# International Security and Black Politics: A Biographical Note Toward an Institutional Critique

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# International Security and Black Politics: A Biographical Note Toward an Institutional Critique

Robbie Shilliam

**ABSTRACT**
In this afterword, I claim that the distance that sets apart the study of black politics and international security is neither neutral nor natural but crafted through racism. Using the biography of John Herz, alongside other scholars, I shed light on an intellectual tradition that treats black politics and international security as mutually constitutive phenomena. I demonstrate, however, that during the Cold War their study was fractured into two discrete institutional configurations. I claim that academic institutions are entangled in the curtailment of the black freedom struggle in the US. To orient security studies towards the challenge posed by Black Lives Matter might require no less than an institutional reconfiguration of the field.

## Introduction

The scholar who invented the term "security dilemma" was a German Jewish refugee whose first permanent job in the US was at Howard University, the historically black college in the nation's capital. In 1941, Ralph Bunche, head of Political Science and first African American to gain a PhD in the field from a US university, invited John Herz to join seven other Jewish refugees as Howard faculty.[1] As an elderly Herz remembers it, his landmark book, *Political Realism and Political Idealism*, was developed over the course of his tenure at Howard which ended in 1952 (albeit interrupted with a war-time stint at the Office for Strategic Services where Bunche also served).[2]

The articles in this special issue variously demonstrate the utility of engaging race and racism in security studies. The special issue itself can be contextualized as part of a broader response in the field of IR to the Black Lives Matter uprisings of 2020 which spread across the globe. In my afterword, I seek to deepen our understanding of this context via a provocation: the distance that

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[1]Clifford L. Muse, "Howard University and U.S. Foreign Affairs During the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration, 1933-1945," *The Journal of African American History* 87, no. 4 (2002): 409; Andrew Lawrence, "Interview with John Herz (1908-2005)," in *The Return of the Theorists*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Peter Schouten, and Hidemi Suganami (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 257.

[2]"The Security Dilemma in International Relations: Background and Present Problems," *International Relations* 17, no. 4 (December 1, 2003): 412.

sets apart the study of black politics and international security is neither neutral nor natural but crafted through racism.

Toward this aim, I shall use Herz's biography – as well as that of other scholars – to shed light on a tradition in US political science of treating black politics and international security as mutually constitutive phenomena. More specifically, I argue that the intellectual environment at Howard enabled and encouraged Herz to expose the relationship between - and co-constitution of - putatively "domestic" racism and putatively "international" security. I will demonstrate, however, that during the Cold War their study was fractured into two discrete institutional configurations. In doing so, I claim that academic institutions are entangled in the curtailment of the black freedom struggle in the US. To orient security studies towards the challenge posed by Black Lives Matter might require no less than an institutional reconfiguration of the field.

## Herz and Bunche: Fascism and Racism

Racism structured Herz's relationship to Howard, just as it structured the placement of "displaced foreign scholars" in general.[3] Upon taking up his new position, Herz moved into a segregated capitol city. He and his wife Anne lived in a whites-only street. Over time, black residents moved in, and white residents moved out. Eventually the Herz's followed suit, due to a perception on their part that they might be taking the space of a black family.[4] In any case, Herz found safe haven on campus and was "eternally grateful" for the "helping hand" that was extended to him, even as he witnessed the "colour-based discrimination" directed at his colleagues and students.[5]

The interwar years weighed heavily on Howard's scholars and students who were especially concerned with imperialism and the arms race.[6] Howard's President, Mordecai Johnson, explained this weightiness by connecting fascism to white supremacism in the US.[7] It was in this institutional climate that Herz struck up a close friendship with Bunche whom, he recalls, shared a sense that they were both "victims of racial persecution".[8] Herz's relationship with Merze Tate, the first black woman to earn a PhD in Government and International Relations, as well as others in the History department, followed likewise.[9]

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[3]See for example Sarah Samuels, "'An Outstanding and Unusual Contribution': The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," *Penn History Review* 24, no. 2 (2019): 76.

