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## WORKING PAPERS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS • URBANA

1.

RACISM AND THE NUMBERS GAME: BLACK  
PEOPLE AND THE 1980 CENSUS

by

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The Afro-American Studies and Research Program is based on the standards of academic excellence and social responsibility. This series of working papers is designed to generally make available to the academic community our scholarship in the area of Afro-American Studies. We will include drafts for review and discussion as well as reprints. We invite comments and suggestions to be sent to our respective authors. Also, we invite faculty and graduate students to submit papers for possible inclusion in our series.

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Director

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# RACISM AND THE NUMBERS GAME: BLACK PEOPLE AND THE 1980 CENSUS

by Gerald McWorter

Census day was April 1, 1980. The U.S. Census Bureau is the major source of empirical data for the Social Sciences and the major data base on which governmental policy is rationalized. This has increased in its importance since the first U.S. Census in 1790, and it has never been more true than with the upcoming 20th Census of 1980. Some brief facts suggest its magnitude and importance:

- 1—the cost was about 1 billion dollars
- 2—the staff included over 250,000 people
- 3—the task was to count over 200 million people
- 4—the count included over 33,000 governmental units

The 1980 Census is the biggest research project in the history of the U.S.A. *This article is about the impact that it will have on black people, and what blacks should do in response to the census.*<sup>1</sup> After placing the census in its proper theoretical context, the main thrust of the article is to uncover the historical lessons in how the census has treated blacks, to clearly define the current problems facing black people with the 1980 Census, and to critically point the way forward toward positive and basic social change.

## THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The census is a political act by the U.S. government, and it is a major social science research event. Overall, there are four dimensions to the census event.

The basic character of the entire society as an advanced capitalist country is dominant over virtually every major aspect of society. The capitalist system taken to this level requires that people submit more and more of their lives to the requirements of machine technology.<sup>2</sup> This is the core of the society, the normative order of things. As one moves to the periphery this is less so, and people are left to basic animal instincts except as mediated by culture and social organization. We can witness this tragic-comedy in racism and the numbers game.

The main ideological tenet of the U.S.A. dominant capitalist culture is *reason*, the correct philosophical stance being one of disinterestedness in all but the most rational answer to every question.<sup>3</sup> This is the basic ideological correlate of the increasing importance of a scientific approach to everyday life. Science is in our everyday lives, with mathematics increasingly becoming the univer-

**Table 1. Racism and the Numbers Game in the USA: Current Conditions**

	<u>Conditions of Society</u>	<u>Conditions of Black People</u>
	(USA, advanced capitalist society)	(Black Community, poor oppressed nationality)
1. Ideology	Reason	Morality
2. Science	Mathematics increasingly becoming the universal language for social analysis. (and all information systems)	Math scores remain lowest for Black students, and most Black intellectuals remain in humanist literary tradition.
3. Social Organization	Bureaucratic specialization, research and technology.	Charismatic Patriarchy, personal loyalty and public relations
4. Politics	Statistical analysis of large bodies of aggregate data used to rationalize policy.	Affective rhetoric rationalizes political demands based on felt needs.

sal language for the processing of all information, and making all types of analyses. This is reflected in virtually every large scale (and every successful small scale) form of organization, because each is characterized by bureaucratic specialization and led by its investment in research and development (the creation and application of technology).

Computers, technology associated with applied mathematics and statistics, are increasingly being used to rationalize governmental policy.<sup>4</sup> This is the key aspect of "Racism and the Numbers Game, Black People and the 1980 Census": the political fight over public policy, and social change. The solution is to seize the power to develop, legislate, and rationalize public policy, and generate research and analysis that has a different more profound purpose to it.

