

*Book Reviews***Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal***Andrew Hacker*

New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992

To begin this review, one can only say that the author must be extremely competent to have written such a powerfully biased book. If you wish to solve a serious problem, one should address the concerns of those with whom one disagrees. There is a strong inference in the preface that this is not his intent.

Instead it would seem that his prime purpose is to blame Americans of European descent for the failures of other races in North America. Any reluctance of whites to interbreed with the minority races is condemned, and research scholars of the greatest ability and integrity, such as psychologist Arthur Jensen of Berkeley, whose prolific research has been published in the most respected scientific journals, and Nobel Prize winner William Shockley who was concerned about declining intelligence as the demographic content of America steadily changed, are accused of "sifting through research reports for evidence of racial superiority." Indeed, the author complains, "most white Americans still share Thomas Jefferson's belief that in terms of evolution and genetics theirs is the most developed race." This, he argues, is because "even Nobel Prize winners can end up seeing not what is actually there, but what they want to see." Some readers might suggest that the author clearly sees what is there, but deliberately misrepresents reality to his readers in order to remake the world in a pattern which he personally considers to be morally superior to reality.

A comparison of this book with a similar work of deception, *In the Name of Eugenics* by Kevles, makes the latter work look like a shining example of probity and fairness. Even though the latter work abounds in snide remarks, innuendos, and outright distortion and biased selection of data, it does contain a wealth of information that

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is scarcely otherwise available.

In Part One of the work under review, the author follows a line of reasoning dear to Karl Marx, namely that theory that the sole or major cause of the statistical bias in income and other measures of success between the black and white population is due solely to environmental causes. In Part Two, he takes his thesis of total environmentalism as proved, and on the basis of this assumption proceeds to blame the whites for the picture of black and white separateness, hostility and inequality which he finds in America today.

Chapter II, "Race and Racism: Inferiority and Inequality", states the underlying thesis upon which discussion throughout the book is based, and that thesis seems to be that, since one cannot mathematically prove that there are significant racial differences in intellectual ability, we should assume that they are equal. Unfortunately, there are very few, if any, realities in the social sciences that are subject to mathematical proof. Were we to base public policy decisions only on views of reality that were so proven, public policy decisions would be based upon nothing. The absence of mathematic proof also applies to claims of equality. From page 24: "Most whites who call themselves conservatives hold this view [that Afro-Americans differ significantly in average intellectual capability from the white average], and proclaim it when they are sure of their company. Most liberals and those further to the left deny that present disparities are based upon genetic inheritance. If they harbor doubts, they keep it to themselves." In this quote the author indirectly levels a charge that whites are either through fear of social rejection or lack of concern "faking it" in the market place of ideas: conservatives through silence, and liberals through rationalization (else why harbor doubts?). Surprisingly, however, it is the politically correct that seem to believe that human worth and dignity are measured with an IQ thermometer, and therefore infer that such statements are racist and unethical.

If whites had the courage to honestly and openly address the above issue, as Shockley and Jensen did, or if blacks faulted whites for patronizing them by their failure to examine the data concerning racial differences fearlessly and frankly – thus removing the social stigma associated with such behavior – we might get some rational effort started for win-win solutions. One might think, as Shockley urged us to think, in terms of a major enquiry into the extent of racial differences to determine the causes for once and for all. The only serious objection to that approach would come from those who had

little confidence in what they desperately wished to believe. However, one should not expect that the number of those who so wish to believe is at all negligible. The thesis seems to be that nature was capable and motivated to assure that evolution, which allows physical characteristics to differ, would not allow differences in intellectual ability. This, of course, because they are a very hurtful problem to our society. This argument perhaps convinces believers, but falls far short of reaching those not so persuaded.

After an introductory background wherein the above thesis is defined, the author compares black and white outcomes in eight chapters or areas: family structure, income, equity in employment, education (1. ethnicity; 2. segregated schooling; 3. what is best for black children?), crime, and politics. These comparisons and interpretations are interestingly stated, although they may be familiar topics to a well-read person. In these chapters, he justifies the title "black and white: Separate, hostile, unequal." For many readers, however, the insistent inference of white guilt and black impotence does begin to be counterproductive, as well as flattering to no one, regardless of the author's intent. This includes the purpose to explain "why so much behavior regarding race remains so obdurate and ingrained," as stated in the preface.

