solidarity Day are: (1) to demonstrate solidarity with Africans, especially in America, who have been incarcerated because of their political activities designed to

(more)



liberate African people; (2) to identify and propagate information on various cases of preventive detention, ~~which~~ utilized by the American government to blunt ~~our~~ efforts to gain freedom, justice and equality; (3) to develop a mechanism whereby local defense efforts can maximize <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ impact and influence <sup>in building support</sup> ~~on a given local~~ of defense campaigns ~~for African prisoners of war~~ for African prisoners of war; and (4) to develop a legal defense and support network for African prisoners of war.

The Solidarity Day will include a series of workshops, as well as a brief march and rally. There is to be a benefit show in the evening.

Pointing to the significance of the Solidarity Day, Pres. Obadele explained that the event would not be "a mere commiseration over how bad whitey is treating us. Nor will it be totally focused on the RNA-11. All Pan-Africanists are shocked by the murder of our brother Amilcar Cabral, and we understand what it means. This understanding of the inter-relation of the nature of our common enemy -- along with our solidarity with the freedom fighters in jail and in the field in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and South Africa -- will be major concerns of the ~~March~~ Solidarity Day.

"We shall also focus on the brilliant, lonely, ceaseless struggles of Martin Sostre and Ruchell Magee; the battles of the jailed Baton Rouge shoot-out brothers, of Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington brothers, of Rap Brown, Sam Petty, Levi Valentine, and Arthur Young, and of many others."

The ultimate meaning of the African prisoner of war movement depends on the development of the international African independence struggle, says Chokwe Lumumba. "On this continent," he added, "it ultimately depends on the complementary objectives of achieving

(more)



- 5 -

the independence of New Africa in the deep South, and achieving black economic and political power anywhere in the U.S.A. that a substantial portion of African people exist."

~~RNA~~ For the immediate future, RNA organizers hope that the Solidarity Day will impart new energy and unity to the political prisoners movement in this country and in Africa.

- End -



March 23, 1973

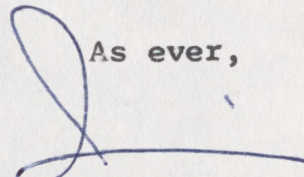
Bob Allen  
The Black Scholar  
Box 908  
Sausalito, Ca. 94965

Dear Bob:

You have no idea how good it is to see your by-line in the Guardian again. We all hope you'll be making regular contributions again. I also understand that you will be going on our China trip in June. This is great news. Barbara and I went with the group last December and there simply are no words to describe the impact of that experience.

I think that Black Scholar under your editorship has already shown a marked improvement. In that connection, I think it would be a good idea to send me a copy regularly. This will help me give youx occasional plugs in AC/DC which still has at least as much pulling power as an ad.

Regards to Pam.

As ever,  
  
Irwin Silber



# THE **BLACK** SCHOLAR

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BOX 908 • SAUSALITO • CALIFORNIA 94965

March 27, 1973

Dear Irwin,

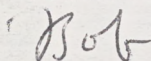
It was good to hear from you. I've been following and enjoying your writing in the Guardian.

The Guardian is on our exchange list, but when I checked I discovered that we were still sending the issue to the old address. Correction made -- you should be getting the mag regularly from here on in.

I'm really excited about the China trip. My financial situation is very shaky, and I'm not sure whether I'll be able to raise the portion of the fare that is my responsibility, but I sure plan to try. I wouldn't want to miss this opportunity. I'd appreciate it if you would send me any recommended readings that might be helpful in preparation. Also, what are the possibilities of doing interviews and photography?

Please give my regards to Barbara.

Venceremos,



Bob Allen



April 10, 1973 •

Dear Barry,

I only have a couple of suggestions for the Africa supplement: On the article on African women -- there was recently an all-African Women's Conference held in Tanzania. You might contact their consulate to see if anything has been written on the conference. I would also suggest that you contact Owusu Sudaikai (Howard Fuller) who is the head of Malcolm X Liberation University. Sudaikai was recently in Mozambique, I believe, and he has a clear anti-imperialist perspective on the struggle there. Another writer that I highly recommend is Prexy Nesbitt, who directs the Amilcar Cabral Institute in Washington, D.C. He could handle a piece on the African liberation movements or political ideologies. He recently did a fine review of Gibson's book ~~on~~ on the African Liberation struggles which was published in the current issue of the IFCO newsletter. Both Sudaikai and Nesbitt can be reached through the IFCO office in NYC. Alice Reed, editor of the IFCO newsletter, can put you in touch with them.

