

CARTON 3:35

RELUCTANT REFORMERS

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1973-1974;
2003

ALLEN, PAMELA P.
HARRIS, CHARLES

2017/193
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THE INAUGURATION OF THE
HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1974 AT 12:30 P. M.
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9/13

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HOWARD UNIVERSITY

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

December 8, 2003

Dr. Robert Allen
1034 Vallejo Street
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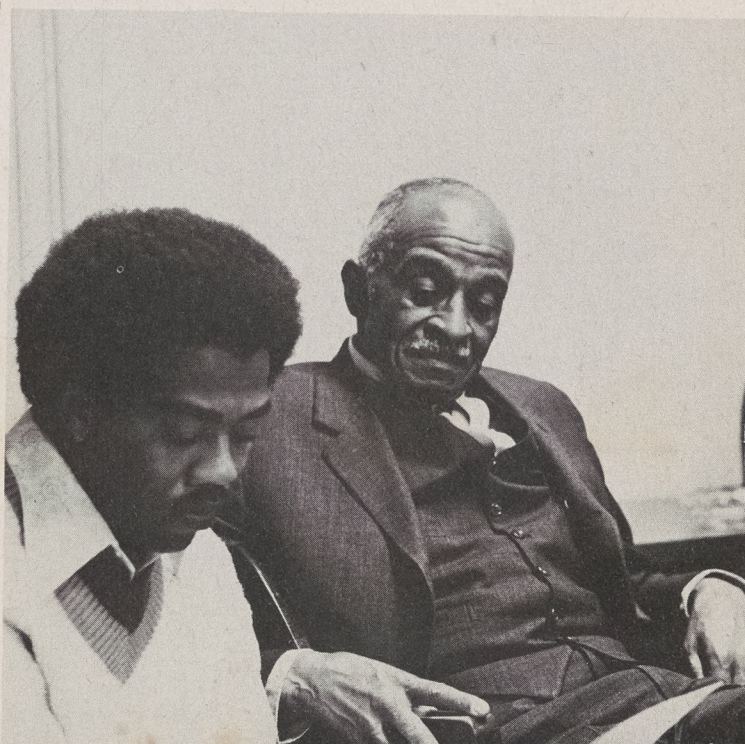
Howard Hall is a good place for a publishing house. It has a certain 19th century charm, but some very up-to-date things are going on inside. Somewhat lost among the modern buildings on the western edge of the Howard University campus, Howard Hall was originally the home of General Oliver O. Howard, Commissioner of the post-Civil War Freedmen's Bureau, who founded the university. For years, there has been talk of tearing down the old house. Its fate remains in doubt even yet. But for the time being, it has been joyously salvaged by the Howard University Press, which began its publishing operations there this month—the first black university press in the nation.

Only one class was being conducted on the second floor, paint was peeling off the

By Susan Wagner



Howard Hall, the oldest building on the campus, is home to the new university press



walls and the house had the dankness of age and neglect when the fledgling press staked out its claim. Now, two years and several coats of paint later, the press is ready to publish its first list. Seated behind his desk in a corner office with a magnificent view of downtown Washington, executive director Charles Harris told *PW*: "The importance of the press is that we haven't had a chance to speak for ourselves—to tell something about ourselves. We will be a black press, yes. But we will also publish good books by non-blacks. We hope to improve the intellectual condition of the country."

Howard University was founded in 1867 with a broad mandate to help heal Civil War wounds and provide some educational opportunity for a people long held down by the bondage of slavery. For most of its existence, Howard has been the only publicly supported institution of higher education completely available for black students, with broad programs of undergraduate, graduate and professional education. The university has grown steadily in size and stature until today its 15 schools and colleges and several specialized institutes occupy 75 acres on a hill overlooking Washington less than five miles from the White House.

As early as 1939, the university formally recognized the need for a publishing house, but there were always more pressing needs for available funds. When Dr. James E. Cheek took over as president of Howard in 1970, he made it known that establishment of a press would have high priority. He assigned the task to Dr. Andrew Billingsley, Vice-President for Academic Affairs. Billingsley, who serves as chairman of the 14-

member commission that oversees operations of the press, talked Charles Harris into coming to Washington from Random House in New York, where he was a senior editor.

"People have said this is a bad time to start a university press," says Harris, a 40-year-old native of Portsmouth, Va., who had spent a dozen years in publishing in New York. "But it's *always* a bad time to start a university press. It's a marginal business for people who like to take a lot of chances." The university scrounged and scraped for money to get the press going. It is being funded by private funds. Contrary to the popular impression, Howard was founded as a private institution and maintains its original connection with the Congregational Church. The federal government provides about 55% of its \$100-million annual budget. Other universities, while receiving a far smaller percentage of their funds from federal agencies, actually receive more dollars from the federal government than Howard.

Charles Harris won't say just what his budget is. But two years ago he set out to lay the groundwork for the press and build a staff which now numbers 12. All of them either have experience in New York publishing houses or are graduates of the Radcliffe publishing course. (Managing editor Iris Eaton came from American Heritage. Business manager William S. Mayo worked for Simon & Schuster, Hill & Wang, Basic Books and Intext. Charles Harris spent four years at Doubleday in addition to Random House.) Money problems delayed publication. Twice, the press applied for a grant from the government. Twice, it was turned down. "We're in a different position in that we can't go to a printer until we have the money in hand," Harris explained. But he is also convinced that it's better to plan carefully and present a well-formulated program to the public than to publish one or two books and go off half-cocked.

"If you get into publishing before you're ready," he remarked, "the system will break down. We wanted to wait until we could work together, understand the kind of press we wanted. We're looking for a certain unity of spirit and commitment. We knew that would take time to build."

There is a strong desire in the black community to see the press succeed. Well-known authors have already committed themselves to giving Howard books. There are a couple of big names on the first list—Nikki Giovanni and Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones). "This gives us encouragement and a feeling of exhilaration," Harris said.

The youthful staff reflects this excitement and desire to break new ground, not to be bound by the tradition of older university presses. The youngest editor, Paula Giddings, 26, a graduate of Howard who worked as a copy editor for

Random House before returning to Washington to work for the press, came up with the idea which resulted in Howard's number one trade book this spring, "A Poetic Equation: Conversations Between Nikki Giovanni and Margaret Walker." The idea for the book came to her while she was attending the University of Ohio Writers Conference at Dayton in 1972. "Charles has young people making decisions," Paula Giddings said. "Each book will be innovative in some way. Authors are not afraid to give us innovative books and ideas."

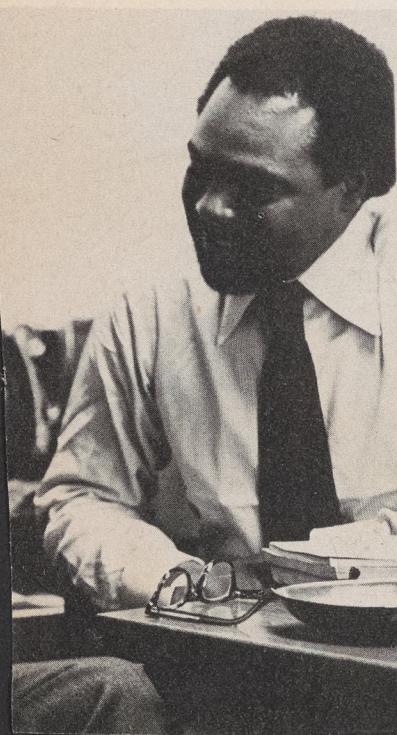
"We Want Young People To Grow"

There are no specialists on the staff. "We want young people to grow, do different things," Harris explained. Each will take a hand at different kinds of books. Howard will publish in certain areas—academic, general trade, reference and books for people interested in formal education. It will publish poetry, short stories and novels. There are some of each on the first list. "Many major publishing houses are finding it difficult to publish fiction," executive editor Phil W. Petrie commented. "It's difficult for all writers to get a novel published, but it's extraordinarily difficult for blacks. We have a duty to American letters in the area of belles lettres." Petrie, 36, is a Tennessean who worked as a senior editor on Morrow Paperback Editions.

Howard will reissue in a newly designed edition the much-praised novel, "Song for Mumu," by a young Jamaican, Lindsay Barrett, now living in Africa. "Saw the House in Half" by Oliver Jackman is a novel about a West Indian from Barbados. "The Short Fiction of Charles W. Chesnutt" was edited by Sylvia Lyons Render, chief of the Afro-American section of the Library of Congress, who searched old periodical literature for unpublished works by this Reconstruction period writer. Chesnutt was one of the first American writers to create characters, both black and white, which do not fit racial stereotypes. Jean Toomer, a poet of the Harlem Renaissance, is represented with a volume compiled by Darwin T. Turner, professor of English at the University of Iowa. "From the Dark Tower: Afro-American Writers from 1900 to 1960" gives an overview of significant black writers. The author, Arthur P. Davis, a Howard professor of literature, was the first author signed up by the press. High on the fiction list is Baraka's "The Building of the New Ark," an autobiographical story about Newark, N.J.

In nonfiction, the press pays a posthumous debt to the distinguished but long-neglected professor of African history, William Leo Hansberry, who taught at Howard for 38 years. One volume of his work, "African Notebook: Pillars in Ethiopian History," will be published this spring. Another is scheduled for the fall. Reprint rights were ob-

Charles F. Harris (left), the Press's executive director. Below: Executive editor Phil Petrie (left) with J. Saunders Reddings, chairman of the Scholarly Worth Committee, and Mr. Harris



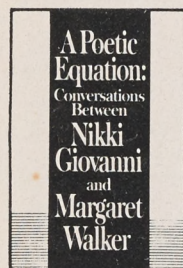
Photographs by Roy Lewis

Howard University Press

presents

its First list of publications

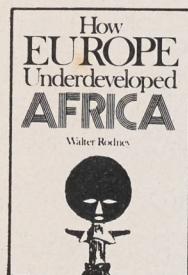
At last! Here is the list of inaugural publications from the first professionally staffed and structured academic press at a predominantly Black University.