Within this overall context of the society, black people are mostly locked into the opposite end of the spectrum. Not so

very far from our folk roots in the rural south, black people still operate on basic fundamental (bible-based) Christian ethics. The key ideological category is morality, not reason. In this sense, "understanding" is often based more on culture and religion (experience), than on logic and abstractions (reason). Black people came off the farm to the factory, and epistemologically have remained close to the material reality of their experiences. However, while this is often a spontaneous process unregulated and undisciplined, logic based on material reality, is to be found within it.<sup>5</sup> A black purposeful perspective requires both an experiential base in the black experience, and the rational uncovering of the material logic within that experience.<sup>6</sup>

The direct correlate of this situation is the low skill level of black students in the area of mathematics, statistics, and other forms of logical analysis. This is further reinforced by blacks being concentrated

in the more humanistic approach. In addition, the *modus operandi* of most black social organization is still linked to the rural southern past, and based on some form of charismatic patriarchy with the key organizational components being personal loyalty and public relations. In general, this results in a political style that uses effective rhetoric to rationalize political demands.

This is the context for a more general understanding of the 1980 Census and its relationship to black people. The key focus must be on the political dimension, something that the masses of people can grasp and move on right now. The organizational, scientific, and ideological dimensions must be worked on as part of an overall strategy to transform all of society and make science available to everyone to use for positive ends.

### THE CENSUS IN BLACK HISTORY

It is very useful to examine the historical origin and development of the census because it so clearly points out the essence of each historical period of the black experience. It all begins with the founding of the country, when the U.S.A. was the first country to constitutionally require a periodic census.

The Constitutional Convention (1787) faced many critical questions, not the least of which was to devise a system of taxation, and a system for democratic political representation. At the heart of these two issues was the question of how to treat blacks.<sup>7</sup> This was a critical question since some form of population census was generally accepted as the basis for taxation and representation. The states with small black populations wanted to consider blacks as property and hence count blacks only as the basis for higher taxes to be paid by states with large black populations. On the other hand, the black populated areas held that somehow

slaves should be included in the formula for political representation. Here it is absolutely obvious that the census count of blacks was in essence an issue concerning vested interest, and not one based mainly on a categorically moral or scientific stand.

*A compromise was struck by only counting 3/5 of each black person for the purposes of taxation and political representation.*

This solution must be interpreted in two ways. (1) The positive side is that blacks were counted, and we have a basis for concrete empirical analysis. The 3/5 clause "was included in the constitution to encourage the Southern states to ratify it. In census history, however, it was a guarantee that the Negro would be counted regularly. Had the clause not been included, there is a strong likelihood that the black man, like the Indian, would not have been enumerated at all before the Civil War."<sup>8</sup> (2) On the other hand, the 3/5 clause represents the first black undercount. This has been regarded as the key constitutionally based political definition of blacks: less than human. In the context of our current concern we can clearly see this as placing the official undercount at 40% (in 1790 representing over 200,000 people). Legalized racism, pure and simple.

The historical experience of black people in the U.S.A. falls into three modal categories of experience, each defined primarily (though not exclusively) in terms of the dominant mode of production.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the history of this country, there have always been different modes of production simultaneously co-existing within the same socio-economic formation and its accompanying capitalist state.<sup>10</sup> The black experience has been one of *slavery*, *tenant farming*, and *industrial work*, and within each performing and unskilled service work, always the dirtiest, lowest paying kinds of jobs.<sup>11</sup>

### SLAVERY: What is slavery?

Slavery is basically a system of political economy in which the production process is carried out by slaves, human beings owned as property by other human beings. Slaves work under direct coercion, and the product of their labor is entirely owned by their owner. Until after the Civil War and the elimination of slavery, a Black person was listed on the census as a *number* never as a *name*.<sup>12</sup>

The main census example from the slave period is the infamous 1840 Census of the Insane.<sup>13</sup> In 1840 the census collected data on the incidence of insanity and idiocy.

**Table 2. Ratio of Insanity, 1840 Census by Race and Region**

	White	Black
South	1 out of 945	1 out of 1,558
North	1 out of 995	1 out of 145

The census produced official statistics that supposedly proved that the most "crazy" were free blacks in the North, (1 out of 145), the most "sane" were black slaves in the South, (1 out of 1,558) and whites virtually the same all over the country. Scholars and blacks protested this racist attack but the results of this census were used by major public officials to justify public policy. These results have never been officially repudiated and the record set straight.