For myself, I would like to do a critical assessment of Pan Africanism. I think this piece could complement the article you have scheduled on "US blacks and the African liberation struggle." My purpose would be to criticize the bourgeois mystification that passes for Pan Africanism. If your're tight for space I could keep it to 6-8 takes, doublespaced. What do you think?

Bob Allen

P.S. When is the deadline?



**Guardian**

independent  
radical  
newsweekly

32 WEST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

Telephones: Business: 691-0404 Editorial: 691-0531

March 28

Please contact me with suggestions, additions or names of other people to contact. Also let me know what you would be interested in doing. Perhaps the article on African ideologies.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Hope to hear from you soon.

*Barry Rubin*

Barry Rubin  
foreign editor



PRELIMINARY OUTLINE FOR GUARDIAN AFRICA SUPPLEMENT

Lead article--Africa's struggle for independence, historical background	1 1/2 pp.
Imperialism and Africa	1
African trade unions (Same in Afrique-asie)	1
U.S. blacks and the African liberation struggle	1
Overview of African economic and social conditions	1
African political ideologies	1
South Africa and Namibia	1
Angola and Mozambique	1
Guinea (B) and	1
Rhodesia	1
African women	1
organizational list and bibliography	1/2
Tanzania (Tricontinental article)	1/2
	<u>12.5</u>



Brownsville, Port Chicago and Kitty Hawk

3/73

By Robert L. Allen

Last month we had another bitter reminder of the long-standing ~~ex~~ distaste which the U.S. military brass has for the black enlisted man. Under pressure from black Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins (D.-Calif.), the military reluctantly admitted that a foul act had been committed against 167 black soldiers unjustly accused of shooting up the town of Brownsville, Texas, in 1906.

"The Brownsville Affray," as the incident is dubbed in the few history books that recorded it, began on the night of August 13, 1906. Around midnight, unidentified marauders rode into ~~new~~ Brownsville firing their guns. They killed one white man and wounded others. The next day incensed citizens charged that the culprits were soldiers from the all-black ~~Twenty~~ Twenty-fifth Infantry regiment stationed near the town.

The military brass quickly sided with the irate white ~~citizenry~~ citizenry. An "official" inquiry was conducted which concluded that some of the soldiers were guilty, but the investigators could not specify which soldiers. Unable to ~~wring~~ <sup>wring</sup> confessions out of any of the soldiers, the military officials recommended that the entire outfit be discharged. Waiting until after the fall elections to make his move, Theodore Roosevelt accordingly had the whole battalion discharged without honor, and denied all back pay, allowances and benefits. The black soldiers were declared ineligible for pensions, barred from re-enlisting and excluded from civil service employment. There had been no trial and there was no chance for appeal.

Over half a century later the truth of what transpired on



that dismal August night has finally come to public attention.  
In a carefully documented study, The Brownsville Raid, author  
John D. Weaver ~~compiled~~<sup>compiled</sup> evidence showing that all the black troops  
were asleep in their barracks at the time of the attack. Weaver  
<sup>he</sup> believes that raid was pulled off by local racists ~~who wanted~~<sup>in a plot</sup>  
aimed at forcing the removal of the black troops.  
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxagainstxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The racism  
<sup>as it developed,</sup><sub>the situation</sub>  
of the military guaranteed that the plot would succeed.  
He sponsored a bill calling for justice for the Brownsv

With the record "set clear" the whole matter could again be forgotten. The white press ~~was~~ briefly reported the Army's retraction and, without so much as a blush, quickly moved on to other matters. The black press gave the story a little more play and took an indignant stance. But very few noted that Brownsville, like most American stories, has had many sequels. History may not ~~repeat~~ repeat itself, but neither is it a random assortment of chance occurrences. Recurrent themes surface which express the underlying <sup>racist</sup> logic of <sup>existing</sup> ~~the social order~~. American society

In World War II it was Port Chicago. During the war the Navy systematically used black sailors to do the most menial, dirty and dangerous work. ~~xxxxxxx~~ At Port Chicago, a small town



3/3/3/3/3

on San Francisco Bay where Navy explosives were loaded for *shijment* overseas, every man assigned to <sup>load</sup> ~~load~~ ammunition was black. This was extremely dangerous work. But the black men were apparently expendable -- they were not even given any special training for the work.