[4]Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb, *From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges* (Malabar: Krieger Publishing, 1993), 77.

[5]Lawrence, "Interview," 257.

[6]Muse, "Howard University and U.S. Foreign Affairs," 403.

[7]Muse, 409.

[8]John H. Herz, Oral History, 1985, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn513666.

[9]Lawrence, "Interview," 258.

Howard's political environment spoke directly to Herz's original contemplations on international politics. For instance, during his days in Geneva, Herz identified the importance of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia for the erosion of collective security.[10] Indeed, on more than one occasion he opined that acting collectively against Mussolini might have saved the League and averted the path to world war. However, League members presumed Ethiopia to be a "far-away [African] country" and of no consequence.[11] Ethiopia was already a cause célèbre at Howard.[12] In 1929, the college admitted Malaku Bayen, a cousin of Emperor Haile Selassie I, as a graduate student in the medical school. Bayen married an African-American woman, Dorothy Hadley, and Selassie I appoint him as his Special Envoy in the Western Hemisphere during the Italian war.

This was the environment within which Herz had his first teaching experiences at college level. In his international politics courses, he would regularly discuss the mutual oppression of Jews and black peoples.[13] Reminiscing, Herz considered the "greatest event" in his early career to have been co-teaching a course with Bunche entitled "The Present International Crisis".[14] Herz also opined that his black students would have understood the nature of "state-directed oppression in Europe better than most of their white contemporaries on other campuses".[15] These remembrances clearly demonstrate that such collaborations and conversations placed white supremacism and black politics in the US firmly in his interest area, alongside the threat of fascism to international law.

The concordant concerns at Howard for domestic racism and international fascism gave rise to a forum edited in 1941 by Bunche for Howard's *Journal of Negro Education* entitled "The Crisis of Present-day Democracy". Bunche invited Herz, his newly arrived colleague, to contribute.[16] Dwelling on this collection of essays is useful for situating Herz within the American discipline of political science that he had recently joined.

## Democracy or Fascism/Democracy and Jim Crow

The forum began with an article from Chicago's Charles Merriam - doyen of US political science in the inter-war years. Merriam focused on what he had for some time perceived to be the key weakness of US democracy: a lack of executive determination to confront special interests and grapple

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[10]"The Security Dilemma in International Relations," 413.
[11]John H. Herz, "Power Politics and World Organization," *American Political Science Review* 36, no. 6 (December 1942): 1050.
[12]Muse, "Howard University and U.S. Foreign Affairs," 407.
[13]Edgcomb, *From Swastika to Jim Crow*, 80.
[14]Herz, Oral History.
[15]Lawrence, "Interview," 258.
[16]Lawrence, 257.

with emergency situations. He chastised those who distrusted the "necessary power to act" and who concluded that "we can be free only if we are weak".[17] Not once did Merriam mention racism, in stark contrast to his fellow contributors from Howard.

For his part, Bunche conceded that the "constitutional framework" of the US gave a "measure of realism" to the "negro assumption" of entitlement to equal status. Nevertheless, he also pointed out that the same constitution acted as a compromise between those who feared democracy and those who believed in egalitarianism. It was this very compromise that explained "the quixotic tendency [for American politics] to sanctify its democratic creeds while stubbornly retaining its racial bigotries".[18] Another Howard colleague, Rayford Logan, put it similarly, if more grandly: the" dream of democracy," he opined, was "frustrated by the presence of Indians and the introduction of negro slaves".[19]

With this in mind, Bunche alleged that the crisis of democracy was due in large part to the subversion of abolition by Jim Crow. For instance, when it came to electoral politics, racism was utilized as a wedge issue to disenfranchise almost all black citizens in the South and many poor white citizens too.[20] The result was a one-party system (at the time, the Democrats) - a negation of the democratic impulse.[21] Hence, while the South might be the most enthusiastic region when it came to fighting Hitler abroad, the democracy that southern elites wished to preserve at home was one that avowedly and explicitly promoted white supremacy.[22] Paradoxically, that preservation, Bunche suggested, came at the cost of degrading the military capabilities of the nation to protect its interests on the world stage.[23]