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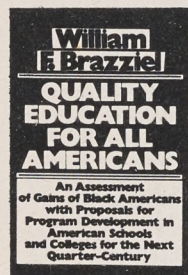
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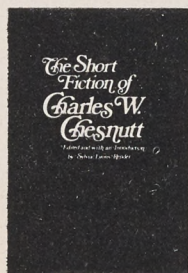
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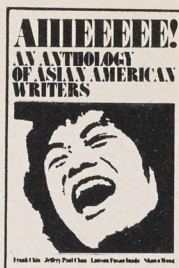
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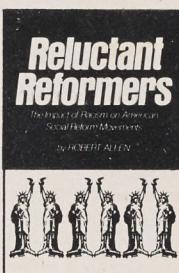
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RELUCTANT REFORMERS:

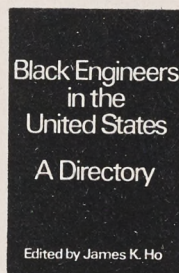
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By Robert Allen

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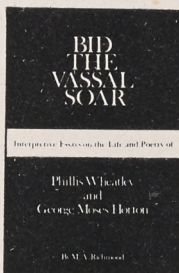


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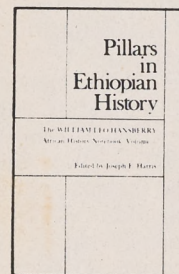


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HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

Racism in reform movements

By James S. Tinney
AFRO Editor

Robert Allen, associate editor of "The Black Scholar" magazine, has done it again.

The same scholarly expose of Americanistic oppression which was presented in the book **BLACK AWAKENING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA**, is repeated in **RELUCTANT REFORMERS: The Impact of Racism on American Social Reform Movements**.

This new volume, produced by Howard University Press, however, is no repeat or mere restatement of the earlier volume. In fact, it takes a wholly different bent.

Whereas **BLACK AWAKENING** treated the black power and black nationalistic movements particularly, Allen now directs the reader to the roles of blacks in various white reform movements, and the attitudes and actions of those

movements toward black people.

What he shows is that reformists, despite their good intentions, are hardly able to overcome the racism inherent in American society.

These social movements attract representatives from all the various strata and subgroupings of the dominant group, and consequently individuals bring with them these same prejudices, injecting them into the movements bodily.

Sooner or later, in almost every instance, racism rears its ugly head.

What is more, the movements themselves—representing as they do the tactic of change "from within"—are organically connected with dominant American institutions.

As such, they inevitably succumb to the racist dynamics at work in the

large structure.

The specially problematic position of the black reformer is also portrayed carefully by Allen.

Blacks in these movements did not and do not have access to the real levers of power. "Hence, black reformers were compelled to function solely in the ideological sphere."

Further, Allen asserts, since they were representatives of only the minority middle-class, they could easily be "co-opted, isolated, or repressed by whites."

One might assume that this recognition by Allen might lead to a summary dismissal of many of these black reformists.

On the contrary, the writer utilizes his vantage point to show the reader a side of the reform movements—and of the blacks within them—that is tendered with un-

derstanding.

After all, it is the ultimate contradiction of everything connected with capitalist and racist systems which must finally be dealt with.

And deal with it, Allen does. This book is especially valuable for the careful way in which is presented the difference between biological and cultural racism, mercantile capitalism and industrial capitalism, and the delineation of the three periods of white racist ideology.

"Ultimately," says Allen, "the attack on racism must become a struggle with the bourgeois social order itself."

Another distinctive characteristic of **RELUCTANT REFORMERS** is the author's considered portrayal of men such as Booker T. Washington, Garvey, and DuBois.

Elements of wider struggles

than the customary (accommodationism, separatism, Pan-Africanism) are set forth.

True enough, there are minor shortcomings in the book.

Why was the prohibition-temperance movement overlooked? This reviewer would like to have seen more modern extensions of some reform movements considered; e.g., women's lib, and possible connections with the suffrage movement; the role of the new Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and similar sets; and of course, the gay lib and ecological movements.

Admittedly, some of these are so much newer than others the book describes, that they might better fit into a subsequent volume. One hopes for as much.

One real shortcoming, however, it seems, is the little attention and credit given to

A. Philip Randolph in the chapter on organized labor.

Surely he was a far greater figure than the space given him here would allow.

And at this particular juncture of our history, not all readers will be completely satisfied with the supposed differences between socialism and cultural nationalism.

But then, these criticisms are mere discussions on what might have been.

The truth is that what has been accomplished in this book is of sufficient magnitude that such criticisms pale into insignificance.

The last two chapters alone are worth the price.

And as Allen so deftly demonstrates, reform movements must alter their conception of the "task at hand."

What is really needed is not reform, but revolutionary social transformation.

FROM: WASHINGTON (D.C.) AFRO-AMERICAN
August 31, 1974

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THE INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD

An Independent Research Center

87 Chestnut Street, S. W. • Atlanta, Georgia 30314 • (404) 523-7805

Director: Vincent Harding

Chairman of Board: C. T. Vivian

August 14, 1974

Bro. Robert Allen
THE BLACK SCHOLAR
Box 908 (2658 Bridgeway)
Sausalito, California

Dear Brother Bob:

Enclosed find a copy of the critique of your manuscript that Bill and I did for Howard University Press. I'd been planning to get it off to you sooner, but we've been agonizing quite a bit over whether or not ~~reading~~ sending it to you in this form was permissible since these things are usually done for publisher's eyes only. I also gave some consideration to taking out some of the harsher (though candid) sounding criticism, but in the end, we decided to send it as is, since, (1) we felt you should get our most candid response and (2) as Bill says, you take criticism better than he does! I hope you will forgive us for sounding so brusque. But I also hope you will take the criticisms to heart (and the conversation we had) and press this work forward to the next, higher level. As noted, very few people (including Vincent) are working from your angle of vision. Pursuing this line of inquiry is a most important step in determining our prospects for the future. So I/we do hope you will return to grappling with the data and develop that deeper level of analysis that I feel you are now prepared to produce. Be strong, Take care.

In the Struggle,

Howard
Howard Dodson

HD/cm

encl.

P.S. You'll soon be receiving a packet of materials concerning our Summer's End Symposium. It isn't the Conference (Research Agenda) that I mentioned. That will be a much later project. Hope you can either come or send your comments nonetheless.

INSTITUTE BOARD: Walter F. Anderson, Margaret Walker Alexander, Lerone Bennett, Robert Browne, John Henrik Clarke, Dorothy Cotton, Ossie Davis, St. Clair Drake, Katherine Dunham, Tobe Johnson, Julius Lester, Jesse Noel, Rene Piquion, Bernice Reagon, William Strickland, Council Taylor, E. U. Essien-Udom, C. T. Vivian, Charles White (Partial Listing)

THE BLACK SCHOLAR

Journal of Black Studies and Research

BOX 908 (2670 BRIDGEWAY) SAUSALITO, CALIF. 94965 • (415) 332-3152/989-3396

August 20, 1974

Mr. Howard Dodson
Institute of the Black World
87 Chestnut St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Dear Howard,

Thanks very much for sending me the critique done by Bill for Howard Univ. Press. I felt that the criticisms were very solid. Paula had passed some of them along to me and, although no major rewriting of the entire mss. was done, revisions were made in an effort to take the criticisms into account. By now you should have received copies of the final product. Let me know what you think of it.

Keep me posted on prospects for exchanging mailing lists, and the progress of the conference idea.

Regards from everyone here.

Fraternally,

Robert Allen

An Independent Research Center

87 Chestnut Street, S. W. • Atlanta, Georgia 30314 • (404) 523-7805

Director: Vincent Harding

Chairman of Board: C. T. Vivian

July 31, 1973

Ms. Iris Eaton
Howard University Press
2400 Sixth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Ms. Eaton:

I am sorry to have taken so long on Bob Allen's manuscript but the press of Institute business has been a constant intervention. As I mentioned to you over the phone, Bob is a personal friend so I asked a colleague here at IBW also to read the mss. as a kind of independent check of my impressions. That methodology slowed the process somewhat but it had the virtue of relaxing some of my subjective concerns about reviewing the work of a friend. After reading the mss. my very strong inclination is to write a detailed, almost page by page, critique suggesting different approaches and interpretations of much of the material. Such a response, however, would turn out to be a mini-book in its own right and is a time luxury, unfortunately, I cannot afford. Thus this report will be briefer than I should like but as responsible as I can make it.

I. On the Significance of the author and subject:
In my office at this moment is a book entitled Black Americans and White Racism: Theory and Research. It was published in 1970 as a reader on racism and is based primarily on 1964-1967 reprints from The American Sociological Review. It contains pieces on "Connotations of Racial Concepts and Color Names," "Characteristics of Negro Mothers in Single-Headed Households," "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged," etc. In my opinion it is an abysmally retrograde work but its significance is that it illustrates how the current topicality of "racism" has attracted all manner of "experts" out of the woodwork. The fact of the matter is that much of the existing work is quite confused since "racism" is defined differently by different persons in general and by blacks and whites in particular. Most white scholars, for instance, treat racism almost exclusively as a psychological problem. Thus Winthrop Jordan's WHITE OVER BLACK, George Frederickson's THE BLACK IMAGE IN THE WHITE MIND, and Joel Kovel's WHITE RACISM: A PSYCHO-HISTORY. Some touch upon what is usually called "institutional racism", but the basic white approach is an exploration of attitudes and ideology. A very few, like

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July 31, 1973
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the expatriate South African Ronald Segal (THE RACE WAR), see the problem as an historical world-wide politico-cultural clash between the races.