On July 17, 1944, 320 black sailors were blown ~~topits~~ in a huge explosion. In the aftermath of the disaster, several hundred of the survivors, fearful for their lives, refused to continue loading ammunition. The Navy singled out ~~fifty~~ 50 of these black men and charged them with "conspiracy to mutiny." The men were court-martialed and given prison sentences ranging from 8 to 15 years each. In effect, these men took the rap for the Port Chicago explosion. It was their "cowardice" and "mutiny" that was used to cover up the Navy's criminal behaviour.



Today it is the U.S.S. Kitty Hawk. Some 17 black sailors have been charged with rioting ~~aboard~~ aboard the huge aircraft carrier last October. Although the Kitty Hawk "riot" involved both black and white crewmen, it is ~~only~~ the blacks who are being <sup>selectively</sup> prosecuted. <sup>(only white sailor was arrested.)</sup> The incident was the latest in a series of ~~the~~ rebellions by black sailors against racism in the Navy. The ~~sia~~ sailors' views are summed up in a poster distributed by the Black Servicemen's ~~Caucus~~ Caucus: "You can't be black and Navy, too."\*

Once again an investigation has been conducted, this time by a special House subcommittee. At Brownsville it was "criminal niggers" who were the attackers. At Port Chicago it was "depraved men" who mutinied.

On the Kitty Hawk, according to the House investigators, it was a few blacks of "below-average mental capacity" who fomented the trouble.

Racism in the military and among the politicians who support the military is nothing new. Racism ran rampant in 1906, and it has continued to become more entrenched in the military as U.S. imperialism has sunk its claws into Africa, Asia and Latin America. What has changed is the response of the black enlisted man. ~~Awakened~~ <sup>freedom</sup> by the black ~~movement~~ movement and confronted with the contradictions of his role in the ~~the~~ U.S. military, the black enlisted man is less and less a ~~willing~~ passive pawn of racism and imperialism. ~~The Brownsville soldiers were victims of a situation totally outside their control. At Port Chicago the black sailors decided to protest their condition. On the Kitty Hawk, other Navy vessels and in other areas of the military, organized resistance has developed.~~

\* Copies of the poster are available for 50¢ from B.S.C., 3109 Imperial Ave., San Diego, Calif. 92112.



5/5/5/5

The Brownsville soldiers were victims of a situation totally outside their control in which they took no active part. At Port Chicago, the black sailors refused to cooperate further in their own abuse by the ~~xxxxxx~~ Navy brass. On the Kitty Hawk (and on other Navy vessels and in other military branches), and organized and active resistance movement has developed, thereby putting the brass squarely on the spot.

With the U.S. government moving rapidly to establish an all-volunteer army, which necessarily will have a large proportion of black enlistees who have been forced out of the civilian labor market, the tensions within the military will probably sharpen. The military cannot change its role under imperialism, and it is precisely that role, and the racism it spawns, which is generating contradictions between the ranks and the brass.



SF  
Chronicle  
5/20/73

# An Army Of the Poor and Black

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

## Washington

AMERICA'S brand new, all-volunteer Army is becoming an Army drawn from the less privileged in America, an army of opportunity-seekers.

Increasingly, its ranks are being filled by peacetime mercenaries who take a critical look at their lives and then decide on purely financial grounds that the military has more to offer than years of picking tobacco, sorting potatoes, washing cars, waiting on tables or looking for better jobs that are not there.

In some parts of the country, the numbers of young men going into uniform rise and fall in harmony with the local economy. Fulfillment of the nation's global defense needs can be influenced by the shutdown of a tire retreading plant in Dayton, Ohio, or the effects of flooding in the Mississippi Delta.

In a sense, the New Army mirrors America's economy. It is in head-to-head competition with private industry, and in hard times it can expect volunteers to be plentiful; in good times, it will have to work harder to maintain its strength of 843,000 men.

★ ★ ★

IN YEARS past, when the draft was in effect, the Army reflected to a considerable extent the full range of diversity in American society. It took the rich and the poor, college graduates and high school dropouts — 18 million men in all.

But now with the draft abandoned, the Army can no longer be assured that its recruits will reflect the demographic realities of the country. It will have to take what it can recruit, even if those recruits are drawn predominantly from a single stratum of society or from particular geographic regions of the United States.

Enlistment trends in the three months since the draft ended provide this picture:

- Southerners are more heavily represented than volunteers from any other part of the country. Nearly half of this year's enlistees came from the Southeast and Southwest recruiting districts.

- Eighty per cent of the Army volunteers in March reported their civilian pay was at or below the military pay level of \$307 a month. Taking into account the Army's free lodging, medical care and other benefits, these men actually obtained sizable raises by joining the Army at the lowest military pay level.