Ultimately, Bunche questioned whether democracy in the US even existed *qua* democracy. Logan voiced the same concern: the question was not so much whether a half-totalitarian and half-democratic global order could exist, but rather whether a half-democratic "western hemisphere" could "survive the contest with the totalitarian powers".[24] For Bunche, Nazism revealed just how easily a pattern of "caste and discrimination" might be applied in the US to "non-negro groups" – e.g. Jews, "aliens", Catholics and labor unions.[25] For these reasons, Bunche maintained that

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[17]Charles E. Merriam, "The Meaning of Democracy," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 310.
[18]Ralph J. Bunche, "The Negro in the Political Life of the United States," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 567.
[19]Rayford W. Logan, "The Crisis of Democracy in the Western Hemisphere," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 344.
[20]Bunche, "The Negro in Political Life," 569.
[21]Bunche, 569, 577.
[22]Bunche, 578.
[23]583.
[24]Logan, "The Crisis of Democracy," 351.
[25]Bunche, "The Negro in Political Life," 584.

war aims should have had less to do with preserving a democracy that did not quite exist and more to do with enabling a striving towards democratic ideals.[26] Merze Tate expressed a similar argument in the same journal a couple of years later.[27]

Herz's contribution focused, understandably, on the differences between the Weimar Republic and Nazism. Weimar, he argued, was underwritten by an idealism that supposed the economic system needed little political intervention and would naturally produce harmonious social effects. But Nazism unabashedly made the economy subservient to political objectives, above all the drive towards war.[28] A war economy could brook no class or national divisions and had to be organized through an "organic" rather than "mechanistic" society, thereby also requiring a strong executive.

Nazism, explained Herz, replaced the old social strata with a fundamental division between "the politically ruling and ruled groups" - the latter being of necessity a "a racially pure and nationally united people".[29] Consequently, Nazi doctrine prescribed the treatment of minorities in one of two ways: they were either to be incorporated into the "racial community" or they were to be eliminated. Nazism was no less than the very antithesis of democracy. By articulating the stakes at play at such an existential level, Herz did not accept the comforting thought that Nazism was due to Germany's special path of development – a *Sonderweg*; Nazism was a "world-wide possibility".[30]

Comparing these contributions to the forum is instructive. Merriam identified the crisis of US democracy in terms of the repair of a strong domestic executive to confront special interests. Racism played no part in his analysis. In contrast, Bunche (and Logan) considered Nazism to be in alignment with domestic white supremacism. The existence of domestic racism made any contrast between American democracy and foreign totalitarianism a category error and elided the fact that the insecurity caused by fascism was internally as much as externally constituted. Herz's analysis – with his focus on race, minorities and political violence as a putatively global phenomenon - tracks closer to the political science being undertaken by Bunche et al. at a black institution than that of Merriam's. It should be noted that Merriam's contribution was published one year after his retirement from a career that did much to shape the themes, procedures and norms of (the overwhelmingly white collegiate of) American political science.

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[26]Bunche, 583.

[27]Merze Tate, "The War Aims of World War I and World War II and Their Relation to the Darker Peoples of the World," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 521–32.

[28]John H. Herz, "Alternative Proposals to Democracy: Naziism," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 354.

[29]357, 359.

[30]365–66.

## The Security Dilemma and Black Politics: a Counter-Political Science

The 1941 forum provides evidence of contending institutional configurations of political science. Let me clarify this proposal. I consider institutions to be informal constraints and incentives as well as formal rules that structure political, economic and social interaction.[31] Disciplines, professional associations, funding bodies, colleges, departments, publication fora, conferences and cliques variously structure the academic endeavor, and they can come together in institutional configurations that oftentimes align and channel political power or, less often, contest existing alignments and channels of power. Granted, the relationship between political power and political science is complicated, to say the least.[32] Still, the struggles over disciplinary directions might be usefully assayed in terms of the differences between institutional configurations of the same field.

