



new foundations

THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS

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FOR A NEW YOUTH ORGANIZATION

As editors of the only national Marxist student quarterly in the United States, we wish to express our enthusiastic support of the following statement issued by eight national youth leaders.

"Among many young people, there has been a growing recognition of the need for a new working class youth organization—one which will participate actively in every struggle for the needs of youth, one which will build interest in any understanding of the Marxist theories of the working class and its historic goal of Socialism.

"Such a militant organization, uniting young workers, farmers, and students, would make a distinct and vital contribution to the advancement of the entire democratic youth movement in our country.

"The interest in an organization of this kind arises from the fact that increasing numbers of youth want to know why, in our great land, they confront a rising tide of joblessness, militarism, and denial of democratic rights.

"Thousands of these young people want to learn about the role and responsibilities of the working class, so that they can join more fully in defending the democratic traditions of our country and the peace of the world against Wall Street's war makers: They want fully to understand the root and source of the national oppression of the Negro people, so that they can better combat every expression of this blight on our nation. From the teachings of scientific Socialism, they want to armor themselves against the poisonous doctrines of national chauvinism, white chauvinism and anti-Communism.

"Because of this widespread interest, we propose to consult with other youth and student leaders on the convening of a conference on or about May 30, 1949, to consider plans for a new organization. Among those who we believe will wish to attend will be young trade unionists, leaders of clubs formerly a part of American Youth for Democracy, Communist youth leaders, and leaders of some campus Marxist societies.

"We are confident that out of the enthusiastic efforts of young people from every part of the country, a new working class youth organization will emerge in the near future. It will vigorously strive for and add to the building of unity among all young people who want peace, democracy and a decent life."

Issued by eight youth leaders. We urge all interested students to contact Lou Diskin at 213 East 25th St., New York 10, N. Y.



DESTROY WHITE CHAUVINISM

EDITORIAL

FROM campuses all over the country we receive stories of students who have organized to fight Jim Crow: In Massachusetts, the members of the Amherst chapter of Phi Kappa Psi withdrew from the national fraternity because they were threatened with expulsion if they permitted a Negro student to join. In Missouri, 70% of the 10,000 white students of the University of Missouri, a Jim Crow institution, voted in a poll to end segregated colleges. In New York, the students of City College went on strike to demand the ouster of two professors for discriminating against Negroes and Jews.

To build these sporadic, scattered campaigns into well-organized national movements, we must understand fully the source of Jim Crow, and why and how it is essential to combat it as part of our general fight for peace and democracy.

Jim Crow does not, as many professors insist, stem from an innate abhorrence of racial differences which may be overcome, if at all, only by education. The so-called racial persecution is, in reality, a particular, vicious device of *national* oppression of the Negro people within the borders of the United States.

Since the war, white chauvinism has been intensified as part of the desperate attempts of atom-bomb diplomats to weaken opposition to their aims of world conquest. Fomented white chauvinism and attacks on the Negro people are part of a scheme to undermine the civil liberties of all United States citizens; thus the attempted "legalized" lynching of the Trenton Six occurs at the same time that the trial of the Twelve at Foley Square aims to outlaw the Communist Party and establish thought-control in "the land of the free."

The heralds of the "American Century" hope also to use increased white chauvinism as a base—as Hitler used anti-Semitism—to spread

myths of American superiority over all other nations to achieve Hitler's dream under the Stars and Stripes. The concepts of "racial" superiority of whites, however, have deeper roots in the history of enslavement of Negroes in United States than anti-Semitism had in Germany.

Historically, the belief in the superiority of the "white race" was developed as a rationale for the naked enslavement and exploitation of the Negro people and the plunder of the lands of the Indians. After the Civil War it was perpetuated to assure a cheap labor reserve and to prevent white workers from uniting with the Negro people to fight for better conditions. Special measures were enacted to hold the Negro people in semi-legal bondage. Lynch terror was—and is—used to enforce these measures. Under these conditions the Negro people in the plantation areas of the South evolved into an oppressed nation, a community of economic life, territory, language, and psychology. Attitudes of white supremacy—white chauvinism—are consciously nurtured by the white ruling class to turn the white working people against the Negro nation to reap greater profits from both.

Because of this history, it is easier for Truman to combine white chauvinist attitudes with lip-service to American democracy to make palatable United States' "moral leadership" to the "backward" countries of the world: Africa, India, and Indonesia; as well as to the "mystical" "Asiatic" Soviet Union and its "satellites."

* * *

We must strengthen our campaigns to destroy every form of Jim Crow on the campuses as part of our general activity to strengthen the progressive forces for democracy and peace. This is true, not only because Jim Crow and chauvinism are the weapons of imperialism, but also because the fifteen million Negro people in the United States are the major ally of the working class. Their fight for their rights, regardless of their class position, places them in direct conflict with the imperialists. Every victory won in the fight for Negro rights places another obstacle in the path of big business' march towards fascism and war by further cementing the alliance between white progressives and the Negro people. This unity provides a powerful front against attempts to gain complete domination of our people as a prelude to a disastrous atom war.

Every victory we win on the campuses in this fight has a special significance. An aspect of the national oppression of the Negro people is the denial of education. If we destroy the barriers which close the gates of colleges to Negro youths, they will be able to obtain the technical equipment to make more effective their contributions to a truly democratic United States. All people in the United States, Negro and white, will benefit from the enhanced contribution of their leadership.

At the same time the elimination of Jim Crow barriers is of direct and immediate importance to white students. The existence of a segregated school system leads to lower educational standards for them as well as for Negro students. As is widely known, educational standards in the South are lower for both Negroes and whites than in the rest of the United States, not only because of the backwardness of the whole South, but also because funds are wasted on segregated facilities. Further, standards are lowered in all parts of the country because of the exclusion of individuals without regard to their potential intellectual contribution because they happen to be Negroes.

* * *

The greatest obstacle to uniting students to win Negro rights is the very existence of white chauvinist attitudes among the student body. No United States citizen is immune or isolated from the attitudes of individuality, competitiveness, and superiority which constitute the rationale for capitalism; nor is any white person immune from attitudes of white chauvinism which are spread through every form of communication: books, radios, movies—even everyday speech.

White students are subjected to an added form of inculcation of Jim Crow ideas. Daily in their classes and textbooks, they are told openly as well as subtly, that Negroes are inferior. In history, texts and the professors who use them teach that Negroes are oppressed because of their backwardness; the Civil War was an unnecessary evil; Reconstruction was a period of excesses. Seldom is there a course in the history of the Negroes' struggles for liberation as part of the powerful democratic aspects of the heritage of the United States. In psychology, society-conditioned tests are taught as "infallible" although they serve to perpetuate the vicious lie that workers and other exploited groups, particularly the Negro people, are innately inferior. In biology, theories of race are often used as justifications for the inferior status of the Negro people. In literature, stereotypes and distortions are ignored or praised—but seldom criticized—in the study of an author's literary prowess.

These chauvinist attitudes are further fostered by the fact that most students are not openly forced by their everyday experiences into direct conflict with the capitalists who promote them. The monied ownership of their colleges is not always apparent. To afford to attend college they must come from families of some means. Their own experiences do not always compel them to challenge capitalist ideology at every point. Recognizing this, we consciously and consistently develop a working class approach in all our work by rejecting attempts to indoctrinate us with a belief and loyalty to the status quo. In the same manner, white students must consistently combat expressions of the

vicious capitalist rationale for the exploitation of the Negro people, white chauvinism.

* * *

The form of chauvinism which most paralyzes progressive white students in the fight for Negro rights is not in most cases the open, blatant assertion of superiority. Rather it is the unconscious acceptance of the attitudes and patterns of supremacy which permeates their environment.

The unconscious form of white chauvinism most frequently disguises itself in the humanitarianism expressed in the attitude, "We want to help you poor, oppressed Negroes." Thus crassly stated, its chauvinist content is obvious. It implies that the "poor Negroes" are incapable of helping themselves. Further, those who assume this patronizing attitude fail to see winning Negro rights as essential to their own well-being.

Many white students also unconsciously express chauvinist attitudes when they assert, "We don't have to fight for Negro rights on our campus; there are so few (or no) Negroes there. . . ." This assertion indicates a complete failure to recognize and combat the worst kind of Jim Crow: the complete or almost complete elimination of Negro students from campus life. This do-nothing attitude, in the face of glaring discriminatory practices, clearly stems from the acceptance of the chauvinist patterns of our society.

Again, white chauvinist tendencies are inherent in the approach which prevents white students from taking special measures to break down the economic, political and social barriers to the advance of the Negro people. The failure to take such *special measures* leads to the failure to take any *effective measures* to destroy Jim Crow.

Only if special efforts are made—for example in the form of scholarships—will Negro students be able to attend colleges, even if there are no quota systems, because of the economic oppression which typically prevents them from paying tuition.

Only if they make special efforts to get to know Negro students as individuals and friends will white students effectively end the subtle patterns of segregation which generally relegate Negro students to a separate section of the class or lunch room.

Only if special efforts are made to elect qualified Negro students to leadership of campus organizations will all students, Negro and white, benefit from the contributions which they are frequently prevented from making by the "unconscious" assumption of white students that they are incapable.

Only if such *special efforts* are made to destroy the Jim Crow patterns of our society, can they be destroyed!

Other forms of such hidden tendencies are expressed by the "go easy" approach, waiting for education to erase Jim Crow, and the rejection of criticism of chauvinist actions without examining the evidence. These attitudes reflect a tendency to accept without struggle the pattern and ideology of white chauvinism fostered by imperialism.

White students must develop a sensitivity to the existence of these "unconscious" forms of chauvinism which can only lead to capitulation in the fight for Negro rights and thus weaken all fronts against war and fascism.

The students of Amherst, CCNY, Missouri, and many other campuses are already organizing to end Jim Crow. As yet, however, their struggles remain in embryo form. Progressives, Communists and non-Communists, recognizing white chauvinist attitudes as the major obstacle to the growth of these struggles, should use a Marxist analysis of the Negro liberation movement to overcome that obstacle, and to give every skirmish direction as part of the general battle for peace and democracy.



Negroes in the Civil War

Jerry Martin

FREE OUR SCHOOLS

THE virus of Jim Crow has penetrated deep into the roots of our educational system. It denies higher education to the vast majority of Negroes, and provides it for a few only under conditions of inadequate facilities, constant discrimination, and difficult financial problems. To combat this virus most effectively, we must understand its source in the *national* oppression of the Negro people. Once we grasp this basic reality, we will be able to guide sporadic skirmishes against Jim Crow practices into long range campaigns to win democracy and peace.

A PICTURE OF EXCLUSION

A statistical summary gives a partial picture of the conscious exclusion of Negro students from the campuses. Only 75,000, or 3.1% of the 2,340,000 students on American campuses in 1947 were Negroes. Of this number, 65,000 attended Negro schools in the South, where segregated education is compelled by law. Only 10,000 Negro students attended the predominantly white schools in the rest of the United States. Thus Negro students formed *less than four-tenths of one per cent* of the student body in the so-called unsegregated schools. The bulk of them, moreover, were concentrated in a few colleges and universities: 3,000 in Roosevelt College in Chicago; 2,000 in Ohio State University; 1200 in New York University; large concentrations in the city colleges in New York; and Wayne University in Detroit. Thus the characteristic feature of higher education for *all* youth—not just those in Southern schools—is segregation, for 85% of the Negro youth in colleges are excluded from white schools, while 60% of the Negro students in schools outside of the South are in three schools.

Discrimination at a graduate level is even sharper than at the undergraduate level. Of the 40,000 advanced degrees awarded in 1947, only 481 (one per cent) were granted to students attending Negro colleges. None of these latter degrees were doctorates. Over 3,780 doctorates were granted in 1947, but only 8 went to Negroes.

