

CARTON 413

RELUCTANT REFORMERS

MANUSCRIPT, CHAPTERS 7, 8

Allen

CHAPTERS:
7 & 8
&
NOTES

The Reluctant Reformers

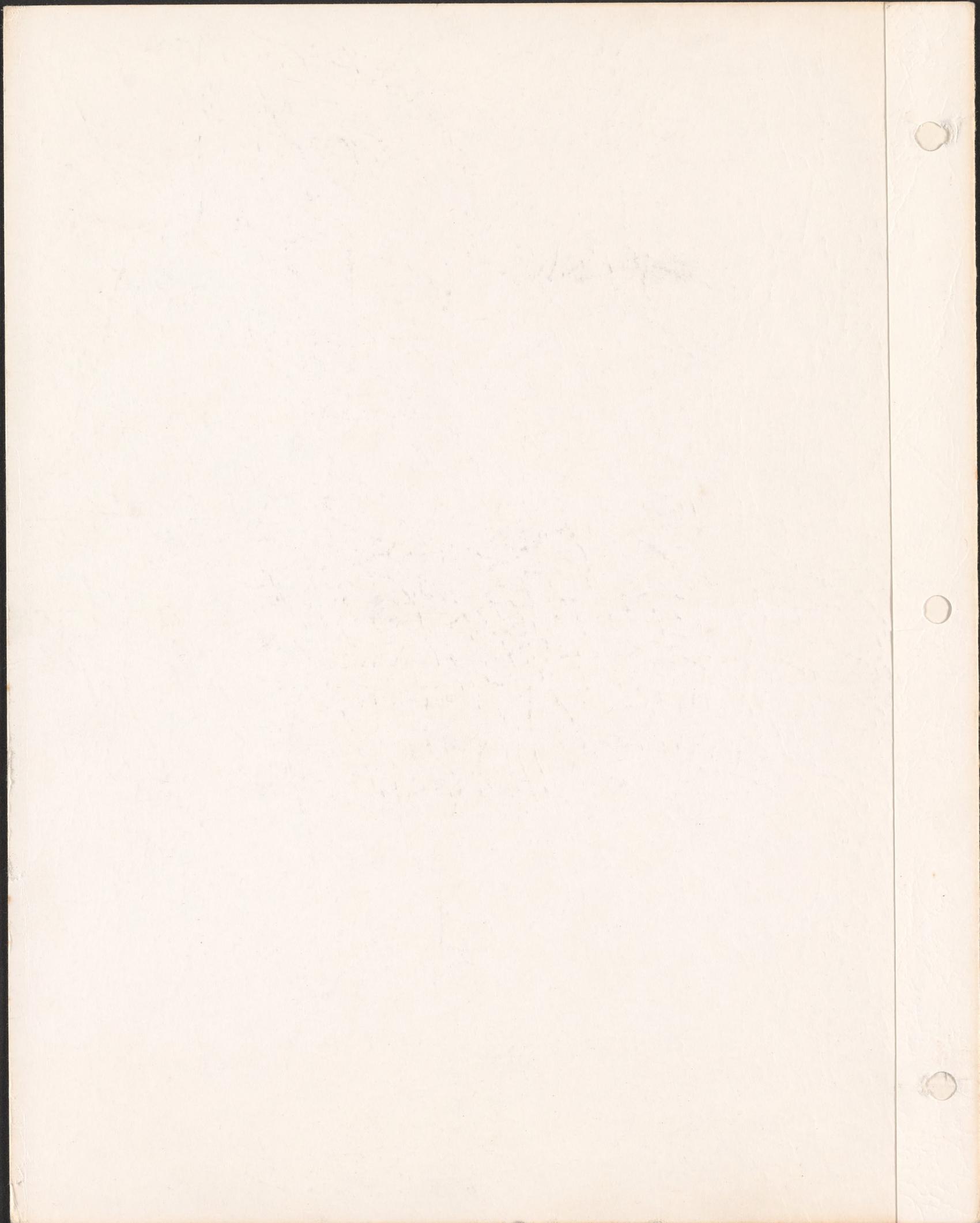
Racism and Social Reform
Movements in the
United States

by *Robert L. Allen*

with the collaboration of
Pamela P. Allen

HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Washington, D.C. • 1974



Proofread
1/9/74
R. T. A.

Contents

Preface		3
Chapter I	Introduction	5
Chapter II	Black Militancy Confronts Militant Abolitionism	11
Chapter III	Self-Interest and Southern Populism	49
Chapter IV	Progressivism: Expediency and Accommodation	81
Chapter V	Woman Suffrage: Feminism and White Supremacy	121
Chapter VI	Organized Labor: From Underdog to Overseer	165
Chapter VII	Socialists, Communists and Self-Determination	207
Chapter VIII	Capitalism, Racism and Reform	247

iii/iii blank

CHAPTER VII:

Socialist, Communist
and Self-Determination

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. 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. For these alienated strata, a socialist critique of society provided an explanation that gave meaning to their troubled situation and pointed out a course of remedial action. Many were consequently attracted into the early Socialist Party.

The economic dislocations of the period also spurred many workers toward socialism, especially unskilled workers whose lives were very insecure. A large number of dispossessed workers enlisted in the syndicalist IWW. The left wing of the Socialist Party flirted with the IWW but no firm alliance developed, in part because simultaneously the party's right wing was courting the AFL, a fact which incensed the IWW leadership. 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. Consequently, the disintegration of the IWW and the growing complacency of the AFL meant that the potential organized mass base for a socialist movement was seri-

S
A

ously undermined, at least until the Great Depression. The early Socialist Party therefore was overly influenced by intellectuals who were not rooted in the working class, and its efforts to establish ties with the AFL encouraged opportunistic and conservative influences within the party.

These were not the only problems that afflicted the socialist movement and influenced its perceptions and understanding of racism. Of equal importance were two other factors: (1) the effects of European social democracy on American socialism, and (2) the lack of ideological independence and initiative on the part of American socialists. Taken together these factors led most American socialists to dismiss or over-simplify the role of racial antagonism in U.S. society. Lacking ideological clarity about racism, the socialist parties generally related to black people in an opportunistic and dogmatic manner, resulting in much conflict and bitterness on both sides. In the following pages we will trace the unfolding of this process.*

Social Democracy

Just as the rise of imperialism had a conservatizing influence on parts of the labor movement, so did it have a similar effect on the European socialist parties. The consolidation of powerful capitalist democracies in Europe and the codification of liberalism as the ideology of the bourgeoisie in the latter part of the nineteenth century prompted some socialist intellectuals to revise Marx's analysis of the development and decline of the capitalist order. Deceived by the formal machinery of bourgeois democracy, these socialists concluded that in the advanced capitalist countries peaceful, evolutionary transition to socialism was possible.² They argued that there

* Although in theory socialist parties aim to achieve state power, in practice those examined in this chapter have been mainly concerned with protest activity or struggling for certain concrete reforms or specific changes in government policy. Hence their inclusion in these case studies.

was no longer an irreconcilable conflict of class interests, and that violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were not necessary to achieve socialism. They believed that the development of democracy in Europe, based on industrial capitalism, allowed peaceful reforms and the incorporation of the working class into the political power of the bourgeois social order. This was to be achieved by building mass socialist parties, under the leadership of the radical intellectuals, which would fight to widen the franchise and open the way for a transition to socialism through parliamentary methods. Hence, the social democrats became a lobby for reforms instead of agents of revolutionary change. They soon degenerated into bureaucrats in the "loyal opposition" in the European countries.

(L.C.)

Social democratic revisionism, which became particularly evident with the disintegration of the Second International, (which had been formed to unite the various Socialist Parties) not only contributed to opportunism but also laid the basis for social chauvinism. Marx had envisioned the overthrow of the bourgeois order as a task to be accomplished by the industrial workers in the advanced capitalist 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 working class in America, but he never doubted the vanguard role of European workers in the expected revolution. These views were subsequently crystallized into a rigid dogma by social democrats. If colonized nonwhite peoples were considered at all they were told they would have to fall in line behind the leadership of white workers and intellectuals. The practical consequences of this chauvinism would become clear with the development of the American Socialist party, in which European immigrants were very active.

aL J

It is understandable that modern socialist thought emerged first among those intellectuals located in the very heart of world capitalism. Being in the best position to observe the internal workings of capitalism, Western intellectual critics were led logically to analyze its structure and phases of development. However, the radicalized intelligentsia were not immune to the influence of racism

54710
100%

(change this in all pages)

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 used this claim to elevate themselves to the role of guardians of the ideological purity of the socialist movements.

This further exposed the social chauvinism of the Western social democratic intellectuals which precluded their 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 movement. Lenin, theses on imperialism and national liberation, growing out of the experience of revolutionary struggle in a backward, multi-national country, greatly enriched socialist theory by placing the class struggle in an international context. For Lenin capitalism was no mere European phenomenon incidently exploiting a few colonies, but a worldwide system of monopoly that had to be viewed in its totality to be understood. Moreover, national-racial oppression no longer could be dismissed as a minor side-effect of capitalism but as an intrinsic component of capitalist colonialism and imperialism.

o

2/5

was

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.

Change this throughout chapter

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.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵

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 colonized nonwhite world was crucial in contributing to the growing affluence of segments of the white working class in Europe and America, beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth 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."⁶ 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." 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."

✓/7

✓/8

PAT 15
1974

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.

The Socialist Party

The pro-white bias of social democracy gave form to the racial outlook and practices of the early Socialist Party (SP). Organized in 1901, the SP had little or nothing to offer black and other nonwhite workers. At its founding convention the SP reluctantly adopted—at the insistence of black delegates—a resolution expressing “sympathy” for the black workers and inviting them to join the party. However, until the 1920s and 1930s, when it faced sharp competition from the Communists, the SP did nothing as an organization to oppose lynching and disfranchisement, or otherwise address itself to the special problems confronting black workers as the result of racism. On the contrary, Socialist leader Eugene Debs insisted that “We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races.” Debs even though that the mild resolution of 1901 went too far toward being a special racial appeal and he urged that it be repealed.⁹

Branches of the party did, however, make special appeals to white racism. The Louisiana locals meeting in 1903 adopted a platform advocating racial segregation as a tactic for discrediting the Democrats' charge that Socialists favored social equality.¹⁰ This policy was rejected by the national office with the advice that the matter of segregation could be discussed after socialism was achieved. Despite national policy statements, many locals of the SP, especially in the deep South, practiced segregation both out of fear of racist authorities and from a desire not to antagonize white members. In the upper South and Southwest, party locals were much less committed to defending, and sometimes even opposed, the Southern Code.

Before World War I the national office of the SP generally avoided actively interfering with the racial practices of local branches. For example, in 1913 the national office conducted a survey of black membership that revealed segregationist practices in many branches. Yet, as Sally Miller has observed, the national leadership "refrained from initiating measures on behalf of its now formally recognized Negro membership or from seeking to alter the status quo in any way. The Socialist party had been led to its inquiry but it had no interest in exploring the ramifications further."¹¹

Several prominent figures in the SP were aggressive racists. Victor Berger, editor of the *Social Democratic Herald*, announced that there was "no doubt that the Negroes and malattoes constitute a lower race." Socialist author Jack London flatly stated that he was "first of all a white man and only then a Socialist." The Socialist paper, *Appeal to Reason*, rejected any thought of social equality. "Socialists do not believe in a mixture of the races," the *Appeal* said. "Socialists believe in justice to the Negro, not in social, but in economic equality. . . . Socialism will separate the races."¹²

In the light of such extreme sentiments and the more general reluctance of the SP to do anything about racial oppression, it is difficult to understand what Socialists meant when they spoke of "justice" for the Negro. The SP regarded black oppression as perhaps more extreme but certainly in no way different from the class oppression of white workers. Further, to early Socialists racial conflict and racist thinking were groundless and artificial tactics introduced by employers in an effort to prevent working class solidarity. For example, in 1912 the Tennessee SP adopted a plank declaring that "the question of race superiority" was "injected into the mind of the white wage-worker" merely as a "tactical method" used by the "capitalist class to keep the workers divided on the economic field."¹³ Proceeding from this social democratic ideology inherited from European intellectuals, SP leaders apparently never considered that racism might be grounded in Western imperialism. Moreover, since black workers were only a minority their needs were definitely subordinate to the interests of the larger white working class. The

FAT-15
100%

result, according to Sally Miller, was that "Marxist ideology, instead of leading Socialists to seek out the Negro as the worker with absolutely nothing to lose but his chains, reinforced the existing national tendency to overlook his comprehensive exploitation."¹⁴ Added to all of this was the desire of SP leaders not to alienate the established white trade unions in the AFL which they were courting assiduously. This further compromised their interest in racial justice in organized labor.¹⁵

Even the SP boast that it was the party of "the whole working class of the world" had definite racial implications. Most American Socialists adopted an enlightened position on the immigration of European workers to the U.S., but they made no secret of their opposition to Asian immigration. However, it was necessary to reconcile this latter sentiment with their official espousal of international working class solidarity. Between 1908 and 1910 the SP worked out an expedient compromise in the form of a resolution that favored "all legislative measures tending to prevent the immigration of strikebreakers and contract laborers, and the mass importation of workers from foreign countries, brought by the employing classes for the purpose of weakening the organization of American labor, and of lowering the standard of life of American workers." The second part of the resolution opposed "the exclusion of any immigrants on account of their race or nationality."¹⁶ The SP thus neatly straddled the fence by passing a resolution that couched racism in patriotic, pro-American labor language.

Here and there individual Socialists demurred from the racism that characterized the dominant wing of the party. Mary White Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell, for example, were among the founders of the NAACP. Involved in many of the social reform activities that marked the Progressive Era, these Socialists and others were nevertheless unable to swing the SP toward a more enlightened position on race.

Not surprisingly, the SP attracted very little black support in its early years. W.E.B Du Bois made a brief foray into its ranks in 1911 only to resign a year later in disillusionment. Du Bois criticized the SP for "failure to face fairly the Negro problem and make

a straightforward declaration that they regard Negroes as men in the same sense that other persons are."¹⁷ Ironically, he left the SP to support Woodrow Wilson in the 1912 election. As to general black participation in the SP, David Shannon concludes:

How many Negroes there were in the prewar Socialist Party and exactly what role they played in the organization cannot be ascertained. But some things are certain: they were not important in the party, the party made no special effort to attract Negro members, and the party was generally disinterested in, if not actually hostile to, the effort of Negroes to improve their position in American capitalist society.¹⁸

After World War I the SP was plagued by factionalism and went through a period of decline. Chief among the disagreements was whether to support the Russian Revolution. The anti-Bolshevik moderates retained control of the party but more than two-thirds of the membership drifted out of the party or joined forces with the leftists. Several of the left-wing splinter groups that broke with the SP eventually formed the Communist Party in the years 1919-1923. Even earlier many of the middle-class radicals who dominated the party were frightened off by the "alien ideology" label being pinned to socialism, while others gave up the idea of an independent radical party and opted for trying to influence the established capitalist parties.¹⁹ The Red Scare of 1919-1920 contributed further to the decimation and virtual destruction of the SP.

In the 1920's, faced with vigorous competition from the newly organized Communists, the SP began to look for ways to recruit black workers. Toward the end of the war the party had attracted Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, editors of *The Messenger*, into its ranks, and during the postwar period they used their magazine, which had an impressive circulation of over 40,000, as a forum for socialist thought. Repeatedly the two black editors called upon progressive blacks to join the SP. At its 1923 convention the SP broke with its past tradition of acquiescence in the face of labor racism and urged white workers to oppose prejudice and discrimination in the labor movement. Under the leadership of Norman Thomas in the 1930s the SP endorsed anti-lynching legislation and opposed all forms of racial discrimination. In the South it organized

C
111

an interracial—but not integrated—tenant farmers' union that attempted to expose the failure of the New Deal to meet the needs of Southern farmers.²⁰

These actions did not make the SP more palatable to black workers nor check its decline. The appeal to black workers and farmers was grafted onto the SP program almost as an afterthought. Unlike the Communists, the SP was never pushed by external forces to seek black support. The Socialists were classic social democratic Marxists who looked to the white workers and intellectuals of the West as the vanguard of world revolution. Others might be "invited" to join the struggle, but the leadership and overall objectives were predetermined by the party's ideology. Given this orientation, the failure of early white Socialists to oppose racism actively was a logical consequence of their being both Americans and inheritors of an ideology shaped by European radical intellectuals.

The Communist Party

The Communist party (CP) has left a lasting imprint on the struggle for racial equality. Despite the generally negative image of the party conveyed in the popular media and standard history texts, the Communist party in its heyday probably did more than any other predominantly white political group to promote racial equality in American life. Unfortunately, the party's inflexible adherence to the Communist International's ever-changing political line often placed it on a collision course with other groups seeking racial betterment. Further, the party's aggressive insistence that only it was in possession of the "correct" political strategy at any given moment made it a continuous opponent of black political independence, even though officially the party endorsed black self-determination.

At the height of its influence during the 1930s the party could point to many accomplishments in the field of race relations. Its long-standing interest in industrial unionism enabled party organizers to play a crucial role in the organizing drives of the CIO. The progressive racial policies of the CIO in its early years are

at least in part attributable to the influence of political radicals.²¹ Capitalizing on the hardships of the Depression, Communists established interracial Unemployed Councils around the country and brought thousands of jobless workers into the streets to participate in "hunger marches."²² A young black Communist organizer, Angelo Herndon, led one of these marches in Atlanta, Georgia. Herndon was imprisoned for "attempting to incite to insurrection," but was later freed after an immense national campaign. His lawyer, Benjamin Davis, who later became a top-ranking black Communist official, was eventually elected, as a Communist, to the New York City Council.²³

The party's influence in organized labor and its control of the Unemployed Councils secured an important place for it in the New Deal. Officially the party was alternately hostile or friendly to the New Deal, depending on the current "line." However, the demands the Communists raised in organized labor and the Unemployed Councils, combined with the evident revolutionary threat reflected by the growth of the party, contributed to the pressure for New Deal labor and social welfare measures.²⁴ The Communists also gained considerable influence in some New Deal programs such as those of the Works Projects Administration.²⁵ They were able to use the WPA projects in some areas to extend their influence among black workers and intellectuals.

Other areas of American life also felt the effects of Communist activity. In the South the party organized a predominantly black Sharecroppers' Union in 1931 that eventually included several thousand members.²⁶ Although the union met with severe repression from local authorities and was finally dissolved in 1936, a contemporary observer noted that its existence revealed "the presence of a will to organize and a tenacity hardly short of heroic on the part of the impoverished Negro tenants."²⁷ The party's intervention in the Scottsboro case, in which nine black youths were accused of raping two white women, gave it an opportunity to expose American racial practices to world scrutiny.²⁸ However, the party's role in the case created animosity between it and the NAACP, which sought to conduct the defense along more conventional lines.²⁹

The Communist party's attitude toward the black middle class and moderate reform groups changed with its changing political line. At times the party denounced these elements as petty bourgeois manipulators under the control of the dominant white economic interest. During other periods it sought to conciliate them and win their support for the party's current campaigns. Nevertheless, the party's overall impact on the moderate groups, whether intended or not, was not entirely negative. In 1951 Wilson Record concluded:

The growing identification of the NAACP with the labor movement, which dates back to the early 1930s, can be viewed as partly the result of Communist pressure. The greater concern of the National Urban League for educating Negro workers about trade union membership as well as for specific occupations also falls in this category. The growth of internal democracy within the NAACP has been in part a gratuitous by-product of the Communist threat to the existing administration. The Communists have sought to discredit the incumbent national leadership in order that the Party might capture local branches and, ultimately, the national organization. This threat has tended to increase the responsiveness of the NAACP officialdom to the rank and file.³⁰

The party's strong opposition to segregation and "white chauvinism," its open espousal of social equality, and its elevation of blacks to positions of leadership within its own structure and the organizations it controlled all made the party attractive to many black workers and intellectuals. In the 1930's literally thousands of blacks were recruited into the party³¹ although just about as many defected from the ranks, completely disillusioned by the party's shifting tactics, at the end of the decade. After studying the Communist impact on Chicago's black community Drake and Cayton concluded that the Communists "won the admiration of the Negro masses by default. They were the only white people who seemed really to care what happened to the Negro. Yet few Negro sympathizers were without reservations. Some thought Communists were 'using Negroes.' Others felt that 'if they ever gain power they'll be just like the other crackers.' Many regarded the interracial picnics and dances as 'bait.' But Negroes are realists. They take 'friends' and allies where they can find them."³² Party leaders them-

selves eventually admitted that "Negro workers come into our Party primarily because of the Party's position on the Negro question and not the class struggle," but the leadership insisted that "unless our Party comrades are imbued with a perspective of socialism and see in this the ultimate solution of the Negro question there is no basis for sustained Party membership."³³

While the party recruited many blacks into its ranks, there remained a serious degree of alienation between it and the black community. This was indicated by the party's frequent and often vicious conflicts with a wide range of black moderate, nationalist and religious groups, and its inability to stabilize its black membership. There is no way of knowing how many of the blacks whom the party recruited or influenced were imbued with a "perspective" of socialism, yet it is clear that hostility to socialism was not the chief cause of party's failure to establish itself as "the party of the Negro people." The party's history reveals that its actual behavior, rather than its professed goals, was its chief liability. The party sought to use black people not to build socialism in the United States but to advance the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union. At times this overriding concern coincided with the main thrust of the struggle for racial equality, and sometimes it ran counter to the struggle. Aside from its subservience to the Communist International other liabilities limited its success: its continuing effort to subjugate black groups to its policy (and failing this to discredit or disrupt them), its mechanical application of Lenin's theory of self-determination without regard to the particular history of black people in the U.S., its oversimplified view of racism and consequent failure to eradicate "white chauvinism" from its own ranks, and its paternalistic attitude toward black Communists.