### RURAL TENANCY: What is this?

In theory, the tenant system was simply a contractual arrangement by which a landowner would exchange the use of land and perhaps tools, seed, and "furnishings" for either cash or a share of the profits and/or produce (crops). At this level, such an economic arrangement appears to be a free exchange in which the economic partners have the freedom to an arrangement or to leave

it. However, this is not a complete picture. Based on the legacy of slavery the economic partners were quite unequal, and rather than being partners this can be more correctly defined as the oppressor and the oppressed. The Black farmer/worker was illiterate, had a limited experience in making such contracts, and because he owned very little, was dependent upon the credit of the landowner for survival from crop to crop. Moreover the economic basis for the negation of his freedom was indebtedness.<sup>14</sup>

This is the period when black people were finally transformed into a distinct nationality with its own Afro-American identity. In this context DuBois challenged the 12th Census to have more scientific data to analyze the black condition. He called for the census

to class those of African descent together and not compound with them groups socially so diverse above all, the Negro statistics should be so collected to be easily segregated and counted by themselves. Special pains should be taken to count and classify returns as to Negroes some what minutely and elaborately in a special census volume.<sup>15</sup>

This volume was published in 1904 by the Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States*. The historical example of gross distortion and anti-scientific treatment of blacks in census statistics that best exemplifies this period concerns the data from 1860 to 1920.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 3. Negro Population and Decennial Increase**

	Number	1860-1920 % increase	Estimate for % increase
1860	4,441,830	22.1	22.1
1870	4,880,009	9.9	21.4
1880	6,580,793	34.9	22.0
1890	7,488,676	13.8	17.6
1900	8,823,994	18.0	13.8
1910	9,927,763	11.2	11.2
1920	10,463,013	6.5	9.6

The important critique of this data came from Professor Kelly Miller, Professor of Mathematics and Sociology at Howard University, in a 1922 article entitled "Enumeration Errors in the Negro Population":

Various enumerations of the Negro population by the census office since 1860 have not been very flattering to the scientific reputation of the Bureau. These enumerations have been not only inherently erroneous, but so conflicting and inconsistent as to demand calculated corrections.<sup>17</sup>

Professor Miller demonstrated that when you use the reasonable assumptions of error made by the Census Bureau itself to correct the figures, it is possible to estimate a population profile that follows a historically feasible pattern.

By making the estimated corrections for acknowledged error in the census of 1870 and 1890, decadal growth from 1880 to 1890 would be reduced and from 1890 to 1900 increased, so as to produce reasonable conformity with the laws of normal growth.<sup>18</sup>

#### URBAN INDUSTRY: What is this?

In the cities, the factory is the unit of production, and the concentration of activity leads to the bureaucratization of business and government. In the city black people are drawn more fully into the main stream of capitalist development than ever before. After the crisis plunged capitalism itself into imperialist World War, black people were ripped off the land and thrown into the cities to work. This continued until the next World War when migration made a giant increase. Black people became firmly entrenched in the black urban ghettos, the ghettos became the center of social life, and with its deterioration the ghetto became a place of sorrow and despair—unemployment and social decay.<sup>19</sup>

Once the population firmly became an urban population (in the 1920s for whites, and 1950s for blacks), then it became necessary and possible for the scientific study of population to improve its measurement and statistical calculations. So, the census has been carefully studied to determine the source of error for the last five census enumerations. This process has clearly identified a population undercount with whites being missed at 1 to 4 percent, and blacks being missed from 7 to 10 percent. Increasingly, the undercount is of major consequence in the overall sense, it is the main issue facing black people concerning the 1980 Census.

It is necessary to treat this undercount issue in three ways: (1) how is it measured, (2) what is its political impact, and (3) what can be done about it?

#### THE BLACK UNDERCOUNT

There are two basic ways that demographers measure the population undercount: the post-enumeration survey and the analytical techniques of demography. The post enumeration survey (PES) is an attempt to duplicate the census on a smaller scale and find sources of error. This was actually tried after the 1950 and 1960 census enumerations. There are five major issues that determine the usefulness of a census post enumeration survey: representativeness of the sample, accuracy of responses, availability of the data, timing of the interview survey, and its cost.