What follows from this deficiency is the need for new analysis for we still have only the dimmest understanding of the true dimensions of American racism. Bob's significance is that he and a very few others are attempting to demystify racism and root it within the institutional development of American society itself. Mary Berry's Black Resistance and White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America and the forthcoming, as yet untitled, book by my colleague, Vincent Harding, are similar efforts. There is also a young white historian at Berkeley, Gary Nash (THE GREAT FEAR: RACE IN THE MIND OF AMERICA), who will soon be publishing a new interpretation of racism in the colonial period.

I would thus argue that Bob's work is some of the most useful and important now under way because the questions with which he is grappling: the theoretical shortcomings of the black struggle, the relation between racism and capitalism, class influences upon social change movements, the nature of black-white relations in the black freedom and American reform movements etc., are not only important questions in their own right which will find an audience for themselves irrespective of their reception within the discipline. I seriously doubt that the book will have any pronounced effect upon the discipline because Bob's work (1) stands somewhere between traditional scholarship and popular history and (2) represents an explicit anti-capitalist perspective. I also doubt that we can truly assess the value of Bob's book by asking whether it will be accepted by academe. I prefer to ask whether it illuminates the darkness of our self-understanding as a people for that is, I believe, Bob's intention and the basis of my own agonizing over his manuscript.

II. On the Manuscript:

One of the things that you ask for in your guide is a brief synopsis of the work. Doing so is not a de facto problem but a conceptual one especially if one proceeds from the author's statement of what his book is about (Introduction, pages 5-6)... "In sum this book is a study of the ideological impact of racism on six social reform movements [the abolitionists, the populists, the progressives, the woman's rights movement and the socialists/communists] and how racism affected [those] movements' thinking and action and [contribution to change in American] social thought and institutions." The book's purpose thus defined is an examination of the impact of white society on white reform movements. Four pages earlier, however, we are told that the purpose is to study whether "progressive whites have been a source of anti-racist thinking and development (sufficient) to...purge American society of racism." The question has thereby become the impact of white

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the black
^
reformers on white society. The problem is compounded in the narrative which, at various points, takes up the additional questions of the impact of white society and white reformers on black reformers and the black movement and also the impact of black reformers and movement on white society and/or white reformers. In the course of the document Bob speaks to all of these questions but not in a systematic way either within the context of the individual chapters or within the structure of the total manuscript itself. Instead his loosely-defined construct of racism serves as a catch-all category into which everything is lumped. Lacking a clearly defined purpose and a clearly defined analytical framework in which to cast his narrative, the study becomes largely a series of chatty accountings of hundreds of facts. It is not the kind of well-thought out study that is needed and which the subject deserves. I think Bob realized that himself when, very late in the draft (chapter VIII, pg. 3), he noted that the foregoing seven chapters of narrative "raised serious doubts as to the suitability of a simple comparative [I'd say narrative] method in attempting to understand the role of racism in social reform movements." He concluded that perhaps "some other analytic framework is needed." I fully agree. But it is not until after he came to that realization that he begins to outline the kind of conceptual scheme that I think could rescue the document and perhaps, with a major rewriting, overcome its essentially eclectic nature. Paradoxically Bob ends this manuscript where he should have started.

that
It is only when we get to the last chapter ~~we~~ we see what the book might have been. Here the writing is firm and flowing, the ideas crisp and sharp. Here Bob is on his real ground: the political economy of racism; writing the book he should probably have written in the first place: RACISM, CAPITALISM and REFORM. That is where his heart is and where his store of information lies. What happened, I think, is that he set out exploring with one idea in mind but in the course of traveling through the data, picked up a thicketful of new ideas. In trying to incorporate these discoveries within his text, he has seriously weakened his thematic and organizational structure leading to chapters whose time frames are blurred, whose continuity is tenuous and whose clarity is compromised. The data simply overwhelms the structure rather than being mastered by it.

III. Recommendations/Reflections:

I have never been a publisher but I would raise a few considerations in the case of a book like this. Firstly white publishers bring books to the market everyday which are inferior to this one. Secondly the question Bob almost formulates: the historical role of white allies of the black struggle has, insofar as I know, never been dealt with in a full-length study so the book would be breaking new ground even in its currently flawed incarnation. Thirdly there are only a small number of people working from Bob's angle of vision: Harold Cruse (years ago), a radical white historian named Harold Baron and James Doggs (who has made probably the

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greatest single contribution to the study of the political economy of American racism and whose book RACISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE is superior to this mss. in its more focused and probing treatment of the relation of white workers, liberals, and Marxists to the black struggle in the modern period.) Fourthly, Bob's first book* had some of the same problems of ambiguity and associative rather than analytical writing and it was pretty well received despite its problems. So one never knows what people may go for. I am simply suggesting from a professional standpoint that Bob decide which of these various possibilities he wishes to pursue (i.e. WHITE SUPREMACY AND AMERICAN REFORM, WHITE REFORM AND BLACK STRUGGLE, RACISM AND AMERICAN REFORM or the forementioned RACISM, CAPITALISM AND REFORM) and then organize his argument accordingly. For when you're not presenting any new research, it is hard to justify raking through familiar secondary sources unless you are marshalling the old evidence in new ways to give up new insights. The failure to frame his argument in such a fashion is the major shortcoming of the manuscript. Had Bob used parts of Chapter VIII in his introduction and perhaps as chapter links then he would have had a real structure on which to hang all of his narrative. So I think The Reluctant Reformer§* may very well be of interest to the uninformed lay reader but that it is likely to be dismissed by scholars as superficial and unoriginal. That is, there is a possibility of its being a commercial success and a critical failure. Now here at IBW we have gotten into the habit of collectively strengthening each other's work before we send it sallying forth to do battle in the Great Outdoors. That is what Bob's book needs, some additional shoring up, and I would be happy to offer at a later time some detailed suggestions on how the book might be strengthened if it is decided to take the rewrite route.

the
Aside from/above however there are two questions of interpretation that I would also raise. I do not believe Bob can write a book of this kind without addressing himself to the question of the central role played by the black movement in influencing white reform movements. That is the reason I believe that black personalities and movements, e.g. panafricanism, keep cropping up in a work supposedly concerned primarily about the role of white reformers. On pg. 4 of chapter VIII he alludes to this problem and does so again on page 43A of the same chapter. Yet most of his narrative does not reflect this awareness. As a consequence he gives whites credit for initiating activities that clearly flow out of their contact and relationship with blacks. For example, the title of his opening chapter might have been "Abolitionism confronts Black Militancy" rather than the reverse. But we can argue the merits of his approach without having to reconcile our differing views.

*Black Awakening in Capitalist America (N.Y.) 1969

**Recommend a title change because the chief characteristic of these reform movements from our viewpoint is not "Reluctance" but "Racism".

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The other question is much more significant for it has to do with his entire argument. The dilemma Bob leaves us with concerning the white betrayal of blacks whenever the two groups are joined together in cooperative enterprise, and especially when blacks are participating in white movements, becomes a qualitatively different question in the modern era when whites flock to join the black movement and reverse the historical trend he is analyzing. This new development makes the dilemma Bob poses more apparent than real. Indeed it borders on being anachronistic since the pattern he sets forth as crucial has dialectically turned into its opposite. From the standpoint of analysis, then, omitting the meaning of the modern movement pretty much undercuts his whole thesis.

Finally, as I stated in the beginning, I am going to restrict myself to these general observations and not comment on each minute detail of the mss. There are a couple of things though, Paula, that I should like to bring to your attention. I don't have the copy before me but somewhere in the mss. there is a sentence that says something to the effect that all attempts to construct a theory based on race have failed. It struck me when I read it as being too close to Gossett's "The Scientific Revolt against Racism" in Racism in the United States, edited by David Reimers, pg. 85. Gossett's original reads as follows: "All attempts to construct any theory of history or civilization upon racial theory, all attempts to describe accurately the differences of character, temperament and intelligence among the races, have been failures." For safety's sake the statement should be footnoted. Since it caught my eye it's also likely to catch the eye of others. If you decide to go with the mss. in its present form, then there needs to be a fuller explanation, as in chapter VIII, of the role and historical development of racism, of the author's approach to investigating certain American social reform movements (and why he is including some and not others.). The rationale for inclusion needs to be strengthened because there are other movements with espoused or actual relations to blacks (such as the Liberty and Free Soil Parties) which Bob has not dealt with. Also one might ask why not the instances of state-sponsored reform like the New Deal, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the social welfare legislation of the sixties? Wasn't their "experiment" in changing America at least as valid as that of the reform groups he has selected?

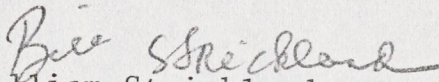
The chapter on women's rights is awkward thematically and chronologically. Should it come before the populists and progressives, be incorporated within the discussion of the abolitionists, as some parts already are, what....? It symbolizes the problem of analytical imprecision that underlies the entire work.

If you have any further questions or if any of this is unclear please call. And I reiterate my offer of assistance.

Ms. Iris Eaton
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Again, my apologies for the delay..