- Slightly more than half the volunteers in the first half of fiscal 1973 were high school dropouts.

- A quarter of the March volunteers were black, which reflects the high proportion of recruits from predominantly black sections of the South. The ratio of black volunteers last month was up about 5 per cent from January.

★ ★ ★

WHEN ASKED whether a highly regionalized Army would create a moral dilemma in the event of a major war, a Pentagon general responsible for manpower conceded that the ranks of the first combatants might be top heavy with Southerners, but that the reserves and National Guard would quickly fill the void.

From the highest Pentagon level down, Army officials flatly rejected assertions by some critics that removal of the middle class from the Army will remove a major inhibition on a President's decision to wage war.

One Pentagon general called the assertion "ridiculous," and a recruiting official said those critics are overlooking the fact that the all-volunteer Army is only a peacetime army and that "all bets would be off" in time of war.



N.Y. Times  
6/17

## N.A.A.C.P. ASSAILS CRITICS OF BLACKS

Challenges Magazine Over  
'Secrecy' on Progress

By C. GERALD FRASER

A magazine article that angered many blacks, especially in academic circles, has been challenged by the N.A.A.C.P. in a rare attack by that group on the American Jewish Committee's publication Commentary.

The number two man of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, John A. Morsell, a sociologist, has criticized the magazine as well as Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard M. Scammon, co-authors of the article, "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric," which appeared in the April Commentary.

The authors contended that statistics showed a majority of America's black population was now "middle class" and making "headway toward satisfying all these traditional middle-class desires."

Mr. Wattenberg and Mr. Scammon also charged "civil rights leaders" with conspiring to keep these developments "secret" for political reasons.

### Used Census Statistics

The two authors relied largely on Census Bureau statistics as bases for their contentions. Mr. Scammon directed the Census Bureau from 1961 to 1965 and Mr. Wattenberg, a former aide to President Johnson and Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Henry M. Jackson, assisted in the Government's publication in 1967 of "Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States."

The two men were co-authors of "The Real Majority," a book holding that the mass of United States voters were not poor, black or young.

In their Commentary article some of their major points were:

¶Income for black families "actually doubled during a single decade," from 1960 to 1970.

¶Black family income climbed from 53 per cent of white family income in 1961 to 63 per cent of white family income in 1971. And young black families of the North and West, with working husbands and wives, "earn as much or a trifle more than comparable whites."

¶In 1971, 70 per cent of all black teen-agers were in school, 25 per cent were at work or at home and only five per cent were "the hard-core, full-time unemployed."

¶Thirteen per cent of all construction trade apprentices are black and 20 per cent of all those enrolled in unions from January to June, 1972, were nonwhite.

¶The percentage of blacks in college has gone from 10 in 1965 to 18 in 1971.

The authors concluded that a "blanket of silence" had enveloped these social and economic advances. "Civil rights leaders do know what has happened, and even acknowledge it in private; but they have elected as a matter of policy to mute any public acknowledgment or celebration of black accomplishments in order to maintain moral and political pressure on the Administration and on public opinion."

### Response Published

Mr. Wattenberg and Mr. Scammon said that refusal to concede progress perpetuated stereotyped images of black poverty rates and welfare, preventing white middle-class America from welcoming blacks "into their hearts . . . neighborhoods, schools or places of work."

Dr. Morsell's response was published in the N.A.A.C.P. magazine, The Crisis, for June-July.

Dr. Morsell first castigated Commentary's position on race matters, as follows:

"It is no accident," he said, "that the article appears in Commentary, since it has seemed for some time that its editors are intent upon dampening the receptivity of liberal whites to the thesis that race is as critical an issue today as it ever was and that massive effort is required to produce genuine correctives."

Dr. Morsell made the following points in rebuttal:

¶From 1945 to 1970, the ratio of black family income to white family income climbed only 4 percentage points.

¶The young, nonsouthern black families with both husband and wife working attained parity with whites because their combined income was compared with that of white families with a single wage earner.

¶The dollar gap between blacks and whites is increasing. The more education a black has the greater the income gap between the black and the white of equal educational status.

¶Among young black males, 50 per cent "have never worked and may well never in life enter the labor force."

Dr. Morsell, the N.A.A.C.P.'s assistant executive director, said the authors had ignored the "psychological impact of continuing disparities in employment, income, housing and general well-being upon the attitudes of black Americans."

He denied that "Negro leaders" made light of achievements. "So much remains that is evil," Dr. Morsell said, "that we cannot slacken the pace of our protest the merest fraction."

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