Negro students find it especially difficult to enter professional schools. As a result, there are fifty white doctors, forty white dentists,

Mr. Fogel, a '48 graduate of Cornell University, is now an organizational secretary for the Student Division of the New York Communist Party.

360 white lawyers and 1,000 white engineers for every Negro professional in these respective fields. Thus those Negroes who succeed in surmounting the barriers to college entrance are for the most part excluded from professional schools.

After graduation, Negroes are either forced by job discrimination into fields where their special training is not utilized, for example as pullman porters or post office clerks, or limited within professional fields to teaching, medicine, dentistry, and theology.

If he has succeeded in breaking through the Jim Crow barriers to higher education, the Negro student still faces the effects of Jim Crow. If he attends a Negro college, he must frequently work with inadequate facilities. The amount of money spent on higher education of Negro students in the South ranges from one-third to one-fourth of that spent for whites. He must limit the scope of his studies, for Negro colleges generally lack engineering and law schools. If he goes to an "un-segregated" school, then he faces hundreds of manifestations of discrimination daily. There are boarding houses and dormitories he can't live in, cafeterias he can't eat in, barber shops he can't get a hair-cut in, fraternities he can't join, parties he can't go to. He finds that if he needs a job he can obtain only the most menial employment. Negro history and culture are excluded from the curriculum, and chauvinistic books and courses teach instead the crudest slurs against the Negro people. Negro instructors are refused jobs on the teaching staff, but white southerners and northerners daily preach white supremacist attitudes in one or another form.

This exclusion of Negro students from the majority of colleges and universities does not affect Negro students alone. On the contrary, in the South, where segregation is enforced by law, educational standards for whites, as well as Negroes are lower than in the North. Funds are wasted on separate, inadequate facilities, instead of being spent on developing education jointly for Negroes and whites. Standards are lowered because segregation in the South and quotas in the North exclude students because of the color of their skin instead of the caliber of their intelligence. Thus it is to the interests of white, as well as Negro students, to overcome the Jim Crow barriers to education for Negro youth.

THE SOURCE

Jim Crow in higher education constitutes an aspect of the general exploitation of the working class. Only children of the ruling and middle classes, as a rule, can afford to attend colleges and universities. Only five percent of the children of working class parents ever reach

college, and even fewer than that graduate. But Jim Crow in education, while an aspect of the exclusion of working class students is fundamentally a form of the national oppression of the Negro people. The impoverishment of the Negro people is even greater than that of white workers because of the super-exploitation of the Negro people as a nation in the South, and a national minority in the North.

The children of most Negro families lack the funds to even try to crack the Jim Crow wall surrounding higher education. In 1940, the median wage or salary of a Negro urban employee was \$457 annually, less than fifty percent of that of white workers. Even if we assume a 100% increase in the income of Negroes today, as compared with 1940, half the urban Negro workers would still have an annual wage of \$914, or less. Compare this to the high cost of education which in 1947 ranged from twelve to fourteen hundred dollars for the school year in privately-controlled schools, and cost about \$900 in large state and city schools. This high cost prohibits higher education to most Negro youths from the cities. But fully five million Negroes live in rural areas and, in 1940, had a median annual income of only \$251. A 100% increase would provide them only \$502 annually, whereas tuition alone at a school like Cornell University was \$550 in 1947, and room and board cost an added \$1098 every year. Clearly the national oppression of the Negro people, which forces their living standards far below those of most whites, closes the gates of the colleges to most of them.

Even the overwhelming bulk of Negroes who are able to attend college come from working class or poor farm families and are forced to work to remain in school. This contrasts sharply with the background of the majority of white students. A report published by the Office of Education in 1933 (latest available material) indicated that only 21% of the Negro students came from families engaged in professions or business. Twenty-five percent of them, on the other hand, came from families employed in unskilled, personal, or domestic employment. The family income was less than \$50 a *month* for 20% of the students, less than \$95 a *month* for 50% of the students, and less than \$200 a *month* for 85% of the students. Sixty percent of them had to work to pay part or all of their educational expenses. The median number of hours of work a week was 11, but 32% of the students worked for 20 or more hours a week. Eighty-three percent of the students who had jobs were employed in unskilled jobs or in personal or domestic work. Thus, because of the character of the exploitation of the whole Negro people, most Negro students come from working class backgrounds, and are forced to work their way through school.

While exclusion of Negro students stems primarily from the

national oppression of the whole people, the policy of segregation spreads the vile poison of Jim Crow throughout the system of higher education. Segregated education feeds the quota system. Southern administrators in Northern schools, southern chapters of nationwide fraternities and sororities, southern schools which are members of the University Association—all influence northern schools in the direction of discrimination and the quota system. In the recent case of an Amherst fraternity which wanted to recruit into its ranks a Negro student, the southern members of the fraternity led the opposition and were instrumental in obtaining the expulsion of the chapter from the fraternity.

But it would be difficult to maintain education in the South without a quota system in northern universities. Thousands of Negro youth from the South would attend northern schools if they were permitted to enter. The quota system not only keeps southern Negro youth out of northern schools; it also forces thousands of northern Negro youth into segregated schools in the South. Thus, in the academic year of 1939-1940, very few southern Negroes attended northern universities, but almost 3,000 northern Negroes went to Negro schools in the South.

The denial of higher education to Negro youth by segregation and quotas is not accidental, but an important aspect of national oppression. The same Wall Street interests, who benefit from the maintenance of the plantation system and limited industrial development of the South through virtual enslavement of the Negro people in the Black Belt, also control higher education in the United States. As H. P. Beck revealed, 49% of the largest 400 Wall Street firms had one or more of their major officers or board members on one or more of the 30 university boards of trustees which dominate the Association of American Universities, the ruling organization in higher education. These men, who profit so lucratively from exploitation of the Negro people, are the propagators of Jim Crow in higher education.

The conscious exclusion of oppressed nationalities from education has historically characterized imperialist domination. The German rulers of Poland before 1917, for example, limited education for the Poles and forced those who attended school to study in German rather than their native tongues. Again, one form of the imperialist domination of the Great Russian Tsar over the 180 peoples of the Russian Empire was to prevent other than the Great Russians from obtaining education; only after the Soviet Revolution were special steps taken to develop and guarantee equal education for all the formerly oppressed peoples. Just as other imperialists have attempted

to hold back the growth of national liberation movements by prohibiting the education of their leaders, so the southern bourbons and their masters in the North fear that the expansion of higher education for Negroes will stimulate their national liberation movement.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS ON THE CAMPUSES

The struggle for Negro rights on the campus is essential to realize the desires of all democratically-minded students. Only through deeds—not long-winded slogans—to achieve the full rights of Negro students, will it be possible for students to destroy the weight of Jim Crow which drags down the educational standards of *all* students. Only actions will cement Negro-white unity on the campus which will enable all students to win better educational facilities, and to work effectively for democracy and peace.

Negro students can and do make a valuable contribution to campus movements, not only because of the understanding they obtain as members of an oppressed nation, but also because of their direct ties to the working people of our land. They are not as easily fooled by red baiting as are many white students because those who cry “red” aim their screams at anyone who fights for Negro rights and the well-being of the people. They are often more willing to take militant stands for progressive measures because experience has taught them that “Uncle Toms” get nowhere. Therefore, although they may constitute only a small number compared to the total student body of a given school, they will usually make a qualitative as well as a quantitative contribution to the struggle of any progressive organization if convinced that that organization is making the most telling blows for democracy and peace.

Negro students already play a decisive role in a number of major student organizations, particularly the National Student Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These organizations, while completely different in aim and character, are important in campus life. But it will never be possible to win these organizations to an unwavering progressive position if progressives do not make a firm alliance with the Negro students in them.

The struggle for Negro rights, moreover, brings the students into conflict with the main line of those who would organize them for war to impose the “American way of life” on the peoples of the world. This line, expressed in the report of the President’s Commission on Higher Education and in the Harvard Report, lauds the supremacy of so-called “western culture” and “western democracy,” and aims to

instil in the students' minds the idea that the United States is superior to all other nations. But nothing exposes the hollowness of this line today more clearly than the oppression of the Negro people as exemplified by their exclusion from institutions of higher learning. What kind of democracy bars millions of Negroes and whites from voting in the South? What kind of democracy tolerates lynchings and discrimination in the armed forces? What kind of democracy excludes Negroes and national minorities from its juries? Certainly the students will realize that men who uphold this kind of democracy are capable of giving "moral leadership" to no one.

Therefore, to the extent that the students are moved into active struggle for Negro rights, to that extent will they become part of the world peace forces. Every blow for Negro rights is a blow at those who use Jim Crow as a weapon to achieve their aim of dictatorship over the people at home, and conquest of the world.

THE ISSUES OF STRUGGLE

The choice of the issue around which to attack the patterns of segregation on the campuses partially determines the character and degree of Negro-white unity obtained in the campaign.

I. The fight to split asunder the barriers which prevent Negroes from entering institutions of higher learning is the main issue in the struggle for Negro rights on the campuses, for these barriers drag down the educational standards not only of Negro students, but also of whites.

A. End segregation and the quota system.

B. Assure economic aid for Negro students through special provisions for Negro students in a program of general Federal aid, and special scholarships and fellowships awarded by each college.

C. Oppose discrimination in employment. Fight the Jim Crow policies of placement bureaus which give Negroes the most menial jobs at the lowest pay. Force universities to hire Negro graduate students and teaching assistants and fellows with guarantees of regular upgrading, as well as full professors.

D. Support state and national Fair Educational Practices Bills which would outlaw Jim Crow in education.

II. Change the character of education which at present teaches white ideas in subtle and open form, thus hindering the growth of Negro-white unity on the campuses.

A. Oust white supremacist teachers by exposing their discrimina-

tory attitudes and policies and mobilizing the students to demand democratic teaching.

B. Remove chauvinistic courses and books from the curriculum.

C. Introduce Negro history and culture courses to enable students to enrich their knowledge of the heritage of the United States.

III. Destroy every manifestation of discrimination in daily life on campus which tends to separate Negroes and whites; end Jim Crow dances and parties; expose discriminatory policies of dorms, boarding houses, eating places, barbershops; eliminate Jim Crow policies of clubs, sororities, and fraternities.

IV. Organize the students to participate in campaigns to combat Jim Crow on a national scale.

A. Fight Jim Crow in the armed services. Point out, however, that the source of Jim Crow in the army is the same as the source of the war drive, and link opposition to it to the fight to repeal the draft and prevent the passage of Truman's universal military conscription. Moreover, expose the fact that the high "cold war" budget—over 50% of the budget is allocated to implementation of the expansionist policies, including the draft—prevents provision of Federal aid to education.

B. Support a fair employment practices act with real teeth in it.

C. Demand an anti-poll tax measure.

D. Support an anti-lynch law.

V. Defend the Communist Party: One of the main reasons for the attack on the Communist Party is its militant leadership in the struggle for Negro rights as part of the fight for democracy and peace. Defense of the Communist Party is defense not only of the Negro people, but of all the people in the United States.

A. Demand the quashing of the indictment of the twelve Communist leaders now on "trial" in New York for advocating Marxism-Leninism.

B. Demand the abolition of the corrupt jury system which is being used to outlaw the Communist Party and which excludes Jews, Negroes and women.

C. Support the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., one of the twelve, the only Negro City Councilman and the staunchest supporter of Negro rights, the rights of all New Yorkers, in the City Council.

D. Oppose every state or national law which would legalize the Communist Party.

A NOVEL IS NOT WRITTEN

I LEFT my novel in the factory, where I lived it and thought it nine hours a day; I left it in the car in which we rode to and from the factory—forty-five sullen unspeaking minutes each way, forty-five numb, discontented, disliking each other, disappointed in one another, weary of one another, superior to, on the defensive against one another minutes—the five of us, Negroes, hating the factory, hating the iron necessity that ripped us out of bed at five in the winter's war mornings, hating the "good" but maddeningly shrunken, insufficient war-money paid by the big corporation.