The 1941 special forum evinces two institutional configurations at work: a majority-white political science, represented by Merriam, and a counter-political science focused on black politics, represented by Bunche, whose ideas and commitments were set against entrenched political interests – above all, Jim Crow. Herz clearly found the institutional configuration of Howard to be conducive to his interest in the fascist "racial theory of law" and its challenge to the ethos of international law.[33] This positionality marks a significant distance from Merriam's decades long investment in a "scientific" examination of racial difference and migration.[34]

In 1950, one year before he left Howard, Herz published his famous article on the "security dilemma".[35] His biography would suggest that during this time Howard provided an empathetic and intellectually conducive space in which to "scale up" a critique of Nazism into a theory of international politics. What is more, Herz did not occupy this space passively, but generatively. In point of fact, his interest in black politics during this timeframe even carried into the book emerging from the article – *Political Realism and Political Idealism*.

In a section of the book entitled "the role of minorities and other out-groups", Herz connected the dangers of Nazism to situations where "anti-negro or anti-oriental attitudes prevail in an otherwise still liberal society."[36] Here, Herz was at pains to make a distinction between slaves

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[31]Douglass C. North, "Institutions," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (1991): 97–112.

[32]See John H. Gunnell, *Imagining the American Polity: Political Science and the Discourse of Democracy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

[33]Herz, "The Security Dilemma in International Relations," 412; see also John H. Herz, "The National Socialist Doctrine of International Law and the Problems of International Organization," *Political Science Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (1939): 412.

[34]See Jessica Blatt, *Race and the Making of American Political Science*, 2018.

[35]John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 2, no. 2 (January 1950): 157–80.

[36]John H. Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism: A Study in Theories and Realities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 189.

being an "in-group" of ancient Greek and Roman societies and the "present descendants of slaves in America" being an "out-group" due to the "inferior-status" provided by "socially significant racial differences." By this logic, Herz categorized black Americans as a "minority" alongside Jews and others. These out-groups, claimed Herz, should be studied through the security dilemma in so far as they fulfilled "a function similar to that of an external enemy, against whom one wishes to establish 'national' or similar group solidarity."[37]

## The Cold War: Shifting Configurations

So far, I have detailed how a founding figure of modern-day security studies developed his academic work in proximity to black politics. I have suggested that the counter-hegemonic configuration at Howard enabled and encouraged Herz to expose the relationship between - and co-constitution of - putatively "domestic" racism and putatively "international" security. Black politics even factored into his argument as to how the security dilemma worked, where it took place, and what groups it encompassed.[38] I have used this biography to bring to light contending institutional configurations within war-time political science, which are of direct interest to the disciplinary history of security studies. But moving away from Herz, I now want to ask: how did the Cold War re-configuration of political science affect the intellectual confluence between (the study of) domestic black politics and international security?

Herz left Howard when he felt that the political science department no longer provided intellectual stimulation for his work.[39] But he also spoke of this period as one wherein an opposition to fascism in foreign policy was superseded by an opposition to communism such that Germany became reconciled to the Western order and denazification became suspended as part of Cold War realignment.

As the Cold War set in, the strategic, analytical, and normative shifts towards anti-communism troubled the connection between fighting "totalitarianism" abroad and racism at home. Politicians in Congress promoted an argument that communism was the successor to fascism – both were totalitarian.[40] The logic was contradictory in terms of what constituted the national interest. On the one hand, the imperative to "win over" the

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[37]190.

[38]Herz's engagement with Black politics preempts later work that applies the security dilemma to the domestic politics of post-colonial and post-imperial states. See e.g. Brian Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992); Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27–47. I thank Errol Henderson for making this connection to me.