It is impossible to understand the history of the American Communist party without placing it in an international context. In particular, the party's relationship with the Soviet Union, via the Communist International, was of paramount significance. "Whatever has changed from time to time," Theodore Draper has written in *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, "one thing has ever changed—the relation of American Communism to Soviet Russia."

This relation has expressed itself in different ways, sometimes glaring and strident, sometimes masked and muted. But it has always been the determining factor, the essential element." The American Communist party has gone through several periods in its history and all of these were linked to changes in the policy of the Communist International, itself dominated by the Soviet Communist Party.

Of course, the CP's total commitment to the defense of the Soviet Union must be viewed in historical context. The Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, was confronted by hostile capitalist nations that desired nothing less than its total obliteration. It was therefore incumbent upon all Communist parties to rally to its aid. Nevertheless, for the American party the result of this commitment was a complete lack of independence and flexibility in achieving its avowed goal of building socialism in the U.S.

Erratic swings from "left" to "right" and vice versa sharply affected the party's tactical approach to other groups and organizations. In "left" periods it followed the tactic of "revolutionary dual organization" which involved the establishment of rival trade unions and ethnic organizations to compete against existing "bourgeois" groups. At such times the party loudly denounced black professionals, ministers, intellectuals—the black middle class generally—as "traitors to the race," while also castigating moderate reform groups as agents of white capitalists. Nationalists such as Garvey and independent labor leaders such as Randolph were equally charged with being "misleaders."

In "right" periods the party did an abrupt about-face, muting its criticism of individuals and organizations with whom it now sought to form alliances. Adopting "united front" and "boring from within" tactics, party leaders soft-pedaled their own ideology while trying to win friends and influence within already established organizations.³⁴

Although the tactics changed from one period to another the party's basic strategy remained the same: to gain control of the black movement and bring it in line with the current policy of the Communist International. The history of the National Negro Congress (NNC) and A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Move-

ment vividly confirm this assertion. In 1935 a conference at Howard University proposed the idea of a National Negro Congress to bring unity to the black movement by embracing black labor unions, religious, reform, fraternal and civic groups.³⁵ Some 800 delegates answered the call and organized the NNC in Chicago in February, 1936. The Communists, then trying to unify all antifascist forces in the U.S. against the threat of Nazism, were active in the organization from the beginning although they did not initially control it. The Congress adopted a long list of resolutions covering a wide range of problems affecting black people. Since blacks were becoming increasingly aware of the dangers posed by Nazism, a resolution opposing fascism was among those passed. Naturally, this met with the wholehearted approval of the Communists.

Concentrating on immediate issues and grievances, the NNC, with the help of party organizers, set up local and regional councils around the country. Within a few years the NNC became one of the more important black organizations of national stature. This success was short-lived, however. The political unity that the NNC had fostered was irreparably disrupted following the Russo-German pact of 1939. The alliance between Stalin and Hitler suddenly compelled the American CP to reverse its previous policies. Opposition to fascism was transformed into opposition to the U.S. defense effort: the U.S. must be kept out of the war at all costs. Assuming an anti-war posture, the party informed black people that they had no stake in the European war. Blacks who could not accept this flip-flop were castigated and reviled as traitors to the race. Seeking to impose its new line on the NNC, the party succeeded only in decimating the ranks of this once-promising organization.³⁶

A. Philip Randolph was among those who left the NNC rather than kowtow to the new line. Randolph, always the activist, proceeded to organize the March on Washington movement as a new vehicle for demanding an end to discrimination in the defense industries. The new movement had the misfortune of straddling two periods of CP history; thus, it was attacked by the party for reasons which were diametric opposites from one year to the next! Before the 1941 Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, Randolph's movement

was vilified because it did not vigorously oppose the "imperialist" foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. After 1941 the party, now pro-war and loudly patriotic, accused Randolph and his movement of "sabotaging" the war effort.³⁷ Party leaders explained this remarkable reversal by noting that the "objective" situation had changed. This was in part true; but what had changed were the foreign policy needs of the Soviet Union, not the domestic needs of black people. Protestations to the contrary, the party's practices in fact reduced black people to the role of passive objects to be manipulated in accordance with priorities that had little or nothing to do with the economic and political objectives of black workers themselves.

Throughout most of its history the party advanced two main slogans related to black people: equality and the right of self-determination. The slogans were formalized by resolutions passed by the Communist International in 1928 and 1930.³⁸ The equal rights slogan was applied to all blacks, North and South, while self-determination was to be the "main slogan" in the Southern Black Belt. Here is the beginning of a basic confusion which was to render the Communist espousal of self-determination virtually meaningless. The self-determination slogan was based on Lenin's analysis of black people in the U.S. as an "oppressed nation." According to Lenin an oppressed nation has a right to self-determination, which means the right of self-government and even political separation from the oppressor nation.³⁹ Stalin's definition of a nation which, among other things, insisted that a true nation possesses a common territory,⁴⁰ necessarily limited the right of self-determination to the Southern Black Belt—the only area where black people could be said to possess a common territory. In mechanically following Stalin's definition the American CP (1) failed to heed Lenin's injunction to avoid abstract definitions and instead study the actual development of national movements, and (2) thus closed itself off from understanding Northern and urban black nationalism as a manifestation of self-determination. Both Lenin's and Stalin's understanding of self-determination was based primarily on the European and Russian experience. Neither had direct knowledge of the struggles

of black people in the U.S. If they had they might have realized that the struggle for self-determination among blacks was only occasionally linked to the land. Black people were not a nation oppressed on its own land by foreign rule. Blacks had been ripped from their homeland and oppressed by the social organization of white America and its dehumanizing ideology of white supremacy. Consequently, chief themes in the struggle for black self-determination have been the demand for organizational and ideological independence. Sometimes these themes were manifested in specifically separatist movements. At other periods even integrationists insisted that blacks must organize independently to define the meaning of equality and to press for integration. The American CP, saddled with definitions and concepts drawn from the European experience, could not begin to understand the black experience in America. Its bizarre attempt to limit and control self-determination (a contradiction on its face), and its misreading of the full meaning of black nationalism⁴¹ resulted from its uncritical acceptance of a political ideology that had been nurtured in a very different social environment.

The party never attempted an objective investigation of how self-determination might be related to the historical experience and strivings of the black liberation movement. Instead it imposed a ready-made formula complete with maps of the "Negro nation" and an elaborate rationale.⁴² The problem was not that the party advocated the right of self-determination, but that it sought to define and restrict this right without taking cognizance of the dynamics of black history. Consequently, the party found itself burdened with an unrealistic program of black liberation that advocated nationhood without nationalism, on one hand, and racial integration without ideological independence on the other. At different times the party pushed one or the other side of this program, but always it was moving against the tide of black militancy which had long insisted on independence, whether expressed in nationalist or integrationist terms. After wavering for decades the party officially dropped the concept of self-determination in the 1950s following the advent of the era of "peaceful coexistence."⁴³

In the pre-World War II era, another consequence of the party's ideological inheritance was its oversimplified view of racism, and the history of racial antagonism. If racism was simply a device used by the capitalist ruling class to divide the workers, then it followed that the workers have no material stake in the maintenance of racism. Once apprised of their true interests the workers could be expected to join the forces opposing racism. Such has not yet been the case, as the history of the labor movement amply illustrates. Yet Communist writers insisted upon regarding the white working class as the bearer of true enlightenment and fraternity; at the very minimum they contended that if only the workers would accept Marxism-Leninism *then* racial antagonisms would fade away. These contentions ignored the ideological impact of the very real material advantages that have accrued to white workers as a result of racial discrimination at home and racist imperialism abroad. Further, racism as an ideology became so deeply ingrained in American life that, as Ernest Kaiser observed, it became a social-psychological force, shaping and directing behavior, not merely reflecting it.⁴⁴ While Communist historical writers did much to outline the full dimensions of black history, they did not display a similar diligence in examining the ideology of white supremacy.⁴⁵ Instead they for the most part simply accepted the social democrats' faith that class struggle led by white workers and revolutionary intellectuals would resolve race conflict in the U.S.

In this the Communist writers were little different from other white comrades. It required prodding by militant black Communists to get the party to deal with race prejudice. All too often, however, the party's response was aimed at placating the black members and gaining itself a proper progressive image rather than actually eradicating "white chauvinism." Between 1931 and 1933 the party conducted a series of "white chauvinism" trials and expelled several members accused of this offense.⁴⁶ Apparently these efforts did little to abate racial prejudice and discrimination within the party. In 1949, *Political Affairs*, the party's theoretical journal, devoted a special issue (June, 1949) to the problem of white chauvinism. Pettis Perry, a black member of the party's Negro work commission of

the Communist Party exposed what he considered several instances of blatant prejudice and discrimination within the party's ranks and among the leadership. Perry rejected the tactic of holding show trials to "prove" the party's sincerity in opposing racism. He called instead for an ideological and political struggle within the party to "destroy the virus of white chauvinism."

The party's treatment of black women was particularly revealing. Party organizations routinely included demands for economic, political and social equality for black women in their platforms. However, within the party itself black women were often ignored or treated in a condescending manner. Sometimes party members who were criticized for relating to black women as inferiors attempted to cast blame on black women themselves for being too "subjective." Yet black women were ignored both socially and politically, according to Claudia Jones, and in addition it was known that some party members who employed black domestics refused to hire them through the Domestic Workers Union or to help expand the union.⁴⁷ The practice of white party members using domestic help might explain part of the tendency to regard black women as inferior recruits; Claudia Jones asserted that party employers were little different from other whites of their class in the contempt with which they treated domestic workers.

The party officially advocated equality in social relations between the races, but in practice this exposed further discrimination against black women. In so far as there were interracial contacts in the social life of party members, black women often were ignored or snubbed by the white comrades of both sexes. The racism and sexism of American society found curious reflections in the social behavior of party members.⁴⁸

In response to demands by Perry, Jones and others, the party launched another campaign against chauvinism that resulted in more expulsions, but still fell short of the desired goal. Subsequent reports and articles by Perry revealed that chauvinism, paternalism and discrimination continued to plague the party and hindered its organizing efforts among black people.⁴⁹ The failure lay in the fact that the party responded to racism organizationally instead of ideo-

847-16
100%

logically. Individuals were purged but the "virus of white chauvinism"—an ideological phenomenon—was not attacked.

The party's paternalism and its failings in the area of race relations were due to several factors. In the first place there were no blacks in the CP when it was organized, and only a handful were drawn into the party before the great influx of the 1930s.⁵⁰ Consequently, the party's basic ideology, which was formulated in these early years, did not reflect much interest in or understanding of the black struggle. Indeed, Lenin's intervention was required in 1921 before the party undertook organizational work among black people.⁵¹ Second, the 1928 and 1930 resolutions on race only confirmed the party's habit of grafting ideological interpretations onto the black experience, instead of using that experience as a basis for theoretical extrapolations. Third, paternalism was further reinforced in the 1930-1950 period by a sharply increased flow of middle-class intellectuals into the party, and by intra-party ethnic conflict which often redounded to the disadvantage of the black community.⁵²

Thus, by the beginning of the 1950's the Communist party had revealed itself as a highly unstable ally of black freedom: alternately embracing and rejecting black reformers, sometimes abandoning the black struggle altogether, and then reacting with breast-beating campaigns against white chauvinism that disrupted its own organization more than it diminished prejudice among the members.⁵³ The party had certainly made positive contributions to the struggle for racial equality, but its erratic behavior and compulsion to dominate the black movement lost it many friends. In the end, however, it was government persecution during the McCarthyite hysteria that virtually destroyed the party, eliminating what remaining influence it had in the black community. It would be more than a decade before the party showed signs of recovering some of its former strength.

The Socialist Workers Party

Aside from the Socialists and Communists, another major tendency

in American Marxist movements was represented by the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In some regards the SWP appeared to have learned much from the history of other radical groups concerning black liberation, but it may have been due equally to lack of opportunity that the Trotskyists managed to avoid repeating some of the old mistakes in the period before 1950. They were a much smaller group and had only limited contact with black organizations.

Founded in 1928 as a result of an ideological split between Stalin and Trotsky,⁵⁴ the small Trotskyist splinter group struggled along for ten years before formally organizing itself into a party. During these lean years the Trotskyists functioned mainly as a propaganda and agitational group espousing Trotsky's political line and engaging in a running battle with the American CP, which was under the influence of Stalin.⁵⁵

In the Trotskyists' ideological feuds with the Stalinist CP the question of the black struggle did not figure prominently, although the Trotskyists tended to play down the idea of black self-determination because, according to George Breitman, "they did not believe that it was the issue around which Negroes could be mobilized for struggle."⁵⁶ As was the case with the CP, it was the intervention of a Russian revolutionary, in this instance Trotsky, that would shape the basic political line on racial matters of his followers in the U.S. However, Trotsky had been purged from the Soviet power structure and consequently was under no compulsion to use the international Communist movement as a weapon for defending the Soviet Union.

In 1929 Trotsky, then in exile in Turkey, sent a letter to his handful of American followers who had by then organized themselves into the Communist League of America (CLA). In the letter he warned them not to be infected by the "aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers," telling them that instead they must "find the road to the most deprived, to the darkest strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negro. . . who must learn to see in us his revolutionary brothers." Trotsky observed that the possibility of this latter point being realized "depends wholly on our energy and devotion to the work."⁵⁷

REF ID: A613
1002

It was not until 1933 that Trotsky offered more concrete ideas on black liberation and the relationship between black and white workers. In the meantime, the CLA had generally accepted the need to fight for racial equality within the context of class struggle, although the group was too small to accomplish anything significant. It still had considerable trouble with the Stalinist slogan of self-determination. Was it valid to apply this concept to the black struggle?

In February, 1933, Arne Swabeck, a member of the CLA, visited Trotsky to discuss the matter. Swabeck presented the CLA view that black people did not comprise an oppressed nationality and therefore the main slogan should be "social, political and economic equality for the Negroes," instead of the nationalist slogan of self-determination. Swabeck added that the self-determination slogan "tends to lead the Negroes away from the class basis and more in the direction of the racial basis" of struggle.⁵⁸

Although Trotsky was not especially familiar with the situation of U.S. blacks, he felt that on the basis of "general considerations" he was competent to make some comments. He pointed out that he was certainly not opposed to the equality slogan, but he didn't believe self-determination should be jettisoned. His argument for self-determination contained three basic points. First, he said, a nation is not based on abstract definitions but develops in accordance with the "historical consciousness" of the people in question. He believed that the "suppression of the Negroes pushes them toward a political and national unity," but ultimately the question of black nationality would depend on the consciousness developed by black people themselves. Second, he said that if and when black people demand self-determination it should be actively supported by socialists, because the struggle for national self-determination necessarily leads to class struggle. Trotsky based this latter assertion on two arguments. He observed that the demand for autonomy would place blacks in a "position hostile toward American imperialism." Implicit in this statement was the view that black nationalists thereby would be thrown into the struggle against monopoly capital. He further contended that since the black petty bourgeoisie "can get nowhere" in the struggle for self-determination, a class struggle

would ensue in which the black proletariat would move to the forefront of leadership in the black community. Consequently, if Trotsky's theory was correct the struggle for self-determination would force the black community into the class struggle on two fronts: externally (against the dominant white capitalists) and internally (against the black petty bourgeoisie).

Finally, Trotsky's third major point was that to oppose self-determination was to yield to the reactionary ideology of white workers who believe that the American state belongs solely to whites. The corollary of this line of reasoning was that white workers must lead the class struggle and that black nationalism was a divisive tactic. Trotsky contended that, on the contrary, it was possible for blacks to assume leadership of the class struggle as backward Russians had assumed leadership of the socialist struggle in Europe. "It is very possible," he said, "that the Negroes also through self-determination will proceed to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of giant strides, ahead of the great block of white workers. They will then furnish the vanguard." On the basis of this reasoning he concluded that socialists should struggle "not against the supposed national prepossessions of the Negroes but against the colossal prejudices of the white workers."⁵⁹

Perhaps realizing that his approach to the race question might have confounded his American followers, Trotsky suggested that they undertake "serious discussion" of the matter in an internal bulletin.

Such a "serious discussion" was postponed, however, by Trotskyist efforts in the mid-1930s to penetrate the Socialist party, an action that disrupted and contributed to the further weakening of the SP.⁶⁰ In 1938 the expelled Trotskyist faction officially constituted itself as the Socialist Workers party, and in April, 1939, a delegation was dispatched to Mexico to confer again with Trotsky concerning the party's attitude toward black people.

Essentially, Trotsky repeated the main points of his 1933 argument for socialist support of the right of black self-determination. However, having reviewed the experience of the Communist party Trotsky added that the CP's "attitude of making an imperative slo-

gan" of self-determination was false, and contributed to the idea that white socialists were advocating segregation. "I do not propose for the party to advocate, I do not propose to inject, but only to proclaim our obligation to support the struggle for self-determination if the Negroes themselves want it," Trotsky said.⁶¹

As for organizational tactics, SWP delegates proposed and Trotsky accepted the idea of establishing a mass organization to fight for black equality. The question of whether the proposed organization would be a front group, similar to CP organizations, was discussed but left unresolved. However, Trotsky himself took the position that the SWP must "take the initiative" in "awakening the Negro masses." Running through these discussions was the idea that an elite cadre must lead the backward masses along the proper socialist course, as the Trotskyists had tried to do in the SP.⁶²

Following these discussions the SWP at its July, 1939 convention passed resolutions supporting the right of black self-determination and calling upon its black members to "take the initiative and collaborate with other militant Negroes in the formation of a Negro mass organization devoted to the struggle for Negro rights." However, the resolution specifically denied that the proposed group would be a front controlled by the SWP. Instead, the resolution stated that the proposed organization would elaborate its own program with the "participation" of black SWP members.⁶³

World War II and internal dissension within the party prevented the SWP from implementing its organizational plan. Instead the SWP was limited to a secondary role, supporting the March on Washington movement and other independent black struggles.⁶⁴ Despite its small size and restricted influence the SWP did succeed in recruiting black members, so much so that by 1946, according to SWP writers, the party's membership was one-fifth black.⁶⁵ Even earlier the SWP had recruited the noted black historian C.L.R. James, who did much to shape the party's ideology and its understanding of the independent black movement. James, however, left the party later to become involved in the Pan-African and African nationalist movements.

The SWP again turned to the question of black liberation during its 1948 and 1950 conventions. In a resolution the SWP attacked the "revisionist" argument that "the Negro movement is in essence helpless and useless unless directly led by the organized labor movement or the Marxist party," and suggested that this argument led to "an underestimation of the revolutionary tendencies of the Negro movement." The SWP contended instead that the logic and history of the independent black movement revealed that "at critical periods in this country's history, the Negroes have allied themselves with the revolutionary forces," both as followers and leaders. Undoubtedly, this analysis reflected the influence of C.L.R. James. Yet the SWP could not relinquish its own claims to leadership and the resolution concluded by urging the unification of the labor and black struggles under the guidance of "the revolutionary party."⁶⁶

All in all, in the decades before 1950 the influence of the SWP was much more circumscribed than either the Socialist party or the Communist Party. With a few exceptions, such as the Minneapolis truck-drivers strikes of 1934, the Trotskyists exercised relatively little influence in the labor movement; nor did they have much impact on the independent black movement. However, beginning in the 1960's the SWP's favorable attitude toward nationalism enabled it to align itself with Malcolm X and certain elements of the black nationalist movement. These actions have precipitated a heated and continuing debate as to whether the SWP has been "principled" or "opportunistic" in its relations with black nationalists.⁶⁷

Socialism, Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism

Before the beginning of the twentieth century few black leaders espoused socialism. A notable exception was Peter H. Clark who in 1877 joined the Workingmen's Party and became a vocal advocate of democratic socialism. Clark is regarded by historian Herbert G. Gutman as probably the first black socialist in the U.S.⁶⁸

Black militancy in the nineteenth century was usually couched in racial terms, although it was not unknown for racial radicalism

RAT-13
K052

to spill over into economic radicalism. More than one black leader noted that emancipation had simply meant exchanging one form of servitude for another, and that there was an economic basis for unity between black and white workers.⁶⁹ The racism of organized white labor, however, largely precluded formation of a viable alliance.