Yes, I left my novel in the factory where I also lived it, left it there as I had been living and leaving it other places all of my years. It has been left many places, it lies scattered about in keenly-lived, keenly thought-about fragments in many places: in the many places that have claimed my labor and my strength, the tissue of my young manhood, my youth's dear rage: the places that have dampened down the blow-torched exasperated fires of my hopes and ambitions, the places where while working the sudden clear insights were seen, the fine perceptions seized and tentatively captured in the accurate fine words, the momentary, lightning-illuminated clarity—only to be gone, lost, unrecallable, forgotten, in the few weary numbed waking hours between sleep and work again.

I left it many places, where in the time-demanding, body, nerve and mind-requiring, self-consuming nature of things it could not be written: the devout and defeat and extinguish, the life-sucking places, the inimical-to-life places, the life-defeating places.

I left it, over the course of the years, in job-seeking walks on foot from one place to another while the empty busses and the unpassengered trains passed; I left it scrubbed into the tiles of bathroom floors and behind polished toilet-bowls in middle-class houses daysworking by the hour, in the lustre of car-bodies polished by the hour, in the

Mr. Bradford now works in the Jefferson School Bookstore. This and the other story (p. 242), two of many "Notes for the Novel," are autobiographical.

windows washed and the rugs rolled and put up in attics, and in the cellars cleaned out; I left it in the elevators run, the empty foyers doormanned in the required flunkey-suit the long interminable hours, and in the front seats of cars chauffeured and waiting outside the hotels and the theatres and the beach and country and golf clubs and the A. & P.'s and Saks' and Arnold Constable's and Russek's and Gimbel's, and in the lawns and mowed and watered and the hedges clipped; I left it in the relief office anterooms waiting the desperate supplicant or defiant hours for the food-vouchers and the authorizations for children's shoes and dental extractions.

I left it at the bottom of the dug WPA ditches, and in the mud of the dredged-out yacht-basin and in the hammered and split stone of the removed hills and roadbeds: I left it in the sinks of greasy restaurant back-kitchens, in the scoured pots and the washed million dishes: I left it in the mopped-down portered janitored hallways, in the shoveled-in coal and the wheelbarrowed-out ashes of the furnaces, in the threading of steel snakes through revolting stinking overflowing, stopped-up sewer lines in the basements of apartment houses where I could never rent: I left it on the city dumps of Philadelphia where the people foraged in the dump-piles and the ash-piles for food: I left it in the boxcars and the backs of trucks and in roadside and culvert camps and jungles and police-stations and Salvation Army canteens on hobo-trips—

O, my time's dear waste! I left it the novel many places, the places where bitterly furiously numbly dumbly keenly I lived it. And left also those places the fragments of my youth my drive my energy my hopes my desires my original child's unbittered love of life and people and the world, and also great ripped-from-me fragments of the innate inborn birthrighted dignity of man.





Nat Turner

Jacob Landau

A STUDENT CRUSADE FOR DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

Infringements of academic freedom hardly make headlines anymore. Witch-hunts, expulsions, and the firing of professors—these are the harbingers of the “cold war” on our campuses. These attacks parallel developments in the nation at large, and stem directly from them. The most naive student must ultimately realize that if there were no trial in New York’s Foley Square, neither would there be firing in Seattle, Washington, or expulsion in East Lansing, Mich. On the campuses, too, the “danger of Communism” is the well-propagated myth that condones all sins.

Suppression is only half the story. Reaction fights with ideas, especially on the campuses. Today, more than ever, college speakers and professors are singing the praises of the Marshall

Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and other aspects of the “cold war.” Even the vicious attacks on academic freedom are aided by apologists in the university community. Sidney Hook of New York University and George Counts of Columbia lead the informal, professorial “Un-American Committee” to gag and handcuff their colleagues and students. In the guise of liberal intellectuals, they echo those who would stamp “verboten” on everything but the most virulent jingoism.

The fact is that the American student movement, in the midst of the growing fascist-like attacks on democratic rights, is beginning to mount its own offensive. It cannot be denied that the events of the past months have affected the campus. They have, profoundly. But the major objective of reaction has not been achieved. There has been intimidation, but student America has not been intimidated.

The evidence is most visible on the campuses where the attacks on

Mr. Shaw, a veteran, is a graduate student of economics and Chairman of the Council of Student Clubs of the Communist Party.

academic freedom have taken place.

When the three professors were dismissed from the University of Washington in a matter of days a Student Organization for Academic Freedom was established. On a campus where the progressive student movement had not sunk deep roots, S.O.A.R. achieved a membership of nearly two thousand.

The Illinois State Legislature thought it could intimidate students from the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College, who had lobbied against a group of suppressive bills, by establishing a special committee to investigate those two schools. The response from the campus was immediate and overwhelming. Students of every political persuasion united in defiance of the witch-hunters and pledged their support to whatever individual or group that might be under attack. Throughout the nation what had happened in Illinois brought new vigilance. The University of Michigan *Daily* put it this way: "If the Illinois investigating committee repeats the Congressional probes of last year and makes its target the university, the days of academic freedom are indeed numbered. Yesterday, it was Olivet and Oregon, today it is Chicago; who will it be tomorrow?"

In Texas, perhaps the most outrageous violation of academic freedom took place, when the state legislature voted to expel "all or

any persons found to be disloyal to this nation," student or teacher, from state colleges and universities. According to the bill itself, the legislators were riled because "a self-avowed Communist appeared as a witness" before it. What happened on the campus after this was most interesting, especially since Texas is a "conservative" university. The president of the student body and the *Daily Texan* both attacked the measure—and then in an avalanche of letters, rank and file students began writing to the newspapers. They were not "canned" letters, nor did they come from liberal, progressive, or even especially politically-aware students, but they were against thought control, they were against suppression, they were insulted and angry. The fact that the bill had been introduced because of the activities of a single University of Texas student, Wendell Adlington, only added to the demand for the abrogation of the fascist act of the state legislature.

And it has been thus in N. Y., Michigan, New Hampshire, Cornell, Minnesota—wherever reaction has struck at democratic education. What is equally significant has been the response from campuses which (so far) have seen incidents of their own.

It is of great importance that the moral and political support for students and teachers threatened by repressive actions has nearly everywhere taken concrete

organizational forms. Academic Freedom Committees, Committees for Faculty and Student Rights, Civil Liberties Clubs dot the campuses.

EXTEND DEMOCRACY

But educational democracy demands more than defense of faculty and student rights. America's colleges and universities are in their very make-up anti-democratic. The victories won or struggles waged against political repression, will be meaningless unless the segregation-quota system eating at the heart of campus democracy is destroyed.

It is of the greatest significance that the American campus is turning its attention to activity against discrimination in education at the very same time that it is militantly defending its political rights.

The sentiment of students is most clear. The furore aroused when an Amherst College fraternity pledged a Negro student developed into a nation-wide demand for the elimination of any student organization which practised discrimination. Scores of student councils passed exactly such resolutions. At the University of Missouri, a school in the part of the state called "Little Dixie," about 7,500 students, three-fourths of the students, voted 7 to 3 in favor of admitting of Negroes into their Jim-Crow institution. In New York City, students at City

College have fought hammer and tongs for the dismissals of Professor Knickerbocker and Instructor Davis, gentlemen who have disgraced themselves and the college by anti-Semitic and anti-Negro actions. A student strike, to force the reluctant administration to act, to end the over long period of white-washing and delay, is now being organized. At the University of Minnesota demands are heard for the introduction of a Negro History Course. In Wisconsin, graduate students reacted immediately when a dormitory attempted to segregate a Negro student.

In Michigan one of the most important movements has developed around a campaign for the passage of a Fair Education Practices Act. Sparked by a Committee to End Discrimination at the University of Michigan, groups of every kind — political, religious, academic—have united their forces with community organizations in a drive that has every possibility of success.

Issues of discrimination arise on every American campus. Each of them has to be fought. Michigan students, however, emphasize, that a frontal attack on the barriers that keep Negro students, and those from minority groups, out of the colleges is the basic question. The other aspects of discrimination stem from this, and will be more easily met as the barriers are breached.

END MILITARIZATION

The March 1949 issue of *The Intercollegian*, published by the National Intercollegiate Christian Association, calls attention to an aspect of democracy in higher education that demands far more attention than it has so far received on the campus. An article by John M. Swomley, Jr. called "Heads for Brass Hats" reports that the "effort to capture the best minds of the nation for military purposes is being aided by large military appropriations for educational purposes." In '48-'49, the Navy spent \$20,000,000 in 150 institutions. The most recent Army budget had \$70,000,000 set aside for university research. Does this give the military influence in college administration? Does this affect democratic education? The answers are obvious.

The militarization of the campus is even more direct however. The *Intercollegian* reports a steady and alarming growth of ROTC's. The approximately 153 before the war have grown to 316 today, and plans have been made for units on over 450 campuses. Hundreds of thousands of students are involved, *most of them in compulsory programs*.

The conclusion of the article's author are significant: "The military emphasis in education not only turns the minds of youth toward preparation for war when they desperately need training for peace, but it also is an undemo-

cratic and conservative influence in a day when training for democracy and social change are mandatory."

Only at the University of Wisconsin has there been the development of activity expressing opposition to this form of militarization of the campus. A student member of the state legislature has introduced a bill abolishing compulsory ROTC. Supported by the major religious and political organization, this bill has become the center of a struggle that revives memories of the militant nationwide anti - compulsory - ROTC movement of the '30s that gave the first impetus to the powerful progressive student anti-war campaigns of that decade.

Far more is needed. Militarization is a live issue in American education. It will be impossible to win victories on either the academic freedom or discrimination fronts unless the efforts of the brass-hats to dominate the universities are rebuffed.

TOWARDS GREATER DEMOCRACY ON ALL FRONTS

In various parts of the country, efforts have been made to unite the parallel movements around academic freedom, discrimination, and the more modest anti-militarization activity. The reasons are obvious: the three campaigns are but various aspects of the same basic need: to defend and extend democratic education in the United States.

Unity of the many forces involved would both guarantee greater strength in carrying through all activities, and also provide new resources in combatting the efforts of reaction to put both students and faculty in an intellectual and political straight-jacket.

Developments on campuses throughout the nation demonstrate conclusively that these are not issues that concern the left alone. Students of every political belief not only can be but have been involved in the various campaigns. Ideological differences have been put aside to meet common problems, to meet common dangers, to win victories that are in the interests of the entire campus.

This is not to say that the movement doesn't have weaknesses. The Marxist Student can point to two that are both most significant and most dangerous. The first line trenches in defense of academic freedom run through Judge Medina's courtroom and are manned by the twelve leaders of the Communist Party. Their successful defense will strike a shat-

tering blow at the enemies of democratic education. But the campus has not spoken up on the trial of "The Twelve" in the loud, clear, unified, tones that are needed. It is still far too much an issue that concerns only the left.

Similarly, the hysteria that exists in America today, is not some kind of amorphous, general hysteria as most campus campaigns imply. *It is war hysteria.* It exists because American imperialism is desperately trying to "save" itself by the criminal idiocy of a new world war. This too the campus must ultimately realize.

At present only part of student America sees these weaknesses. That part, led by conscious Marxists, does not hold itself aloof from the general democratic movement on the campus. On the contrary, it works for and builds such a movement—regardless of its weaknesses, its blind-spots. But it also fights with all its strength to build a student movement that is fully conscious of its responsibilities and of the full struggle in which it must participate.



THEY'RE CLAMPING DOWN

Academic freedom is of deep concern to me as one of the first persons to be denied the right to complete his academic work because of the current reactionary hysteria. Because of this I have found it necessary to present my case to the students of this country. I spoke at most of the major campuses throughout the Midwest and in the East. Almost everywhere I found increasing infringements of academic freedom.