[39]Herz, Oral History.

[40]See in general Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011).

elites of newly-decolonized polities to the US side required a positive narrative of domestic race relations. (Tellingly, the Justice Department, in an amicus brief to the Supreme Court in Brown vs Board of Education (1954), warned that "racial discrimination furnishes grist for the communist propaganda mills.")[41] On the other hand, the southern interest worked to preserve Jim Crow via congressional politics and, through McCarthyism, induced a moral panic that presented those fighting for racial justice as a fifth column of communists intent on inducing unholy socialist principles of redistribution into the body politic.[42]

Put another way, an anti-racist grammar intimately connected to the war against fascism fell prey to the new Cold War articulation of political terror, which asserted that US society was not intrinsically racist while at the same time painting anti-racist movements as totalitarian or totalitarian-aligned. Of course, the demonization of the black freedom struggle had been a consistent theme in US political history, justifying egregious violence. The Cold War articulation gave little institutional space for connecting black politics to international security except as a vector of totalitarianism. True, the emerging space provided by the United Nations did offer leverage for W.E.B. Du Bois and others to pursue civil rights at the federal level.[43] However, this leverage was not strong enough to offset the ideological force of the correlation between black politics and totalitarianism. Case in point: Howard University was a special target of McCarthyism, the pressure of which did much to destabilize its academic community.[44]

Still, despite these pressures in the academic sphere, at least some organizers and intellectuals in the black freedom struggle retained a political, normative, and strategic attachment to defining domestic racism in the US as an instance of international fascism, as had Howard scholars in the war years. In 1951, the Civil Rights Congress, led by black communist William Patterson, submitted a petition to the UN which utilized the Shoah-influenced Convention Against Genocide to charge the US government with doing likewise to its black citizenry. Notably, by the 1960s, many of those who now called for Black Power as a solution to white supremacy characterized the state's violent response – assassinations, police brutality, federal law enforcement infiltration etc. – as fascism.[45] At this

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[41]Charles King, "The Fullbright Paradox: Race and the Road to a New American Internationalism Essays," *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 4 (2021): 101.

[42]Richard Seymour, "The Cold War, American Anticommunism and the Global 'Colour Line,'" in *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*, ed. A. Anievas, N. Manchanda, and R. Shilliam (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 157–74; Charisse Burden-Stelly, "Constructing Deportable Subjectivity: Antiforeignness, Antiradicalism, and Antiblackness during the McCarthyist Structure of Feeling," *Souls* 19, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 342–58.

[43]See Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[44]Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 159.

[45]See Kathleen Cleaver, "Racism, Fascism, and Political Murder," *The Black Panther* 2, no. 6 (1968): 8.

point, the international framing of domestic racism returned to political science via the movement for Black Studies.

## Black Studies and International Relations: "Footnote Apartheid"[46]

Over the course of the 1960s, "freedom schools" organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other community education initiatives produced an impetus to move demands for racial justice into higher education.[47] The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968 intensified activism on campus leading to a major symposium on Black Studies at Yale one month later.[48] Not only did those scholars pushing for Black Studies seek to correct omissions and misrepresentations of black peoples; many of them also wished to be agents for the struggles of black community, contributing theories and programs of racial justice.[49]

Present at the Yale meeting was McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation. While the Foundation's influence was not all determining, it did highlight a tension between an ameliorative and integrationist aspiration, held by Bundy (and weakly articulated in the Robert Dahl-influenced "pluralistic" approach to American politics), and the black nationalist goal of self-determination promoted by a significant share of the black scholars attending.[50] In this respect, Black Studies came to represent a conscious movement towards a counter-institutional configuration, integrating the study of black politics with and for black community struggles and in opposition to a mainstream and elitist investment in assimilation.