After the turn of the century a whole generation of young black leaders seriously examined socialist thought, and several of them became active proponents of socialism. Better known among them were such figures as W.E.B. Du Bois, Cyril V. Briggs, Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph. Despite their espousal of socialism, however, none of these leaders established a black socialist party, preferring instead to work with white socialists or to build independent black organizations that were only incidentally, if at all, concerned with socialism. Many black radicals at the beginning of the new century were not hostile to classic socialist ideology, even with its insistent blindness to the meaning of racism. Yet their own daily experiences underscored the shallowness of this ideology and compelled them, to a greater or lesser extent, to search for a synthesis between nationalism and socialism.

As early as 1904 Du Bois had become convinced that economic discrimination was the root of racial oppression, and in succeeding years he wrote favorably of socialism.⁷⁰ Always an internationalist, Du Bois believed that the black struggle might somehow be linked to the worldwide socialist movement. He flirted briefly with the Socialist party, became a partisan of the Russian Revolution and a staunch advocate of labor solidarity. However, the unrelenting racism of organized labor coupled with constant Communist party attacks on him and the NAACP left Du Bois frustrated and embittered.⁷¹ He turned his energies instead to organizing a Pan-African movement which for many years did not concern itself in the least with socialism.

Cyril Briggs was a West Indian who came to the U.S. as a youth in 1905. An early advocate of black self-determination, he established a monthly magazine, *The Crusader*, in 1918. The magazine eventually reached a circulation of 36,000.⁷² In 1919 Briggs helped

organize the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), a revolutionary nationalist group. The ABB proposed a "worldwide federation" of black organizations and the creation of a "great Pan-African army" that would drive the imperialist powers out of Africa. On the domestic front the ABB called for armed self-defense of black communities against white mobs, black labor organizing and *rapprochement* with "class-conscious revolutionary white workers." At its height the ABB had between three and five thousand members, most of whom were ex-servicemen.⁷³

Briggs later reported that his interest in socialism was "derived from the enlightened attitude of the Russian Bolsheviks toward national minorities."⁷⁴ National liberation was his greatest concern, over and above purely economic struggles. Nevertheless, Briggs believed that the "salvation of all Negroes (as well as other oppressed people)" depended upon establishing a "Universal Socialist Co-operative commonwealth."⁷⁵

Briggs' deep interest in nationalism and Pan-Africanism led him to attempt to forge an alliance between the ABB and Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Mutual suspicions between the two groups, however, forestalled any alliance. Theodore Vincent, a student of the Garvey movement, believes that had the proposed alliance been culminated it would have significantly affected the development of Garveyism by combining a mass nationalist base with revolutionary militancy.⁷⁶

Rebuffed by the UNIA, the ABB's leadership drifted into the Communist Party and the prospects for an independent black socialist organization declined as the group disintegrated.

Like Briggs, Owen and Randolph initially had no organized black base, only *The Messenger*. They used the magazine to promote labor unionism and socialism among blacks. According to Spero and Harris, *The Messenger* contended that "in an individualistic economic system, competition for jobs and the profitableness of race prejudice to the capitalist class were incentives to race conflict. Therefore the removal of the motive for creating racial strife was conditioned upon the socialization of industry and the nationalization of land, in short, upon the elimination of economic



33-15
10075

individualism and competition through social revolution."⁷⁷ They soon began organizing black workers in New York and later affiliated themselves with the National Brotherhood Workers of America, a short-lived black labor federation.

Owen and Randolph also supported the Socialist party with Randolph himself running on the Socialist ticket in New York in 1920 and 1921. By the late 1920s, however, Owen had become disillusioned with socialism and denounced all forms of radicalism. Randolph by this time was busy organizing the Pullman porters and had retreated from some of his earlier radical positions, although he never turned his back on the Socialist party.

Thus in the first quarter of the twentieth century a number of militant blacks were torn between socialism and nationalism. Eventually each of these black activists opted for one position or the other, or attempted an uneasy compromise, but none were able to effect a synthesis between the two positions.

The contending claims of nationalism and communism were also apparent in the Communist party and were vividly revealed in the career of Richard Wright. Wright was never able to choose fully one or the other, nor could he reconcile the two ideologies. In the end he was alienated from both, spending the latter part of his life in self-imposed exile in Europe where he flirted with existentialism. Wright certainly tried to bridge the gap between black cultural nationalism and the Communist party but his effort was in vain. The party distrusted all "petty bourgeois" nationalists whom it said substituted the false notion of race conflict for the true reality of class conflict. Conversely, nationalists were irritated when the party insisted that race was really of secondary importance: such a view made little sense given the concrete reality of social conditions in the United States. Wright, the son of a Mississippi tenant farmer, had a deep appreciation of the cultural roots of black nationalism, which he traced to the folk traditions and independent social institutions of black people in the South.⁷⁸ He recognized, however, that nationalism had both progressive and reactionary components: it could provide the individual building blocks for international unity among oppressed peoples or it could degenerate into a rigid and ultimately self-defeating hatred of the white race.⁷⁹

Indeed, as Wright became more knowledgeable of the world he was fascinated to discover that oppressed people reacted in similar ways to oppression.⁸⁰ He came to see the reactive element of nationalism in a wider perspective. At the same time, his early contact with the Communist party in Chicago left him awed at the prospect of the world's dispossessed and despised masses uniting to end their oppression.⁸¹

Wright interpreted these new insights as a direct challenge to his literary talent. "I wanted to reveal the vast physical and spiritual ravages of Negro life," he later wrote, "the profundity latent in these rejected people, the dramas as old as man and the sun and the mountains and the seas—that were taking place in the poverty of black America."⁸² For Wright this meant that the black writer must attempt to describe what he sees, but from the perspective of the new social possibilities created by communism.

This he tried to do in his famous novel, *Native Son*. The hero of the novel, Bigger Thomas, is presented as a neurotic personification of black oppression. In him are seen the psychological results of lack of self-determination. He is caught between two worlds—denied the possibility of participating in the dominant culture, and unable to conceive of creating a viable and strong culture among his own people. His response takes the form of reactionary nationalism. He fears and hates the whites, but he cannot reach out to blacks because of his own self-hatred. He achieves a sense of freedom only after accidentally killing a white woman, but this newfound sensation dissipates long before he is captured. It remains for his lawyer, a white Communist, to explain the significance of the social role into which Bigger was forced by oppression. But this is the least convincing portion of the novel. The reader is left with the impression that while Wright may agree intellectually with the lawyer's social analysis, he cannot make this an organic part of his artistic vision. Nationalism and communism meet in the pages of this book, but they do not interact, and they part almost total strangers.

Wright's novel was received with mixed feelings in Communist circles. Samuel Sillen, who initially gave the book a rave review in *New Masses*, soon began backtracking as party leaders ques-

tr

tioned its value.⁸³ Was Bigger Thomas a valid symbol of the Negro people? Why were there no black characters in the book who were identified with the labor movement? Why was the Communist lawyer's speech so overdrawn and implausible? Underlying these questions was an anxious concern that Bigger Thomas was far from being an example of the black proletarian engaged in heroic struggle; in fact he was no hero at all but an anti-hero. He did not overcome circumstances; he was overcome by them. Worse still, although the white Communists in the book were portrayed as selfless individuals, Wright nonetheless made it clear that it was partly the paternalism of the Communists that precipitated Bigger's crime. This implication was flatly rejected by Communist critics who could not conceive of a Communist character acting other than as a Communist *ought* to act.

Richard Wright's years in the Communist party were marked by tension, mistrust and frequent strife. A strong individualist, he was unable to accept party discipline or adjust easily to the Communists' shifting political line. The party's apparent dissention of the black cause during World War II combined with party members' criticism of *Native Son* moved Wright to break with the party in the early 1940s.⁸⁴

Wright's departure from the party was duly noted and critiqued by Samuel Sillen who pointed out, with appropriate quotes from Earl Browder, the obvious flaws in Wright's charge that the party had regressed on the question of black rights.⁸⁵ Ironically, several years later, after more political twists, the party's leadership in essence confirmed the truth of Wright's accusation.⁸⁶

As has been suggested, a long-standing tension has existed between socialists (especially Communists), on the one hand, and black nationalists (including Pan-Africanists), on the other. This may seem strange if one recalls Lenin's and Stalin's many articles on the national question and self-determination. It might have been expected that Communists would favor black nationalism and its logical extension, Pan-Africanism. Such has not been the case for

several reasons. In the first place the political demands placed by the Soviet Union on the international Communist movement have changed frequently depending on how it was thought the survival of the Soviet Union could best be assured. In periods of rapprochement with the West the Communist movement abandoned the national liberation movements in the colonies and played down the grievances of oppressed national minorities in order not to embarrass new-found imperialist friends. In addition, the Communist movement opposed nationalism and Pan-Africanism because these apparently stressed racial/national strategies at the expense of the class struggle. Finally, Communists (and other socialists) feared that nationalist movements might be captured by petty bourgeois intellectuals, politicians and businessmen who would be pro-capitalist in their sentiments. In the U.S. this fear was translated into active and vociferous opposition to all independent black nationalist groups, while at the same time the CP was suspicious of any nationalist manifestations within its own ranks.⁸⁷ The upshot was a rigid and mutually debilitating opposition between socialism and nationalism that has yet to be fully resolved.

-A better understanding of this dispute can be obtained from a brief review of the history of Pan-Africanism. W.E.B. Du Bois is often called the father of Pan-Africanism, but this is an oversimplification. Du Bois was an important figure at the first Pan-African conference held in London in 1900, but the conference was actually organized by Henry Sylvester Williams, a West Indian barrister.⁸⁸ Even earlier, Edward Blyden, a West Indian who had settled in New York, emigrated to Liberia in 1850 where he became a leading politician and early theorist of the concept of an "African personality." Blyden played an important part in laying the basis for the concept of Negritude and contemporary forms of black cultural nationalism. He traveled back and forth between the U.S. and Africa eleven times on speaking tours, and he was one of the first people to voice the idea of "Africa for the Africans."⁸⁹ This idea subsequently became an integral part of Pan-Africanist thinking, and it

contributed significantly to the development of African nationalism. Martin R. Delaney was another early exponent of African nationalism.

Thus, the roots of African nationalism can be traced partly to alienated black intellectuals in the West. In their search for an identity that had been shorn from them during slavery, these children of Africa forged a black cultural/racial consciousness that, after more than half a century, would contribute to the emergence of national consciousness in Africa.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century a host of American and West Indian blacks expressed a deep interest in Africa. These included Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and George Padmore, who were the chief catalysts and organizers of the Pan-African movement; and also a number of black scholars and creative writers who gave shape to the cultural aspects of Pan-Africanism. All of these men were responding to a common challenge—the challenge implicit in the racist statement that Africans, unlike other nationalities, had made no collective contribution to human history. This was a commonly held belief at the time among white intellectuals and the white population in general. It was part of the general racist justification for degrading and exploiting black people. Two responses to this challenge were possible. One was to dig up the African past and expose the cultural and artistic achievements of African people. This was the course chosen, for example, by Carter Woodson, a black historian who proposed the idea of Negro History Week. The other response involved organizational and political activity aimed at laying the basis for African nationalism and some form of contemporary collective achievement.⁹⁰ It was the intermingling of these two responses that defined the first phases of the Pan-Africanist movement.

The organizational response culminated in a series of Pan-African congresses, the first held in 1900. Du Bois was largely responsible for organizing the later congresses in 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945. The early Pan-African congresses were held in the capital cities of the imperialist powers, and essentially they resulted in appeals to the imperialist governments for better treatment of the sub-

CHAPTER 6

CHAPTER 7

CHAPTER 8

ject African peoples. They called for the recognition of the dignity and humanity of the black race, a demand which corresponded with the cultural concepts of Negritude and African personality which were evolving during this same period. Politically, the early Pan-African congress did not demand independence but only called for giving the Africans a voice in the colonial governments.⁹¹ (It was not until the 1945 conference that the movement began to address itself to colonial subjects as well as the colonial powers, and to demand political independence for the African colonies.)

The early congresses equivocated on the question of imperialism, with some delegates favoring a critical approach while others desired accommodation to the status quo. Du Bois himself was far from clear on the matter at that time. For example, he attacked Marcus Garvey because he said Garvey alienated the British imperialists by his tactlessness, and Du Bois believed the help of Great Britain was required in any international trade arrangements. Garvey responded by ridiculing the leaders of the Pan-African congress because they invited white representatives of the imperialist powers to attend their meetings.⁹²

Garvey is important to Pan-Africanism because his organization had as one of its aims the liberation of Africa. He proposed that American blacks return to Africa both to escape racial oppression in this country and to fight for African independence. He succeeded in building one of the largest mass movements this country has ever seen, a movement that enjoyed the active support of millions of black people.

The bitter clashes between Garvey and Du Bois and between Garvey and the Communist party throw much light on the early development of Pan-Africanism. Du Bois assailed Garvey for his "dictatorial" and anti-democratic tendencies. Garvey spoke of founding a democratic African republic, but his critics charged that he was really a demagogic empire builder. Garvey did, however, build a nationalist movement based on the masses of black people, something Du Bois never accomplished. In fact, Du Bois was very much an elitist. He believed that a black aristocracy—a Talented Tenth—would have to undertake the task of liberating the ignorant

DATE
1900

black masses. He did not have the concept of leadership arising out of the masses of people engaged in struggle. Garvey in turn attacked Du Bois for snubbing the masses and believing in what Garvey called a "bastard aristocracy."⁹³

Garvey sharply criticized the white labor movement because of its well known racism. But he went further than that. He dismissed the idea of class struggle by declaring that "the fundamental issue of life is the appeal of race to race, of clan to clan, the appeal of tribe to tribe. . . ."⁹⁴ For him race conflict was more important to worry about than class conflict. Garvey took this line of thought to its logical conclusion when he argued that the "only convenient friend" of the black workers is the white capitalist because he "is willing and glad to use Negro labor wherever possible on a scale 'reasonably' below the standard white union wage." Garvey urged black workers to keep the goodwill of the white capitalists by keeping their wages lower than white workers. Needless to say, such statements were sharply attacked by black labor leaders such as A. Philip Randolph.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, Garvey's sentiments combined with Du Bois' elitism to produce an early tendency within Pan-Africanism to view oppression primarily in terms of race and to discount the notion of class struggle. Indeed, Pan-Africanism initially was chiefly a racial ideology stressing independent activity by black American and West Indian intellectuals aimed at (1) establishing cultural and trade relations with Africa, (2) opposing racial discrimination on an international basis, (3) enabling blacks in the diaspora to return to Africa to join in—and possible lead—the nation-building process, and (4) uniting people of African descent throughout the world. This initial tendency to view problems purely in terms of race conflict and to discount class conflict combined with the elitism of the Pan-African congresses organized by Du Bois caused many socialists (including black socialists) to regard the movement with suspicion.

But there were additional reasons for hostility between socialists and Pan-Africanists. Garvey, for example, was strongly anti-communist. He believed that white Communists and Socialists were just

as racist as white workers. The history of the socialist movements of that time provided ample evidence to support Garvey's claim. But again Garvey went to the opposite political extreme. In 1937 after Italy had overrun Ethiopia, Garvey boasted that he had been the first prophet of fascism. "We were the first Fascists," he told a friend. "We had disciplined men, women, and children in training for the liberation of Africa. The black masses saw that in this extreme nationalism lay their only hope and readily supported it. Mussolini copied Fascism from me."⁹⁶

The Communist party was fascinated by Garvey's mass appeal and the spontaneous upsurge of black unrest which his movement represented. Futile attempts were made by the party to gain control of Garvey's organization or to win Garvey over to the Communist side.⁹⁷ All of these efforts ended in failure, and finally the *Daily Worker* charged Garvey with collaborating with the Ku Klux Klan⁹⁸ and of building up a "petty bourgeois circle of leaders' with a vested interest in subduing the class struggle in America."⁹⁹ The party dismissed Garveyism as nothing more than a black version of Zionism.

~ C.L.R. James has tried to sum up Garvey's impact from the perspective of a Pan-Africanist and socialist:

Despite his militancy. . . Garvey was confused. He attacked imperialism, but he was ready to propound the doctrine that the Negro must be loyal to all flags under which he lives. He viciously attacked Communism and advised the Negro workers against linking up with white workers in industrial struggles. He negotiated with the Ku Klux Klan for the repatriation of Negroes to Liberia. . . . He indulged in some unsound business schemes. . . . One thing Garvey did do. He made the American Negro conscious of his African origin and created for the first time a feeling of international solidarity among Africans and people of African descent. In so far as this is directed against oppression it is a progressive step.¹⁰⁰

The sixth Pan-African congress held in 1945 marked the beginning of a second period in the Pan-African movement. The movement began to concern itself more with speaking to the colonial subjects than to the imperialist powers. For the first time African

trade unionists as well as intellectuals attended the meeting, and there was evidence of growing ideological differences between the African workers and the African intellectuals and middle classes.¹⁰¹ During this new period the Pan-African movement took on a more political tone and started demanding formal independence for the African colonies.¹⁰² Following this meeting, the scene of Pan-Africanist activity began shifting from Europe to the organizational stage in Africa, and nationalist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta made their appearance.

It was also during this period that George Padmore emerged as a leading ideologist of the Pan-African movement. Padmore was born in Trinidad, attended school in the U.S. and then traveled to Europe where he became active in the Communist International. For several years Padmore was the Communist International's expert on African and Afro-American affairs. However, in the 1930s Padmore left the Communist movement because, in his view, the new "people's front" diplomatic policy of the Soviet government caused it "to put a brake upon the anti-imperialist work of [the Communist International] and thereby sacrifice the young national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. This I considered to be a betrayal of the fundamental interest of my people."¹⁰³ The Communist International accused Padmore of being a petty bourgeois nationalist and of working for black unity on race rather than class lines. The hostility was mutual. Padmore had nothing but contempt for the Communists whom he felt were betraying the national liberation movements of nonwhite peoples. Nevertheless, in his public writings he continued to support the Russian Revolution, and he continued to regard himself as a Marxist.¹⁰⁴ For a number of years he organized and worked in various anti-colonialist and reform groups, and he gradually became involved in the Pan-African movement. It was in this movement that Padmore met Nkrumah in London. The two men became political allies, and Padmore eventually became a chief advisor to Nkrumah, a position that gave him great influence over the developing ideology of Pan-Africanism.

With the independence of Ghana in 1957 Pan-Africanism achieved a base of operation within Africa. The first All-African

Peoples Conference was held in Accra in 1958. Nkrumah spoke at the conference and paid homage to both Du Bois and Garvey as pioneers, but he made it clear that hence forward Pan-Africanism would have a continental focus and the leaders would be Africans. Meanwhile, the ideology of Pan-Africanism had been taking clearer shape. The Pan-Africanism of that period favored a federation of African states, was nonviolent, advocated "communal" or "African socialism," and espoused nonalignment in the Cold War. Pan-Africanism sought a neutral position vis-à-vis the imperialist powers (although anti-imperialist rhetoric was not lacking), and there was a pronounced hostility toward international Communism, even though it favored some form of socialism.¹⁰⁵ This latter attitude probably reflected the views of Padmore.

But here a distinction is necessary. Padmore is sometimes pictured as a simple anti-socialist or anti-communist, but according to his recently published biography he was not so much anti-communist as he was anti-Stalinist.¹⁰⁶ He believed that the Stalinist parties—firmly bound to Soviet foreign policy—were not to be trusted because of their resulting manipulative practices and hostility toward national liberation movements. Thus by the late 1950s Pan-Africanism had moved beyond the out-and-out anti-communism of Marcus Garvey to a more sophisticated pro-socialist but anti-Stalinist position.

But still there were problems, and these became evident in the decade of the 1960's. In the first place, the course of history soon proved that it was impossible to maintain a neutral position in the face of Western imperialism. The murder of Lumumba, the ouster of Nkrumah in 1966 and the overthrow of various other African governments established this brutal fact beyond the shadow of a doubt. It also became clear that the class struggle could not be ignored within Africa. Frantz Fanon was among the first to point this out in his book, *Wretched of the Earth*, published in 1963. Fanon argued that opportunist and bourgeois elements were conspiring to sabotage the African revolution. Nkrumah discovered this fact for himself when the military, civil service, business and professional elites within Ghana collaborated with the imperialists in

ousting him from power. Class struggle, based on the masses of workers and peasants, had now become an obvious imperative in Africa. Thirdly, it became evident that bureaucratic forms of socialism which do not involve the popular masses in active, on-going struggle were in the long run self-defeating. This was certainly the lesson of Ghana and Algeria. Elitism and bureaucracy were exposed as in fact the enemies of socialism.