One of the first campuses I visited, the University of Chicago, is typical. There, all sorts of restrictive rulings have been enacted in recent months. To indicate a few is sufficient. One is that political organizations cannot use the exhibit facilities that are available to all other organizations. (The YPA discovered this after they had completed a great deal of

work preparing a Negro History Week exhibit.) Another Chicago ruling is that it is no longer permissible to distribute certain types of handbills, for example, those advertising a specific meeting. The implications of this developing trend are clear to the majority of the editorial staff of the Chicago University's newspaper, the Maroon. It commented on my case as follows, "The facts of this case . . . show a sharp delimitation of James Zarichny's civil rights. The Maroon feels that this action by Michigan State strikes at the roots of academic freedom." Yet these same people could not see what happened in my case was a threat to their academic freedom. Perhaps, now that the Illinois Senate is investigating student activities at Roosevelt College and the University of Chicago, they will be able to see that, just as in Michigan, Senatorial investigation produces pressures on University administrations which lead to expulsions. The precedent established in my case will be used at

Mr. Zarichny, a veteran, was expelled from Michigan State College, where he was majoring in mathematics, in December, 1948, for listening to one of the indicted "12" Communists off campus. He is now touring campuses throughout the country to bring his case to the students.

Chicago, unless student protest stops it.

This trend of setting new rules is supplemented by restrictive interpretations of old rules. I was almost barred from speaking at the University of Minnesota campus because it was claimed that the YPA had not given them adequate information concerning me. Militant protests by certain members of the Young Progressives resulted in last minute permission.

The activities of students are putting skin and flesh upon the skeletal structure of the NSA Bill of Rights. While certain people are debating formal, on-paper rights, the type of struggles developed will define the rights of students and student organizations. Hot air can not win for students the right to distribute handbills, the right to form any democratic organizations desired, the right of their organizations to bring on campus an outside speaker of their own choice, the right to select editors of student newspapers without administration interference, or any one of the many other rights that are at issue today.

Such student needs as peace, an end to discrimination and federal aid to education are the essential concerns of today's campus. Infringements of student rights take place against those who are fighting for these issues. Thus the struggle for student needs inevi-

tably brings one face to face with the need for academic freedom.

The whole history of my case shows this. I was placed on disciplinary probation because the AYD had distributed handbills favoring FEPC on campus. Later I was not allowed to complete my education at a time when I was three months short of the B.S. for which I had been working nearly four years. The reason given was that I had participated in an "extra curricular" activity—an off-campus, non-college Civil Rights Congress meeting at which Carl Winter, one of the indicted Communist Board Members, spoke.

As I have travelled around the country explaining the nature of my case, impressing the importance upon students, and developing the needed kind of protests to President John A. Hannah of Michigan State College in East Lansing, Michigan, I have increasingly become convinced of certain things: The same reactionary pressure which is destroying academic freedom at Michigan State is threatening academic freedom everywhere. As never before, the ivy walls cannot enclose the student into an ivory tower. To win, he must obtain the support of organized labor and the general communities. It becomes imperative that students use their organizational forms to achieve the solidarity and strength in order to halt the current fascist offensive.

OBSTACLES TO THE COLD WAR

The scene was a student assembly at the University of Washington. The subject of debate, the recent dismissals of three professors for political activity. One of the debators called the firings a "tragic error." His antagonist, an expert on China, defended the action of the President and the Board of Regents.

We are engaged in a 'cold war' against the Soviet Union, the *Washington Daily* reports him as saying. We are engaged in a battle for the minds of men. It is a ruthless and merciless struggle. Anyone who stands in the way of the prosecution of this 'cold war,' therefore, must be immediately removed as a precautionary measure.

The three ousted Washington professors accept this challenge. We are indeed proud to be obstacles to the 'cold war.'

No act of force and violence was alleged against Dr. Herbert J. Phillips or myself. Even the majority of the faculty Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, some of whose members went out of their way to express

disapproval of Communism, deemed inconclusive the evidence adduced to prove that the Communist Party advocates force and violence or that it is the agent of a foreign power.

Dr. Phillips (Philosophy) and I (Old and Middle English) were fired merely because we are and for nearly fourteen years have been members of the Communist Party. Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach (Psychology) was actually dismissed—the fact is nowhere clearly stated—for activity in such so-called "Front" organizations as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—a clear case of attempted proof of guilt by association.

The State Un-American Activities Committee was the offspring—of rather dubious legitimacy—of the reactionary 1947 legislature. Its chairman was Representative Albert T. Canwell, who, with two other members, was beaten for reelection in 1948. The committee was given extraordinary—and probably illegal—powers, but not enough to satisfy Senator Bienz, another defeated member, who mourned that he did not also have powers of summary execution.

In the spring of 1948, after a rather unsuccessful series of hearings which attacked the Washing-

Professor Butterworth was, until dismissed in January, 1949, an Associate Professor of Old and Middle English at the University of Washington where he had taught for nineteen years. He is now touring campuses as are the four other professors expelled in the latest wave of hysteria.

ton Pension Union, paid sleuths of the Canwell Committee descended upon the University campus, with terror and intimidation as their main inquisitorial weapons. Some thirty-five teachers and their wives were subpoenaed as hostile witnesses.

The friendly witnesses, like J. B. Matthews, Hearst reporter Howard Rushmore, and George Hewitt, were given several hours each to slander the Communist Party. That the committee did not mind a little perjury is shown by the fact that Hewitt was allowed to give false testimony against Mrs. Florence James, co-director of the Seattle Repertory Playhouse, Dr. Gundlach, and one other university professor. Then he was whisked out of the state before the sheriff could catch up with him.

Unfriendly witnesses, however, were merely asked the \$64 question. If they tried to make a statement they were immediately silenced by the gavel. Six Seattle citizens, including Phillips and Gundlach, who stood on their constitutional rights and refused to answer the question, were cited for contempt. These contempt trials are going on now. I am happy to report that Dr. Phillips, the first to be tried, was acquitted by a jury of eight men and four women.

As a result of the Canwell hearings the University administration brought charges against six of the University staff. We were tried

before an eleven-man faculty committee, in accordance with the excellent tenure code our Teachers' Union had initiated some years ago. The hearings lasted some seven weeks. At the outset A. Phillips and I proclaimed our membership in the Communist Party. It is significant that the faculty committee recommended, by a vote of eight to three, that Phillips and I be retained in our jobs.

President Allen, however, rejected this recommendation. The reactionary Board of Regents then decided to dismiss summarily Phillips, Gundlach, and myself and to put the three others on a humiliating probation.

Shortly after the Washington dismissals two men at Oregon State College at Corvallis were notified that their contracts would not be renewed. They are Dr. Ralph Spitzer (Chemistry) and Professor Raymond La Vallee (Economics). President Strand was especially outspoken against Dr. Spitzer. The latter had dared to support that "charlatan" Lysenko in a letter to the Chemical and Engineering News. He had thus clearly indicated that he was the slave of the Communist Party line.

It is to be noted that Dr. Spitzer had merely suggested the examination of the achievements of Lysenko in such of the latter's own works as are available in translation rather than in secondary sources.

It is also to be noted that President Strand uses much the same language to justify his dismissals as did President Allen in the Washington cases.

The Washington and Oregon cases, though politically the clearest in the country, are by no means alone. Dismissals have occurred in colleges from New York to Washington and from Michigan

to Texas. Nor have the elementary and secondary schools escaped. Nor government workers and postal clerks. The Feinberg Bill in New York may well cause more hysteria than did the Canwell Committee.

Truly the "ruthless" "cold war" is taking a fearful toll; but action now can and will defeat it.

JAMES COLEMAN

12x12,000,000

The Scene: The main court room of the Federal Court House at Foley Square.

George W. Crockett, a Negro defense attorney of the twelve Communist leaders, is voicing his regrets for crying in the court. Judge Harold R. Medina sways back in his huge chair. He eyes the tall Negro attorney and laughs sarcastically. His mien becomes patronizing as he says: "If you can avoid weeping in the court room it would be better. But if you want to weep, as you did, I guess you'll have to weep. Let us keep the weeping to a minimum."

"I offer no apologies," Crockett

says to the judge. "But I do regret. . . ." He is interrupted by Medina who now wears a jeering smile. "Well, I think if counsel can avoid weeping in the courtroom it is generally better."

"I agree your honor, but on the other hand, when you are confronted with a situation where the court states that if there is any incident of racial discrimination he certainly would be glad to go into the matter, and the U.S. Attorney gets up and in a rather technical manner tries to give the court some basis for not inquiring into the matter, and when that happens, superimposed upon year after year of subtle discrimination, it is bound to call forth some emotional expression."

The Judge's reply is heckling: "You certainly wept, and wept

Mr. Coleman, a veteran, left Howard University in December 1948 to study Marxism at the Jefferson School preparatory to working in the South. He is Social Science Editor of *New Foundations*. (p. 235)

profusely and plainly, in the sight of all."

This is a mere specimen of the callousness that is the dominant feature of Judge Medina. To further illustrate the magnitude of his bias, witness the following episode between an admitted perjurer, the judge and Harry Sacher, the defense attorney:

Defense: Did you ever select jurors from lists of Westchester county voters?

Jury Clerk: Not at any time.

Defense: Then that statement in your affidavit of Oct. 6, 1948 is false, is it not?

Jury Clerk: Yes.

Medina: It is not false!

Defense: He said it was false.

Medina: You could argue the affidavit was deceiving.

Defense: I say it is false.

Medina: And I say it is not. . .

The Judge also ably assists the prosecution with curt, authoritative prompts such as, "Does prosecution wish to object?" Or, "Now that's a remark that will be struck off the record if prosecution desires." And, "If prosecution will object to that I will sustain." At other times, his honor interrupts to remind defense: "My mind is made up. You can continue arguments if you wish."

Once defense attorney Sacher protested: "You rule before an address can even be made to you, Your Honor." Whereupon the judge replied, "I am way ahead of you." Such is the 'due process of the law!'

We see above some of the ways in which the judge used his position on the bench during the weeks preceding the trial to prevent the presentation of material showing deliberate discrimination in the picking of juries. Juries have rarely contained Negroes, Jews, or members of the general working population. The following data is, briefly, the proof which the judge prevented Doxey Wilkerson, of the Jefferson School from presenting: Although 55% of the population of New York City are manual workers, they have constituted less than 1% of 70 jury panels; in contrast, executives and proprietors, 9% of the population, have made up nearly 50% of all the juries. Questionnaires signed by Negroes bear the segregating symbol "C." By Senior Judge John C. Knox's own admission, the jurors have been and "will continue to be handpicked and it will be done with care." As a result, not a single Negro has been picked from *four* Assembly Districts in Harlem in the past year! The masses of the people, who may not think "Right" have not been permitted seats in the jury box of the New York City Federal Court.

The defense had been arguing for the quashing of this trial on the grounds that jury selection had been discriminatory—but to no avail. Medina takes over the examination. With Truman-like Demagoguery, he admits three Negro people to the jury. But even with

this departure from the usual selective methods (forced as it was by the Communist Party's exposé), this jury is not representative of the City's population. It is of more than ironical interest to observe that Judge Medina, himself, when a practicing lawyer, attempted to prove the bias of jury selection in New York county. When confronted with this reminder the Judge said yes, but I was overruled in that case, so that means that this jury is not undemocratically chosen. The Judge's glee was immediately banished when the defense pointed out that they are prepared to give the necessary evidence lacking in the presentation of his charge.

But more than breaches in procedure are to be noted in this trial (and there are scores). More than twelve men are being prosecuted at Foley Square. The trial itself is a breach of our Constitutional Rights. These twelve Communists are charged with conspiring to organize the Communist Party and advocating certain disagreeable (to the capitalists) ideas. If the Court holds this to be a crime, then the last nail has been hammered into the coffin of our Bill of Rights. You and I might as well adopt the faith of our rulers because our religion, which is after all a belief, may not "conform." Free speech would be precluded by the denial of free thought. We should be cognizant that the aim of those who are trying the "12" is fascism! The bank-

ers and generals know that the prerequisite for forcing the American people into an unwanted, murderous war is complete control of their thoughts and actions.