Howard, too, was drawn into the movement. Reflecting on his time there, Herz suggested that the faculty had then been more radical than the student body who simply desired entry into the "black bourgeoise".[51] But by 1968, student and faculty activists were holding a series of conferences on campus with the intention to transform a "negro college" into a "militant black university".[52] At this point in time, the student body could count Stokely Carmichael amongst their graduates. Even Bunche, then circulating in the halls of the UN, had become positively disposed towards Black Power after King's assassination.[53]

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[46]The term is taken from Ronald Walters: "Editors' Interview with Ronald Walters," in *Black Politics in a Time of Transition*, ed. Michael Mitchell and David Covin (London: Routledge, 2012), 110.

[47]Ibram H. Rogers, "The Black Campus Movement and the Institutionalization of Black Studies, 1965–1970," *Journal of African American Studies* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 22–23; Alan Colon, "Reflections on the History of Black Studies," *The Journal of African American History* 93, no. 2 (2008): 274.

[48]Rogers, "The Black Campus Movement," 26–27.

[49]See Colon, "Reflections."

[50]See especially Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies : How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

[51]Herz, Oral History.

[52]Rogers, "The Black Campus Movement," 24.

[53]James Lance Taylor, "The Politics of the Black Power Movement," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24, no. 1 (2021): 446.

In April 1969, the American Political Science Association (APSA) held a conference at Southern University on the "Political Science Curriculum at Predominantly Black Institutions", with financial support from the Ford Foundation.[54] The conference was directed by Jewel Prestage, the first black woman to earn a PhD in Political Science in the US. In attendance were several scholars active in establishing Black Studies programs.[55] The conference noted a dearth of political science offerings at historically black colleges and also the limited participation by black political scientists in APSA (with the exception of Bunche, who served as President in 1953/54).[56] There was a fair amount of skepticism amongst participants as to the will of APSA to take these issues seriously.[57]

After meeting once more at the ASPA conference in September, a number of the attendees at Southern University resolved to set up their own institution, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). Mack Jones provided the keynote to the first NCOBPS conference the following year. In it, he advised black political scientists against engaging with black communities in "paternalistic missionary" fashion;[58] rather, they should consider the function that political science performed to legitimate the legal and philosophical foundations of an oppressive system. In order to be useful, black political science could not but be a politically subversive enterprise.[59]

For this argument, Jones did not draw upon Malcolm X et al. but rather upon a leading IR scholar, Hans Morgenthau. Later, Jones identified the specific text that he had utilized to make his critique of the discipline –"The Purpose of Political Science".[60] In this contribution to a research design textbook, Morgenthau proposed that a key challenge in the methodical pursuit of truth lay in the fact that a society's foundational philosophical assumptions could not be critically questioned without questioning the worth – and even existence - of that society itself.[61] When he wrote the chapter, Morgenthau had already fallen out with the Johnson administration over the Vietnam War - including a public dissent with McGeorge Bundy, a Johnson advisor at the time.[62]

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[54]"Reports of APSA Committees," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 2, no. 3 (1969): 321–53.

[55]Sherri L. Wallace et al., "Chronicling Our Legacy of Leadership: The Task Force Historical Record on the Founders of the Nationl Conference of Black Political Scientists," *National Review of Black Politics* 1, no. 1 (2020): 116, 82.

[56]"Reports of APSA Committees," 322.

[57]"Reports of APSA Committees," 334.

[58]Mack H. Jones, "Responsibility of Black Political Scientists to The Black Community," ed. Shelby Lewis Smith (Detroit: Balamp Publishing, 1977), 12.

[59]See Mack H. Jones, "NCOBPS: Twenty Years Later," in *Knowledge, Power, and Black Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 34.

[60]34.

[61]Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Purpose of Political Science," in *A Design for Political Science: Scope, Objectives, and Methods*, ed. James C. Charlesworth (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966), 69.

[62]See Seán Molloy, "Realism and Reflexivity: Morgenthau, Academic Freedom and Dissent," *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 2 (June 1, 2020): 321–43.