Thus the objective situation forced some Pan-Africanist thinking into a third stage of development that emphasizes active anti-imperialism, stresses the necessity for class struggle as well as the struggle for national liberation, and foresees the need for a form of socialism based on mass participation. The recent writings of Nkrumah, who was the leading contemporary spokesman of Pan-Africanism, provide ample evidence of this ideological development.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Nkrumah concluded that the African revolution may be a prelude to a worldwide socialist revolution.

Nkrumah's thinking incidentally provides a useful yardstick for examining the views of his American followers. For example, a reader of Stokely Carmichael's recent book, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power to Pan Africanism*, is left with the impression that Carmichael's political thinking has matured, and that he is beginning to resolve some of the contradictions and misconceptions of his past positions.¹⁰⁸ Carmichael was living in Guinea where he reports he studied under Nkrumah. However, those familiar with the writings of his mentor will realize that, although Carmichael has progressed, he appears confused as to his conception of socialism. At one point in the book he speaks of scientific socialism, but elsewhere he refers to a socialism "which has its roots in [African] communalism."¹⁰⁹ This latter is the definition of "African socialism," which Nkrumah has denounced as a myth which is "used to deny the class struggle, and to obscure genuine socialist commitment."¹¹⁰ Again, Carmichael continued to advocate a vague, apolitical unity for blacks in the U.S. This at a time when Nkrumah was arguing that unity can be achieved only through struggle and must be based on commitment to a revolutionary program. Finally, Carmichael, in his American speaking tour in 1971, continued to uphold cultural nationalism.

245
246

Again it was Nkrumah who wrote that Negritude, the prototype of contemporary cultural nationalism, was "irrational, racist and non-revolutionary."¹¹

Thus, among its more advanced spokesmen, Pan-Africanist thought was manifesting a new revolutionary content. What began primarily as a racial ideology was compelled by the rise of neo-colonialism in Africa to view matters from the standpoint of a worldwide class struggle against imperialism. This is the kind of thinking that is evident, for example, among the leaders of the advancing liberation struggles in southern Africa.

In retrospect it becomes apparent that the Communists were correct to criticize bourgeois tendencies in the Pan-African movement. However, these criticisms were divorced from an analysis of the material conditions of blacks in the U.S. and Africa and how these conditions would affect the developmental dynamics of Pan-Africanism. Hence, the criticisms were reduced to derogatory labeling and outright attacks that played no useful part in the development of revolutionary Pan-African solidarity and anti-imperialist consciousness.

As for the charges of manipulation leveled by Padmore and others, this problem has been resolved by the more advanced liberation struggles in Africa without falling into the trap of simple-minded anti-communism. By developing truly independent, mass-based liberation organizations, African freedom fighters have taken charge of their own destiny and at the same time are able to have beneficial relations with the socialist nations and Communist parties on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Organizational independence and political struggle based on clear analysis of the problems in their own countries were the keys to forging a unity of national and socialist consciousness in the advanced African liberation struggles. Forging the unity of racial and socialist consciousness is a task still confronting the revolutionary movements in the United States.

CHAPTER VIII:

Capitalism, Racism and Reform

The preceding chapters have examined the ways in which racism has affected the ideologies and practices of six major American social reform movements. While both a wide variety and a fairly lengthy time span are represented by these six, still two basic and important factors immediately stand out when these case histories are reviewed. In the first place it is apparent that virtually all of these movements (with certain limited exceptions) have either advocated, capitulated before, or otherwise failed to oppose racism at one or more critical junctures in their history. These predominantly white reform movements thereby aligned themselves with the racial thinking of the dominant society, even when the reforms they sought to institute appeared to demand forthright opposition to racism. Instead of opposition, the reformers all too often developed paternalistic attitudes that merely confirmed, rather than challenged, the prevailing racial ideology of white society. Secondly, but equally striking, constant efforts were made by black reformers to get their white co-workers to reject and oppose racism, both within the reform movements themselves and throughout society in general. In each of the six movements blacks were actively involved, although the degree and success of their involvement varied considerably. In each case they struggled to have blacks included both as supporters and beneficiaries of reformism, since black people in fact needed the proposed reforms as much as whites.

The movements covered in this study include practically all social, ideological and organizational groupings found in white soci-

ety. The whole span of social classes is represented, from poor and working-class whites through middle- and upper-class whites. Also included as distinct variables are urban-rural, male-female and regional divisions; yet as with class, none of these variables can be identified as clear correlates of antiracist thinking. Our case histories include movements with no significant ideology beyond a few demands, as well as some with elaborate and fully articulated doctrines. While it is suggested that reform movements with a broad or universal approach to social change, such as the Garrisonian abolitionists, are more amenable to antiracist views than movements which propound a narrow or single-issue approach—such as the female suffragists at the turn of the century—still no hard and fast distinction between the two is warranted, as demonstrated by the early history of the Socialist Party, which had a broad ideology but little positive interest in blacks. Similarly, it is not certain that we can make a sharp distinction in racial attitudes between movements that were loosely organized versus those that were tightly and hierarchily organized; although it does seem that movements that aim to build a broad organizational base are more friendly toward nonwhites than those based on exclusionist principles, as illustrated by the history of the labor movement. Lastly, if we compare those reformers who sought to function primarily as agitators with those who grasped for conventional political power as the road to social change, we again find it impossible to draw a firm line of demarcation between the two. Certainly politically oriented populists and progressives were opportunistic in espousing white supremacy, but was this fundamentally different from the manner in which Communist agitators sought first to exploit and then later abandoned the black cause? No rule of thumb is revealed for predicting the relative incidence of opportunism and adherence to principle in the racial practices of white reformers. Indeed, this entire discussion has raised serious doubts as to the suitability of merely a simple comparative method in attempting to understand the impact of racism on social reform movements. Some other analytic framework is needed.

Similar problems confront us when we attempt to compare the attitudes and practices of blacks who were active in the six social reform movements. Black reformers disagreed among themselves over how best to counter the racism of their white fellow workers. Some advocated separate organizations, while others insisted that individual blacks must merge with white reform groups. However, it is significant that even among the latter we consistently find efforts to maintain an independent black press, as was the case, for instance, with Douglass in relation to white abolitionists, Du Bois in relation to white progressives, and Randolph in relation to white socialists. The tactical dispute among black reformers was reflective of the fact that while both black and white reformers operated in the ideological realm, the latter often had potential access to the levers of real power, which was almost never true of the blacks. Hence, black reformers were compelled to function solely in the ideological sphere, and the question became whether maximum ideological influence could be exerted organizationally or individually. A related problem confronting black reformers—who tended to be middle class—was the question of their relationship to the black community as a whole. The reformers were articulate but they were also always a minority of the total black community; hence they could be co-opted, isolated or repressed by whites with relative ease. Obviously problems such as these are complex and require something more than simple comparisons.

In American reform movements we note a continuous clash between black and white reformers over the question of race. Both groups were equally determined to do what they believe was best, but both were also clearly unbalanced in terms of actual or potential power. Black reformers—even when organized independently—almost always operated from a position of relative weakness, yet the vigor of their assault indicated a firm and deep commitment to attack racism with whatever tools were at hand. On the other hand, the hesitant and shifting attitudes of most white reformers revealed the extent of their own allegiance to racism and, paradoxically, also showed that racism, although always present, was not a monolithic

d

BAT-10
100%

and unchanging ideology. For example, the attitudes of militant abolitionists, social welfare progressives and radical CIO organizers toward the matter of black economic integration suggest that these reformers were responding to or reflecting differing racial ideologies. Among abolitionists the question of black economic integration was hardly discussed ~~at all~~ before the outbreak of the Civil War. Social welfare progressives aided black migrants in squeezing into the lowest levels of the industrial economy, while CIO and other labor radicals advocated that blacks be fully integrated into all levels of the work force. The differences pointed up here were not incidental; they were barometers of the racial atmosphere of the times.

To understand the relationship between black and white reformers and the ideological development of the reform movements themselves it is necessary to extend our analysis beyond the internal dynamics of these movements. At this juncture a general historical analysis of racism, brief though it must be, is more useful for our purposes than further micro-analysis of social reformism. Such an analysis will enable us to locate the ideologies and practices of social reform movements in broader perspective.

-In the span of American history covered by this study—ranging from the beginning of the nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth—it is possible to isolate three broad periods in the development of racial ideologies: the simple biological racism associated with slavery, the more sophisticated but no less oppressive racism which accompanied the rise of monopoly capital and imperialism, and finally the racial attitudes which have increasingly come to the fore since World War I. As with all attempts at historical periodization, no sharp and fast boundaries can be drawn between these three, nor should we be surprised if we find occasional proponents of one racial ideology voicing their opinions in a period that we have characterized by another racial ideology. Our task here is to attempt to define that elusive quality which historians have termed the spirit of an age, not simply to inventory all ideas expressed during a given year or decade. Some overlap and interweaving of specific themes from one period to the next, while making our task more difficult, is to be normally expected.

We should also observe that racism is not a phenomenon limited to the United States; indeed, no adequate understanding of racial ideology can be obtained without placing its genesis and development in an international context. Hence, before proceeding to discuss the three periods it is first necessary to set the international stage on which the drama of racism was to be played.

Capitalism and Colonialism

Modern racism originated with European colonial expansion. While occasional expressions of racial sentiments are recorded in the history of some ancient societies, it is nonetheless clear that the systematization of racist ideologies did not occur before the advent of the modern epoch of world history, beginning about 500 years ago.¹ Racism did not emerge as a full-blown theory; it developed gradually as Europeans came in contact with and attempted to subjugate other peoples of the world. Its full articulation had to await the beginning of the attack on slavery, for capitalist slavery represented the institutional basis of the most degrading forms of racism, as became evident in the defenses mustered by apologists for the slave system.

It should be observed that racism was not a quality inherent in white Europeans, nor is it somehow an innate feature of human nature. If the former were so, then we would expect the historical record to reveal continuous indications of European pretensions to superiority. In fact, Europeans evidenced a kind of inferiority complex in their initial contacts with Eastern cultures. Only a few steps removed from barbarism, they hardly felt equal to the civilized peoples they encountered. As for the second assertion, it certainly appears that ethnocentrism is generally distributed among human cultures, but ethnocentrism refers only to a socially shared feeling of in-group solidarity. It is not necessarily a racial phenomenon, and it certainly does not imply the development of institutional and ideological forms of oppression based on race. At worst ethnocentrism is a form of inward-looking narrow-mindedness; whereas rac-

RAY-15
10396

252

ism involves an inward-facing hierarchical ordering of human beings for purposes of racial oppression. The former may or may not be a universal facet of human nature, but the latter is definitely socially conditioned. The two should not be confused.

Similarly it is important to recognize that while it was the rise of commercial capitalism in western Europe and the subsequent spread of capitalist colonialism to virtually all parts of the world that gave shape to the modern historical epoch, this process need not be attributed to any supposed racial or cultural "superiority" of Europeans. Paul A. Baran has argued cogently that three basic conditions were prerequisite for capitalist development: (1) a steady increase in agricultural output accompanied by massive displacements of the traditional peasant population, thereby creating a potential industrial labor force; (2) society-wide propagation of a division of labor resulting in the emergence of a class of artisans and traders (incipient bourgeoisie) and (3) massive accumulation of capital in the hands of the developing merchant class. It was the convergence of these historically conditioned processes that precipitated capitalist development. The first two processes were maturing in many parts of the world during the pre-capitalist era, but it was the spectacular development of the third process in Europe that marked all subsequent history. We may say that the first two conditions were *necessary* but by themselves they were *not sufficient*, since without massive capital accumulations large-scale capitalist manufacture for the market could not have been organized.

→ accompanied by the growth of towns as economic centers

Mercantile capitalist accumulations were rapidly acquired in western Europe because (1) the geographical location of many European countries gave them the opportunity to develop maritime and river navigation and trade at an early date, and (2) such trade was stimulated paradoxically by Europe's relative lack of economic development and paucity of valued natural resources.² Thus Europe's easy access to potential river trade routes and natural sea-ports combined with its location near a crossroads of trade routes between more economically developed civilizations and countries

y
2

→

more richly endowed with natural resources stimulated an explosive advance of trade and capitalist accumulation by European merchants. Moreover, the requirements of long-range navigation and trade fostered rapid development of scientific knowledge and a weapons technology that enabled Europe to begin the colonial plunder and subjugation of other areas.

Oliver C. Cox has pointed out that colonialism and plunder were the logical consequence of the expansionism of the developing capitalist system.³ Indeed, the first areas to be plundered were not Africa or Asia but the rural hinterlands of Europe itself. The growing capitalist cities became centers of an early colonial empire in Europe. However, as capitalist culture spread over Europe the expanding system launched the "age of exploration," and the focus of the colonial quest shifted to other parts of the world.

Wherever it penetrated capitalism brought about basic changes in social life. At the most fundamental level it completely altered the process of production. Capitalism "socialized" the production process by (1) replacing the individual producer of pre-capitalist societies with an organized social work force, and (2) replacing individual tools with social tools (e.g., plantations, machinery, factories, etc.). This revolutionary reorganization of production brought about a tremendous increase in the productive powers of human societies. It liberated untapped potentials of human organization. At the same time, however, since capitalist production was for sale on the market instead of for immediate use, the developing capitalist classes assured their control over this production by imposing the concept of capitalist private property. This made possible individual ownership of a process that was inherently social in nature. This was the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, and to it are traceable a wide range of conflicts (including racial antagonism). The alienation of the European worker from the land and the means of production via capitalist property relations, combined with the money-wage system, made the capitalist class—always a small minority—the dominant class in the political economy of capitalism. The worker, compelled to sell his labor power in order to live, was cor-

respondingly reduced to a mere cog in the capitalist social order. Hence, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism expressed itself in terms of a class conflict between workers and capitalists.

However, it is imperative to realize that the class conflict in the European heartland of capitalism took place in the larger context of colonialism and imperialism. Internationally the emergence of commercial capitalism resulted in the concentration of capital in a small part of the world—western Europe, and later North America. The colonial plunder of the non-European world provided a global base for fantastic accumulations of capital in Europe. In turn, these accumulations fostered industrial and cultural development. The development of the steam engine, much heavy industry, ship-building and many modern financial institutions, for example, were all underwritten directly or indirectly by the colonial slave trade and other forms of colonial exploitation. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to suggest that the Industrial Revolution, which enabled Europe and North America to leap far ahead of the rest of the world in material welfare, would have been delayed, possibly by many generations, were it not for the capital yielded by colonialism.

For the peoples of the colonial world capitalist penetration was disastrous. They were bequeathed all the evils of capitalism and none of the benefits. Their wealth was mercilessly plundered by European pirates, disguised as traders. Moreover, colonialism disrupted their traditional agricultural economies, forced them to grow exportable commercial crops, and thereby undermined the self-sufficiency of the colonized societies. European colonialism was much more than a mere repeat of the conquests of ancient history. It was based on the new capitalist principle of production of exportable commodities for sale on the home market. Hence, European colonizers did not simply demand tribute from the conquered peoples; instead the colonized societies were completely reorganized. Whole populations were uprooted and turned into a vast colonial work force to man the plantations and mines. Those who would not work, or sought to resist the invaders, were brutalized and murdered. Outright slavery was resorted to in many instances. In areas such as North America, where the indigenous population was

relatively sparse, a slave labor force was imported from elsewhere. African slaves thereby became the colonial work force of North America. Thus, the colonized societies were forcibly brought into the worldwide system of commodity circulation, contributing their economic "surplus" to the growing capital of Europe. Their economies were distorted by the demands of colonialism, and their traditional industries and handicrafts were destroyed by competition from European manufacturers. Consequently, they were forced onto the path leading to economic underdevelopment.

Colonialism, Slavery and Racism

Illegally confiscated land and forced labor were the cornerstones of capitalist colonialism. Initially colonial activity was rationalized on religious grounds; by contributing their land and labor to the Christian invaders it was argued that the heathen natives were bringing themselves closer to the redeeming forces of Christendom. However, implicit in this theory was the notion of eventual religious conversion and assimilation—an idea which posed a dilemma for the colonizers and slaveholders. If the heathens were converted, previous claims to their land and labor might be vitiated. Therefore, beginning in the sixteenth century serious arguments were made that Indians, for example, could have their lands taken and be enslaved not merely because they were heathens but more fundamentally they were considered less than human, on the same plane as animals. Consequently, such beings were incapable of conversion and their subservient status was permanently fixed. These conjectures provoked a heated dispute in the Catholic church in Spain, eventually culminating in a ruling in favor of the Indians.

In northern Europe and North America the moderating ideological influence of the Catholic church was largely missing; its place taken by an aggressive Protestantism that embodied the very spirit of capitalism.⁴ More important, the North American colonies were true settler colonies, involving migration and settlement of entire families of colonists rather than the patriarchal pattern of ad-

256

venturers-conquistadors more characteristic of Latin America, and the emerging northern ruling class was more bourgeois and rigidly property-oriented than its ~~Semi-Feudal~~ South American counterpart.⁵ The result was the evolution of a rigid two-category system in North America that relegated Indians and slaves to the ideological status of sub-men. The "savage Indian brutes" could thus be cheerfully cheated, forcibly relieved of their land and very nearly exterminated by aggressive Protestant settlers. Slaves fared little better. Capitalist slavery in fact totally dehumanized the slave; it reduced a human being to the status of a draft animal—chattel. Consequently, the ideology of North American slavery asserted a biological inequality of the races; that black slaves were either an entirely different species—polygenesis—or a transitional group located somewhere between apes and white men. Since virtually all slaves in North America were black and the overwhelming majority of the black population were slaves it is not surprising that the evolving racist ideology increasingly recognized no significant distinction between slaves and free blacks. The latter were a small minority who were eventually engulfed by the tide of white racism.

more
l.c.

Although elements of color prejudice may have predated slavery, Africans were not enslaved in North America because they were black. The developing colonial agricultural system in the southern colonies of North America—based on production of exportable commercial crops—demanded a *large and fixed* labor force. Without such a work force it would have been impossible to sustain the plantation economy. The labor demands of the mercantile plantation system fell first on Indians and white indentured servants. The former proved unsatisfactory as a labor source for several reasons: their limited numbers (the main concentration of North American Indians was on the West Coast), their ~~suseptibility~~ susceptibility to the white man's diseases due to recent contact between the two groups, and the fact that they could escape from servitude with relative ease since they knew the land better than the white settlers. White servants also presented problems, since their contracts specified a time limit for service. At the same time, whites could not be enslaved

susceptibility

531-15
100%

because this would provoke political repercussions in Europe and very likely stem the tide of white immigration across the Atlantic; white slavery would thus be self-defeating. Asians, if considered, were too far away; the transportation costs would be prohibitive ~~movements in the United States.~~

and the likelihood of successfully completing such a long and dangerous sea voyage, given the state of seafaring technology, was highly questionable. South American Indians were already claimed by the Spanish and Portuguese.

Fortunately for the North American colonists, the Spanish and Portuguese had already led the way in tapping a virtually bottomless reservoir of labor: the peoples of the west coast of Africa. Indeed, the first blacks to arrive in North America in 1619 were probably victims of the Iberian slave trade. Africans provided an ideal source of labor for the English colonies: the west coast of Africa was relatively near to the Caribbean, there were never any complicating questions of voluntary migration or political repercussions, many Africans were agriculturalists who quickly grasped the demands of agricultural labor on the plantations, the long contact between Europe and Africa meant that Africans were not so easily decimated by the white man's diseases—they had built up a resistance—and, finally, unlike Indians, Africans were unfamiliar with the new land and thus found it more difficult to escape and successfully avoid capture. Therefore, Africa became the hunting ground of the European slave powers. The development and specific labor requirements of the capitalist colonial plantation system, not race, marked Africans as the chief victims of slavery. However, once this process was set in motion, the institutionalization of capitalist slavery promoted the elaboration of a justificatory racist ideology.⁶ Unlike ancient slavery, modern capitalist slavery demanded a permanent, nonassimilable labor force to produce the agricultural commodities which were salable on the home market in the mother countries. Capitalist plantations, existing in a vast land of immense opportunity, could ~~maintain their labor force~~ only through the mechanism of slavery buttressed by a trenchant racism that totally

command such a

a

denied the possibility that slave workers might assimilate into the general population, to seek their fortune on equal footing with the white settlers.

Slavery degraded human beings to the level of brute animals who must be "domesticated," forced to work and constantly supervised. The elaboration and articulation of an ideological rationalization accompanied the institutionalization of slavery, and reached its apex as the slave system entered its final crisis in the nineteenth century. Beginning in the seventeenth century we note a steady shift in ideological perspective from religion to race as the prime justification for slavery. Racism proved to be an ideal ideology for slavery. For unlike attempts at justification on religious grounds alone, there was no possibility of *racial* conversion, although there was no lack of speculation along this line. Also the ideological unity of the white population was assured by the economic and psychological advantages which accrued to them purely on the basis of their whiteness. This avoided the ideological disunity that afflicted Latin whites who tried to construct a rigidly religious rationalization for slavery and colonization.