The basic results were useful but not definitive: Analysis showed that the PES was very successful in finding space that the original census enumerator had missed but was much less effective in uncovering missed persons—those residing in previously enumerated space who were unreported and those without any clearly recognizable place of residence.<sup>20</sup>

Overall, for blacks, the sample size is so small that this method reveals very little for understanding the black undercount. However, two important national surveys by blacks will come out soon and there will be much to learn since they are being done in the same year (at least) of the 1980 census: one is a national survey of the National Urban League's Research Department headed by Dr. Robert Hill, and the other at the University of Michigan headed by Dr. James Jackson.

The analytical techniques of demography fall into two categories, those based on the logical coherence of the census data under question (especially the sex ratio and the age ratio), and those based on comparing the census with other government generated data (especially the vital statistics and selective service records). This is the heart of the numbers game, these are the questions for the advanced players in a game where you can make up your own rules.

A ratio is determined by dividing one quantity by another, and then sometimes multiplying it by 100. The sex ratio is the number of men divided by the number of women, multiplied by 100. The general pattern is for more men to be born than women, but men have shorter life spans.

**Table 4. Comparative Black-White Sex Ratios, 1910 and 1960**

	White Total	Black Total	Black, ages 20-39
1910	102.7	98.9	99.7
1960	97.5	93.4	87.8
Difference	5.2	5.5	11.9

These data demonstrate that there has been a significant decline for black young adults while the overall picture has re-

mained constant. In other terms blacks were undercounted (6.6%) in 1960 about 3 times whites (2.5%), while young adult blacks were undercounted 5 times (12.2%).

The age ratio is formed by dividing the number of persons in one five year age group by the average of the numbers in the two adjacent five year age groups. The assumption is that a normal distribution of age would result in equality, an age ratio of 1. However, major white demographers have shown that black people do not report accurate age data about 4 times as frequently as whites, and therefore, using age ratios is not a good approach to dealing with the census undercount of blacks.

The use of vital statistics became standardized with the legislation setting up the Death Registration Area (1870) and the Birth Registration Area (1915), but did not cover the entire country until 1933 and 1935 respectively. These statistics are nearly as complete as the census, though within relatively small percentages the blacks are 3 times as underrepresented as the whites.

Another set of data is Selective Service Data based on registration for the draft.<sup>21</sup> The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 stipulated that all men between ages of 21 and 25 had to register. This is the most complete armed forces enrollment data, although there is some data on World War I enrollment. Using the enrollment figures to measure the census undercount for the two wars revealed that for whites the undercount changed from 10% in 1920 to 4% in 1940, while for blacks the 1940 undercount was about 15%. It is clear that one of the uses of statistical data from the 1980 registration for the draft will be the evaluation of the 1980 census, and a more precise measurement of exactly

who and how black young adults are missed.

Overall the undercount has three main sources: (1) the Census Bureau failed to make an all out effort based on class and racial bias of white middle class census enumerators, and lack of follow through; (2) the system of exploitation and oppression that black people suffer forces many to lead marginal lives (without permanent residence, or transient for some other reasons, low level of literacy, and living in hard to reach places, etc.); and (3) black resistance to the census based on a view that the information will be mainly used to the detriment of blacks rather than in the interests of helping black people.

The first problem has been attacked by setting up the Community Service Program of the Census Bureau where people are trained to go into the community and do local public relations and hired local residents to be the main enumerators in their own neighborhoods. However, the second and third sources of the problem have not been so easily dealt with.

### THEORY OF THREE EVILS

This leads to the next question, what difference does the census undercount make? Why is the census undercount important? There are three main reasons that the census undercount is important, the theory of three evils: the evil of the new disenfranchisement, the evil of the new disinheritance, and the evil of the new illiteracy.

The fight for political freedom has been a long and arduous one for black people, being a fight for democratic inclusion in the American political system. The fight to vote, to elect blacks to office, and to get favorable legislation and court decisions have been the main tactics.