Sincerely,


William Strickland

WS/fht

CC: Paula Giddings



monthly report

THE INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD
87 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

IBW Summer '74

Summer has always been a time for thoughtful debate at the Institute, and this summer promises to be an especially fertile one. Our activities this year will include three distinct though related programs: (i) a public lecture series; (ii) a six-week research project; and (iii) a summer's-end symposium. All three are geared to exploring aspects of the present condition and future prospects of the black freedom struggle, and will feature Dr. Walter Rodney, professor of history at the University of Guyana, author of How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, and this summer's visiting IBW research fellow.

(i) LECTURE SERIES: BLACK STRUGGLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS: TOWARDS THE NEXT STAGE
Brother Rodney will open the series on Wednesday, July 31st, with a lecture on the current status of the black freedom struggle in Africa. Vincent Harding and Bill Strickland will discuss the American scene on succeeding Wednesdays (August 7th and 14th, respectively), while Robert Hill will conclude the series on August 21st with an overview of the Caribbean. All lectures will be held in the Interdenominational Center auditorium, 671 Beckwith Street, S.W., Atlanta, at 7:30 p.m. Admission is free and all are invited.

(ii) SIX-WEEK RESEARCH PROJECT: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND BLACK STRUGGLE
Rodney and Strickland will also be acting as co-directors of IBW's summer research project. The research effort focuses on three central areas: (1) the political economy of black and white America; (2) social structure and black struggle; and (3) the history of race relations between black and white America. In the course of the exploration, the project will test the applicability to the American scene of the frames of reference used in Rodney's book (above) and Cabral's Revolution in Guinea and Return to the Source. Harding, Hill and Lerone Bennett, Jr. will act as research consultants while a team of graduate research assistants will carry out the research. Lectures, discussions and papers will be recorded and disseminated later in the fall.

(iii) SUMMER'S-END SYMPOSIUM: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

We will close out the summer with a three-day symposium that opens on August 28th and will run through August 30th. Lectures, panel discussions and workshops featuring Rodney, Strickland, Hill, Harding and a number of IBW associates will attempt to tackle some of the many as yet unanswered questions plaguing the black future. All sessions will be held in the ITC auditorium in Atlanta. They will begin promptly at 7:30 p.m. each night and a ten dollar (\$10.00) registration fee is being requested of all participants in the symposium. All of IBW's friends are invited to attend what we expect to be a very stimulating forum.

To register for the symposium, or for more information, please write Sister Adisa Douglas, c/o IBW. We look forward to seeing you.

Update

THE RESPONSE TO OUR FUND APPEAL

Very soon after our last Report went out with a fund appeal, we began receiving small envelopes bearing welcome gifts. To date we have received fifty-five answers to the appeal, contributing over \$1,000. We want to stop and warmly thank all those who took their time and resources to assist us with our expenses.

Many of these recent contributors were folks who had given contributions back in 1971, 1972, and hadn't been heard from since. Those sort of chickens we like coming home to roost.

For those who have been intending to send something, the message is still "Please do contribute to IBW." It's never too late.

WHAT WE CAN DO (IF WE TRY)

Nikki Giovanni was heard to say, "Kids my age don't really know who Mary McCleod Bethune was," on the occasion of the commemoration of a statue of the famous black woman. Therefore, for kids of 31 and under, we'd like to jot down a few facts that we should all hold on to about a woman who so powerfully personified black determination.

In a period of special struggle for Southern Blacks (1904-1955), Mrs. Bethune founded and headed Bethune-Cookman College, the National Association of Colored Womens' Clubs, and the National Council of Negro Women; and was a source of inspiration to politicians, diplomats, black artists and scholars.

Although we doubt that Mrs. Bethune herself would have approved of the \$500,000 spent on erecting the monument (the first to a black person and an American woman in a national park), we find it encouraging that the sum was raised by black people's efforts. For this we praise the National Council of Negro Women and look forward to hearing of other such successful cooperative efforts among black people.

EDUCATION AND BLACK STRUGGLE AND PRISONERS

Some of our readers will remember that we offered a prisoner exchange program some months ago. Readers could contribute \$2.80 to send a free copy of our new publication, *EDUCATION AND BLACK STRUGGLE*, to a black prisoner. We want to thank all those who sent contributions. So far we have 231 books paid for and 165 prisoners who have received, and we'll be using up the rest of the gift books as we add new prisoners to our mailing list. We would welcome any more contributions. Again, thanks.

As one of our prisoner-recipients wrote:

...I received the book EDUCATION AND BLACK STRUGGLE yesterday...Already there are many brothers awaiting the opportunity to read it. Which is to say that they, just like myself, feel it is a beautiful book and that you should continue to publish books such as this. We only hope that the brothers and sisters in the outside world will come into contact with such materials...

Again, thanks to all contributors. We look forward to other donations.

LOOK OUT FOR AUGUST-SEPTEMBER!!

We'd like to alert you to the coming issue of the Monthly Report. As many of you know, IBW has long had relationships with black prisoners, ranging from correspondence to collaborating on Black Studies programs. We have always been aware of the black talent that lies, well guarded, behind prison bars, and have almost continually received poems, short stories and articles from prisoners.

Next month we will be mailing you a summer feature, instead of the usual Report, that will take the form of a provocative essay by a brother in the Missouri State Pen...an essay we know will penetrate deep into your minds and consciences as it did into ours.

Bookbag

NEW FROM THE INSTITUTE *****

IBW AND EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION (formerly The Challenge of Blackness)

by Lerone Bennett, Jr.
Reprinted by Third World Press and
available from the Institute (\$1.00)

Bennett, a former member of the IBW staff, details a new black attitude to work and study.

"Blackness is a challenge because it raises the whole question of values and because it tells us that we must rise now to the level of teaching this profoundly ignorant and profoundly sick society. And in order to do that, we must create a new rationale."

An introduction by Vincent Harding outlines the history of the Institute.

BOOKS RECEIVED AT OUR OFFICES:

SECOND THE EMOTION

by Richard Fulani (\$2.00)
P.O. Box 338, Brooklyn, N.Y. 112266

It was with deep appreciation that we heard that an old IBW friend, Richard Fulani (Dill), would be dedicating his new book of poetry to us, donating the proceeds of this edition to our organization. This, the third of the brother's collections, focuses on black love -- between man, woman, family and race.

BLACK BRITISH, WHITE BRITISH

by Dilip Hiro
Monthly Review Press; \$8.95

Those who feel that the problem of a growing black population (and the conflict that accompanies it) in cities is peculiarly American, should read this study of West Indians and Asians in Britain.

UPLIFT: WHAT PEOPLE THEMSELVES CAN DO
by Washington Consulting Group
Olympus Pub. Co.; Salt Lake City, Utah

A study of the burgeoning self-help movement, the book describes over 1,000 low-income community projects, from food co-operatives to health centers to craft workshops, how they came about and why they succeeded.

REVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by James and Grace Lee Boggs
(Monthly Review Press; \$10.00)

Associates of the Institute since its inception, Grace and James Boggs have always impressed us with their constantly probing analysis of racism and capitalism in America. Their new book examines the process and significance of social revolution in Russia, China, Guinea-Bissau, and Vietnam, as background to their views on the responsibilities and challenges of making an American Revolution. The following quote demonstrates the Boggs' ability to strip away the glamour and myths of revolution that whites (and Blacks) have embellished it with.

"...Let us state categorically some of the things that the United States revolution in the twentieth century is not going to be for. (It is not going to be:)

- 1. ...for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. That was the goal of the French Revolution, in order to get rid of feudalism.*
- 2. ...for socialism as defined by Marx. Capitalism has already developed productive forces to the point where material needs can be satisfied...*
- 3. ...for civil rights...to increase the freedom of individual choice. Rather it is to increase the collective consciousness of how to choose...*
- 4. ...for majority rule...Counting noses cannot be the fundamental way for determining political direction or for making political choices and political judgment.*
- 5. ...just to give to the poor the same rights and privileges that the rich have had...The question to be answered by the revolution in an advanced country like the United States is whether man/woman's wants are going to be allowed to dominate man/woman's needs as human beings.*
- 6. ...just to have population control. The Chinese have three times the population of the United States in approximately the same area, and they are much healthier because they make socially conscious choices between what people want and what people need.*
- 7. ...for "Peace, Bread and Land" as it was in Russia in 1917. It is for total political power to make decisions as to what should be done and what should not be done with land..."*

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THE INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD
87 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314



IBW Summer Calendar

Lecture Series: BLACK STRUGGLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

Wed. July 31st:	WALTER RODNEY	"The Crisis in Africa"
Wed. Aug. 7th:	VINCENT HARDING	"The Crisis in America"
Wed. Aug. 14th:	BILL STRICKLAND	"The Crisis in America"
Wed. Aug. 21st:	ROBERT HILL	"The Crisis in the Caribbean"

Summer's-End Symposium: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Wed. Aug. 28th - Fri. Aug. 30th
Registration fee: \$10.00

INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER, 671 Beckwith Street, Atlanta; 7:30 p.m.
(for all lectures and workshops)

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THE BLACK SCHOLAR

Journal of Black Studies and Research

BOX 908 (2670 BRIDGEWAY) SAUSALITO, CALIF. 94965 • (415) 332-3152/989-3396

September 13, 1973

Paula --

Enclosed is the permissions letter from ISR.

I forgot to mention in our conversation that The Black Scholar would be interested in obtaining at unit cost possibly as many as 1,000 copies of the paperback edition of the book. We would use it as a subscription premium. When negotiations begin for a pb edition please bear this fact in mind and let me know how much the unit price would be.