The ideological influence of developing racism was widespread due to the economic structure of North American society. The slave system was essential to the development of the Southern plantation economy, and initially it provided a strong stimulus to Northern industry and shipping (thereby ironically aiding the North in building an industrial society that by the mid-nineteenth century would clash with the South). Not only did capitalists and plantation owners gain from slavery but also many of the white workers who immigrated to the New World. As James Boggs has observed, initially even whites at the very bottom of colonial society benefited from African slavery: "First, the expanding industry made possible by the profits of slave trafficking created jobs at an expanding rate. Second, white indentured servants were able to escape from the dehumanization of plantation servitude only because of the seemingly inexhaustible supply of constantly imported slaves to take their place. . . . For the individual white indentured servant or laborer,

African slavery meant the opportunity to rise above the status of slave and become farmer or free laborer.”

During this early period slavery and colonialism also brought numerous economic rewards to all segments of the population in the colonizing societies.⁸ Thus, virtually all elements of the white population embraced the racist ideology of slavery. It was only the rapacious spread of cotton plantations and the maturation of industrialism in the nineteenth century that made slavery a threat to some segments of white farmers and workers. The nineteenth century was a time of turmoil and crisis for the colonial slave system throughout the world. On the one hand, colonialism and slavery had underwritten the development of a great industrial system that made Great Britain the most powerful European nation. At the same time, industrial capitalism made the old-style colonialism and slavery obsolete. Unlike commercial or mercantile capitalism, which had required that nations and people be kept in direct political bondage to facilitate channeling of economic surpluses to Europe, industrial capitalism—with its monopoly on industrial production established—was no longer dependant solely on direct political or military methods to bind colonial people to its service. The process of capitalist trade itself increasingly became the binding link. With their economic development halted or distorted by colonialism, the colonized peoples of the world were compelled to trade with European capitalists (which, given the terms of trade, meant in effect they were working for the European capitalists) not because of physical coercion but due to economic compulsion; only thus could they gain access to the manufactured goods associated with a higher standard of life. Indeed, in some instances the economic life of the colonized societies had been so crippled that their very survival depended on continued trade with the Europeans.

This process was accompanied by efforts of some of the colonies to break free of bondage. The United States had led the way and was seeking to become an industrial capitalist nation, employing a “free” labor force based on economic rather than political or physical compulsion. However, U.S. society exhibited a dual char-

italic

acter due to the existence of a slave-plantation South which was still linked in semi-colonial fashion to England. In the United States a growing industrial capitalism existed side by side with a mercantilist slave economy, but not without severe political and economic strains which eventually culminated in the Civil War.

Thus, internationally and domestically the transition to industrial capitalism set in motion the social forces that brought about the abolition of slavery. Anti-slavery thought had been around as long as slavery, but it did not become a socially compelling ideology until economic transformations were making slavery itself anachronistic. This was not a simple process. As the new industrial society was taking shape in the North following the war for independence, abolitionism flourished and slavery was outlawed in several Northern states. However, the rejuvenation of the Southern plantation system that followed the invention of the cotton gin strengthened slavery, resulting in a temporary lull in abolitionist activity. But the conflict between the political-economic organizing principles of two stages of capitalist development was not long to be repressed. By 1830 the debate between pro- and anti-slavery forces had resumed with a new vehemence, the former elaborating a systematic ideology of black degradation and inherent inferiority. The debate was highly involved, but resting at its core was the concept of the fundamental non-humanness of blacks.⁹ For the first time the full ideological ramifications of slavery were spelled out and exposed to public view.

Abolitionists centered their attack around the assertion that black people were in fact human beings, and therefore it was morally indefensible to subject them to slavery. They admitted that blacks were degraded by slavery, but this was a fate that could befall any race subjected to such brutal oppression. The question of black humanity thus became the touchstone of antebellum ideological contention.

Although white abolitionists championed black humanity, they did not necessarily advocate equality. At various times pro-abolition voices advocated the removal (colonization) of the black population as the only way to solve the race question. Other abolitionists fell into a kind of paternalistic, romantic racism that was simply a liber-

al version of biological racism. Abolitionists urged that black people, as human beings, should be free, but they were confused and often reactionary on the matter of racial equality.

This ideological confusion was manifested in other ways. Although white abolitionists reflected the individualist and moral-religious ideas of developing industrial capitalism, they exhibited virtually no understanding of economics. Unlike some black abolitionists, they did not call for black economic integration into the new industrial society. A counterpart of this peculiar failure was also to be found among anti-slavery white workers, who opposed slavery but also opposed movement of black workers into the free territories.

How are we to explain this anomaly of a social system that produced intense opposition to slavery but no ideology of incorporating the emancipated black workers into its economy? The answer probably lies in the particular method by which the Northern industrial working class was formed, namely, European immigration. With a steady stream of skilled and unskilled workers from Europe—a stream which swelled into a torrent after the great crisis that gripped Europe in the 1840's—there simply was no need for bringing blacks into the Northern industrial system. The labor needs of the North were already being met. Consequently, all segments of the Northern white population displayed a pronounced lack of interest in black economic integration. Indeed, many in the North who supported the anti-slavery cause nevertheless cherished the hope of a future industrial America that would be all white in racial composition. The ideology of racism, although grounded in social organization, was taking on a life and direction of its own, actually shaping white behavior, not merely reflecting it.

Black abolitionists, although embroiled often in internal tactical disputes, were generally agreed on the ideological necessity of supporting white abolitionist activities. Debates centered around the interrelated questions of how best to do so, and how best to attack the racial prejudices of the white reformers. In point of fact these questions were answered in practice. Between 1817 and the outbreak of the Civil War thousands of blacks organized and participated in an independent black abolitionist movement with its

own independent press. Even blacks such as Frederick Douglass, who believed that individual blacks should integrate into white reform organizations, were compelled to modify their position. Douglass found himself hemmed in by his Garrisonian friends, and he split with them precisely over the question of ideological independence. When Douglass determined to found his own newspaper he was seeking an institutional vehicle that would enable him to exert ideological leadership.

The existence of an independent black movement enabled black abolitionists to exert considerable influence on abolitionism in general. Local, state and regional organizations, firmly rooted in the black community, provided the institutional support necessary for developing and propagating a black ideology. Consequently, black abolitionists did much more than simply welcome and endorse white reformers' advocacy of black humanity. Backed by their own organizations and press, militant blacks asserted their ideological leadership by (1) demanding black economic (and political) integration, and (2) insisting that black people were fully equal to whites (i.e., capable of self-development) and fully independent (i.e., capable of self-direction). Thus, when white abolitionism hesitated and became confused, black leaders, representing the victims of slavery and racism, stepped in and took up the ideological assault on both slavery and racism.

The limits to the success of black militancy were imposed by the powerlessness of blacks in post-bellum America. Black people were emancipated from slavery but not from economic and political dependency. The refusal of the white rulers to undertake radical agrarian reform after the Civil War meant that black people could not achieve economic independence in the South, while at the same time the racism of employers and labor unions denied them economic integration in the North. The sharecropping system kept blacks in slave-like economic bondage while the machinations of the Republican party assured their political bondage.

Blacks did succeed in steering white abolitionists away from colonization schemes and in confronting them with other questions concerning racism; and black workers, by going on strike during

the war, promoted the immediate abolition of slavery without compensation to slaveholders by demonstrating that it was in the military interest of the North to do so. But once these struggles were over, black people found themselves at the mercy of an ascendant Northern bourgeoisie whose first concern was to consolidate its political hegemony over the Southern rebels. Denied both economic independence and economic integration, black people became the wards of a triumphant but insecure Republican party. While at the state level black leaders were able to effect many reforms during Reconstruction, their days were numbered by their economic and political dependency and the consequent inability of black leadership to break free of an ever-more-opportunistic Republican party.

The Racial Ideology of Monopoly Capital and Imperialism

The biological racism of slavery underwent a serious modification as international capitalism advanced to the monopoly and imperialist phase. Where slavery denied humanity, the new ideology admitted that nonwhites were human beings but maintained that they were inferior races which must be guided and ruled by a master race of whites that supposedly had demonstrated its superior civilized virtues in the course of centuries of struggle for world domination.

This ideological shift accompanied structural changes in the political economy of capitalism. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the "free enterprise" system gave way to gigantic monopolies as the dominant mode of economic organization. Unregulated capitalist competition played out to its logical conclusion; smaller, weaker firms—e.g., family ownerships and partnerships—were elbowed aside by the massive economic concentrations made possible by joint stock companies and corporations. The very structure of the latter encouraged capital concentration and centralization on a scale never before seen. The process of monopolization proceeded apace among both industrial firms and financial institutions, and

204

subsequent linkages between these two culminated in an oligopolistic system of cartels, syndicates and trusts.

Monopoly not only concentrated capital but also exhibited a tendency to generate new surplus capital at a rapid rate.¹⁰ The accumulation of economic surplus posed a serious problem since its nonabsorption had a depressive and destabilizing effect on the larger economy. Several basic methods were evolved in the advanced capitalist nations for easing this structural problem. First, tremendous amounts of social energy were diverted from production to salesmanship and advertising. A large section of the work force was gradually shifted into staffing and managing the new white collar jobs related to artificially stimulating a demand for the commodities of monopoly capital. Increased consumption meant increased production which in turn opened up new areas for investment of surplus capital. Second, technological progress created still another avenue of investment. In particular, railroads and the automobile absorbed huge amounts of capital, and created whole new industries, such as steel, oil and chemicals, which meant still more opportunities for investment. Finally, imperialism and militarism laid the basis for increased foreign sales and investment and the expenditure of surplus capital through building and arming a large military establishment. Obviously these two phenomena went hand in hand and required active coordination by the national governments of the imperialist powers. Despite all of these avenues for absorbing surplus capital the problem still remained, since all of these methods—with the sole exception of militarism—resulted in even more economic concentration and the accumulation of still more surplus. Consequently, it is not surprising that the economically inspired reformism in the waning years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth increasingly demanded government regulation of the economy as the only way—short of social revolution—of stabilizing and rationalizing a chronically unbalanced system.

The transition from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism was beginning in the United States by the end of Reconstruction. With this transition, uncertainty about the future role of black labor was also resolved. Where blacks had been the main

CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 6

productive labor force of ante-bellum Southern agriculture they were ~~not to become a subproletariat, the "shock absorbers"~~ of monopoly capital. The structural instability of the monopoly system meant that workers at the very bottom of the economic ladder were confronted not only by low wages but also extreme economic insecurity. The slightest gyration in the monopoly economy meant that thousands upon thousands of workers at its bottom levels would lose their jobs. So long as Western settlement was possible and European immigrants were available the subproletariat remained white. Wave after wave of white immigrants arrived to take unskilled jobs in industry and then began climbing up the economic ladder by acquiring land or being bolstered by the next wave of immigration. But between the closing of the frontier toward the end of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War I, which cut off European immigration, a method had to evolve for supplying a new subproletariat and for keeping the new group permanently at the bottom of the economic heap. The latter requirement was made necessary by the fact that the maturation of monopoly plus the ending of westward expansion meant that opportunities for upward social mobility were being severely curtailed. The class structure of U.S. society, previously obscured by frontier individualism and seemingly unlimited opportunities for economic advancement, was now revealing itself with a severity that could not go unrecognized. In reaction, the attitude of the embattled small-property owner became the ideological stance of vast sectors of the white population, including millions who owned nothing but their own labor-power.

now

The ideological racism left over from slavery combined with the institutionalization of racism that followed Reconstruction condemned black people to the role of scavengers of monopoly capital. Politically inspired disfranchisement and segregation reduced blacks to a virtual pariah caste in the South, while Southern violence and the beginning mechanization of agriculture combined with the ending of European immigration spurred a massive migration of black workers into the Northern industrial slums. Black workers were emancipated from slavery but their exploitation continued. Indeed,

BAT 100%

206

by converting black workers into a racially stigmatized category of "wage slaves" it was now possible to exploit them even more mercilessly. With blacks thrown on their own as individuals, instead of being the collective economic responsibility of the white master class, they could be used as a permanent subproletariat to increase the margin of profitability of monopoly industrial capitalism—dispensable in times of recession, available to work at low wages whenever required.

Furthermore, the advent of imperialism had opened whole new areas of the world to recruitment of a domestic colonial work force that, like blacks, could be stigmatized and subordinated on the basis of racial distinction. Already on the West Coast Chinese contract labor used in railroad construction was proving the value of a semi-enslaved but ostensibly "free" labor force.

The specific ideological concepts of this period can be traced to two immediate sources. The Republican effort to impose Northern political hegemony through manipulation of the newly enfranchised black electorate raised howls of protest in the white South. Southern ideologues defended the necessity of "white supremacy" in the face of the supposed dire threat of "black domination," and their demands were backed up by organized terrorism. The gradual penetration of Northern capital into the South during and after Reconstruction built a foundation for closer integration of the two regions, but the attempted interracial rebellion of middle- and lower-class Southern farmers against the encroachments of monopoly could only be broken up by hysterically fanning the flames of white supremacy. Thus, Northern capital's drive to assert its political and economic control over the South provoked ideological reactions which contributed to the formulation of a new racist conception.

A second immediate source of the new racism was aggressive U.S. expansion into the Pacific and Caribbean areas in search of markets and materials. American imperialism, like its European counterpart, represented a new stage in the history of colonialism. Where the old colonialism plundered nations and disrupted their traditional economies, economic imperialism aimed to block the accumulation of capital and the creation of an industrial base in the colonies and

CHAPTER NO.

CHAPTER TITLE

CHAPTER TITLE

semi-colonies. Increasingly, sophisticated economic exploitation replaced outright plunder as the modus operandi of colonialism. Consequently, economic development and underdevelopment were institutionalized as opposite sides of the same imperialist coin, as the underdeveloped countries became appended to the monopoly economies of the imperialist powers.

The success of imperialism necessitated a serious attempt to root more firmly capitalist economic and political institutions in the colonial areas, for it was only through such institutions (the market, private property, banking system, wage labor) that capitalist investment and domination could be secured. Thus, implicit in the new arrangement were the two ideas that the colonized were to continue to be dominated by the imperialists but at the same time were to undergo a period of tutelage or "elevation" that supposedly would educate them to the value of bourgeois institutions, without, of course, raising any embarrassing questions about their assigned place in the imperialist order.¹¹ In racial terms, the new ideology found its most elaborate expression in Social Darwinism.

That Social Darwinism came to epitomize the new racist ideology is readily explained. In the first place, Social Darwinism, with its emphasis on vicious competition and unrelenting struggle of one against all, accurately reflected the economic dynamics leading to the rise of monopoly capital. Second, its categorization of blacks and other nonwhites as inferior races, not subhuman species, cleared away the older ideological baggage that these groups were incapable of performing industrial labor. Indeed, low-level industrial education of black workers was now heartily approved of by whites both in the South and the North. So long as it was understood that blacks would remain at the lowest levels of industry and be supervised by whites there was no disagreement. Third, despite occasional demurrers, Social Darwinism defined imperial expansion as a positive good which both expressed the so-called manifest destiny of the white race to dominate, and established contacts making possible the eventual "uplift" of the inferior colored races. Social Darwinism thus rationalized severe racial oppression on the grounds of a "natural" and unchanging racial hierarchy, and paternalistic phi-

PAID 100%

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

lanthropy on the assumption that moral and intellectual "evolution" of inferior races was possible. This seeming contradiction was a source of some ideological confusion, but it presented no fundamental problem. The new racist ideology asserted not so much the irreversible bestial degradation of the nonwhite races, but affirmed primarily the determination of white rulers and ideologists to maintain the supremacy of the white race in the nation and the world. Exaggerated fear of inundation by nonwhites thereby was revitalized as a major theme of the new period of white racist thinking.

Social Darwinism was not the only way in which the new ideology found expression. Anglo-Saxonism, master race ideas, the concept of the "white man's burden," all were evident during the period under consideration, but in terms of content they were largely variations on ideas that were more systematically manifest in Social Darwinism.¹²

If the fifty years between 1870 and 1920 witnessed the consolidation of monopoly capital and the rise of American imperialism, one effect of these developments was to undermine the old independent middle classes of small businessmen, professionals and small farmers which, until then, had been the economic backbone of white America. The growth of giant corporations intimidated and dislocated the old petty bourgeoisie. Entrenched monopoly bore down oppressively on unskilled black and other dispossessed workers, at the same time offering concessions to those elements of organized labor which accepted monopoly principles and racism. The result of all these tendencies was a proliferation of reform movements, led mainly by the middle classes and labor bureaucrats, aimed at confronting, regulating or imitating monopoly capital.

The Southern populist revolt of small and poor farmers (many of whom were black) against the Bourbons and Northern capitalists represented an assault on monopoly capital which, in the South, functioned through the Democratic party. White populists organized black political support, which they needed to win state elections, and they propounded the theory of common economic interests of black and white farmers, but they failed to attack the white supremacist ideology inherited from the aftermath of Recon-

struction. Consequently, charges of fostering "black domination" struck directly at the Achilles heel of populism in the South. Themselves thoroughly infected with racism, white populists fell back in disarray and eventually joined their former enemies in affirming white solidarity. Black populists, lacking an independent organization and press, were unable to affect these developments in any significant way. If anything, populism demonstrated that once established, an ideology does not merely reflect but is also capable of actually guiding social behavior, especially when there is no external ideological counter-balance.

Progressivism was an urban response to the same fundamental structural changes that motivated populism. However, the class basis of progressivism was undergoing a basic transformation at the very time that the movement was gaining momentum. The continuous and unrelenting incorporation of the old middle class into the new white-collar private and public bureaucracies of monopoly capital changed progressivism from a revolt against the system into an attempt to regulate it, the success of which established still more bureaucracies as the partnership between government and big business was institutionalized. Ideologically, progressivism exhibited a dual character but increasingly shifted toward corporate liberalism and welfare statism. As to the matter of race, progressives varied from the virulent white supremacy of many political progressives to what George Frederickson has termed accommodationist racism,¹³ which was more characteristic of social welfare progressives. Both groups could agree, however, on a paternalistic approach to race relations which sought to accommodate blacks and other ethnic minorities to the labor demands of the new industrial order.

In the South Booker T. Washington, totally dependent on the philanthropy of monopoly capital, became a spokesman for the accommodationist racism of progressives. Although his hope for blacks to achieve economic independence under capitalism had already been defeated in the wake of the Civil War, his program to create a docile, apolitical industrial labor force meshed smoothly with the current interests of the captains of industry, North and South.

In the North a handful of middle-class black militants desperately tried to halt the spread of violent white racism which they feared might engulf even the educated, exceptional members of the race. They founded newspapers and organizations for this purpose. However, the organizations were elitist; they represented the Talented Tenth and were largely divorced from the masses of black people. As a result, the militant organizations tended to be weak and constantly on the verge of financial collapse and thus could be co-opted by the well-heeled white progressives who organized the NAACP. Moreover, they failed to perceive that racial antagonism was assuming new guises in accordance with changes in the political economy. Yet, despite their weaknesses, the independent black organizations succeeded in formulating and propagating an anti-racist program which was to gain more and more adherents among both the white and black populations as the twentieth century progressed.

Industrialization and urbanization also prompted a large reform movement among middle-class white women who began to demand the same rights and privileges as the men of their class. Although bourgeois feminism started as a ~~broad reform~~ movement associated with abolitionism, it gradually narrowed to a single-issue movement with no significant ideology of its own. Consequently, its ideological proclivities were identical with those of the dominant society. Indeed, feminist leaders opportunistically embraced white supremacy as a way of asserting their own allegiance to white domination in hopes that this would establish their qualifications for exercising the franchise. White women totally betrayed their black sisters in the name of white solidarity. They were rewarded with the vote.

Middle-class black women also organized independently to work for race betterment and to demand their rights. Unfortunately, the concern with bourgeois respectability and proper decorum absorbed much of the women's agitational energy and deflected their direct assault on racism. Instead they concentrated on organizing separate black institutions which were basically conservative in nature, much as the black church had done in the South. Even so the black women's stress on self-help and their influence on progressivism conditioned the emergence of social welfare agencies such as the National Urban League.

multi-issue

The more radical and alienated of middle-class intellectuals found in socialism a congenial movement. Socialism also appealed to many elements of labor, but the concessions which the more skilled and privileged workers won from monopoly capital, combined with severe repression of the radical labor groups soon removed this base of socialist support. White socialists espoused egalitarianism but their social democratic inheritance and the influence of American racism made them something less than champions of racial equality, at least before World War I. In fact, for early socialists racism was a diversionary issue conjured up by calculating capitalists. They totally failed to understand that racism might be deeply ingrained in the historical development of capitalist culture and could not be written off as a mere capitalist conspiracy to divide the workers. In any event, in practice white socialists largely ignored or even discriminated against black workers. The most active black socialists of this period, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, were individual militants who had no organized base of support in the black community until after World War I. Thus, socialism, although like other reform movements in not being inherently racist, nevertheless absorbed a strong dose of racism from the European and American societies in which it made its first appearance.