The legal, constitutional, battle over this is centuries old: with the first petition by blacks for political freedom being in the 18th century, the 15th constitutional amendment granting blacks the right to vote being in the 19th century, and the more recent congressional legislation protecting blacks' right to vote being in the 20th century. These legal measures have outlawed such practices as the grandfather clause, the poll tax, the white primary and gerrymandering. *De jure* disenfranchisement has been outlawed.

Now we face a more dangerous and sinister new type of *de facto* disenfranchisement. The new attack is not against voting rights. The new attack is against the potential of blacks to elect black public officials, by listing the districts with majority black population. The census is the basis for apportionment of political districts: all congressional, state and local offices are involved. By law, the Bureau of the Census must provide the President with population figures for reapportionment by January 1, 1981. So, if the census does not accurately count blacks, then black political potential will be decreased in the apportionment process.

Current estimates are for the Northeast to lose eight congressional seats, and the North Central to lose six. On the other hand, the West will gain eight and the South six (Florida three, Texas two, and Tennessee one). Political power is shifting in this country away from the old industrial centers, and away from the concentrations of black population. Many of the seats being lost are seats that black people occupy, and while in the new elections some of the black incumbents will win in newly drawn districts, not all of them will. We can expect to see fewer and fewer black elected representation—the current political motion in the U.S.A. today is backward.

**Table 5. Losses in Revenue Sharing Funds Based on 1970 Census Undercount.**

<u>States:</u>		<u>Cities:</u>	
New York	\$15,087,157	New York	\$6,732,020
California	14,875,176	Chicago	2,454,689
Illinois	7,520,829	Los Angeles	1,071,789
Pennsylvania	6,743,995	Philadelphia	1,704,039

The next major evil we face is the evil of disinheritance, the failure of the economy to provide the means for black people to lead decent lives with a good standard of living. After the (not so) Civil War, blacks were disinherited when the promise of reconstruction fell by the wayside, no 40 acres and a mule and new apartheid type legislation (Jim Crow segregation) based on returning the south to the rule of the plantation owners. After blacks joined the working class in fighting for survival subsidy (unemployment compensation, social security, etc.) the rising mountain of inflation has beat down everyone on a fixed income, and forced people into subhuman levels of existence (e.g. people now rival dogs in their consumption of dog food!).

The federal government now uses census data to allocate about 50 billion dollars across a wide variety of programs. Undercounting blacks means that those areas and governmental units will not be eligible for their proper amounts, e.g.,

there are losses in revenue sharing funds.<sup>22</sup>

The third new evil we face is the evil of the new illiteracy. After the Civil War black people faced the evil of the old illiteracy, the inability to read and write the English language. This was immediately addressed by the reconstruction governments focusing on establishing public schools in the South. Today, we face a new problem. The new illiteracy is the inability to use advanced mathematics, statistics, and computers.

Recent data released by the Educational Testing Service clearly demonstrates the problem blacks face in mathematics, in secondary and higher education.<sup>23</sup>

The SAT is taken by high school students on their way to college, and the GRE is taken by college students on their way to graduate school. Note that the situation gets worse: the SAT scores got worse during the 1970s and the relative weak-

**Table 6. Comparative Math Test Scores, 1972-1978**

	<u>White</u>	<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Black</u>
Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) 1972-1977 avg.	493	412	359
SAT 1976-1977	490	412	355
Graduate Record Exam (GRE) 1978 (avg. of 2 tests)	538	438	365

(Each test has possible scores from 200 to 800.)

ness of black scores get worse from the SAT to the GRE. Why is this important?

Jack M. Niles of the University of Southern California says the number of small computers will grow from about 250,000 today to more than 40 million in the 1990s, and that means "computer literacy will be absolutely essential in the next decade."<sup>24</sup>

We see this now in the revision of college curriculum with an increased emphasis on quantitative methods and computer technology. Black people face a new illiteracy and a new challenge to compete.

### SOLUTION FOR THE CENSUS BLACK UNDERCOUNT

Now we turn to the last question: What can be done about the black undercount? How can this problem be solved? Elsewhere we put our basic orientation in the following words:

Politically, there will never be a consensus on statistical fact as long as the statistics reflect a world in which Blacks are the downtrodden poor, and in which middle class whites run the census (for the ruling class) are the demographers, and can determine "reality" whether they use the census or not.<sup>25</sup>

Overall, as long as the government is in the hands of the U.S. imperialist class then the census will always be a tool used against the masses of people. However, this should not mean that people ignore the census, or even more to our detriment, embrace it with open arms and focus only on the moral cry "Stand Up and Be Counted."