Bob

International Socialist review

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014
phone (212) 929-3486

September 10, 1973

Robert Allen
c/o Black Scholar
P.O. Box 908
Sausalito, Calif. 94965

Dear Robert:

This letter is to confirm our permission for you to reprint in any form you choose your article, "Pan-Africanism and Socialism: Enemies or Allies?", which appeared in the October 1971 issue of the International Socialist Review. If you reprint it in the same form, it should carry a permission notice from the ISR to protect your copyright. However, if you make any substantial revisions I'm sure you can simply re-copyright it in your own name without any difficulty. Pathfinder Press, of course, has issued the original version as a pamphlet along with the article by Tony Thomas. It is our understanding that any further use you make of the article will not prejudice keeping the Pathfinder pamphlet in print. Any permission fees from your further resale should go to you.

Best wishes,

Les Evans
Les Evans
Editor

international socialist review

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014
phone (212) 929-3486

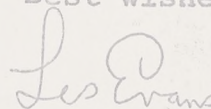
September 10, 1973

Robert Allen
c/o Black Scholar
P.O. Box 908
Sausalito, Calif. 94965

Dear Robert:

This letter is to confirm our permission for you to reprint in any form you choose your article, "Pan-Africanism and Socialism: Enemies or Allies?", which appeared in the October 1971 issue of the International Socialist Review. If you reprint it in the same form, it should carry a permission notice from the ISR to protect your copyright. However, if you make any substantial revisions I'm sure you can simply re-copyright it in your own name without any difficulty. Pathfinder Press, of course, has issued the original version as a pamphlet along with the article by Tony Thomas. It is our understanding that any further use you make of the article will not prejudice keeping the Pathfinder pamphlet in print. Any permission fees from your further resale should go to you.

Best wishes,


Les Evans
Editor



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

September 27, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
1001 Sunnydale Avenue
#1914
San Francisco, Calif. 91434

Dear Bob:

In reviewing the contract we have found that you forgot to initial Clause 23. It reads as follows:

The author agrees that he has received the first part of his advance in clause 9 of the Random House contract. Howard University Press agrees to repay Random House this amount (\$2,500.00) twenty-five hundred dollars - that the author has received.

We also note that no provision had been made in your contract for paperback royalty. This has been added under Clause 17 A in accordance with the Random House contract - 7 1/2 per cent Paperback Rights.

Will you please indicate your approval of these additions by signing in the space provided below. Please retain the copy of this letter for your records and return the original to me.

Sincerely,

Paula J. Giddings
Editor

PJG:sde

Robert Allen



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

December 14, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
1001 Sunnydale Ave.
#1914
San Francisco, Calif. 91434

Dear Mr. Allen:

Please fill out the enclosed questionnaire
for our marketing and promotion departments.
If possible, we would like for you to return it
within a week after its receipt.

Sincerely,

Shirlene D. Evans
Editorial Secretary

sde
Enclosure

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS AUTHOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE
(Use Additional Paper Where Needed)

1. Name: Robert L. Allen
2. Legal name (if different from nom de plume): Same
3. Residence: 1001 Sunnydale Ave. #1914
San Francisco, Calif. 94134
4. Residence telephone number: 415 333-6428
5. Office address: 2658 Bridgeway
Sausalito, Ca. 94965
6. Office telephone number: 332-3130
7. Literary agent (name and address):
Ronald Hobbs
211 East 43rd Street, N.Y.C.
8. Mother's name: Mrs. Sadie Sims Allen
9. Father's name: Mr. Robert L. Allen
10. Date and place of birth: May 29, 1942
Atlanta, Ga.
11. Schools and colleges attended:
E.R. Carter Elementary School, Atlanta
Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta
Morehouse College, Atlanta
New School for Social Research, New York
(Also attended for one year each: University of Vienna in Austria, and Columbia U. in NYC)
12. Academic honors, citations, awards, prizes:
Merrill Travel-Study Grant, 1961-62
Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1963-64
13. Marital status (when, where, to whom): Married August 28, 1965 to
Pamela Parker of Solebury, Pa.
14. If married, spouse's: Pamela P. Allen
 - a) birthplace Abington, Pa.
 - b) schools and colleges
See her press questionnaire.
 - c) special interest and/or accomplishments
15. Children (names and ages):

None

AUTHOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Page 2

16. Occupation other than writing, if any (past or present):

Associate Editor, THE BLACK SCHOLAR

Have taught at San Jose State College and Mills College, Oakland.

Formerly a reporter for the Guardian.

17. Military service: Refused

18. Bibliography:

- a) Scholarly books: Black Awakening in Capitalist America
Doubleday, 1969
- b) Novels:
- c) Non-fiction:
- d) Magazine articles:
- e) Journals: Articles in The Black Scholar in February, 1972; September, 1972;
February, 1973; and November, 1973. Also published in the
International Socialist Review.
- f) Papers: Delivered paper entitled "Black Radicalism at the Turn of the
Century" to a panel at Pacific Coast Branch meeting of the American Hist.
Association in Fall, 1970.
- g) Verse (if single poems, where published):
Poem entitled "Musical Vietnams" published in anthology
called In a Time of Revolution, edited by Walter Lowenfels
(Vintage)
- h) Plays (where published and produced, when and by whom):
- i) Books edited:
- j) Translations:
- k) Television, radio or movie scripts:

AUTHOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE
Page 3

19. Awards, prizes, citations, etc. received for your writing or work in another field:

20. Organization membership:

American Sociological Association

21. Are you willing to be interviewed: (Circle)

a) In print b) Radio c) Television

22. Previous interviews (when, where, for what):

None

23. Names of organizations, associations and other groups who would be interested in this book:

American Historical Association; Association for the Study of Negro Life and Culture; American Sociological Association; Black Librarians' Caucus of ALA, ethnic studies departments, sociology and history departments.

24. What is your assessment of market for this book?

Should do well on the college library circuit. Paperback version will sell well for college courses.

25. Names of book reviewers. Authorities in your field etc., whom you feel it would be advantageous to send a review copy of your book:

Have already sent this to Laura Hurd.

26. Previous comments, articles, reviews made by a critic or someone prominent in your field concerning a previous work or accomplishment:

My previous book was reviewed in New York Times, Publishers Weekly, Black Scholar, Guardian, and many local black newspapers.

27. How would you write the copy to advertise your book?

Would stress that it is first book to make a general assessment of the impact of racism ~~on~~ on social reform movements. Will help in understanding present dilemma of American society. Book is scholarly yet readable. Of interest to specialists and lay audience alike.

28. Do you have a favorite photograph to be used on the jacket and for publicity?

Don't want any photographs on the jacket; will supply photo for general publicity.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS AUTHOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE
(Use Additional Paper Where Needed)

1. Name: *Pamela P. Allen*
2. Legal name (if different from nom de plume):
3. Residence: *1001 Sunnydale Ave #1914, San Francisco, Ca, 94134*
4. Residence telephone number: *(415) 333-6428*
5. Office address: *} same as home*
6. Office telephone number: *}*
7. Literary agent (name and address):
8. Mother's name: *Jeannette L. Parker*
9. Father's name: *Stanley M. Parker*
10. Date and place of birth: *9/17/43 Abington, Pennsylvania*
11. Schools and colleges attended:
Carleton College, B.A.
12. Academic honors, citations, awards, prizes:
13. Marital status (when, where, to whom): *Robert L. Allen*
August 28, 1965
Solebury, Pennsylvania
14. If married, spouse's:
a) birthplace *} see his questionnaire*
b) schools and colleges *}*
c) special interest and/or accomplishments
15. Children (names and ages):
NONE

16. Occupation other than writing, if any (past or present):

teacher
social worker

17. Military service: *NONE*

18. Bibliography:

a) Scholarly books:

b) Novels:

c) Non-fiction: *FREE SPACE, A Perspective on the Small Group in*
Women's Liberation, TIMES CHANGE PRESS

d) Magazine articles: *"The Small Group Process," in NOTES FROM THE*
THIRD YEAR.

e) Journals:

f) Papers:

g) Verse (if single poems, where published):

h) Plays (where published and produced, when and by whom):

i) Books edited:

j) Translations:

k) Television, radio or movie scripts:

VOTES FOR WOMEN, KQED OPEN STUDIO



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

July 20, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
1001 Sunnydale Avenue, #1914
San Francisco, California 91434

Dear Mr. Allen:

Herewith is the copy of the letter I promised. Unfortunately, I did not retain a copy of specific notes, but as I remember they were minor and things which you may have caught yourself upon re-reading the manuscript.

I look forward to receiving your revised manuscript.

Sincerely,

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press

PG:abo

POssible new title:

THE RELUCTANT REFORMERS: The Impact of Racism on American
Social Reform Movements

What do you think of this, Paula?

DEDICATION

In memory of my father,
Robert L. Allen, Sr.,
who led me to inquire
how things worked.

June 19, 1973

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Allen
1001 Sunnydale Avenue, #1914
San Francisco, California 91434

Dear Bob and Pamela:

I have enclosed some manuscript pages with questions that I feel could be clarified. The questions are on the blue slips and there is a check mark by the passage.

The major chapter which I felt needed some reorganization was that on Abolitionism. My suggested outline is attached.

Also, Chapter IV could be delineated a little more clearly. If it proceeded like Chapter III which is beautifully organized, everything would be fine. In the Progressive Chapter it is not totally clear as to the dialectic of what is appeared to be and what is actually was.

I am also looking forward to receiving the reworked Suffrage Chapter. I would like to have it by the 13th of July at the very latest and hopefully earlier.

The manuscript is now being read by an outside reader and if there are more questions I'll send them to you. Let us work toward a deadline of July 25 for the completed manuscript, if we are to adhere to the schedule.