Jones would have known that another insurgent group within political science – the Caucus for a New Political Science – had supported Morgenthau's (failed) bid for APSA president in 1970.[63] But it would be incorrect to characterize Jones's engagement as simply opportunistic. For Morgenthau himself had long been invested in the study of black politics. In *The Purpose of American Politics,* Morgenthau considered Brown v. Board of Education (1954) as a serious matter for the study of the national interest in the Cold War context.[64] It is no surprise then, that in his 1966 text, Morgenthau provided a particular example of the fraught nature of methodologically pursuing truth which attracted Jones's eye: "a society based upon racial discrimination [wherein] race problems are beyond the ken of social science".[65] It bears repeating that Jones cleared the intellectual and political space for a new counter-institutional configuration of political science in part by drawing upon a scholar of International Relations, a founding theorist of international security, and another German Jewish emigre (albeit not a refugee) who also found black politics to be a salient phenomenon.

Moreover, a broader ambition to reconnect the study of black politics and international security clearly existed at this juncture. For example, Ford Foundation money helped to set up in 1969 the Center on International Race Relations at the University of Denver. Apartheid featured as one of the Center's chief concerns. Yet by 1976 the Center had folded, indicating, amongst other issues, a lack of institutional support.[66] Locksley Edmondson, an IR scholar who had already been researching the domestic and international connectivities of Black Power, and who served in the Center for a year, eventually found an institutional home not in political science but in Africana Studies.[67]

Crucially, Jones himself was convinced that black political scientists had to "look at our political predicament in an international context".[68] And a number of those who founded NCPOS *did* teach and research on the international dimension of black politics. Take, for instance, Mae King, the first black woman to serve on the professional staff at APSA who also taught a course at Howard entitled "Race and Foreign Policy".[69] Hanes Walton, famous for critically engaging the behavioralist approach with

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[63]See Clyde W. Barrow, "The Political and Intellectual Origins of New Political Science," *New Political Science* 39, no. 4 (2017): 437–72.

[64]Hans J. Morgenthau, *The Purpose of American Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960). Incidentally, Herz considered the book to be one of Morgenthau's "best"; John H. Herz, "Political Realism Revisited," *International Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1981): 184.

[65]"The Purpose of Political Science," 69.

[66]Vitalis, *White World Order*, 167.

[67]See Robbie Shilliam, "Race and Racism in International Relations: Retrieving a Scholarly Inheritance," *International Politics Reviews* 8, no. 2 (December 1, 2020): 152–95.

[68]Jones, "Responsibility of Black Political Scientists to The Black Community," 15.

[69]Wallace et al., "Chronicling Our Legacy of Leadership: The Task Force Historical Record on the Founders of the Nationl Conference of Black Political Scientists," 103; Mae C. King, Interview, February 5, 1994, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt73r20rrh8p.

black politics, also wrote on the conflict between Ethiopia, Liberia and apartheid South Africa's control over South West Africa (later, Namibia) and applied those lessons to a broader global racial struggle.[70] Leanneal Henderson Jr. published research on a topic of direct import to both the study of black politics and international security - the impact of the shutting down of overseas military bases on the urban economies of black communities especially in San Francisco.[71]

What is notable about these interactions is that the research mentioned above was never published in Political Science or IR journals. This is an indictment of what black political scientist Ron Walters termed "footnote apartheid".[72] Astoundingly, when Mae King published an article on "Race and US foreign policy" in 2010, forty years after teaching the topic at Howard, it appeared in one of the most influential Black Studies journal set up in 1969, *The Black Scholar;* this was the same forum where Henderson had published his military base research way back in 1973.[73] In contrast, when scholars published papers on apartheid in security studies fora they hardly ever connected the international race issue to domestic black politics, even if they mentioned the investment of the Congressional Black Caucus in the issue.[74] Here lies clear citational evidence of the now institutionalized separation of the study of black politics from the study of international security.