In order to give some notion of the factual material covered in the above topics, an extremely brief summary of the "Racial Income Gap, How Much Is Due to bias?" chapter is provided.

The first issue addressed was the proportion of various ethnic groups that were self-employed. Koreans were in the lead, at 16.5 percent. whites, about a third of the way down the list came in at 7.4 percent, and blacks at 3.0 percent. But it seemed difficult to sort out the meaning behind the data. For instance, being self-employed may be a necessity for someone new to this country who is not familiar with the language and customs here. Thus this may represent a temporary situation.

The next significant topic is black proportionate representation in various occupations, with a black total participation of 10.1 percent. Needless to say, blacks were generally poorly represented in the better paying occupations. The total range provided extended from 31.7 for nurses aid and orderlies, to 0.9 percent for architects. Apart from the fact that bias could be explained either by environmental or genetic factors or a combination of the two, the very small rate of participation of dental hygienists suggests that whites have

concern, appropriate or not, about the race of their dental technicians. The last item is illustrated by a small table that shows that more black women are found in several higher categories of employment, as compared to black males, and more so the higher the status category. This general topic is also dealt with under the "income" discussion.

The other chapters also detail differences in outcomes over a wide range of measures of white and black expectations in income, social status, educational success, and similar variables. The differences are so patent as to need no argument. The strong implications that none of these discrepancies have any basis except white culpability, however, as implied in Chapter II, are discussed as if the basic thesis were proven or, alternatively, assumed for the purpose of exposition. It is difficult to characterize the bias in the book by a sample, as the characteristic feature is consistency, and that cannot be shown by a sample. An example, however, may help in this regard. On page 81 the author states "As noted earlier, black birthrates are not rising relative to those for whites, so it is not as if the black population is getting out of hand." Earlier, page 71, he shows in a table that black fertility rates have been consistently in the range of 1.35 relative to whites, although gradually increasing from 1940 to 1988. This means that the doubling time for black population relative to whites is about 66 years, which, assuming constancy of that value, means that in 200 years blacks would outnumber whites by 33%. Given that whites are human just as blacks are, the unusual thing about that is that so little is made of it by the white community.

In summary, it is unquestionably a potent book, and one that those who wish to be "au courant" should read. Unfortunately, however, it is not a bridge-builder, in conformity with the author's stated intent. Nor does it "explain" root causes of the problem, at least not in terms that connect with those who do not accept the author's major thesis. This book thus rationalizes the opinions of those who share the author's prejudices, while never addressing the concerns of those the author has chosen to ignore.

**Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of
United States Territorial Relations**

Arnold H. Leibowitz

London: Martinus Nijhoff

The United States, along with its role as a major world power economically, possesses territories in the Pacific as well as the Caribbean. It is uncertain whether some of these areas, some hundreds and others thousands of miles from the continental United States, will ever become states. The U.S. made exceptions for two areas not part of the mainland, the admission of Hawaii and Alaska in the 1950s, and Puerto Rico is under serious consideration for statehood.

The position and role of the United States insular areas have growing significance for the U.S. government. Arnold Leibowitz is an attorney who has worked with the governments of most of the U.S. insular areas and brings both scholarship and practical legal experience to this compendium of U. S. insular areas. The title accurately reveals the approach: many of these questions and issues are examined from the perspective of a lawyer and some chapter section read like legal briefing papers. The book is full of thorough analysis of very complicated policy questions.

The author examines the whole history of U.S. territorial status (from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 to the present), alternatives for the insular areas (commonwealth status, statehood, freely associated status), and special considerations regarding issues of race, geography, and size. The author provides interesting insights in the Caribbean areas of the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico and the Pacific possessions of Guam, American Samoa, and the former Trust Territories of the Pacific – the Freely Associated States of the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the only remaining trust territory, the Republic of Palau.

Mr. Leibowitz expresses his candid opinions on deficiencies in the federal policies regarding the insular areas and what avenues the United States should pursue for the future. One does not have to agree with his conclusions to respect his scholarship and analysis. The book is a comprehensive study of U.S. policy in the Pacific, one often overlooked in examining the U.S. government.

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