Sincerely,

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press

PG:abo

bcc: Charles Harris

Page 2 - Mr. and Mrs. Robert Allen

P.S. Please look over the last chapter again.

Though a general conclusion is needed, it seems to be a rehash of everything perviously stated, after the first few pages. The rest of it seems misplaced—for example, it seems that particularly the part on slavery and racism should be in the beginning of the book.

Do you think cutting it down and making the last part of the chapter introductory would improve it.

Let me know what you think.

bcc: Charles Harris

to do

nature of 5/K ab (month +) / district

review from choyta

Anticipation

A. Black Forerunners of Militant Abolitionism

1. Douglass
2. Allen
3. Forten
4. Walker
5. Turner

response to Walker's Appeal
(Laws, impact, etc) OK

B. Northern Racism

C. Black Convention Movements

D. Abolitionism

1. Gradualists

- a. Composition
- b. Strategy

2. Militants (Reform and Radical)

- a. Composition
- b. Strategy
- c. Conflict over strategy and attitudes

- (1) Female participation
- (2) Religious
- (3) Garrison vs. Douglass, etc.

Black Forerunners
Black Conventions
Char. white ab.
white leadership
tensions
D-G split
white labor
political ranks, etc

Alternative

rise of early abolitionism OK

1. Intro paras.

2. Char. of white ab.

3. Black Forerunners

4. Leadership of white

5. Douglass - Garrison

6. Civil War, etc

movement (Northern racism)
white militancy (and Labor movement)

class of leadership [Alternative - Parker]

Char. of white ab.
problems within
militant movement
tensions section (Douglass-Garrison)
white leadership & Northern
white
Civil War

p. 12 explains political action vs
moral suggestion split (briefly)

p. 14 what is chess?

p. 16 Hence C was in government with
Southern that fed cold
to us they start slow

p. 18 also not conscious of their
role as vanguard, (also what
were up this?)

p. 20 explained what happened
in Cincinnati

p. 7 Summarize what was effects
of block forerunners on at movement

{ chronology is by when the
movement ended before now began

Intro

discuss need to look at
movement in
step-by-step
micro-cosm (sociological)
(factual context)

2
methodologies
complement
each other

and macro-cosm (historical)
(analytical) theme
[cf conclusion] 2 frameworks

{ Facts and Theory }

Conclusion needs new title



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

May 31, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
The Black Scholar
P. O. Box 908
Sausalito, California 94965

Dear Bob:

In reference to your letter of May 29, I agree that an index would not only be valuable but necessary.

As for the galley proofs, I cannot tell you at this time when they would be available. After I have reviewed your revisions I would like to have your manuscript perused by a reader with a historical background, if you have no objections. This is our procedure for books such as yours.

After your manuscript is returned, copyedited and indexed, then it will go to the printer who will give us a production schedule.

Of course, you will review the galley proofs for corrections and changes as soon as they are available.

As for your title I like it very much. However, in itself, I don't feel it really is comprehensive or specific enough. What do you think of adding a subtitle which would give the reader more of a sense of the book? Something which states that it is an analysis of Blacks or racism in Reform Movements from Abolition to the Labor Movement.

I look forward to reading your revised manuscript, and also to meeting you one of these days.

Sincerely,

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press

PG:abo

Date May 31, 1973

We wish to acknowledge receipt of your manuscript received
on May 31, 1973, entitled Revisions for
"Reluctant Reformers"

You will hear from us in a reasonable length of time regarding our editorial decision. Thank you for sending it to us.

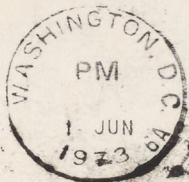
Editorial Department

Annette B. Osborn

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 Sixth Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C. 20001



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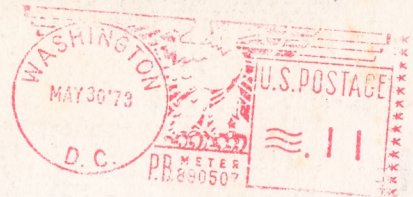
Mr. Robert Allen
The Black Scholar
P. O. Box 908
Sausalito, California 94964



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

Mr. Robert Allen
The Black Scholar
Box 908
Sausalito, California 94965



VIA AIR MAIL 10⁷

Biographical information on Pamela Parker Allen

Pamela Parker Allen has taught seminars on the impact of racism on the woman suffrage movement with the Liberation School, a radical community school in San Francisco. She also lectures on woman suffrage and on the present-day women's liberation movement. With another activist in the women's liberation movement she wrote and produced VOTES FOR WOMEN, a half-hour video-tape on the woman suffrage movement, which is being distributed as an educational tool for women's studies. *Presently at work on second videotape script on ♀ in labor movement* Pamela Allen was a founder of the women's liberation movement in New York City in 1967 and she is the author of a widely read pamphlet: FREE SPACE: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE SMALL GROUP IN WOMEN'S LIBERATION. In 1970 she helped to start Breakaway, a women's community school in San Francisco, and taught a seminar on racism in the United States. The following year she taught seminars on women and racism for YWCAs in San Francisco and Santa Cruz.

Pamela Allen graduated from Carleton College in 1965. During her junior year she was an exchange student to Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. While in Atlanta she became active in the civil rights movement. *and* She was a freedom school teacher in Mississippi during the summer of 1964. In 1972 Pamela Allen was a participant on the Venceremos Brigade which spent 8 weeks in Cuba building houses.

Collaborated on book on study of racism in US social reform movements: The Reluctant Reformers by Robert Allen (over)

to be published by Howard University Press, in February, 1974.
She wrote the chapter on the woman Suffrage movement.

Resume: Pamela P. Allen

- 1973 - co-writer and co-producer of VOTES FOR WOMEN, a half hour videotape documentary of the woman suffrage movement, Open Studio, KQED Channel 9. This videotape is being distributed as an educational tool for women's studies.
- 1973- taught two seminars on racism in woman suffrage movement at LIBERATION SCHOOL.
- 1972 - 1973 - Venceremos Brigade
- 1970 - 1971 - led seminars on racism at YWCAs in San Francisco, Marin and Santa Cruz
- 1970 - ~~1970~~ helped to start Breakaway, a women's community school in San Francisco. Taught seminar on racism.
- 1967 - helped to start women's liberation in New York City
- 1964 - freedom school teacher - ~~WOMAN'S LIBERATION~~ Mississippi
- 1968 - 1973 guest lecturer at classes and conferences on woman suffrage and present-day women's liberation movement

Writings: FREE SPACE: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE SMALL GROUP IN WOMEN'S LIBERATION, Times Change Press, 1970

"Woman Suffrage: Woman's Rights and White Supremacy," ~~WOMAN~~ chapter in RELUCTANT REFORMERS, Howard University Press, 1974.

Education: BA Carleton College, 1965
exchange student Spelman College, 1964

"The Small Group Process," NOTES FROM THE THIRD YEAR and RADICAL FEMINISM, ~~ed~~ both edited by Ann Keedt and others, 1971 and 1973 respectively.



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

May 22, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
1001 Sunnydale Avenue, #1914
San Francisco, California 91434

Dear Robert:

Thank you for your letter concerning your plans for your manuscript.

As for your contract it will be forthcoming. Our procedure here is a little different from commercial publishers.

After terms have been agreed upon, the editor draws up a contract proposal, which then goes before the Commission, the legal body or board of the Press. After it is reviewed, the actual contract is drawn up and will be sent to you.

Though this process requires a little more time it does not reflect upon the scheduling of the book itself or the already agreed upon terms.

As for the schedule you asked about we are hoping that your book will be among the first on our Fall list. Obviously, this means that we are working on a tight schedule.

Would it be possible for you to give us an updated draft by the first week in July?

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press

PG:abo

1001 Sunnydale Ave. #1914
San Francisco 94134
May 29, 1973

Paula Giddings, Editor
Howard University Press
2400 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

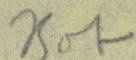
Dear Paula:

Enclosed are revisions for Chapters II, IV, VI, VII, and VIII. What I have done is to xerox pages where changes have been made (word or phrase changes are marked with an X in the margin). In some chags, whole sections or pages have been rewritten. Your suggestions in your May 8th letter were especially helpful, and I have tried to incorporate them into the manuscript. Other major changes (such as the shortening of the intro. to Ch. VII and changing the end of the last chapter) represented an attempt to sharpen and clarify the focus of a section which I thought was vague or discursive and confusing. In some sections this will require re-numbering the footnotes; I have marked where the copy editor should make these changes.

We have been working on cutting Chapter V, but this work is not yet finished. While I am away, Pam will continue this work and you should give her any suggestions you may have. We should be able to get that chapter, and any further changes, to you by the second week of July. (I won't be back from China until about July 7th).

I would appreciate it if you would acknowledge receipt of this material. Also, if you have any questions about these revisions or further suggestions, please phone me before June 7th either at work (415 332-3130) or at home (415 333-6428).

Best wishes,



Robert Allen

P.S. Does your copy of the manuscript include a Dedication page and a Preface? If so, they will require some cahnges. If not, I'll send them with the final revisions.

May 29, 1973

Paula Giddings
Howard University Press

Paula:

Two additional matters. First, will the Reluctant Reformers book have an index. I think this is very important since there is considerable historical overlap between the various chapters. A subject index would greatly enhance its usefulness.

Secdondly, if we stick to the schedule, when do you think galley proofs will be available? I would like to review these for final corrections and last-minute minor changes.

Looking to hear from you,

P.S. Also am interested in your opinion of the title.