The "conviction" of the "12" will therefore affect all Americans. It will lead to even more severe torture of the Negro people; the intensified war drive has already led to the legalized slayings of Willie Milton, the Lipscomb Brothers, and others, to say nothing of the extra-legal slayings of the Negro people that have gone unrequited. The very indictment of the "12" has created an hysteria on the campuses which has led to the dismissals of Professors Phillips, Butterworth, and Gundlach from Washington University for holding "alien" ideas; it can be seen in the expulsion of Jimmy Zarichny from Michigan State College for *listening* to one of the indicted "12."

The trial at Foley Square is not merely of "12," but of 12 times 12,000,000 American women and men.

Already we have dilly-dallied long in our lethargic permission of the thousands of atrocities and injustices that surround the lives of the Negro people. We Americans are hereby given a final chance to ward off fascism and war by rallying behind the twelve Communist leaders. We have the tragic lessons taught us by the German Nazi. Let us therefore act to thwart this fiendish plot *NOW*—before it is too late.

WILLIAM A. REUBEN

IN TRENTON LYNCHINGS ARE LEGAL



IN DEATH ROW of the New Jersey state prison six men, whose cells are no more than twenty feet away from the electric chair that menacingly confronts them, wait while the state's seven Supreme Court justices study their appeal, before ruling whether these men are to die for a crime they could not have possibly committed. These six men are Negroes.

Their names are Collis English, Ralph Cooper, McKinley Forest, John McKenzie, James Thorpe and Horace Wilson. Their case may make Trenton a name more terrible than Scottsboro. Even though the legal amenities have been formally observed, if the N. J. Supreme Court upholds their conviction, these six Negroes will be lynch victims just as surely as if their fate had been decided by a mob of hooded Georgia Klansmen.

What happens in this case concerns not only the immediate victims and other Negroes, but all of the people of America. If the Trenton Six are put to death, a further step will have been taken to render constitutional freedoms as lifeless and meaningless as one of Harry Truman's October promises. Does this statement seem hysterically preposterous? Examine the blue-print that was used to engineer this frame-up, to see how far-reaching, and frightening, are the implications of this case.

On January 27, 1948, at ten-thirty in the morning, 73-year-old William Horner was attacked in the back room of his dingy second-hand junk store on North Broad Street, Trenton. Battered insensible, he died the next day without regaining consciousness. There are no known eye-witnesses to the crime. Only three persons are able to supply even the remotest information about it. Their descriptions do not tally: One, Mrs. Barclay said she saw three men, all in their teens,

Mr. Reuben, a veteran, is studying at Columbia University. He is a reporter for the *National Guardian* and *Reynolds News* (an English liberal journal).

one of whom was wearing metal-rimmed glasses. Another, Frank Eldracher, saw two men, between twenty and thirty years old, one light-complected, the other dark. He was sure that neither wore glasses. The third, Miss McGuire, insisted that the three men she saw were all dark-skinned and that two were in their late thirties. The only point of agreement reached by these three witnesses is that the men were Negroes.

Capping a series of unsolved crimes and occurring in a busy downtown section of the city, the slaying of the aged second-hand dealer stirred much commotion. Trenton's two newspapers seized the story with maniacal frenzy, paid little attention to fact in their search for headlines that would sell newspapers, kept the story going for four days with front-page banner headlines, and then let the editorial writers take over to make scathing demands on the police for protective measures to halt the crime wave.

With the Mayor of Trenton under indictment on a graft charge and a long record of police and administration corruption, city officials responded to newspaper criticism by promptly organizing a special 15-man motorized bandit squad. Armed with tommy guns and given orders to shoot to kill, they cruised through the Negro community, arresting scores of Negroes, questioning and roughing up hundreds more, and terrorizing thousands.

On February 11, two weeks after the crime, the police proudly announced that the Horner killing had been solved, and produced the criminals and their signed confessions.

The trial began in June. The defense showed that all six of the accused had been arrested almost at random, without warrants; none of them could have been anywhere near the scene of the crime, according to the testimony of dozens of neighbors, friends, relatives, and, in the case of three defendants, their white employers; their fingerprints were not found on the bottle police introduced as the murder weapon, nor did they answer the description given in the original police teletype; and a former Newark judge who visited McKinley Forest in jail the day after his confession was signed found him dazed and incoherent, strong evidence that some of the defendants had been given drugged cigarettes.

There were other contradictions. At most, three men were placed at the scene by witnesses, yet six were charged with the crime. One of the defendants, James Thorpe, had his right arm amputated a week before Horner was killed, but no one mentioned a one-armed man. Police contended that the "getaway" car was a black, two-door Ford, impossible to confuse with the blue-green Plymouth Mrs. Barclay saw. And both she and Eldracher testified that the defendants were

not the men they had seen. (Eldracher, who summoned the police to the store, was never brought to the police station to identify the defendants.) At the trial Miss McGuire identified three of the defendants, although she had been unable to do so four and a half months earlier when she was confronted with them immediately after the crime; cross-examined, she admitted that, a week before the trial began, the prosecutor had given her a photograph of each of the defendants, to refresh her memory.

On the other hand, the State's entire case was built on the confessions and the testimony of a score of policemen and city officials who paraded to the witness stand to declare that the confessions had been signed voluntarily.

If the defendants' conviction seems incredible, consider this statement from the prosecutor's summation to the jury: "The issues are drawn . . . (It is) the Police Department versus these individuals. You either find these men innocent and accuse the Police Department of having trumped up a case against them, or else you find them guilty. You owe it to your Police Department to bring in a verdict of guilty of murder."

Trenton newspapers gave extensive and lurid coverage to the trial, but any similarity between their accounts and the trial record is purely coincidental. The rest of the nation's commercial press, so deeply concerned with the civil rights of a fascist Hungarian priest and Bulgarian black marketeers, haven't, as yet, found two inches of space for the case of these six Americans.

Only the left has protested against this disgraceful frame-up. For months the progressive newsweekly *National Guardian* and the Communist *Daily Worker* have printed articles exposing it. The Civil Rights Congress, an organization Tom Clark thinks subversive, has mapped out a defense program. Through meetings, leaflets and petitions, it has made the facts known, and charged the City of Trenton, the State of New Jersey and the Government of the United States with legally lynching six Negroes to terrorize millions more.

From their cells in the death house these six innocent men furnish bitter proof that among us there are men so corrupted by the psychotic morals of this society, so desperate to entrench themselves and preserve their privileges, and so helpless to cope with the problems and contradictions that capitalism generates everywhere, solves nowhere, as to stop at nothing in their frantic search for scapegoats. But the Trenton Six also offer proof of something else. As the fight to free them gains momentum and is joined by new allies, swelling the ranks daily, and places before all the world the calloused ethics and degenerate morals of bi-partisan America, the machinery used to manufac-

ture this frame-up begins to creak and show that it is rusty, obsolete and unserviceable. By winning this fight, progressive America can make sure that this machinery—the lying press, biased judges and corrupt politicians—will not be retooled to grind out other frame-ups, against other minorities.



Force and Violence

Jerry Martin

AT TRAVISES

ON A DAY when, in the evening, there was to be a festive occasion at the house, a dinner with guests—you were, in the preparation, a part, a recognized human part: You were included in the anticipation, in the warmth, the expectancy; you were addressed warmly, intimately, your shared interest and delight in the occasion expected and taken for granted, your advice, your opinion, your human identification with the household taken for granted, your visible presence and inclusion within the collectivity which was the family, implied and taken for granted: about the silver and the linen and the seating of guests, and the arrangement of the flowers, and the hors d'oeuvres, the salad, the meats and the drinks—throughout the day you, in jollity and excitement and warmth, included: as old friend, old and tried member of us here, loyal and good friend, beneath this roof one of us.

Throughout the day in preparation—Mrs. Travis breezily and frankly in and out through the swinging door in underwear and corselet, gartered silk stockings and high-heeled pumps; the boys foraging snacks out of the refrigerator—celery and sandwiches and coca-cola shared standing with you, together munching and talking; intimate gossip about the affairs and personalities of the expected guests—“Hilda Reynolds” and “Harry” and “Old Mrs. Bemis” then, and as familiar to you as people and personalities, as well known to you as to the Travises themselves; and quick trips in the car somewhere with the boys—up Main Street, or out to the club; you did, in those hours, get the illusion, respond to its naturalness and warmth, become permeated with its spirit, forgetful.

Until about 5:30, when Mr. T came home, and the hour of the dinner nearing, the family subtly became The Family, and vanished upstairs—to rest, to lie down (and Mrs. T to continue her communing

See page 223.

with her closeted stock), and presently to bathe and dress; the house became immediately and definitely the Front House and the kitchen, then, with its swinging door of the pantry the literal and symbolic boundary; intimacy, inclusiveness, warmth, association had thinned, were gone; the preparation became now, intensely, your job, your task, your paid-for in dollars domestic-servant Negro function; the pantry-door was the boundary and the symbol.

Round the edges of the door the light within the front of the house shone different from the light in the pantry—more golden, mellow, joyous and rich somehow; and through the door the voices of the family, individually and collectively, sounded now distant and apart and white and different—alien and inhospitable; and so did the other sounds impacting against that side of the door—the conversation and the laughter, and the clink of glasses, the music of the radio, the fingering of the piano—alien and white and rich and tuxedoed and gowned and Stock-Market and Judge and Republican Party; the pantry-door had cut swinging shut like a knife and now was a wall shutting out the illusion of identification and inclusiveness. Swift-quiet-deft answer the brrrng of the doorbell, take coats, depart; soft-swift the 'phone in the foyer; the pressure of Mrs. T's slipper on the buzzer beneath the table explodes command in the kitchen—quick, quick, in and out, deftly, tensely, perfectly, invisibly—the laughter, the music, the talk, the recognition as living, not for you: function, perform, invisibly; not even for you now, the pride in excellence of the table or savor of the food—it is now dissociated from you, from the loving care and the worry, the skilled hands and the art of Cook—it is now an extension a creation a possession self-existent and excrescent from the Family, and in especial an aspect of the potency of Mr. T, head of house and host; depart, depart, invisible, invisibly!

You heard the talk, heard the laughter, caught glimpses—you who ages ago shared sandwiches—of the correctly fitting handsome dinner-clothes easily worn of the your-age boys, saw the movie-established pink and blonde white-featured girl-beauty, rendered radiant and desirable in their perfect gowns; saw the responsiveness to youngness male your-age which was right but for you not-right and not debated—the pantry-doors kept debate from coming into the front rooms; saw Bruce as you would have liked to have done without strangeness nor novelty but simply youthfully playfully naturally mischievously laughingly rightly slip his arm about the waist of the pretty-girl Elaine Van Ruyn whose family's name was on all the coffee packages . . . and afterward, the departure for the theatre in the cars—the boys in derbies and chesterfields, white scarves, bow ties and gloves looking sharp, the girls in furred capes over their gowns

—your age; but a moment—dodge back: Mrs. Travis' cheeks-inflamed face through the pantry-door breathlessly to Aunt Bess: "My dear, it was simply lovely!"

Open now the pantry-door, enter. Go into the empty, silent front house. It is your right. Blow out the candles burning on the disarrayed table. Collect the dishes, scraping the celery scraps from them. Remove the water-glasses and the silverware, crumb the tablecloth, fold the napkins. Collect the ashtrays, the bottles, the stemmed glasses. Carpet-sweep the rug, straighten the chairs. Before putting out the light, as though alien, as though stealing, stand a moment by the piano, run a hand chording down the piano-keys.