The dominant trend in organized labor at the beginning of this century was a movement toward exclusionism and racism. The decades after the Civil War had been an era of uncertainty for unionism. Differing goals, tactics and organizing principles were openly debated. But with the overthrow of Reconstruction and the birth of monopoly and imperialism, organized labor's vision began to narrow. Indeed, a "labor aristocracy" developed within the working class. This privileged stratum understood that its favored status was based upon close articulation with the needs of monopoly capital and imperialism. In fact, it represented a monopoly within a monopoly, and hence proceeded to reproduce the ideologies of monopoly and racism within its ranks.¹⁴ It was no accident that trade unions among skilled workers attempted to monopolize job opportunities by excluding other workers, especially members of subjugated racial groups. By doing so they helped institutionalize a permanent black subproletariat as a base upon which white workers could

272

gaining a last chance of upward social mobility

stand, thereby eliminating the ascent of upward social mobility in a system that was becoming ever more rigid. Of course, monopoly capital's use of blacks as strikebreakers exposed the chimerical quality of organized white labor's privileges, but ironically this only reinforced labor racism.

Numerous attempts were made to build independent black labor unions, some of which achieved a measure of success. By and large, however, the limits of black labor organizing were defined by the role assigned black workers in the monopoly economy. Black labor organizing meant organizing the lowest paid and economically most insecure members of the working class, an extremely difficult task with little assurance of success. In all likelihood it is those black workers who have moved into better paying and more secure jobs who will be most amenable to unionizing efforts, as proved to be true of the sleeping car porters in the 1920s.

All in all, the upsurge of reformism at the turn of the century did not halt the advance of monopoly capital nor abate racism. Instead it helped to launch a process that was to culminate in the creation of modern corporate liberal society with its host of white-collar salaried employees and well-paid skilled workers. For blacks this process hardly represented a blessing since it relegated most black workers to menial and marginal jobs of short duration with minimum pay. That the NAACP and National Urban League were born out of all this must be counted at least a qualified victory. But these two interracial groups were born of compromise, and they faced a sharply uphill struggle in carrying their message to the country at large.

Cultural Chauvinism and Liberal Imperialism

The years since World War I mark the transition to still a third period in the history of racist thinking. This new period is increasingly characterized by the ideology of cultural chauvinism, the myth that a unique and independent cultural heritage and development somehow accounts for the greater material advancement of western

Europe and North America compared with other areas of the world. Cultural chauvinism treats industrial advancement as the natural end-product of a supposedly superior "Western culture," conveniently obscuring the fact that it was capitalist exploitation of the colonial world that contributed to rapid and continuing material progress in Europe and North America. By separating culture from economics and history, cultural chauvinism regards culture as a metaphysical attribute of a people or nation. As such it can be considered a sophisticated variation on the older idea of racial chauvinism. However, cultural chauvinism does not stigmatize nonwhite peoples as inherently inferior, instead they are merely "culturally deprived" or "culturally backward." Hence, assimilation to bourgeois "Western culture" steadily replaces race as the main criterion for admission to the white world. Obviously this ideological changeover is far from complete even today, and there are serious reasons to doubt that in practice it ever can be.¹⁵ But clearly the rhetoric of racial integration and cultural assimilation has come into vogue to a much greater extent than ever was the case in the past.

Perhaps the best way of clarifying the concept of cultural chauvinism is to examine the forces that brought it into being. At the outset of such a discussion it should be observed that the new ideology does not spring from purely internal developments of capitalism or the dynamics of imperialist expansion. On the contrary, it is external developments—the birth and rapid spread of anti-colonial and socialist revolts throughout the colonized and economically backward areas of the world—that have forced a defensive ideological reaction in the capitalist-imperialist system. For the first time in modern history the capitalist world is in retreat, buffeted by revolutionary forces which its own previous expansion helped to create. Hence, cultural chauvinism must be analyzed within this context rather than regarded simply as an ideological outgrowth of systemic development and expansion.

Among the factors that contributed to the emergence of cultural chauvinism, four are particularly significant. First, of course, was the birth of the anti-colonial struggle in the nineteenth century and its subsequent development into a worldwide movement against im-

perialism. This was no accidental development but represented a dialectical response to imperialist domination. Eric R. Wolf, for example, in his study of peasant wars concludes that capitalist penetration of traditional societies created severe dislocations and at the same time cut these societies off from their past so that the final outcome could only be an anti-colonial and in some cases, socialist, revolt.¹⁶ With more and more colonies in uproar and clamoring for independence, the imperialist powers were compelled to modify their tactics. Since the strategic aim of imperialism is economic domination it was possible, and even desirable, to grant formal political independence to colonies so long as imperialist economic control remained secure. The latter was accomplished in part by turning over the reins of political power to comprador classes which had a material stake in maintenance of capitalist property and social relations. Indirect control thereby replaced direct control, and neo-colonialism was born.

Ideologically the "right" of these comprador classes to rule could not be based on alleged racial superiority since they were drawn from the same racial stock as the native masses. Hence, assimilation into "Western culture" replaced race as the yardstick for privilege in the neo-colonial world. Special efforts were made to see that potential colonial political leaders, civil servants and military personnel were educated and trained in the imperialist metropolises so that they would be ideologically suited for their new role as liaison agents between imperialism and the popular masses of the neo-colonies.

Second, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 shook the very foundations of capitalism and unsettled its elaborate ideological edifice. The subsequent linking of the socialist movement to the anti-imperialist struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the spread of communist thought and activity to the United States prompted hysterical reaction in defense of "Western civilization" and "the American Way of Life." The Russian Revolution also had the effect of polarizing the white population since Slavs, Jews and immigrants generally were now being stereotyped as dangerous radicals.¹⁷

Third, conflicts between the imperialist nations over control of colonies led to wars and further fragmentation of white solidarity. The capitalist nations divided into liberal democratic and fascist camps with each accusing the other of having betrayed the civilizing mission of Western culture. Defense of Western culture became a unifying theme among both liberals and fascists. The rise of Japan as a major capitalist and imperialist power posed something of a dilemma for Europeans and white Americans, but this was resolved by classifying the Japanese as unusually adept "imitators" of Western culture.

The two world wars resulted in the emergence of the United States as the most powerful capitalist nation and the acknowledged leader of the rest. With its own population composed of an amalgam of national and ethnic groupings, and faced with hostile anti-imperialist and socialist movements, the U.S. power structure could hardly afford to revert, at least officially, to the old biological and Social Darwinist racial theories. Moreover, advances in scientific knowledge had largely discredited the evidence gathered in support of these theories. Clearly, a new ideology was urgently needed.

Final factors in the genesis of cultural chauvinism were the mass movements launched by black people, and the interaction between these movements and the anti-colonial revolt. The Garvey movement after World War I and the civil rights movement after World II-Korea both represented a growing black awakening to the world situation. Garvey explicitly hoped to liberate blacks in any nation where they were oppressed. Unfortunately, Garvey's own racial chauvinism, a defense against the racism of the dominant society, sidetracked him into cultural mysticism and grandiose dreams of founding a black empire. Nevertheless, Garvey's movement showed as nothing before the determination of hundreds of thousands of black people to break free of racial oppression. Moreover, Garveyism and the Pan-African conferences organized by Du Bois played significant roles in promoting a nationalist consciousness in Africa.

The civil rights movement began as an independent black struggle, but it started declining partly because its middle-class leader-

ship merged with white liberals and allowed them to define goals and tactics. The concept of Black Power as articulated in the sixties represented a reassertion of black independence. It did not reject tactical alliances with white reformers but insisted that black groups must maintain their organizational integrity and establish strong ties with the general black community. Further, African independence struggles and the Vietnam war made a deep impact on the political consciousness of black nationalists. The revolutionary implications of this became most apparent in the personality and thinking of Malcolm X.

The dangerous mixture of nationalism, anti-imperialism and socialism that some black radicals were beginning to advocate could not long be tolerated. Two ancient tactics were trundled out to meet this threat: repression of the radicals and concessions to the moderates. Additionally, efforts were made to recruit militant but acculturated members of the black middle class as liaison agents between monopoly capital and the rebellious black ghettos.¹⁸ Thus, the spectre of a massive black revolt veering toward political radicalism spurred the further development of cultural chauvinism as a defensive ideology.

In sum, in the era of imperialist crisis cultural chauvinism emerges as the ideological defense of the capitalist system, seeking to unify factionalized white populations in support of Western (capitalist) culture while offering to assimilate those members of oppressed national and ethnic groups who are willing to abide by the system's rules. The roots of cultural chauvinism can be traced to World War I, which should not be taken to mean that other forms of racism abated after that war. On the contrary, cultural chauvinism was simply one side of a dual defensive reaction, the other side of which was protofascism and revived Ku Klux Klanism. These two ideological strains openly confronted each other in World War II and fascism, at least for the time being, went down to defeat. Since then we have seen the consolidation, not without setbacks, of cultural chauvinism as the racial ideology of the liberal imperialist state.

All of these developments were not without their effects on social reform movements. Chief among these was the increasing advocacy of racial integration of nonwhites into American life. This was a liberal reform version of cultural chauvinism, for it still assumed that integration of nonwhites would not challenge the foundations of American society. Thus, CIO organizers and New Deal progressives agreed that blacks and other nonwhites should be counted in. Yet the conservatism and complacency that settled over white America in the 1950's revealed the tenuous nature of integrationism. It required a massive civil rights movement and revolts in Africa to inject some substance into the integrationist rhetoric.

Communist and Trotskyist radicals of the inter-war years were caught in a curious dilemma by integrationism. On the one hand they advocated full racial integration as a democratic demand, but the Russian revolutionaries to whom they looked for ideological leadership insistently talked about the right of self-determination. Since the Russians had only limited knowledge of American conditions and history, and the American radical socialists had little understanding of self-determination, the result was a mass of confusion, opportunism and outright betrayal. Very few white socialists identified self-determination with the repeated independent black efforts to organize and struggle against racism.

Thousands of blacks were active in the labor and socialist movements in the 1930s, but with few exceptions they simply integrated as individuals into white-controlled organizations. The radical black groups that did exist tended to be fronts for white groups or they were eventually taken over by white organizations. Consequently, militant blacks possessed no independent base; they were simply dispersed in a sea of white confusion. The major exception was A. Philip Randolph, whose Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters not only sought to protect black porters but also provided Randolph with an independent base from which he continuously attacked the racism of the AFL.

Cultural chauvinism, by making a fetish of "Western culture," has had still another effect on contemporary movements for social

278

change; namely, it has fostered a reaction in the form of cultural nationalism among different ethnic groups. In turn this has led to cultural arrogance between various Third World groups in the U.S. Hence, the numerous instances of cultural antagonism as for instance between blacks, chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Asian-Americans. The cultural chauvinism of the dominant society encourages ethnic organizations to react by focusing on their cultural differences rather than their common struggle against racism. Moreover, many nonwhites in the U.S. have unwittingly adopted cultural chauvinist attitudes toward Third World liberation struggles—assuming that Third World militants in the American stronghold of imperialism somehow *automatically* know what is the best course for anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This attitude is little different from social chauvinism of nineteenth century European intellectuals. As we have seen in the discussion of the early socialist movement, such arrogance only serves to undermine solidarity between different oppressed groups, thereby bolstering imperialism. Clearly, cultural chauvinism, like the racism of which it is an extension, has acted to confuse and weaken social change movements.

The preceding discussion suggests that as the social structure undergoes changes, whether due to its internal logic or external pressure, social reform movements arise which generally reflect the liberal aspects of the resulting ideological development. Social reformers, jarred into action by structural change, are to a greater or lesser extent alienated from and critical of the dominant social system, and by organizing movements they attempt to push the system in what they believe is a progressive direction. While it is true that these movements are not the underlying cause of social change they can in fact influence the *specific direction* it takes, within the general limits set by structural readjustments. Reform movements thus are the ideological antennae of change.

As such, progressive reform movements are sensitive to and can be made to respond to organized social pressure from other groups in society. Throughout the history of the United States militant blacks have tried to accomplish precisely this. The clash between

*** (H)

black and white reformers forms an integral part of the ongoing drama of the advance and counterattack against racism. This drama in itself is an ideological and institutional manifestation of the expansion and forced retreat of capitalist imperialism. Indeed, it could be argued that just as imperialism created the external forces capable of rolling it back, so has it created an insistent independent internal ideological force committed to opposing imperialism's racist ideologies. White reformers, themselves largely unaffected by racism, generally fail to perceive its full ramifications and subtleties. This is why militant blacks and other nonwhites, who can't escape racial oppression, have ~~so often to take~~ the lead in promoting and consolidating opposition to racism.

often taken

This does not mean that no whites understood the importance of struggling against racism, nor that black leaders were always correct in their proposals and programs. It simply expresses a social dynamic that has recurred in the history of American reformism. White leadership is not automatically racist, nor black leadership automatically correct. Such mechanical formulas do not meet the test of practice. However, the ~~recurrence~~ of this social dynamic around racism indicates a recurring problem or contradiction in the nature of reformism.

continuance

The foregoing analysis of the roots of racist ideology implies that ultimately the attack on racism must become a struggle with the bourgeois social order itself, since the two cannot be isolated one from the other. Bourgeois property relations and their ideological rationalizations in the popular mind of white America have repeatedly incited racial antagonisms. Unfortunately, black leaders themselves have not always understood this, some making a fetish of separatist and escapist fantasies while others vainly sought assimilation into a bourgeois order that could not but be racist.

The dynamics of U.S. historical development led black reformers to develop as an independent ideological force, but not a separate ideological force. That is, although having their own press, organizations, caucuses, and other concerted efforts, black social reformers were seeking to push general social reformism toward a broader struggle where it would confront racism. But this would

280

mean these were no longer reform movements but revolutionary movements attacking a principal phenomenon of the bourgeois order.

This is the final dilemma of reformism. Reform movements have been consistently undermined by racism, but to resolve this problem demands that both the struggle for reforms and the struggle against racism be incorporated into a thoroughgoing process of revolutionary social transformation. Here reformism balks, for its aims are limited and highly specific. However, without transcending these limitations, social change movements will continue merely to react to problems—rather than taking the lead in rooting out causes of problems—and the problems themselves will simply recur in new forms. Like Sisyphus, reformism can expect neither final success nor rest, unless it fundamentally alters its conception of the task at hand.

Notes

Chapter I

1. The New Deal, it should be noted, is not included as a separate case study because it was not a movement. The New Deal represented a federal administration's response to a crisis presented by a catastrophic depression and the convergence of three reform movements (labor, socialist-communist, and the remnants of progressivism) which themselves were spurred to a new militancy by the same economic crisis. Consequently, the New Deal is discussed in the context of these reform movements.
2. For a discussion of Ideology, see Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch. New York (New York: Harvest, 1936), pp. 55-59, 64-70; George Lichtheim, *The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage, 1967), pp. 3-46; Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1967), pp. 123-25.
3. Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1970).

~~the~~ stat

Chapter II

1. David Brion Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (September, 1962), pp. 226-27.

2. Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 19.
3. Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *One Continual Cry: David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), p. 54.
4. *Ibid*, p. 63.
5. *Ibid*, p. 77.
6. *Ibid*, p. 89.
7. *Ibid*, p. 137.
8. Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (2 vols.; New York: Citadel Press, 1951), I, pp. 226-33.
9. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 245.
10. Aptheker (ed.), *One Continual Cry*, pp. 126-28.
11. *Ibid*, p. 121. Walker seems to have believed that British abolition of the slave trade was inspired by humanitarian feeling. With the advantage of hindsight, historians have been less charitable in their assessment of British purposes. For example, W.E.B. Du Bois has observed: "When the American colonies won their independence, the Caribbean ceased to be a British sea and investment began to be transferred from the West to the East Indies. . . . Eventually Negro slavery and the slave trade were abandoned in favor of colonial imperialism, and the England which in the 18th century established modern slavery in America on a vast scale, appeared in the nineteenth century as the official emancipator of slaves and founder of a method of control of human labor and material which proved more profitable than slavery." See Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York, 1947), pp. 63-64. See also Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966).
12. Over the preceding years blacks and Indians had developed close ties in parts of the South. Whites, fearing a joint rebellion by black slaves and dispossessed Indians, sought to create hostilities and racial animosity between the two exploited ethnic groups. The whites' worst fears were realized when blacks and Indians fought side by side in the Seminole Wars of 1817-18 and 1835-42. For a discussion of black-Indian relations in the South, see William S. Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (July, 1963). Also, Kenneth W. Porter,

- "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes in the Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXVIII (October, 1943).
- 13. Truman Nelson (ed.), *Documents of Upheaval: Selections from William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator, 1831-1865* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), pp. xv-xvi.
- 14. *Ibid*, p. 37.
- 15. Davis, "Emergence of Immediatism." Page No?
- 16. Philip S. Foner (ed.), *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (4 vols.; New York: International Publishers, 1950), I, p. 31.
- 17. Herbert Aptheker, *Essays in the History of the American Negro* (New York: International Publishers, 1945), pp. 145, 148-49.
- 18. Howard H. Bell, "Free Negroes of the North 1830-1835: A Study in National Cooperation," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall, 1957).
- 19. Bella Gross, "The First National Negro Convention," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1946), p. 435.
- 20. Aptheker (ed.), *Documentary History*, I, p. 106.
- 21. Bell, "Free Negroes in the North," p. 452.
- 22. *Ibid*, p. 453.
- 23. Aptheker (ed.), *Documentary History*, I, pp. 363-66.
- 24. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 237-40.
- 25. Charles H. Wesley, "The Participation of Negroes in Anti-Slavery Political Parties," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1944), p. 36.
- 26. Howard H. Bell, "National Negro Conventions of the Middle 1840s: Moral Suasion vs. Political Action," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLII, No. 4 (October, 1957), pp. 247-49.
- 27. *Ibid*, p. 253.
- 28. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 11.
- 29. The tendency toward moral absolutism among some of the militants created problems when, for instance, in later years they mechanically trotted out this argument to oppose a fund being raised to purchase Frederick Douglass' freedom.
- 30. Louis Ruchames (ed.), *The Abolitionists: A Collection of Their Writings* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964), pp. 78-83.
- 31. Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 8.
- 32. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 42.
- 33. The Bible was the chief authority invoked by antebellum debaters in

review how
see attached
note

pp. 43-44

284

discussions dealing with all manner of philosophical, social, scientific as well as purely religious subjects; although there was a growing awareness among some that the facility with which the Bible could be quoted in support of almost any side of any issue indicated that it yielded something less than absolute clarity on these matters. The Bible was also widely quoted by the apologists for slavery.

- 34. Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 135.
- 35. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (eds.) *History of Woman Suffrage* (2 vols.; New York, 1881-1882), II, p. 329.
- 36. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 178.
- 37. Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, p. 131.
- 38. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 7.
- 39. *Ibid*, pp. 178-80.
- 40. Despite their long-time interest in anti-slavery work, however, Quakers tended to drop out of the new movement, unable to stomach its militancy and embarrassed by charges by blacks that Friends practiced racial discrimination in their meetings. See Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, pp. 72-73.
- 41. Kraditor, *American Abolitionism*, p. 144.
- 42. Many abolitionists vociferously denounced the war against Mexico which they feared was aimed at spreading slavery. Frederick Douglass was not expressing atypical sentiments when he blasted the war against "unoffending Mexicans" as a war "against freedom, against the Negro, and against the interests of the workingmen of this country."
- 43. For a full discussion of this subject see Leon Litwack's authoritative book, *North of Slavery*.
- 44. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 48-50.
- 45. Wesley, "Negroes in Anti-Slavery Political Parties," pp. 43-44.
- 46. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 216-18, 221.
- 47. Aptheker (ed.), "One Continual Cry," p. 94; Aptheker (ed.), *Documentary History*, I, pp. 32-34, 52-53, 57-59, 61, 117, 171-72, 202; Foner (ed.), *Frederick Douglass*, I, pp. 98-100.
- 48. James M. McPherson, "A Brief for Equality: The Abolitionist Reply to the Racist Myth, 1860-1865," in Martin Duberman (ed.), *The Anti-slavery Vanguard* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965); William H. Pease & Jane H. Pease, "Antislavery Ambiva-

p. 360

e

BAI 10000

- lence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race," *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965), pp. 683-84.
49. Kraditor, *American Abolitionism*, p. 237.
 50. Nelson (ed.), *Documents of Upheaval*, p. xv.
 51. Kraditor, *American Abolitionism*, p. 264n.
 52. Frederick Douglass also employed the "white slaves" argument on at least one occasion, but it is notable that in his usage there is not the suggestion that white slavery was more shocking than black enslavement. See Foner (ed.), *Frederick Douglass*, III, pp. 218-22.
 53. McPherson, "A Brief for Equality," pp. 164-69; Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 224-26; Pease & Pease, "Antislavery Ambivalence," 685-86.
 54. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, p. 216.
 55. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 39.
 56. Pease & Pease, "Antislavery Ambivalence," p. 691.
 57. Aptheker (ed.), "One Continual Cry," p. 71.
 58. Ruchames (ed.), *The Abolitionists*, pp. 83-86.
 59. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 169.
 60. McPherson, "A Brief for Equality," p. 167. It fell to pioneer Negro historians to lead the way in calling attention to evidence of flourishing and highly advanced civilizations that existed in Africa at a time when Europeans were still roaming the forests as savages.
 61. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 48.
 62. *Ibid*, p. 235.
 63. Gerda Lerner, "The Grimké Sisters and the Struggle Against Race Prejudice," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol XLVIII, No. 4 (October, 1963).
 64. Leon F. Litwack, "The Emancipation of the Negro Abolitionist," in Duberman (ed.), *The Antislavery Vanguard*, pp. 140-41.
 65. *Ibid*, p. 145.
 66. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, p. 49.
 67. Litwack, "Negro Abolitionist," pp. 141-42.
 68. John L. Myers, "American Antislavery Society Agents and the Free Negro," *Journal of Negro History*, (July, 1967). pp.?
 69. Kraditor, *American Abolitionism*, p. 244.
 70. Foner (ed.), *Frederick Douglass*, II, p. 11.
 71. John L. Thomas, *The Liberator, William Lloyd Garrison: A Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 346.
 72. Foner (ed.), *Frederick Douglass*, I, p. 78.