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2400 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 636-7650

May 8, 1973

Mr. Robert Allen
101 Sunnydale Avenue #914
San Francisco, California 91434

Dear Mr. Allen:

Charles Harris has given your manuscript, The Reluctant Reformers, to me to edit. I am very pleased that you are publishing with us--I've been a "fan" of yours since Black Awakening in Capitalist America.

The Reformers I feel explores a very important, even seminal, subject, and it is executed well.

I do have some suggestions, however. There are some rather specific minor questions which I will write to you in detail soon.

But at this time I want to let you know of some general observations.

In the Abolitionist section the attitudes of Lincoln are not talked about in enough detail, and I do believe that this is an important consideration. That section in general seems to need a bit more organization.

Chapter IV really comes to no clear conclusion about Progressivism in the same manner that the others do. You seemed to get bogged down in the DuBois, Trotter, Washington debates and left the chapter rather open-ended. Perhaps that delineation should come nearer the beginning of the chapter.

I don't feel that there is a sufficient bridge expressed between the period from the Civil War to the formation of the early unions. (Chapter VI) Perhaps a little more historical background could provide this.

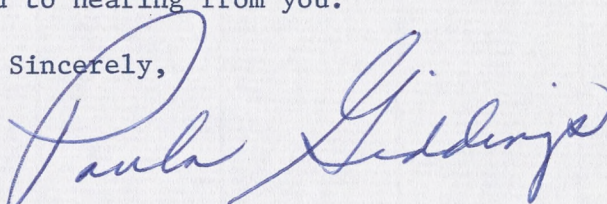
Finally the chapter on the Women's Suffrage movement is just too long. It is almost twice the length of the other chapters which gives the impression that you felt it was that much more important. It can be cut down--some of it is repetitive--so that it does not throw the book off balance.

Robert Allen - Page 2

Let me know how you feel about these suggestions.
As I said, I'll write you about some of the minor details
at a later date.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Paula Giddings". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Paula" being more prominent than the last name "Giddings".

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press

PG:abo



HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE BLACKSCHOLAR

Journal of Black Studies and Research

BOX 908 • 2658 BRIDGEWAY • SAUSALITO • CALIFORNIA 94965 • (415) 332-3130

NATHAN HARE

Publisher

ROBERT CHRISMAN

Editor

ROBERT ALLEN

Associate Editor

GLORY BEVIEN

Executive Secretary

May 15, 1973

Paula Giddings
Editor
Howard University Press
2400 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Paula Giddings:

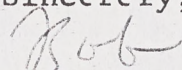
I was very pleased to receive your letter concerning The Reluctant Reformers manuscript. Recently I've been reviewing the manuscript with an eye to strengthening it. I am sure that your suggestions will greatly aid this work. When I work on the book later this week I will get a better idea of how your suggestions can be incorporated into it. At that point I can make a more specific response to your ideas.

I would like it if you would let me know what kind of production schedule we're working on. I will be available most of the summer to work on revisions, but I'll be out of the country (possibly) for three weeks in June. A certain amount of work could be accomplished before I leave, but it may be that some things must wait until July. Consequently, it might be useful to decide what should be done immediately and what can be held until later.

Also, I have not yet received a contract. I talked with Charles Harris about a month ago and he said it would be forthcoming, but no word as of yet. Perhaps you could remind him of this matter.

I am looking forward to receiving any further suggestions you may have, and to working with you on the manuscript. I feel that criticism is extremely valuable, and I hope you will point out any and all problems that you see in the book.

Sincerely,



Robert Allen

P.S. My correct address (home) is 1001 Sunnydale Ave. #1914, not 101 Sunnydale #914.

Conclusions

material from conclusion should be integrated into earlier chapters.

OK p. 24 use term "surplus" clarify that "capitalist slavery" does not mean wage slavery, but slavery during the early history of capitalism.

Watch for incorrect suggestions that blocky stand outside U.S. social order.

Labor Chapter

Investigate origins of craft unions. They seem more like medieval guilds^{municipal} than unions. Unionism really seems to develop after Civil War with rise of industrialism. U of L was an early experiment. IWW was a fully developed in 1900. Labor movement fully matured in 1930s (cf p. 25 ff)

OK Relate development of labor movement to changes in political economy

→ Reform Unionism represented early attempt at ind Unionism before industrial system had fully matured (sometimes took idiosyncratic forms, e.g. IWW)

5/22/73

DISCUSSION with Harry Chang

Fairly of "What is way out of all this?"

Critique of movements jump from level to level - appears as fault-finding

Chronology positive & negative aspects

1. Role of intellectuals in socialist movements not connected with actual dynamics in development of socialist movements

OK This is one problem among others of equal weight

Introduction should have broader focus (first 8 pages)

2. Also chapter conveys sense of detachment on part of writer

3. Japanese - American internment represented turning point in CP as to whether racism would be dealt with ideologically or organizationally (purges)

4. Sharpen up analysis of post-war communism and its development, and problem with CP criticisms

Changes needed (cf Giddings letter)

ch II p. 41-42 needs discussion of
Civil War and Lincoln's views (racial + on
the war)
(OKay) cf. ch VI p 8-10

ch IV Needs conclusion about nature of
Progressivism of p. 9-11 + Conclusion
(OKay) Section on Radicals should be cut (descriptive
part.) [move pp 32-33 to end of chapter

ch. VI p. 12 needs at least 1-2
page historical transition from Civil War
to early union work
OK of p. 16-17

along class lines) on the one hand, and black capitalism (petty bourgeois nationalism) on the other:

Unlike Trotter, DuBois had a great deal of empathy with the masses, probably because of his early schooling and teaching experiences in the South. However, he disdained mass leadership saying that he "could not slap ~~people~~ people on the back and ⁷⁶ make friends of strangers" nor "easily break down an inherited reserve." (~~Dusk of Dawn, 94~~) Both men sought to prove, to blacks and to the whites with whom they frequently associated, that educated, middle class blacks were the peers of educated, middle class whites. This desire probably contributed to their expressed interest in social equality and civil rights, and it certainly motivated their passionate commitment to higher education. Unfortunately it opened a wide chasm between them and the masses of poor southern blacks who were more concerned with bread and butter issues and ~~their~~ physical survival than with proving themselves ~~equal~~ equal to whites.

While these comments may reveal some of the personal factors contributing to the elitist thinking of the two, especially Trotter, this is insufficient as a full explanation. For further insights it is necessary to discuss ^(briefly) radicals' perception of ~~the~~ ^{they} the social base to which ~~the radicals~~ addressed their appeals.

DuBois, in his autobiographical writings, shed much light on this matter. He contended that the dictatorial power of Washington and the Tuskegee Machine "aroused increasing opposition among Negroes, especially among the younger classes of educated Negroes...." (~~Dusk, 72~~) He then went on to suggest some specific reasons for this ~~opposed~~ opposition: "After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation ^{or} acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few [black] political appointments were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by

Copy #3

THE RELUCTANT REFORMERS

Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States

Racial Ideologies

Check list:

~~Dedication~~ -- 1 page

Contents -- 1 page

~~Preface~~ -- 2 pages

Chapter I -- last page is #6; 1 page of notes

Chapter II -- last page is #45; 8 pages of notes

Chapter III -- last page is #41; 7 pages of notes

Chapter IV -- last page is #51; 7 pages of notes

Chapter V -- last page is #73; 9 pages of notes

Chapter VI -- last page is #51; 5 pages of notes

Chapter VII -- last page is #52; 9 pages of notes

Chapter VIII -- last page is #43; 2 pages of notes.

Linda Darcher has Ch. II

THE RELUCTANT REFORMERS

Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States

by Robert L. Allen

with the collaboration of

Pamela P. Allen

CONTENTS

~~Preface~~ ~~edgents~~

Chapter I -- Introduction

Militant

Chapter II -- Black Militancy Confronts [^]Abolitionism

Chapter III -- Self-Interest and Southern Populism

Chapter IV -- Progressivism: Expediency and Accommodation

Chapter V -- Woman Suffrage: ^{Feminism and White Supremacy} ~~Equal Rights for Miss Ann~~

Chapter VI -- Organized Labor: From Underdog to Overseer

Chapter VII -- Socialists, Communists and Self-Determination

^{imperialism?}
Chapter VIII -- Capitalism, Racism and Reform: An Overview

Reviewed
3/29/73
Second version
5/25/73

CHAPTER VII: SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Remember footnote

Problems of Socialists

1. inheritance of social democracy
2. lack of ideological independence / initiative
3. ∴ lack of ~~the~~ understanding of question of racism

Irreconcilability of class interests

Social democracy — denying necessity of violent rev.
and dictatorship of proletariat

(based on industrial capitalism)

believed that ^{development of} bourgeois democracy in Europe allowed
peaceful reforms and incorporation of working class into
the political power of bourgeois social order i.e. widening
the franchise

POBWA #2 — Democratic Socialism Book
#3 = #6

Replaced pages
5/25/73

The great crisis in the American political economy that catapulted middle-class reformers into the Progressive movement also propelled a segment of American intellectuals into leadership positions in the fledgling socialist movement.¹ The birth of American imperialism combined with the growth of monopolistic concentrations in the economy unsettled the independent middle-classes and professionals as nothing had since the Civil War. Middle class radicals gravitated toward socialism as an ideology that provided a rationale for their disaffection. However, when they turned to look for their proletarian allies they were disappointed. True, a considerable number of dispossessed workers had enlisted in the pro-socialist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), but the IWW and the Socialist party were at odds^{in part} due to the latter's courting of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The bulk of organized labor was to be found in the AFL, but industrial expansion and monopoly practices gave skilled workers an advantageous position with increasing rewards which made them deaf to socialist pleas, particularly after World War I. Thus, with its potential labor base co-opted, antagonistic or indifferent the^{early} socialist movement in the U.S. became largely an exercise for alienated intellectuals.