Before concluding, I wish to mention one contemporary scholar whose research sutures this cut. As a graduate student at Michigan in the 1980s, Errol Henderson studied with David Singer and joined the famous Correlates of War project. Henderson also joined the Black Student Union and the third iteration of the university-based Black Action Movement (the previous ones having taken place in 1970 and 1975).[75] Among other topics, Henderson has published on the correlates of inter-state war and on the political thought that drives black revolutionary organizing.[76] With respect to the biographical elements of this present argument, he has interrogated the theories of the "Howard School" of International Relations.[77].

[70]Hanes Walton Jr, "The South West Africa Mandate," *Savannah State College Bulletin* 26, no. 2 (1972): 93–100.

[71]Leanneal J. Henderson Jr., "Impact of Military Base Shut-Downs," *The Black Scholar* 5, no. 2 (1973): 9–15.

[72]Errol Henderson calls this practice "bibliocide". See Shilliam, "Race and Racism in International Relations," 184.

[73]Mae C. King, "Race and US Foreign Policy: Reflections on West Africa," *The Black Scholar* 40, no. 3 (2010): 2–12.

[74]For example Richard K. Betts, "A Diplomatic Bomb for South Africa?," *International Security* 4, no. 2 (1979): 91–115; Samuel P. Huntington, "Reform and Stability in South Africa," *International Security* 6, no. 4 (1982): 3–25.

[75]Shilliam, "Race and Racism in International Relations," 172–73.

[76]For example Errol A. Henderson and Richard Tucker, "Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2001): 317–38; Errol A. Henderson, *The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized: Cultural Revolution in the Black Power Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2019).

[77]Errol A. Henderson, "The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory," *Millennium* 45, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 492–510. Neta Crawford's

In fact, on at least one occasion, Henderson has intimately pulled together the study of international security and black politics. In "Reducing Intergang Violence", an article published in 1999, Henderson and fellow correlates of war scholar Russell Leng argued that the causes of conflict between urban territorial gangs approximate the causes of conflict in the inter-state system.Concomitantly, norms that mitigate conflict in this system – e.g. respect for territorial spheres of influence, and the observance of treaties and truces – might also ameliorate violence in urban areas.[78] Whilst the members of the gangs that Henderson and Lang examined were not solely black, the rise in violent and punitive policing combined with the impoverishment of inner-city areas made gang violence a key issue for black liberation politics during the period covered by the article.[79]

## Concluding Provocations

Through biographical notes, I have suggested that the distance between the study of black politics and international security is neither neutral nor natural but crafted through racism. Towards an institutional analysis, I have considered racism to be part of the materiality that configures – constrains, incentivizes and structures – the institutional relationship between the domestic and the international, and the academic and the political. I have also made the case that, during the Cold War, the study of black politics and international security became segregated into two institutional configurations.

I finish with the provocation that the politics implicated in this segregation have at the same time been implicated in controlling (and oftentimes attenuating) the black freedom struggle in the US. This might be why the latest uprising associated with this struggle – Black Lives Matter – could resonate deeply with international security scholars in a normative sense but hardly at all in an institutional sense. The survey provided by Zvobgo et al. speaks to this fact. A reconfiguration of security studies to engage adequately with black politics will take new institutional arrangements implicating publication fora, professional networking, policy advice and advocacy, research funding, training, teaching and, for some, community engagement. Adding race to existing theories and methods will prove insufficient where academic redlining has already made its harmful incisions.

work shares a similar constellation to Henderson's, albeit with different approaches and subject matters. See Shilliam, "Race and Racism in International Relations."

[78]Errol A. Henderson and Russell J. Leng, "Reducing Intergang Violence: Norms from the Interstate System," *Peace & Change* 24, no. 4 (1999): 490.

[79]See Gary Stewart, "Black Codes and Broken Windows: The Legacy of Racial Hegemony in Anti-Gang Civil Injunctions," *Yale Law Journal* 107, no. 7 (1998): 2249–80.