One incorrect approach is positive toward the Census: "Make Black Count" "Stand Up and be Counted!" This view is based on the incorrect analysis that the government is neutral, that one's personal identity will be kept confidential. It is also based on the incorrect notion that the black undercount is caused by a

moral weakness by individual blacks who should be called to turn themselves in, i.e., to fill out their census forms. In the era of Cointelpro, Watergate, and Nixon, we reject this as a defensible position.

Another opposite, though still incorrect, approach is totally negative toward the census. A super militant posture that says (a) the census is used for collecting key information, (b) key information is used to control blacks, (c) therefore, the census is bad and we shouldn't have anything to do with the census. This is wrong because while *a* and *b* are true, the conclusion should not be *c*, fatalistic withdrawal. The net effect of withdrawal is to abandon the masses of people. Our response must be to organize a political fight in which we educate and mobilize the masses to fight the government for basic and fundamental social change.

The correct approach is to wage a political fight to officially adjust the census figures, using the plan devised by Dr. Robert Hill, Research Director of the National Urban League—The Synthetic Method. The key assumption is that the undercount for each age-sex-race category (e.g. young black men) in every locality is the same as it is nationally. Therefore, specific undercount rates can be estimated. The census figure for a specific age-sex-race category in every community will be increased by the percentage undercount.

The census currently imputes (statistically creates) a certain percentage of data, but it continues to allow a large black undercount. The political fight to adjust the census is not merely academic (statistical), it is a fight over political power and economic resources. The politics of this fight for reform fits our overall campaign for *Revolutionary Black Power*.

Unity can be achieved when faced with a common enemy and Black Unity can most easily be developed when fighting against an all out racist attack. The census black undercount is just such a political attack. Virtually every sector of the black community agrees that the census is wrong and that we should adjust it. More education should take place, especially to counter-attack the media blitz around April 1, 1980. And organizations should publicize their support of adjustment. Everyone supports this; This is Black Power.

Revolutionary Black Power goes further. The government is not capable of taking a truthful census, because a useful census would give statistics on who exploits black people, how much, who gained profits from investments in illegal activities, the total network of corporate ownership, detailed statistical profiles of everyone earning over \$1,000,000 per year, etc. As long as the government represents the rich, it will conduct an unfair census, unfair to the poor.

However, to be alienated from it is not enough. We must develop a will to fight against it. We must develop clear political targets that undercut the legitimacy of the government, unite the vast majority of people and organizations, and strengthen the will to fight.

The U.S. capitalist class is consolidating its position in 1980 with three major events: the census, the draft, and the presidential election. We must fight back against every one of these events. This article is a contribution to fighting one of the three.

## Notes

1. This paper represents the position of Peoples College, and was a key presentation made at the recent conference on "Black People and the 1980 Census: A Conference on the Population Undercount." The Conference was sponsored by the Illinois Council for Black Studies and held at

the University of Chicago, November 30-December 1, 1979. The proceedings of this conference have been published and are available from Peoples College Press.

2. A liberal critique of technocracy and its rationalization of social life came forward in the 1950s. See David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (1951) and William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (1956). However, while we have some insightful analysis, these works lack a program for change. A more recent critique can be found in Feinberg and Rosemont, eds., *Works Technology and Education*, especially the articles by Benne, Wortofsky, and Ihde.

3. General philosophical examples of this in early classic 20th century American intellectual history are Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (1925) and George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (five volumes, 1905-06). A more recent sociological summary of the social function and consequence of science is *Science and the Social Order* (1962) by Bernard Barber.

4. See Clark C. Abt, "Social Science Research and the Modern State" in (special issue) *The State of Daedalus*, Vol. 108, No. 4, Fall 1979, pp. 89-100.