Furthermore, these intellectuals entered the early Socialist party only to be charged with propagating a foreign ideology -- a charge difficult to refute in view of American socialism's debt to European Marxism. This accusation set in motion a defensive reaction that has since become characteristic of American socialist and communist groups. At times socialist radicals have denied that the U.S. represents any

"exception" to the specific historical developmental laws of Marxism, and therefore the charge that Marxism is alien is beside the point. On other occasions socialist thinkers contended that Marxism must be "Americanized" and made relevant to the peculiar features of U.S. history and social realities. This debate remains unresolved, but it is not our primary concern here. Accepting the European and Russian heritage of American socialism as given, the problem in the following pages will be to unravel the differing influences effected by social democratic Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism and Trotskyism on American radicalism, especially in the way these have affected socialist perceptions and understandings of racism. X

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Social Democratic Marxism as an Ideology

Marxism's strong and enduring appeal to alienated intellectuals has prompted considerable discussion, both here and abroad. A host of explanations have been offered to account for this phenomenon, which few would deny exists. Although in common parlance intellectuals are usually regarded as a social group involved in perfecting a rational understanding of the world and its workings, yet many explanations of the Marxist appeal picture intellectuals as a strangely irrational lot, fascinated by and driven to organized Marxism in response to deep-lying and almost mystical psychological needs. Bertram Wolfe describes Marxism as "a faith which demands total dedication even to the sacrifice of individual judgement and conscience, one's life, and the lives of others."² He regards the alienated intellectual as a deeply disillusioned individual in search of a new truth; a true believer in the making, willing

to sacrifice personal integrity and physical comfort for the spiritual certainty of blind faith. In the alienated intellectual passionate emotional drives clash with detached reason, and emotion emerges the victor. For Hannah Arendt the alienated intellectual is a sensitive person revulsed by the hypocrisy of bourgeois society. Confronted by the disintegration of that society the helpless and despairing intellectual seeks to "lose himself" by joining with "the mob", exulting in becoming an anonymous cog in activist mass movements of the Left or Right.³

Such psychological arguments, while doubtlessly offering some insights, overlook the class role played by intellectuals and the impact that this has on their perception of Marxism and mass movements for social change. Historically, the intellectuals in Western society have been the ideological servants of those in power. They have been the chief scribes and thinkers, the planners and advisers to the rulers. Powerless in themselves and dependent on the rulers for their very survival, ^{some} ~~since~~ among the intellectuals were ^{assigned} ~~ascribed~~ the challenging task of elaborating the cultural and ideological apparatus of the dominant classes. But, as Lewis Feuer has suggested, this class role posed a dilemma for intellectuals. "The intellectuals conceived of themselves as meant to rule men," ^F ~~Feuer~~ writes. "That was the purport of their philosophical knowledge.... The touchstone of the rational and just society from Socrates' time on was the rule of the intellectuals."⁴ Yet the intellectuals' socially created will-to-rule was continually frustrated, resulting in disaffection. "They were alienated as an elite because they felt they were entitled to rule, to supplant the business

elite, the legal elite, the military elite, even the democratically chosen elite; the workings of history seemed to have rejected their credentials for hegemony."⁵ Close to the centers of power but not possessing power, convinced of their own mental superiority yet controlling no independent mechanism for exerting authority, it was inevitable that segments of the intellectual stratum should periodically become alienated from the prevailing social system and then proclaim themselves leaders of a revolutionary struggle to install a new order.

For alienated European intellectuals at the turn of the century the Marxism of the second International was a godsend. Here was a rational theory of society and social change that promised an end to the bourgeois society that these intellectuals found so offensive. Marxism posited the proletariat in the advanced nations as the social force that would overthrow the old order; but the question of leadership was left ambiguous, leaving the way open for intellectuals to cast themselves as leaders. Marx and Engels recognized this danger and reproached the socialist intellectuals for their pretensions, ^{(but the response was simply that} ~~yet~~ ^{the two theoreticians} ~~were themselves accused of the same sin.~~ ⁶

X Under the impact of the radicalized intelligentsia, [^] Marxism as a social theory was transmuted into and blended with Marxism as the ideology of alienated intellectuals. The hegemony of the intellectuals in the new society was thereby projected as a mandate imposed by Marxist social science. Workers and peasants alone cannot make the revolution, even though they are the social force impelling change, it was argued. Left to themselves workers only develop trade union consciousness and peasants never advance beyond parochial anarchism.

Consequently, it is only the "revolutionary intellectuals" who can guide the class struggle along the proper path to socialism.⁷

Herein was revealed a central problem of the early socialist movements. In analyzing the internal dynamics of capitalist society Marxism as a social theory duly noted the ~~supportive~~^{collaborationist} role played by bourgeois intellectuals, and thereby cast suspicion on them. However, those intellectuals who established their revolutionary credentials (i.e., accepted Marxism) were reinforced in their socially inherited class condescension and paternalism toward the lower classes: workers and peasants alone can do little without guidance from omniscient revolutionary thinkers. Moreover, if social democratic Marxism as an intellectual ideology was class-biased it was also race-biased. Marx had envisioned the overthrow of capitalism as a European phenomenon to be accomplished by the industrial workers of the advanced countries. He took note of the struggles of suppressed nationalities in Europe and Asia and he opposed black slavery ^{because} it threatened to degrade the white workingclass in America, but he never doubted the vanguard role of European industrial workers in the expected revolution. These views were subsequently crystallized into rigid dogma by Western socialist intellectuals. If colonized, non-white peoples were considered at all they were told they would have to fall in line behind the leadership of white workers and intellectuals in the West.

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Socialism 47 Chapter VII

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of capitalism, Western intellectual critics were led ^{logically} naturally to analyze its structure and phases of development. However, the radicalized intellegentsia were not immune to the influence of racism and cultural chauvinism -- ideological offspring of Western imperialism -- and this distorted and narrowed their perception of the problem. Modern capitalism was regarded as only incidentally -- rather than intrinsically -- connected with colonialism and imperialism; consequently "true" socialism was regarded as possible only within the "advanced" cultural milieu of Europe and the U.S. Socialism thereby was restricted in applicability to the industrially advanced nations as the radical Western intellectuals in effect claimed Marxism as their private ideological property and then used this claim to elevate themselves to the role of guardians of the ideological purity of the socialist movements.

This whole argument exposed the social chauvinism of the Western intellectuals which precluded them from perceiving the relationship between the rise of imperialism and the encrusting of underdevelopment in the colonized world, and the consequent vanguard role assumed by national liberation struggles in the world socialist movement. Lenin's theses on imperialism and national liberation, growing out of the experience of revolutionary struggle in a ^{backward} ~~semi-colonial~~, multi-national country, greatly enriched socialist theory by placing the class struggle in an international context. For Lenin capitalism was no mere European phenomenon incidentally exploiting a few colonies, but a world-wide system of monopoly that had to be viewed in its totality to be understood.⁸ Moreover, national-racial oppression no longer could be dismissed as a

minor side-effect of capitalism but was an intrinsic component of capitalist colonialism and imperialism.

Two important conclusions flowed from this analysis. In the first place, imperialist oppression tended to generate strong oppositional forces in the colonized world. Summarizing Lenin, historian Wilson Record observed that imperialism

led to resistance among these peoples. A national consciousness emerged, and was followed by movements for national liberation. While the capitalist countries had exploited the backward areas, they had also laid the groundwork within them for a new bourgeois class anxious to free itself and develop independently its own economic institutions. These two forces combined to offer increasing resistance to exploitation, and colonies sought to establish their independence at an opportune time. Any movement of national liberation, although it might be led by the bourgeois elements within the country, tended to weaken the grip of monopoly capitalism.⁹

Lenin concluded, therefore, that it was imperative for socialists in the capitalist nations to support the right of oppressed nations to political self-determination. Otherwise socialists would find themselves pitted against one of the most powerful forces opposing the sway of monopoly capital. At the same time Lenin insisted that socialists in the oppressed nations must struggle against their national bourgeoisie, and to maintain international proletarian solidarity.¹⁰ Implicit in this statement was the notion that socialists in the oppressed nations must **organize** independent revolutionary political parties to fight for both **national liberation and socialist revolution.**¹¹

A second conclusion drawn from Lenin's analysis was the fact

that imperialism laid the basis for opportunism and racism among the workers of the imperialist nations. Imperialist exploitation of the ~~colon~~ colonized, non-white world was crucial in contributing to the growing affluence ~~(instead of growing misery as Marx had expected)~~ of segments of the white workingclass in Europe and America, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century. Lenin warned that imperialism thereby tends "to create privileged sections... among the workers, and to detach them from the broad masses of the proletariat."¹² He noted further that "as the result of a far-reaching colonial policy the European proletariat has partly reached a situation where it is not its work that maintains the whole of society but that of the people of the colonies who are practically enslaved.... In certain countries these circumstances create the material and economic basis for infecting the proletariat of one country or another with colonial chauvinism."¹³ Thus the resulting racism and chauvinism among white workers were much more than mere diversionary tactics introduced by conniving capitalists to divide the world working class; on the contrary, these ideological manifestations were firmly grounded in the dynamics of imperialist development. Consequently, Lenin insisted that "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."¹⁴

Lenin's warnings came too late, however, to influence the ideological formation of the American Socialist party, which for many years was the largest and most influential socialist organization in the United States.