73. *Ibid*, p. 94.
74. *Ibid*, p. 82.
75. *Ibid*, II, pp. 52-53.
76. *Ibid*, I, pp. 398-99.
77. *Ibid*, II, pp. 58-59.
78. Taking a similar tack, white abolitionists also frequently exhorted free blacks to reform their personal lives and thereby demonstrate that they were "worthy" of freedom.
79. Williston H. Lofton, "Abolition and Labor," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (July, 1948).
80. Wesley, "Negroes in Anti-Slavery Political Parties," p. 45. *pp?*
81. Eric Foner, "Politics and Prejudice: The Free Soil Party and the Negro, 1849-1852," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. L, No. 4 (October, 1965), p. 239.
82. James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 3.
83. Eric Foner, "Politics and Prejudice," p. 240.
84. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 46-47; Patrick W. Riddleberger, "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro during Reconstruction," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (April, 1960), p. 89.
85. Paul M. Angle (ed.), *The Lincoln Reader* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1947), pp. 85-86.
86. *Ibid*, pp. 250-51, 403.
87. Additional discussion of these topics is found in ~~Ch. VI, pp. 8-10, and Ch. III, pp. 10-11.~~ { Ch. III and Ch. VI.
88. McPherson, "A Brief for Equality," p. 174.
89. Garrison supported universal suffrage without distinction as to race or sex. However, he also supported Lincoln in the campaign of 1864, defending Lincoln's reluctance to grant suffrage to the black men of the South. Garrison thought that emancipation was the most crucial issue and with the war not yet won, Lincoln should be supported. Further, he felt it hypocritical for the North to demand suffrage for the freedmen in the South when many Northern states had limited or no black suffrage. It is because of his support of Lincoln that Garrison's defense of black suffrage is questioned. After Lincoln's death and with Southern persecution of freedmen becoming evident, Garrison belatedly demanded suffrage for black men as a means for their political self-defense. See Louis Ruchames, "William Lloyd Garrison

and the Negro Franchise," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. L, No. 1 (January, 1965). *pp?*

- 90. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality*, p. 429.
- 91. James M. McPherson, "Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. LII, No. 3 (December, 1965). *pp?*
- 92. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality*, p. 430.
- 93. *Ibid*, pp. 234-35; William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History* (New York: International Publishers, 1954), pp. 267, 320.
- 94. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality*, p. 123.
- 95. Riddleberger, "Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro." *pp?*
- 96. McPherson, "Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875." *pp?*

WF

Chapter III

- 1. Herbert Shapiro, "The Populists and the Negro: A Reconsideration," August Meir and Elliott Rudwick (eds.), *The Making of Black America* (2 Vols.; New York: Atheneum, 1969), II, pp. 28-29.
- 2. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 64.
- 3. Norman Pollack (ed.), *The Populist Mind* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), pp. 359-60.
- 4. *Ibid*, pp. 371-72.
- 5. *Ibid*, pp. 369-70.
- 6. *Ibid*, p. 365.
- 7. Francis M. Wilhoit, "An Interpretation of Populism's Impact on the Georgia Negro," *The Journal of Negro History* (April, 1967), p. 116; Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class and Party* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), pp. 70-71.
- 8. C. Van Woodward, *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 252-53.
- 9. C. Van Woodward, "Populism and the Intellectuals," in Raymond J. Cunningham (ed.), *The Populists in Historical Perspective* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1968), p. 63.
- 10. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 246-47, 254.
- 11. John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 40-42; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 179-84.

add
C
paren.

12. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 51.
13. *Ibid*, p. 37.
14. Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (2 vols.; New York: Citadel Press, 1951), II, pp. 747-48.
15. William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History* (New York: International Publishers, 1954), pp. 77-78.
16. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage, 1956), pp. 38-44, 82-83, 175-83, 425-29.
17. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1962), Ch. XV; John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 107-09.
18. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Vintage, 1967), p. 304; Franklin, *Reconstruction*, p. 59. That the Republicans may have acted as much from principle as expediency is suggested in LaWanda and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (August, 1967). *pp*
19. For a discussion of the relative influence of political and economic considerations in the abandonment of Reconstruction, see William B. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (September, 1935). *p?*
20. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Vintage, 1965), pp. 124-31; Martin Abbott, "Free Land, Free Labor, and the Freedmen's Bureau," *Agricultural History*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (October, 1956); LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (December, 1958). *p?*
21. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 52.
22. *Ibid*, p. 105.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 112-13.
24. *Ibid*, pp. 119-21.
25. *Ibid*, p. 115; Jack Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (July, 1953), p. 257.

lower case
(i)

- 26. William W. Rogers. "The Negro Alliance in Alabama," *The Journal of Negro History* (January, 1960), p. 40.
- 27. Aptheker (ed.). *Documentary History*, II, p. 810.
- 28. C. Van Woodward. *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 219.
- 29. *Ibid.*, p. 218; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 193, 245-46.
- 30. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 205-06.
- 31. Norman Pollack. *The Populist Response to Industrial America* (New York: Norton, 1962), pp. 43-44; Pollack, *The Populist Mind*, pp. 403-66.
- 32. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 115; George B. Tindall, *A Populist Reader* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), pp. 75-77.
- 33. Richard Hofstadter. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage, 1955), pp. 121-23.
- 34. Charles Crowe, "Tom Watson, Populists, and Blacks Reconsidered," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LV, No. 2 (April, 1970), p. 109.
- 35. Clarence A. Bacote. "Negro Proscriptions, Protests, and Proposed Solutions in Georgia, 1880-1908." in Charles E. Wvnes (ed.), *The Negro in the South Since 1865* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1968), p. 152.
- 36. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 145.
- 37. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI. *p?*
- 38. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
- 39. Pollack (ed.), *The Populist Mind*, pp. 390-91. The so-called distinction between political equality and social equality presented a neat racist trap into which Southern reformers, under the influence of white supremacist thinking, consistently stumbled. By identifying social equality both with civil rights (equal access to public facilities) and social relations between the races, Southern Democrats were able to play upon white fears of racial amalgamation to deny civil rights to black people. Political equality usually was restricted in meaning to merely black suffrage. Accepting these views, white reformers hesitated to advocate black office-holding because this went beyond political equality to "black domination," and they opposed civil rights because this was equated with "defiling" the white race. The propagation of such deliberately misleading verbal devices amply demonstrated how the ideology of white supremacy, forced to give ground in one area, shored up its defenses by quarantining the area of retreat with a re-

57

strictive understanding that implied all else would remain as under the status quo antebellum. To challenge such insidious definitions and distinctions would have been to attack white supremacy. This the Populist reformers could not do. Their failure made it all the easier for Democrats later to check the limited retreat of white supremacy by disfranchising black voters.

40. C. Vann Woodward, "Tom Watson and the Negro in Agrarian Politics," in Wynes (ed.), *Negro in the South*, pp. 40-41.
41. Bacote, "Negro Proscriptions, etc.," p. 158.
42. Pollack (ed.), *The Populist Mind*, pp. 394-96.
43. Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," pp. 261, 263.
44. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 212-15.
45. Aptheker (ed.), *Documentary History*, II, pp. 697-703.
46. Robert Saunders, "Southern Populists and the Negro, 1893-1895," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LIV, No. 3 (July, 1969), pp. 248-49.
47. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, pp. 211-12.
48. Saunders, "Southern Populists and the Negro," p. 247.
49. Rogers, "The Negro Alliance in Alabama," p. 41.
50. Pollack (ed.), *The Populist Mind*, pp. 392-93.
51. Joseph H. Taylor, "Populism and Disfranchisement in Alabama," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (October, 1949), pp. 415-16.
52. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, p. 262.
53. Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," p. 280.
54. ~~Taylor, "Populism and Disfranchisement in Alabama," p. 417n.~~
55. Pollack (ed.), *The Populist Mind*, pp. 391-92.
56. Taylor, "Populism and Disfranchisement in Alabama," pp. 423-24.
57. *Ibid*, pp. 422-23.
58. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, p. 258.
59. Charles E. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961), p. 146.
60. *Ibid*, p. 47.
61. *Ibid*, pp. 49-50.
62. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, p. 327.
63. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia*, pp. 48, 60, 149.
64. Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 36-37, 136, 218.

Taylor 5

- 65. *Ibid*, p. 137.
- 66. *Ibid*, p. 145.
- 67. *Ibid*, p. 158; Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," p. 284.
- 68. Saunders, "Southern Populists and the Negro," p. 241; Alex Mathews Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York: Columbia University, 1922) pp. 153-54.
- 69. Crowe, "Tom Watson, Populists, and Blacks Reconsidered," p. 102.
- 70. Wilhoit, "Populism's Impact on the Georgia Negro," p. 118.
- 71. Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," pp. 275-76.
- 72. Wilhoit, "Populism's Impact on the Georgia Negro," pp. 119-22.
- 73. Woodward, "Tom Watson and the Negro in Agrarian Politics," p. 55.
- 74. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 343.
- 75. *Ibid*, p. 345; Pollack, *Populist Response to Industrial America*, pp. 105, 130-36.
- 76. For the details of this debate see the articles by Hofstadter and Pollack in Cunningham (ed.), *The Populists in Historical Perspective*; also, Pollack, *Populist Response to Industrial America*, pp. 103-43.
- 77. Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement," pp. 287-88.
- 78. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1815* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 110-14.
- 79. Jack Abramowitz, "John B. Rayner—A Grass-Roots Leader," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (April, 1951), p. 193.
- 81. Bacote, "Negro Proscriptions, etc.," pp. 171-79.
- 80. Aptheker (ed.), *Documentary History*, II, pp. 757-58.



Chapter IV

- 1. Charles H. Hession and Hyman Sardy, *Ascent to Affluence: A History of American Economic Development* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969), p. 424.
- 2. *Ibid*, p. 422; Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1966), pp. 220-21.
- 3. Hession and Sardy, *Ascent to Affluence*, pp. 463-70.
- 4. Quoted in Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), p. 156.

5. *Ibid*, p. 147.
6. Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. 160-75; Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and 'Yellow Peril,'" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. L, No. 4 (March, 1964). *p?*
7. Gossett, *Race*, pp. 418-24.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 311-12.
9. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, p. 148.
10. *Ibid*, p. 166.
11. Vernon L. Parrington, "The Progressive Era: A Liberal Renaissance," in Arthur Mann (ed.), *The Progressive Era: Liberal Renaissance or Liberal Failure?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 7.
12. James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State: 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). *page?*
13. Richard Hofstadter (ed.), *The Progressive Movement, 1900-1915* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 131.
14. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York: Vintage Books, 1948), p. 209.
15. *Ibid*, p. 212.
16. George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), p. 107.
17. Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, p. 222.
18. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 55.
19. Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, pp. 223-24.
20. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 89; Hession and Sardy, *Ascent to Affluence*, p. 580. Years later the economic crisis provoked by the Great Depression impelled Franklin Delano Roosevelt to adopt a similar strategy of reform-to-avoid-revolution.
21. Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, p. 226.
22. *Ibid*, p. 232.
23. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 142.
24. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Vintage, 1969), p. 439.
25. *Ibid*, p. 443.
26. Thomas R. Cripps, "The Reaction of the Negro to the Motion Picture Birth of a Nation," *The Historian*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (May, 1963).
27. Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (London: Collier Books, 1965) pp. 85-86. Black people were especially disturbed by

- the widespread and almost daily occurrences of lynchings. A remarkable black woman, Ida Wells, took the lead in organizing the early anti-lynching campaign. A tireless organizer, writer and orator, she later married Ferdinand Lee Barnett and became a leader in the militant Afro-American Council during the period when this group opposed the submissive policies of Booker T. Washington.
28. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 434-35.
 29. One historian contends that in fact Roosevelt found it politically expedient to adopt anti-black policies even earlier, in 1903. See Seth M. Scheiner, "President Theodore Roosevelt and the Negro, 1901-1908," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLVII, No. 3 (July, 1962).
 30. Anti-imperialist black leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Charles Baylor, Clifford Plummer and Lewis Douglass repeatedly argued that imperialism and racism were linked indissolubly, and that therefore "the American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race." p.?
 31. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 421-23.
 32. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966), p. 112.
 33. Hanes Walton, Jr., *The Negro in Third Party Politics* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969), p. 49.
 34. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*, pp. 347-48.
 35. Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 165.
 36. Walton, *The Negro in Third Party Politics*, p. 51.
 37. Henry Blumenthal, "Woodrow Wilson and the Race Question," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1963). p.?
 38. Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), pp. 65-66.
 39. Blumenthal, "Woodrow Wilson and the Race Question," pp. 11-12.
 40. Wilson's old critic, William Trotter, had also journeyed to France to lobby without success for recognition of racial equality by the Versailles conference.
 41. Walton, *The Negro in Third Party Politics*, p. 54.
 42. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), Chapter XIV.
 43. George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), p. 154.
 44. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Move-*

294

- ment in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 55.
45. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, p. 155.
 46. Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, p. 63.
 47. Gilbert Osofsky, "Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Part 1 (Summer, 1964).
 48. Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, pp. 134-35.
 49. William L. O'Neill, *Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 94-95.
 50. *Ibid*, pp. 138-39, 153-62.
 51. Osofsky, "Progressivism and the Negro," p. 156.
 52. Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 398-412.
 53. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "The Progressive Movement and the Negro," in Charles E. Wynes (ed.), *The Negro in the South Since 1865* (New York and Evanston: Harper Colophon, 1968), p. 67.
 54. Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, pp. 88-89.
 55. Harvey Wish, "Negro Education and the Progressive Movement," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (July, 1964).
 56. Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (2 vols.; New York: The Citadel Press, 1951), II, pp. 704-5.
 57. Emma Lou Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League, 1887-1908," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (November, 1961), p. 498.
 58. Fortune had been warned by some Southern blacks about the problems of organizing a militant protest group in the South. Economic dependency and lack of power made any protest of white rule dangerous. Yet Southern blacks were not entirely passive during this period. All the states and many of the cities that passed Jim Crow laws for streetcars at the turn of the century witnessed boycotts that lasted anywhere from a few weeks to two or three years. Although a few boycotts were temporarily successful, all failed in the end. Perhaps the reason for the willingness of the Southern black population to support boycotts, but not more militant protest, lies in the fact that boycotts were a way of protesting discrimination while accommodating to it—what has been described as "conservative protest." Jim Crow laws

p?

p?

- were created to keep blacks from riding with whites; blacks boycotting the streetcars hurt the transportation companies financially but did not challenge the right of whites to ride alone. For a discussion of the streetcar boycotts, see August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "The Boycott Movement Against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900-1906," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (March, 1969).
59. After 1900 Fortune veered increasingly toward the conservatives of the Tuskegee camp.
 60. Much of the following summary of Trotter's life is based upon the recent biography by Stephen R. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Atheneum, 1970).
 61. *Ibid*, p. 25.
 62. *Ibid*, p. 27.
 63. *Ibid*, p. 33.
 64. *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: International Publishers, 1968), p. 248.
 65. Aptheker, *Documentary History*, II, pp. 901-10.
 66. In fact, Fortune accused Du Bois of stealing the statement of principles he had framed for the League in 1890.
 67. Elliott M. Rudwick, "The Niagara Movement," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLII, No. 3 (July, 1957). *p?*
 68. Although the Niagara Movement called only for black manhood suffrage—as guaranteed by the Constitution—Du Bois supported the woman suffrage movement in later years while editing the NAACP journal, *Crisis*. Woman suffrage meant votes for black women who, Du Bois said, "are moving quietly but forceably toward the intellectual leadership of the race."
 69. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 113.
 70. Rudwick, "The Niagara Movement," p. 199.
 71. Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 180.
 72. ~~Fox~~, *The Guardian of Boston*, pp. 127-29; Aptheker, *Documentary History*, II, pp. 915-27.
 73. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 135.
 74. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), p. 95
 75. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, pp. 19, 35, 255.
 76. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, p. 94.
 77. *Ibid*, pp. 72-73.
 78. Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, pp. 207-47.

no italics

79. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, p. 70.
80. Francis L. Broderick, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 100-01, 106. By 1930 Du Bois had come to realize that radicalism and liberalism (whether white or black) were inconsistent, and in 1934 he resigned from the NAACP. He returned to the group briefly in the 1940s, but this only confirmed his alienation from the organization.

Chapter V

1. Helen L. Summer, "The Historical Development of Women's Work in the United States," *The Economic Position of Women: Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*, Vol. I, No. 1, (1910), p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 17 (note 1).
3. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was one of the very few women to analyze and suggest alternatives to woman's role in the home.
4. William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 159-160.
5. Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement: 1890-1920* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 110-111.
6. Senator George Vest, a Democrat, appealed to the subjective prejudices and desires of his compatriots when he spoke against woman suffrage in the 49th Congress in 1887. "For my part," he said, "I want when I go to my home. . . not to be received in the masculine embrace of some female ward politician, but to the earnest, loving look and touch of a true woman. . . . I want those blessed, loving details of domestic life and domestic love." Aileen S. Kraditor, *Up From the Pedestal* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), p. 195. For a full discussion of the arguments developed for and against suffrage see Aileen S. Kraditor, *Ideas*, Chapters II and III.
7. Kraditor, *Ideas*, p. 31.
8. Alan P. Grimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 102, 111, 131. One slogan of the anti-Chinese movement was "Women's Rights and No More Chinese Chambermaids."