In two hours the dishes washed and put away, the silver, the glassware and the pots; the garbage out, the stove and the sinks gleaming, the floor swept, the linoleum mopped. The kitchen in perfect order. *Saturday Evening Post*. Pull the light cord, leaving in the clean still darkness the now audible hum of the refrigerator.

Descend now the cellar stairs, to the apartment shared with Aunt Bess—the low-ceiled one-room-with-closet-with-bath apartment with the chintz covered chairs, the bed, the sofa, the light-chords, the To Bess From the Boys radio and the back-number magazines.

Descend, being Seventeen, feeling

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FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM

Review-Article of *Negro Liberation*, by Harry Haywood. New York: International Publishers, 1948. \$2.25.

"The Negro question in the United States is agrarian in origin. It involves the problem of a depressed peasantry living under a system of sharecropping, riding-boss supervision, debt slavery, chronic land hunger, and dependency—in short, the plantations system, a relic of chattel slavery."

WITH these words, Harry Haywood begins his book, *Negro Liberation*, one of the most important contemporary contributions to American literature and progressive understanding. Mr. Haywood was born in 1898, the son of former slaves. He is a veteran of World War I, the Spanish war against fascism and served as a merchant seaman in World War II. He worked for many years in the labor movement, participating actively in the initial struggles to organize the masses of southern workers. He has written many smaller studies and articles on the subject of Negro liberation. His ideas and approach are based in the main on first hand experiences and observations in the semi-slavery Southland.

When Haywood tells us that the Negro question is 'agrarian in origin, he backs the statement up—as indeed he backs up every statement in his book—with facts. The Black Belt, inhabited by about five million Negroes, embraces all or parts of 12 Southern states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Missouri and Arkansas. It is the center of the oppression of the Negro people, the stronghold of white supremacy, where the Negro is excluded from political life and his children denied adequate education; where lynch violence hangs over his head; and where he is a "disinherited pauper, a social leper in his own homeland, groaning under the burden of absentee rulers and their regional henchmen, forced to obey laws which he has had no part in making."

In the South, where cotton is still king, the plantation is the dominant form of large scale farm-ownership. The plantation owner oper-

Mr. Killens, veteran, formerly a law student at Howard University, and organizer for the United Public Workers, CIO, is at present completing two novels and studying literature at Columbia University. (p. 254)

ates all his land as a single unit through a peculiar type of tenant tenure system known as sharecropping and share tenancy.

"Sixty percent of the region's working farmers must part with one-fourth, one-third, one-half, or more of the products of their labor for the right to work the land. . . . Those who own most of the land perform no agricultural labor and those who do most of the work own no land."

Only about one-tenth of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt owns any land at all, and half of this number own enough to scratch out a living. The best land is owned by a handful of white landlords, while over half of the white families and nine-tenths of the Negroes are landless and wholly dependent.

One of the most vicious aspects of the plantation system is what Haywood calls the "credit trap." Franklin Delano Roosevelt said that "the agricultural ladder of these American citizens (referring to Southern farm workers) has become a treadmill." This treadmill may be said to be powered by the so-called credit system which is nothing short of legalized robbery. In many cases the landlord is the usurer and credit merchant. In all cases he completely controls the credit machinery. A gracious landlord markets the crop, deducting from the cropper's share enough to cover all advances and furnishings plus extortionate interest on everything advanced. The sharecropper receives what is left in cold cash. P.S. In the most desirable cases he breaks even. In too many cases he ends the year's work in debt, which is charged to his next year's crop!

The landlords do not consider cheating the croppers a moral violation. This is graphically illustrated by the following joke from the landlords' "folklores":

"A tenant offering five bales of cotton was told, after some owl-eyed figuring, that his cotton exactly balanced his debt. Delighted at the prospect of a profit this year, the tenant reported that he had one more bale which he hadn't brought in. 'Shucks,' shouted the boss, 'why didn't you tell me before? Now I'll have to figure the account all over again to make it come out even.'"

"Contract jumping" and "false pretense" statutes, as well as the credit system, bind the serf-like cropper to the soil and to the individual planters. Decisions of higher courts outlawing these statutes are circumvented by new laws and varied versions of blacklisting.

But if the plight of the white farm worker is degrading, the Negro's lot is far beneath the white at the very bottom of the scale. Movement up the ladder for the Negro cropper is simply not tolerated. A Negro can buy land only when a white man wants to sell it to him, which is usually *never*! Availability of land and the Negro's

ability to pay mean almost nothing. The result is that one-tenth of the farmers own land that is agriculturally inferior to and smaller than that belonging to whites. The sharply drawn color-caste distinction assures far better housing furnishings, food, clothing and education for the white owner, tenant, or cropper than Negroes in parallel categories may ever expect to obtain.

Protest from a Negro against this super-exploitation is met with the unveiled threat and actual use of force. Under this system, the freedom of movement of the Negro sharecropper is very little advanced beyond that of his ancestor, the slave.

Haywood points out that "any attempt to place the status of the Southern 'poor whites' on a par with that of the Negroes is false. Beyond all doubt, the oppression of the Negro, which is the basis of the degradation of the 'poor whites,' is of a separate character demanding a special approach."

BIG BUSINESS AND THE PLANTATION

The owner of the plantation is Northern capital. The Morgans, Rockefellers, duPonts and Mellons are the real plantation slave-drivers. It is they who perpetuate the Jim Crow, semi-slavery Black Belt. Their banks maintain the credit structure without which the plantation could not live. They are the real beneficiaries of Jim Crow, discrimination and exploitation. Georgia, for example, is 85% absentee-owned.

The domination of Northern capital extends beyond the plantation to the entire economic life of the South, including the industries. The Morgans, Mellons, Fords and Rockefellers own the region's coal resources. U. S. Steel dominates the principal steel center of Birmingham, Alabama. The Rockefellers and the Mellon-owned Gulf Oil Corporation are entrenched in Southern oil. The tobacco industry, the Southern railroads, electric holding companies, and textiles are also to a great extent under northern control.

A. G. Mezerik effectively describes the role of these intermediaries of Wall Street:

"The manager, who represents the absentee control of the North (or East) . . . is the simplest to understand. Whether Southern or Northern-born he lives to carry out the desires of his owners, and since the owners have placed investments in his hands for the purpose of profit, the motivation of each manager is to protect these profits a chore which takes him into activity on every front. Basically his corporation wants low wages, so the manager spearheads anti-union activities. His company interlocks with other Northern corporations who manufacture finished products sold in the South, so he has fought to keep the freight-rate differentials, since if the South developed its own industries they would cut into the Northern com-

pany's profits. The manager's Northern masters profit by the maintenance of a higher tariff, so he fights any attempts to bring the tariffs down.

"Increased taxes for education, health, and roads make costs higher for the absentee owner. They are not to be encouraged. Reforestation, soil conservation, crop diversification, all cost money, to no immediate benefit to the Northern corporate aristocrat. This manager . . . commands the colonial outposts for the Northern overlords who have never been averse to the maintenance of the entire South as a slum area, a gigantic sweatshop dedicated to Northern profit."

In many respects the plantation area thus takes on aspects of a colony. Riding on the back of the Negro sharecropper are the overseer, local planter, country banker and time merchant all the way to the Wall Street financier and coupon clipper. That the sharecropper's back is a veritable "gravy train" is reflected by the fact that the sharecropper who produces the cotton receives but 15 cents of the consumer's dollar spent on the cotton products.

Haywood likens Northern capital to an oxygen tent which preserves and continually revives the aged and tottering plantation economy. "Bulwarking its social, racial and legal controls with the might of the dollar, it helps to preserve pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, preventing rational scientific methods of farming and enforcing the ruinous single-crop system. Its role is artificially to retard and distort the South's modern development."

THE SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION

The oppression of the Negro people in the South is the source of the Jim Crow conditions of Negroes in the North. In Haywood's words, "the shadow of the plantation falls upon the Negro in Harlem, in Chicago's South Side, in the hundreds of urban 'Black Belts' throughout the country, frustrating his efforts toward economic and social betterment. The twin evils of poverty and Jim Crow dog his heels, setting the pattern for his new urban life." No more concrete and graphic example of how that shadow is cast exists than the infamous Jim Crow exclusion of Negroes from Stuyvesant Town, a huge and recently constructed housing project in "liberal" New York City. That project is owned and operated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, one of the biggest plantation owners in the Black Belt. Jim Crow is as entrenched in Stuyvesant Town as in Mississippi or Georgia. The plantation psychology has in a similar manner come to rule with few exceptions throughout the length and breadth of our great "democracy."

Social, economic and political conditions in the big cities of the South—Atlanta, Birmingham, Montgomery, Memphis, New Orleans,

Savannah—are determined in the main by the attitudes of the Black Belt, whose people come and go from the plantation to the cities. The same plantation psychology which pits the white worker against the black worker in the cotton fields is used by the industrialist to set the Negro factory worker against the white, and the urban worker against those fresh from the plantation. No basic change may be expected in the status of the Southern urban worker—white or Negro—as long as the plantation Black Belt exists alongside.

Potentially the South could supply many of the needs of the people of the United States. The South contains half of the country's land which is arable for six months, two-thirds of it having more than forty inches of rain annually. More than a third of the nation's good farms are in the South. It leads the world in the production of cotton, tobacco and corn. There, too, are oil, natural gas, limestone, water power and forty percent of the nation's forests. Half of the nation's marble output, two-thirds of its crude oil, 97 percent percent of its phosphates, 99 percent of its sulphur are located in the South.

Why then is the South economically, politically, culturally and socially the most backward section of the United States? The position of the Southern Negro furnishes the clue to poverty which grips her inhabitants, both black and white. It is no accident that wherever Negroes are most oppressed whites are most degraded. The report of the National Emergency Council to the late President Roosevelt throws vivid light on the "magnolia-scented paradise" of racial bigotry below the Mason-Dixon Line. It exposes the staggering price of white supremacy in terms of health, living and cultural standards of the great masses of southern whites. Keeping the Negro down spells for the entire South the nation's lowest wages, living standards and educational opportunities. As Haywood puts it, "America's Tobacco Road begins in the Black Belt."

Jim Crow and discrimination have been the main stumbling blocks in the paths of organized labor both in the North and the South; it is the weapon the bosses use to keep the working people divided. Plainly white workers can progress only by ending the oppression of the Negro people. The fight of trade unionists and honest progressives for Negro rights must not founder on the rocks of humanitarianism or paternalism. It must instead grow out of a full recognition of the truth declared by Karl Marx, "A people which enslaves another people forges its own chains." Booker T. Washington understood this fundamental fact when he said, "You can't hold the Negro in the ditch without staying in it with him."

The price of white supremacy is high!

LIBERAL REMEDIES

Liberals, not understanding the source of Jim Crow, spin many utopian theories about how to end it. One remedy of long standing is the myth of "Mass Exodus." *Negro Liberation* shows that in 1940 the Black Belt contained 180 counties of proven Negro majority ranging from 50 to 85% with an average of 63%. The extent of Negro concentration, however, is by no means limited to those counties having a clear Negro majority. The area of Negro concentration spans about 470 counties with an over-all average Negro population of 48.7% of the total. The "Mass Exodus" theory that the Negro majority in the Black Belt is rapidly disintegrating as a result of huge migrations is unrealistic. While there has been a slight decrease in the ratio of Negroes to the total population in the Black Belt, the Negro concentration there is conspicuous for its stubborn persistence over the years. World War II migrations were primarily from the plantations to cities within the South. Wishful thinking will not do away with the Negro concentration in the Southern Black Belt.

Another recommended remedy is "industrialization." World War II and its temporary boom was accompanied by great optimism of now-the-problem-may-be-solved with industrialization of Southern factories and mechanization of the plantation. An industrial revolution, no less, will sound the death knell to the plantation and domination by Northern capital! This has proven to be just another Sunday pipe dream. The industries of the South, it is true, expanded considerably. But this expansion has to a great extent been the fruit of further extension of the net of Northern capital which still owns the factories and plantations. This kind of industrialization will never "automatically" end Jim Crow. Since the plantations and the factories are owned by the same people, it is only common sense to expect continued cooperation between plantation and factory owners to divide and rule Negroes and whites. Jim Crow is just as vicious and flagrant in Birmingham with its Eugene "Bull" Connors, and in other Southern industrial centers as on the plantations. Wallace underwent the severest attacks in the industrialized cities of the South.