5. In sum, it is discovering the dialectical logic within a materialist worldview that represents a scientific understanding. Basic reading on this should include Mao Tse-Tung, "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." Also, see Maurice Cornforth, *Science and Idealism* (1947).

6. Overall, the historical development of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King reveal the two opposite poles of this black dialectical reality, with both in opposition to oppression and exploitation.

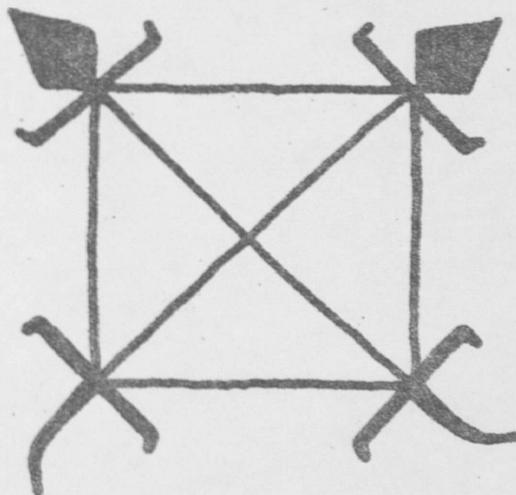
7. Alterman, Hyman, *Counting People: The Census in History* (1909), see chapter 2, "The Road to Article 1, Section 2," pp. 177-192; Scott, Ann, *Census, USA: Fact Finding for the American People, 1790-1970*, (1968), pp. 12-15.

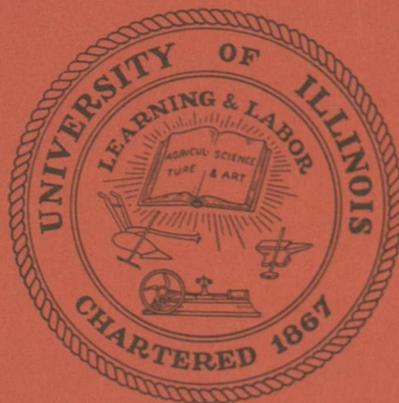
8. Alterman, p. 266.

9. Mode of production is a concept that refers to a system of production within which there is a quality of technological development, and a social organization of production based on ownership and labor. The main way the system produces wealth and sustains itself. See Althusser, Balibar and Establet, *Reading Capital* (1970); Hensess and Herst, *Pre Capitalist Modes of Production* (1975); Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation* (1976); and James A. Geschwender, *Racial Stratification in America* (1978).

10. See Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966) pp. 115-132; "Three Forms of American Capitalist Growth"; Douglas F. Dowd, *The Twisted Dream: Capitalist Development in the U.S. Since 1776* (1974); and James O'Connor, "The Twisted Dream," *Monthly Review* (1975), a book review.

11. See *Introduction to Afro-American Studies*, Volumes 1 and 2 (1978), Peoples College Press. Especially Vol. 1, chapters 4, 5 and 6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 108 (Vol. 1).
13. See Alterman, pp. 269-274.
14. *Introduction to Afro-American Studies*, Vol. 1, pp. 161-162.
15. DuBois, W. E. B., "The Twelfth Census and the Negro Problem," *Southern Workman* (1915), p. 307.
16. See especially Kelley Miller, "Enumeration Errors in the Negro Population," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XIV, February 1922, pp. 168-177.
17. Alterman, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
18. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
19. *Introduction to Afro American Studies*, *op. cit.*
20. Heer, pp. 62-63.
21. See Price (1947), Meyers (1948) and Zelnik (1969); Daniel Price, "A Check on Underenumeration in the 1940 Census," *American Sociological Review* (1947); R. J. Myers, "Under enumeration in the Census as Indicated by Selective Service Data," *American Sociological Review* (1948); Melvin Zelnik, "The Census and Selective Service," *Eugenics Quarterly* (1969).
22. For the entire study write Research Department National Urban League, Washington, D.C.
23. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 7, 1980, p. 5.
24. *The Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette*, January 13, 1980, p. B-15.
25. For a full statement on Revolutionary Black Power write Peoples College, P.O. Box 7696, Chicago, Illinois 60680.





# AfroAmerican Studies and Research Program

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