9. Unfortunately there have been few attempts to study the relationship of white suffragists to black women and the suffrage movement's response to racism. Among the standard studies of the woman's rights movement Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle* offers information on the activities of black women. She, however, avoids dealing with the racism in the white movement. Aileen Kraditor's *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement* does offer an in-depth analysis of the alliance between white supremacy and the women suffrage movement. But her study is confined to the years 1890-1920 and thereby contributes to a false impression that the origins of racism in the woman suffrage movement were limited to the influences on the movement at the turn of the century. William O'Neill in his books, *Everyone Was Brave* and *The Woman Movement*, dutifully notes the racism among white women but he is neither interested in analyzing this nor in discussing the independent activities of black women. Andrew Sinclair's *The Emancipation of the American Woman* exhibits the most serious failure in dealing with racism because the author adheres to many of the same racist assumptions that typified the white feminists. The contemporary resurgence of feminism may be stirring a new interest in the relationship between the struggles for racial equality and women's rights. See for example, Catherine Stimpson, "Thy Neighbor's Wife, Thy Neighbor's Servants: Women's Liberation and Black Civil Rights," in Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (eds.), *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (New York and London: Basic Books, Inc. 1971). *p?*
10. See Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), Chapter 3.
11. *The Letters of Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844* (2 vols.: New York, 1934), pp. 428-429.
12. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1968) pp. 47, 344 (note 19).
13. *Ibid*, pp. 74-76.
14. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage* (2 vols.: New York: Fowler and Wells, 1881-1882), I, pp. 108, 137.
15. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 70.
16. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.: New York and Lon-

- don: Harper and Brothers, 1944), II, pp. 1073-1078: quoted in Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage: From Property to Democracy, 1760-1860* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 279.
17. Lucretia Mott wrote to Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "We are now in the midst of a convention of the colored people of this city. Douglass & Delany—Remond & Garnet are here—all taking an active part—and as they include women & white women too, I can do no less, with the interest I feel in the cause of the slave, as well as of women, than be present & take a little part—So yesterday, in a pouring rain, Sarah Pugh & self, walked down there & expect to do the same today." Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (4 vols.: New York: International Publishers, 1950), II, pp. 18-19.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 19; Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp. 133-136. See also Benjamin Quarles, "Frederick Douglass and the Woman's Rights Movement," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (1940).
 19. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, I, p. 103.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.
 21. Hertha Pauli, *Her Name Was Sojourner Truth* (New York: Applen-Century-Crofts, 1962), pp. 189-190.
 22. Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. III, No. 4 (1971), pp. 9-11.
 23. Earl Conrad, "I Bring You General Tubman," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. I, No. 3-4 (1970), pp. 3-7; Sue Davis, "Harriet Tubman: The Moses of Her People," *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (1970), pp. 12-15; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 259.
 24. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, I, pp. 814-815.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 811.
 26. Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. III, No. 4 (1971), pp. 3-15.
 27. James S. Allen, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy* (New York: International Publishers, 1937), p. 85.
 28. For example, Frances Dana Gage sent a letter to Congress saying that when she had worked with the Freedmen's Aid Society black

TR Footnotes
22 + 23
22 is 23 and
vice versa

- women had come to her saying they did not want to marry the men they lived with because then their husbands would have power over them. A Democrat cited her letter during a debate whether to grant black male suffrage in the District of Columbia. The senator argued that black men who abused their wives were unfit to vote. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, pp. 94-97, 103; Foner, *Frederick Douglass*, IV, p. 42.
29. Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, II, pp. 256-59.
 30. *Ibid*, p. 297. Train's association with the paper was short-lived. He was soon off to Ireland.
 31. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, p. 382; Foner, *Frederick Douglass*, IV, pp. 41-44, 212-213.
 32. Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, pp. 258, 269, 314; Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, pp. 214-215, 265.
 33. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, p. 215.
 34. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, pp. 94-95.
 35. Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, I, pp. 323-324.
 36. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, pp. 391-392.
 37. *Ibid*, pp. 193-194, 928. Elizabeth Cady Stanton reported that Sojourner Truth commented on her call for universal suffrage, "if you bait the suffrage-hook with a woman you will certainly catch a black man." This would imply that she did not oppose black male suffrage but looked upon it as a partial victory.
 38. Foner, *Frederick Douglass*, IV, p. 44.
 39. Henry Blackwell opposed "black rule" in the South and in 1857 wrote an open letter to Southern legislatures showing how woman suffrage would guarantee white supremacy in the South even with black suffrage. His arguments were based on statistics that showed the estimated number of white women in the South equaled the total number of blacks, male and female. Stanton, Anthony and Gage (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, pp. 397, 929-931.
 40. Personal animosities also played a part. Robert Riegel notes that the participants, their biographers and historians vary in their emphasis on what caused the original break, some thinking that other considerations were more important than the disagreement over he

*Ida Husted Harper,
The Life and Work
of Susan B. Anthony
(2 vols.: Indianapolis
and Kansas City;
Bowen-Merrill Co.,
1899), I, pp. 256-59.*

I,

II

300

Fifteenth Amendment. Robert E. Riegel, "The Split of the Feminist Movement in 1869," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (1962).

41. Andrew Sinclair, *The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 191.
42. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave*, pp. 19-20.
43. William L. O'Neill (ed.), *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), pp. 119-121.
44. Kraditor, *Ideas*, pp. 30, 164, 216.
45. Ida Husted Harper (ed.), *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: The National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), V, p. 106.
46. Kraditor, *Ideas*, p. 131.
47. *Ibid*, pp. 132-136.
48. Alfreda M. Duster (ed.), *Crusade For Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 229-30.
49. Kraditor, *Ideas*, pp. 169-172.
50. *Ibid*, p. 166. For an illustration of the type of speeches Southern women could make from the NAWSA platform see Kraditor, *Up From the Pedestal*, pp. 262-265.
51. Duster (ed.), *Ida B. Wells*, pp. 72-75; Foner, *Frederick Douglass*, IV, pp. 410-411.
52. Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, II, pp. 853-854.
53. Duster (ed.), *Ida B. Wells*, p. 64.
54. Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p. 437.
55. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America: 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), pp. 134-135.
56. Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, pp. 441-443. For an account of the General Federation of Women's Clubs' refusal to accept black clubs for membership see Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1965), p. 238-241.
57. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1969) p. 107.

(.) P?

58. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave*, p. 275.
 59. Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, pp. 472-477.

Chapter VI

1. Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 24.
2. William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence: The Black Worker in Chicago, 1894-1919," *Labor History*, Vol. 10 (Summer, 1969), p. 429.
3. Julius Jacobson (ed.), *The Negro and the American Labor Movement* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1968), p. 19.
4. Sterling D. Spero & Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp. 5-6.
5. Robert Starobin, "Disciplining Industrial Slaves in the Old South," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LIII, No. 2 (April, 1968); Sydney Bradford, "The Negro Ironworker in Ante Bellum Virginia," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (May, 1959); Charles S. Johnson, "The Conflict of Caste and Class in an American Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (July, 1936). — p?
6. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 6-7. — p?
7. Ray Marshall, *The Negro Worker* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 7.
8. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 10.
9. Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), pp. 71-72, 80-83.
10. Rayback, *American Labor*, p. 100.
11. *Ibid*, p. 101.
12. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1964), p. 57.
13. *Ibid*, p. 58.
14. *Ibid*, p. 67.
15. Williston H. Lofton, "Northern Labor and the Negro During the Civil War," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (July, 1949). — p?
16. Marshall, *The Negro Worker*, p. 57.
17. *Ibid*, p. 63.

18. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 75.
19. Quoted by Marc Karson and Ronald Radosh, "The American Federation of Labor and the Negro Worker, 1894-1949," in Jacobson (ed.), *The Negro and the American Labor Movement*, p. 181.
20. Herman D. Bloch, "Craft Unions and the Negro in Historical Perspective," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (January, 1958). P?
21. Bernard Mandel, "Samuel Gompers and the Negro Workers, 1886-1914," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XL, No. 1 (January, 1955), pp. 52-53.
22. Ray Marshall, *The Negro and Organized Labor* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 22.
23. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 16-30; Alexander Saxton, "Race and the House of Labor," in Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss (eds.), *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 107-114.
24. For example, in 1911 AFL organizers near Fresno, Calif., tried to convince employers to accept the white union affiliate, the United Laborers of America, because this could eliminate the Japanese from harvesting grapes. See Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (4 vols.; New York: International Publishers, 1947-1965), IV, p. 260.
25. Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 193-95.
26. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the U.S.*, p. 142.
27. Tuttle, "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence." P?
28. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 65-66.
29. *Ibid*, p. 132.
30. *Ibid*, pp. 131-132.
31. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the U.S.*, p. 262.
32. Mandel, "Samuel Gompers and the Negro Workers," p. 46.
33. John R. Commons and Associates (eds.) *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. IX (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1910), pp. 185-88; Sumner Eliot Matison, "The Labor Movement and the Negro During Reconstruction," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4 (October, 1948). P?
34. For a discussion of the ideological differences between black and white labor see Preston Valien, "The 'Mentalities' of Negro and White

- Workers: An 'Experimental School' Interpretation of Negro Trade Unionism," *Social Forces*, Vol. 27 (May, 1949). p?
35. A similar altercation with roles reversed had occurred at the 1869 meeting of the black national labor convention when two white delegates were accused of being secret emissaries of the Democratic party.
 36. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the U.S.*, pp. 187-89.
 37. Like most of the rest of the labor movement (including black labor groups), however, the Knights were hostile to Chinese contract labor. A black leader of the Knights, Frank J. Ferrell, was prominent in the unsuccessful fight to include Chinese workers in the organization.
 38. Sidney H. Kessler, "The Organization of Negroes in the Knights of Labor," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3 (July, 1952), pp. 272-73.
 39. *Ibid*, p. 265.
 40. Foner, *Labor Movement in U.S.*, IV; pp. 37, 70, 114, 123, 129; Rayback, *American Labor*, pp. 238, 282.
 41. Foner, *Labor Movement in U.S.*, IV, pp. 65, 88-95, 239.
 42. *Ibid*, pp. 123-25, 127, 168.
 43. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 331. There is some disagreement about the reliability of this figure since the IWW never published any official statistics on black membership.
 44. *Ibid*, pp. 333-36.
 45. Foner, *Labor Movement in the U.S.*, IV, pp. 252-54.
 46. *Ibid*, pp. 120, 549.
 47. *Ibid*, pp. 114, 145, 159, 167.
 48. Philip S. Foner, "The IWW and the Black Worker," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LV, No. 1 (January, 1970), p. 50.
 49. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 228.
 50. Marshall, *The Negro Worker*, pp. 43-44; Paul B. Worthman, "Black Workers and Labor Unions in Birmingham, Alabama, 1897-1904," *Labor History*, Vol. 10 (Summer, 1969).
 51. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 379-81.
 52. Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), pp. 43-45.
 53. Marshall, *The Negro Worker*, pp. 28-29.
 54. Marshall, *The Negro and Organized Labor*, pp. 43-44.
 55. Marshall, *The Negro Worker*, pp. 32-33.
 56. Amy Jacques-Garvey (ed.), *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, Vol. II, (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 69-70.

57. This utopian reasoning ignored the fact that the black capitalist, like his white counterpart, would still seek to minimize his labor costs, and from an economic standpoint would not necessarily be more favorable to the black worker than a white employer similarly seeking cheap labor.
58. Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 384-87.
59. Brailsford R. Brazeal, *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 50-56.
60. Cayton and Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions*, pp. 376-77.
61. Marshall, *The Negro Worker*, pp. 84-85; William Kornhauser, "The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control," *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. LVII (March, 1952).
62. Spero & Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 79, 448, 457. *p?*
63. McWilliams, *North From Mexico*, pp. 190-91.

Chapter VII

1. David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), pp. 53f. *(italic)*
2. Giles Radice, *Democratic Socialism: A Short Survey* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 1-15. *C*
3. Wilson Record, "The Development of the Communist Position on the Negro Question in the United States," *Phylon*, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (1958), p. 313.
4. V.I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (New York: International Publishers, 1951), pp. 76-78.
5. *Ibid*, see Lenin's discussions of Poland and Norway.
6. Lenin, ~~*Imperialism*~~, p. 183. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*
7. Eric Hobsbawm, "Lenin and the 'Aristocracy of Labor,'" *Monthly Review*, Vol. 21, No. 11 (April, 1970), p. 54. *(Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 183.*
8. Lenin, *Imperialism*, p. 218.
9. William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History* (New York: International Publishers, 1954), p. 403.
10. Walton, *The Negro in Third Party Politics* p. 61. *X*

Hanes Walton, Jr., *The Negro in Third Party Politics* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969), p. 61.

11. Sally M. Miller, "The Socialist Party and the Negro, 1901-1920," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LVI, No. 3 (July, 1971), p. 226.
12. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America*, pp. 50, 51-52.
13. James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* (New York: Vintage, 1969), p. 69.
14. Miller, "The Socialist Party and the Negro," p. 221.
15. Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 408.
16. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America*, pp. 49-50.
17. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 70.
18. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America*, p. 52.
19. Kenneth McNaught. "Socialism and the Progressives: Was Failure Inevitable?" in Alfred F. Young (ed.) *Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1968), pp. 253-71.
20. Jerold S. Auerbach, "Southern Tenant Farmers: Socialist Critics of the New Deal," *Labor History*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1966). P?
21. Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 29-32, 75-77, 143-46; Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, pp. 501-04; William A. Nolan, *Communism versus the Negro* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1951), pp. 116-18.
22. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, p. 480.
23. Benjamin J. Davis, *Communist Councilman from Harlem* (New York: International Publishers, 1969). P?
24. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, pp. 489-91, 499-501.
25. Nolan, *Communism versus the Negro*, pp. 118-22.
26. Record, *Negro and the CP*, pp. 72-73.
27. John Beecher, "The Share Croppers' Union in Alabama," *Social Forces*, Vol. 13 (1934-35), p. 132.
28. Record, *Negro and the CP*, pp. 86-90.
29. The CP was accused of virtually sacrificing the Scottsboro boys to martyrdom for propaganda purposes. For a recent re-evaluation of the evidence that questions this interpretation, see Hugh T. Murray, Jr., "The NAACP Versus the Communist Party: The Scottsboro Rape Cases, 1931-1932," *Phylon* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (1967). P?
30. Record, *Negro and the CP*, p. 306.
31. Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), pp. 174-75.

241-13
100%

32. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (2 vols.; New York: Harbinger, 1970), II, p. 736.
33. Glazer. *The Social Basis of American Communism*, p. 176.
34. A classic illustration of these shifting tactics is evidenced in the history of the party's relations with the NAACP, amply described in Wilson Record. *Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1964).
35. Record, *Negro and the CP*, p. 153.
36. *Ibid*, pp. 184-85, 198-99.
37. *Ibid*, pp. 219-20.
38. Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking-Compass, 1963), pp. 345-53.
39. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, pp. 11, 65, 73.
40. J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), p. 16.
41. Harold W. Cruse, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American," *Studies on the Left*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1962). P?
42. Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (New York: International Publishers, 1948). A P?
43. Joseph C. Mouledous, "From Browderism to Peaceful Co-Existence: An Analysis of Developments in the Communist Position on the American Negro," *Phylon*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (1964). P?
44. Ernest Kaiser, "Racial Dialectics: The Aptheker-Myrdal School Controversy," *Phylon*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (1948). P?
45. Genovese, for example, accuses "official" Marxist historical writers—including Marx and Engels—of failing to investigate the independent role played by ideology in unifying and strengthening the slavery-based society of the antebellum South. Eugene D. Genovese, *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History* (New York: Pantheon, 1971), pp. 315-53.
46. Glazer. *The Social Basis of American Communism*, p. 172; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser. *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 208-11.
47. Claudia Jones, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!" *Political Affairs* (June, 1949). P?
48. Nolan. *Communism versus the Negro*, pp. 177-78; Drake and Cayton. *Black Metropolis*. I, pp. 137-38n.

This is the best example of the genre.

49. See articles by Pettis Perry in *Political Affairs*, October, 1949; May, 1950; December, 1950; October, 1951. P?
50. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 320; *Record, Negro and the CP*, pp. 26, 52, 62, 115-17.
51. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 321.
52. Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism*, pp. 130-68; Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: William Morrow, 1967), pp. 147-70; Pettis Perry, "Press Forward the Struggle Against White Chauvinism," *Political Affairs* (May, 1950), p. 144.
53. David A. Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1959), pp. 246-47.
54. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, pp. 357-76.
55. James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1944). P?
56. George Breitman (ed.), *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1967), p. 8.
57. "Documents on the Negro Struggle," *Bulletin of Marxist Studies, No. 4* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, n.d.), p. 4.
58. Breitman (ed.), *Trotsky on Black Nationalism*, p. 16.
59. *Ibid*, pp. 10-19.
60. Cannon, *History of American Trotskyism*, pp. 252-53.
61. Breitman (ed.), *Trotsky on Black Nationalism*, pp. 29, 31.
62. *Ibid*, pp. 33-45, *passim*.
63. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.
64. Daniel Guerin, *Negroes on the March* (New York: Distributed by George L. Weissman, 1956), pp. 131-32.
65. "Documents on the Negro Struggle," p. 8.
66. *Ibid*, pp. 35-41.
67. See Harold Cruse, George Breitman, Clifton DeBarry, *Marxism and the Negro Struggle* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1965).
68. Herbert G. Gutman, "Peter H. Clark: Pioneer Negro Socialist, 1877," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Fall, 1965). P?
69. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), pp. 46-48.
70. *Ibid*, pp. 203-4.
71. Francis L. Broderick, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of*

- Crisis* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 137-49.
72. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, pp. 322-26.
 73. Theodore G. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ramparts Press, [1971]), p. 76.
 74. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
 75. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 324.
 76. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*, pp. 78-85.
 77. Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 390.
 78. Richard Wright, "Blueprint for Negro Literature," in John A. Williams and Charles F. Harris (eds.), *Amistad 2: Writings on Black History and Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1971), pp. 5-9.
 79. Richard Wright, "How Bigger was Born," in Richard Wright, *Native Son* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1940). pp. xxiv-xxvii.
 80. *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, xxix-xxxii.
 81. *Ibid.*, p. xxiv, "Richard Wright," in Richard Crossman (ed.), *The God that Failed* (New York: Bantam Matrix, 1965), pp. 105-6.
 82. Crossman (ed.), *The God that Failed*, p. 117.
 83. See articles by Samuel Sillen in *New Masses*, March 5, 1940; April 23, 1940; April 30, 1940; May 21, 1940. *p?*
 84. Edward Margolies, *Native Sons: A Critical Study of 20th Century Negro American Authors* (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1969), p. 70.
 85. *New Masses*, August 29, 1944, pp. 25-26.
 86. William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1952), p. 424.
 87. Richard Wright claimed that at one time blacks had to fight for the right to set up an all-black committee within the CP. See Guerin, *Negroes on the March*, p. 186n.
 88. Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 24.
 89. George Shepperson, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," *Journal of African History*, Vol. I, No. 2 (1960). *p?*
 90. *Ibid.*; see also George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1962). *p?*
 91. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, pp. 28-30.
 92. Elliott M. Rudwick, "Du Bois versus Garvey: Race Propagandists

- at War," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1959), pp. 423, 426.
93. *Ibid*, p. 424.
 94. E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 152.
 95. *Ibid*, p. 196.
 96. *Ibid*, p. 198.
 97. Record, *Negro and the CP*, pp. 40-41.
 98. For a discussion of Garvey's contact with the KKK, see Cronon, *Black Moses*, pp. 188-90; Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*, pp. 190-91, 205-06.
 99. Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 330.
 100. C.L.R. James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Washington: Drum and Spear Press, 1969), pp. 81-82.
 101. James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Praeger, 1967), pp. 93-95.
 102. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, p. 32.
 103. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, p. 31.
 104. *Ibid*, pp. 33, 48, 56.
 105. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, pp. 38-39.
 106. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, pp. 128-29.
 107. *Dark Days in Ghana* (New York: International Publishers, 1968); *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (New York: International Publishers, 1969); *Class Struggle in Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1970).
 108. Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* pp. 247-53.
 109. Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. xvi, 221, 226.
 110. Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, p. 26.
 111. *Ibid*, p. 25.

Chapter VIII

1. Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. 3-16; Frank M. Snowden, Jr.,

Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 216-18.

2. Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York and London: Modern Reader, 1968), pp. 136-39.
3. Oliver C. Cox, *Capitalism as a System* (New York: Monthly Review, 1964).
4. Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 52-80; Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).
5. Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made* (New York: Vintage, 1971), pp. 21-113, *passim*; Genovese, *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History* (New York: Pantheon, 1971), pp. 23-52, 158-72.
6. Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948), Chapter 16. Some contemporary scholars have denied that there was any causal link between capitalist slavery and racism. These writers place greater stress on psychological of racism; yet their own evidence reveals the crucial role played by the institutionalization of slavery in the English colonies (and English contact with other slave-trading nations) in fostering and shaping the ideology of racism. See Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1957); Carl Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," in Melvin Drimmer (ed.), *Black History: A Reappraisal* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968). A critique of Degler's thesis that black slavery was molded by pre-existing prejudices and discrimination can be found in Louis Ruchames (ed.), *Racial Thought in America*, Vol. I, (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970), pp. 13-15. A similar argument is found in George M. Frederickson, "Toward a Social Interpretation of the Development of American Racism," in Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson and Daniel M. Fox (eds.), *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience*, Vol. I, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971). For a detailed examination of this subject see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1969).
7. James Boggs, *Racism and the Class Struggle* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 150-52.

Causal
as in
"cause"

variables or
pre-existing
attitudes in account-
ing for the de-
velopment

- 8. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966). Even those whites in Europe who were severely exploited had no reason to oppose racism since colonialism and slavery offered them an unprecedented opportunity to emigrate and acquire land and labor resources relatively cheaply. p?
- 9. Some of the complexities of this debate are traced in George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971). p?
- 10. Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York and London Monthly Review Press, 1966), Chapter 3.
- 11. Here we see a modern bourgeois counterpart of the older mercantilist interest in religious education and conversion. The bourgeois evangelism at the turn of the century can also be considered an anticipation of the full-blown cultural chauvinism that would emerge after World War I.
- 12. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, Chapter 8; Gossett, *Race*, pp. 66-68, Chapters VII, VIII, XIII.
- 13. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, Chapter 10.
- 14. Martin Nicolaus, "The Theory of the Labor Aristocracy," *Monthly Review*, Volume 21, No. 11 (April, 1970). p?
- 15. The structural limits of integrationism are discussed in Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1970). p?
- 16. Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969). p?
- 17. Gossett, *Race*, p. 341.
- 18. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. p?