It would be incorrect to belittle the importance of Southern industrialization. It cannot be denied that during the war tens of thousands of Negro workers, as well as white, left the plantations to work in factories, thus becoming part of a growing Southern proletariat. But since the war many have had to return to sharecropping. Further, the existing working class in the South will not be fully organized to fight for progressive measures until the trade union leadership—CIO and AFL—takes forthright steps to destroy Jim Crow.

The industrial development of the South, moreover, is consciously directed to avoid disturbing the plantation and its semi-feudal labor force. It is no accident that the largest Southern industry, textile, has been developed as a "white" industry. The Negro workers have in the main been left on the plantations.

Finally, it is utopian folly to expect the Northern rulers to allow the South to become fully industrialized. As Haywood declares:

"The Wall Street overlords have ruled that the industry of this region shall be confined to the minimum needs of the extraction of its natural resources on the basis of the super-exploitation of its cheap substandard labor. They do not invest capital in the South in order to create a 'balanced economy' in that region. They do so only to secure needed raw materials, cheap labor, and a profitable market, in short to extract the super-profits made possible by the agrarian hinterland character of the South."

Therefore, since the basic problem of the Negro is agrarian in origin, it follows that we must look toward the plantation for the basic solution.

Haywood exposes Myrdal's *American Dilemma* in which Myrdal beats thousands of words around a literary bush to come to the amazing conclusion of his title, "American Dilemma" an insoluble problem! Myrdal would have us wait on the gradual processes of education and moral consciousness! He decrys mass organization and political struggle. How long would we have had to wait for slaveholders to educate themselves to the moral wrongness of slavery! We can just picture them purging their souls and cutting the chains simultaneously.

Haywood also shows us the true meaning of the Roosevelt program to the Southern Negro and the plantation system. Roosevelt's approach did not take into consideration the character of the landlord's slaveholder-control of the sharecroppers. The landlord is in fact administrator, judge, political boss—everything! He is the postman with the presumptive power to open a sharecroppers mail and read it before giving it to the sharecropper. Sharecroppers never received many of the checks sent to them by the government.

The New Deal with its cotton and crop restriction program and its loan services was a shot in the arm to a decaying plantation economy. Haywood points out, "The F.S.A. foundered on the jagged reef of Dixie landlordism, and a similar fate awaits all programs having for their aim the benefit of the 'common man' in Southern Agriculture, unless they are planned as a part of a basic attack upon racial discrimination, plantation feudalism, and the forces of monopoly capital which profit from such exploitation."

LAND AND FREEDOM

Negro Liberation points the way to ending the exploitation on the plantations in clear unequivocal terms. Break up the plantations! Give the land to the landless farmers!

This is not a new approach. Frederick Douglass argued it almost seventy years ago:

"To the freedman was given the machinery of liberty, but there was denied to them the steam to put it in motion. . . . The old master class was not deprived of the power of life and death, which was the soul of the relation of master and slave. They could not, of course, sell their former slaves, but they retained the power to starve them to death, and wherever this power is held there is the power of slavery. He who can say to his fellow-man, 'You shall serve me or starve,' is a master and his subject is a slave."

And listen to that great Reconstruction Congressman, Thaddeus Stevens, who, in March, 1864, introduced his famous land division bill in the House of Representatives:

"How can republican institutions, free schools, free churches, free social intercourse, exist in a mingled community of nabobs and serfs; of the owners of 20,000 acre manors with lordly palaces and the occupants of narrow huts inhabited by 'low white trash'? If the South is ever to be made a safe republic, let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners of the free labor of intelligent citizens. . . . The foundation of their institutions must be broken up and relaid, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain."

By refusing to break up the plantation and to redivide the land, the northern capitalists and the Republicans sabotaged the democratic revolution. Thus the plantation system as we know it today came into being. Reconstruction was dead. The Ku Klux Klan was born from the womb of white supremacy and Northern exploitation, and made a deal with the Republicans in human poverty and misery. The same deal exists today.

To guarantee the end of the plantation system, Haywood asserts:

"Redistribution alone, however, is not enough. The new class of independent small holders must be made secure in their tenure. Here two measures are necessary: (1) the backlog of poor-farmer debt must be wiped out through a drastic scaling down of such debts or through complete cancellation. Usury must be abolished. (2) The new owners must be furnished with the essential tools of production—seeds, fertilizer, livestock, machinery—by means of cheap, long-range government credit. Land is useless without tools, and cheap government credit is essential to check the restoration of landlordism once it has been abolished.

Objections to redivision of the land come from other than just

reactionary capitalist sources. Some liberals oppose it because they confuse it with socialism. Other so-called "leftists" reject it in the name of socialism. To the latter the whole idea of land division is reactionary, ostensibly because it would mean small individual property as against large scale collectively-owned property and large scale production associated with socialism.

As Haywood points out, the breaking up of the plantation system followed by land redivision must not be confused with socialism. History has provided many precedents for thorough-going land reforms under capitalism, one of which was the great French Revolution of 1789. Because land reforms reached down and tore up the very roots of the feudal order, the French people were able to withstand and eventually beat back attempts of French reaction to reenslave them. In Mexico, too, land reform measures ushered in a period of democratic growth. Under contemporary conditions, following World War II, the sweeping land reforms in the new Peoples Governments of Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia have been a fundamental aspect of the program of building democracy; perspective for the abolition of capitalism are being carried out only as the needs and desires of the peoples command it.

Nor does land redivision constitute a departure from the path to socialism. To talk about socialism without combatting the oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt, without supporting their struggles and those of the exploited whites, is to talk abstract nonsense, is in fact to alienate and fail to mobilize a most militant force in the battle for democracy. And to combat that oppression it is necessary to destroy its root in the plantation system. This is an essential aspect of a program to build socialism.

A NATION WITHIN A NATION

The special character of the exploitation of the Negro people in the Black Belt has led to their development into an oppressed nation. White supremacists in the North as well as the South insist upon raising the question as one of race, justifying Jim Crow and discrimination on the basis of an alleged racial inferiority. They claim that "keeping the Negro in his place" is a necessary measure to maintain the "chosen race" pure and white. But, as Haywood asserts, the so-called racial persecution of the Negro people in the United States is a particular form and device of *national* oppression.

The American Negro, unlike any white immigrant minorities, wears a badge of color identification, a permanent seal used by white supremacists to force him into inferior status. He cannot lose himself in the "melting pot" of the United States; on the contrary, since

the days of slavery, he has been singled out for oppression of a special character, particularly in the South. That the position of the Negro is unique is demonstrated by the fact that he has always been excluded from the country's general democratic transformations. He was freed neither by the Revolutionary War of 1776 nor fully by the Civil War and Reconstruction which aimed primarily to release capitalism from the chains of a slave economy.

As a result of the special character of oppression under which they have lived, the Negro people in the South have developed all of the attributes of nationhood: they constitute an historically evolved, stable community of economic life, language, territory, and psychological makeup, manifested in a community of culture. Within the borders of the United States, under the jurisdiction of a single central government, there are today two nations: a dominant white nation, with its Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, and a subject black one.

Geographically the Black Belt is still the living quarters for one-third of the Negro people. This people consists of farmers, industrial workers, domestic workers, professionals, and a striving upper class, or bourgeoisie, all of whom are economically, politically, culturally, and socially held back as a group. The Negro farmer suffers not only as a share cropper, but doubly because, as a Negro, he is systematically prevented from climbing beyond the first rung of the "agricultural ladder." The Negro worker is exploited, not only as a wage slave, but also as a Negro; he is given the worst jobs, or held as an unemployed labor reserve to force down the wages of all workers. In both the North and the South the Negro bourgeoisie is exploited. He must pay high prices for raw materials or products he wishes to buy, and he may sell goods only to a small section of the market among the Negro people because of conscious competition and exclusion by white imperialists who desire added profits from the super-exploitation of the whole Negro people, including the bourgeoisie. All classes of the Negro people oppose imperialism to one or another degree because they are Jim-Crowed in every aspect of their social and political as well as their economic life.

Thus, because of the special oppression of all classes of the Negro people as a nation, the great majority may be mobilized to struggle as a powerful ally of the entire working class movement. Even the Negro bourgeoisie, in fighting to free itself, must frequently align itself with the Negro working class and even with the progressive sections of the white nation against domination by Wall Street.

The Negro people throughout the United States have a common culture and tradition. They have a special historical background dras-

tically unlike any other group in the United States. The entire development of Negro music, literature and painting, of churches, fraternal groups, and social societies, bears the imprint of the struggles for liberation conducted by all segments of the Negro people.

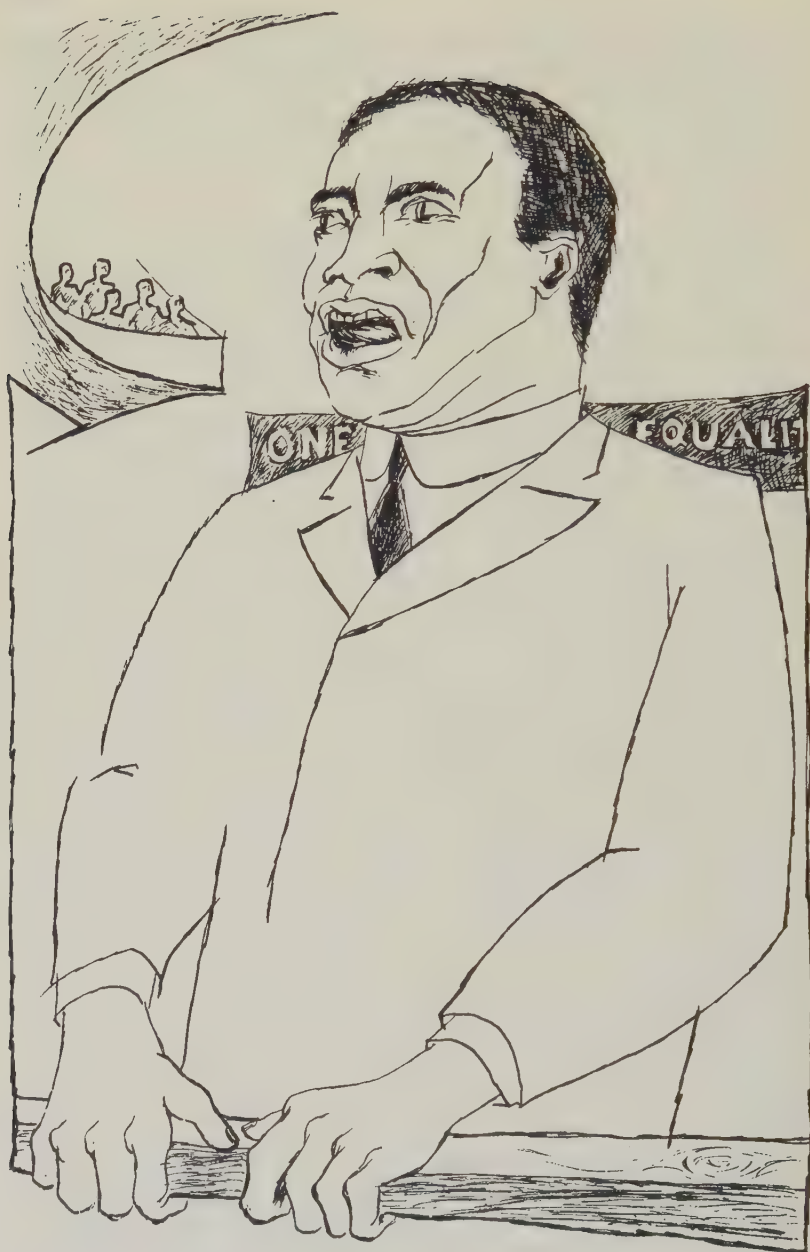
RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Because they constitute a nation, the Negro people have the right of self-determination, of self-government. This right is *not* to be interpreted as synonymous with separation, as a surrender to Jim Crow and segregation, as some liberals as well as out-and-out reactionaries would have us believe. Concretely, it means simply that any nation has a *right to determine its own fate* without forceable intervention, a right to organize its own life independently of the dictates of other nations. In the final analysis, this right would be meaningless without also the *right* (not the duty) of complete separation. Haywood draws an analogy between the national right of self-determination and the right of women to obtain a divorce. Although it is almost universally recognized that the right to divorce is essential to the emancipation and equal status of women, it is nowhere held that women have an obligation to divorce their husbands.

Further, any attempt to mechanically reduce the *right* of self-determination to the *necessity* of separation is in fact to deny this right by dictating the *form* of self-determination. In reality, self-determination may assume many forms. A nation may set itself up as an independent state; voluntarily decide to join the formerly oppressing nation on an equal footing in a federation; or agree to territorial autonomy with varying degrees of sovereignty within the borders of the formerly oppressing nation. The Soviet Union, where all these forms of self-determination exist, is founded upon the recognition that the right of self-determination is essential to the complete freedom and equality of all peoples.

The right of self-determination of the Negro people implies in the first place the necessity of supplanting the brutally corrupt rule of Northern monopoly capitalism in the Black Belt by the democratic rule of the majority, that is, the Negro people, with the full participation of their allies among the presently disenfranchised white minority.

But what has the poor white of the Black Belt to expect from a Negro majority government? The Rankins and other proponents of white supremacy would have the white workers believe that they would lose all their rights under a Negro majority rule. All sorts of wrath and vengeance would be wreaked upon their heads. Fortunately



Reconstruction Legislator

Al Lass

we can go back to the days of Reconstruction to expose these lies. Never before or since in the history of the United States has unity between white workers and the Negro people been achieved to the same extent. The Reconstruction era, although distorted by capitalist historians in our classrooms and textbooks, was the most democratic period the South has ever experienced. Negroes constituted a majority in many of the legislatures of Southern states. Ex-slaves, not led by the nose, gave capable, democratic leadership. White workers of the South benefited more than at any other time in history. Reconstruction legislatures passed laws granting universal male suffrage; established free and public education for the first time; gave women the right to obtain a divorce; and ended the sale of the land of poor farmers. Twenty-three Negroes served in the two Houses of the United States Congress. There they fought for breaking up the plantations and land division. Two Negro Senators were elected from Mississippi. This is the Congress characterized by Harry "Civil Rights" Truman during his election campaign as the "worst" in American history—even worse than the 80th Congress! The white worker today has everything to gain and nothing to lose by the self-determination of the Negro nation in the South.

STATUS OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

That the Negro people constitute a nation and have the right to self-determination does not rest upon the full realization of this fact by the Negroes themselves, or upon whether they raise the appropriate slogans, but upon objective reality. As Haywood declares, the Negroes are a young, immature nation, whose advance toward economic development, and therefore toward political consciousness, is hampered by imperialist oppression. False racial theories, Jim Crow, and other forms of persecution have forced the Negro people into the defensive position of proving their basic equality as human beings. Hence, while advancing the militant slogans of "racial equality" and "racial solidarity," they do not always demand freedom as a nation. Perpetually restricted in every phase of life and forever treated as an alien in his own country, is it any wonder that the Negro tends first of all to establish himself as an American? And he is an American, but he is also a nation within the United States.

Probably the most formidable retarding factor in the development of the Negro's national consciousness is the fact that the young Negro nation finds itself set down in the midst of the most powerful capitalist nation on earth—outnumbered ten to one and totally engulfed in what the Negro playwright, Theodore Ward, called the "Big White Fog."

THE COURSE OF NEGRO LIBERATION

The Negro people are inevitably moving toward nationhood and political consciousness. They reject amalgamation and mass migration as solutions to their problems. Their struggle for liberation has taken many forms, but the fact remains that they retain and vigorously build their own organizations. The Garvey "Back to Africa" movement, which distorted the Negro people's aspirations, was doomed to fail. The National Negro Congress played an important role in the fight for equal job opportunities and against Jim Crow. Other organizations unite groups of the Negro people around their special interests: the Urban League, National Bar Association, National Association of Colored Women, and the various fraternal and church groups. The biggest and most important organization of the Negro people is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has grown from 40,000 members in 1940 to almost 600,000 today. Although much of its national leadership is conservative, and reflects both the influence of the white bourgeoisie and the opportunism of sections of the Negro petty-bourgeoisie, it has a militant rank and file. In many localities, the NAACP is a militantly progressive bulwark.

The growth of the trade union movement and the active participation of Negro workers (especially in the more progressive unions of the CIO), and the growing influence of the Communist Party in Negro life, have provided the Negro people with a source of young, progressive, militant leaders with advance political consciousness. True, there are some social democratic Negro trade union leaders, such as A. Philip Randolph, who apparently fail to see the Negro question as a special question, and who in practice, therefore, fail to fight for adjustments of seniority to guarantee Negro workers jobs, or to support election of Negro leaders in the unions. But the majority of Negro trade unionists form a militantly progressive section of the trade union movement.

Thus, as Haywood points out, the national liberation movement of the Negro people is a powerful force for democracy and peace.

"The Negro people themselves are demonstrating the qualities of a decisive force in American life. They have broken out of their isolation, and, once again as at the close of the Civil War, they are determined to proceed along the path of great historical decision. And there can be no doubt that they will give new and vibrant life to their old watchword—land, equality, and freedom."

REPLY TO CRITICISM

NUMEROUS people have responded to the criticism of my article on William Faulkner which appeared in the Fall issue of this magazine. Although the majority of the responses differed on minor points, the general tenor of these comments seems to indicate a need for further discussion.

As I understand it, the focus of the criticism of my essay played on two major points. One was that, in discussing the work of a reactionary bourgeois author, I neglected clearly to indicate the implications of his chauvinist ideology. It was pointed out that I not only failed to polemicize against his ideas, but I fell into the pitfall which inevitably attends such an approach; I unconsciously adopted some of his conceptions. Secondly, in failing to recognize the chauvinist character of his ideology I also blurred the full character of his writings, thus presenting a false estimate of his achievements. Let us examine the significance of these comments. I will first discuss the general reasons for the failure of my essay, and then, I will point out how these general errors led to the particular and crucial error of taking a chauvinist position.

Obviously, in order to present an adequate critical appraisal of a writer it is important first to comprehend what the writer is talking about. Before his contributions, however great or small, can be weighed, the meaning and intent—the signifi-

cance of his material must be discussed and plainly understood. Now I presented what appears to me to be an accurate *report* of what Faulkner was about. But I did not present a plain *understanding* of what he was about.

Regardless of Faulkner's intent, his writings stand—to be read by people of all shades of opinion. The *objective* character of his ideology must be the prime concern of the critic. Faulkner is consumed by the grim side of life. His world is sick and chaotic. It is nonetheless a real part of the bourgeois world. Yet does this merit him the accolade of respect due a realist? No. For in his concern with disease and despair (with his own fantasies) he is limiting his world and presenting only a partial truth. A partial truth presented us as reality is nothing more than a lie. It distorts reality, failing to see its conflicting elements. If we enjoy Faulkner and are, at times, moved by him, it is not out of health but out of sickness. He appeals to that in us which is utterly sick and bourgeois. We may take comfort in the knowledge that the decay and despair of which Faulkner writes is a temporary and natural consequence of a dying social system. The glory of the coming day of men's lives is yet to be sung. When that day comes men will no longer live in a nightmarish world, and will cease to enjoy its literary counterparts.

Having been taken in, along with Faulkner, by the restricted realm of bourgeois categories, I made, as one writer put it, some acute "apercus," which I suppose to mean microscopic insights. Are we to revere such perceptions, as do the bourgeois critics, for their own sake? I think not. These insights are empty if they are presented outside of a context. It is true that they can serve as pleasant intellectual toys; but I assume that Marxist critics will not be satisfied with such piddling pleasures. The adolescent joy that seems to pervade the bourgeois critics' discovery of a new "meaning" or another type of "ambiguity" seems to me to be an evasion of reality. Yet many of the letters praised this aspect of my article, as if it were something *apart* from Marxist criticism. They posed it as contradictory to a "social" or class-analysis. But such arbitrary distinctions are nonsense. It should be clear to anyone familiar with Marxist criticism that there can be no competent Marxist analysis without these clever microscopic insights—namely sensibility on the part of the critic. But, more important, there can be no meaningful insights without the context of a competent Marxist understanding. Posing the two as mutually exclusive ignores the dialectical inter-relationship of the two, so crucial to the emergence of a real Marxist criticism.

The function of these subtle aspects of a writer's work, his nuances, technical experiments, etc., is primarily responsive to the basic element in any art-work—the artist's perceptions of life itself. To worship the man who has discerned *another* way of describing the toe-

nail is the habit of modern criticism. But this ignores a most basic critical concern. What is the meaning of his description in the first place? Why does he seek the toe-nail as against the rest of the human body? The neat play of words in "The monocle of mon oncle" may be a curious examination of a tiny area of reality. But what is the importance of this insight in terms of the mission of art in *this* period of history, given men's needs and interests?

If a trenchant analysis of an author is to be made, the class forces of which he is a product, and the class character of his outlook must be kept clearly in mind. Some of the letters which have been received hold this to be true. But, they say, my article analyzed the "psychic" reality which Faulkner presents. Now, I hope that I did lay bare some of the psychic mechanisms one sees in Faulkner's work. But what meaning does this kind of analysis have by itself. Do *all* men function in the same way? Certainly not. The interest of this kind of insight rests in the identification of this "psychic" action with the class to which it belongs. The psyche does not exist apart from society. It is a creature of class relationships, in Faulkner's case the illegitimate child of a prostituted Southern gentry. If the analysis is to have any significance at all, it must be located and identified for what it is. In fact, one of the greatest values of such an analysis is that it provides a clue to the weakness of the sound and fury of the collapsing bourgeoisie, particularly, in this case of the Southern Bourbon class. Its guilt, frustration and decay are interesting *only* insofar as

they provide insight not only into Faulkner, but into an entire class, a class we see as it lays dying.

In his writings Faulkner deals with that segment of society with which he is most familiar — the South. His primary concern is with the fate of man in what is, to him, an evil world. He illustrates this concern in the frame of one ever-recurrent relationship, that of the Negro to the white. He shows the Negro as submissive, slavish and "good." He shows whiteness as symbolic of evil, aggression and doom. He shows the union of the two, socially and sexually, as representative of the marriage of man to sin, the corruption of the white man. This much is repetition of my essay. By itself an acute insight into Faulkner's representation, when left without further comment it stands as a chauvinistic idea. The pernicious distortion of reality that cloaks in morality a real problem—the relation of white to Negro—only obscures the reality and mocks morality. It is not a question, then, of honest moral quest. It is an *intended* confusion of the Negro question. If it were honest, the morality would arise out of an understanding of the real social relationships. It would not precede a social survey, nor would it be used as a substitute for an examination of reality. To identify whiteness with one moral quality and darkness of skin with another distorts the nature of social relationships. It relieves Faulkner of responsibility to the real situation, with the feeble excuse of allegory. But what is the purpose of this deliberate obfuscation of social relations?

With this morality which he

erects, Faulkner is able to justify a system which was, and is, exploitative, but which he supports. The brutal oppression of the Negro nation in the South, first through the slave and plantation systems and more recently through a kind of economic peonage and its ideological counterparts, is what is really destructive and really evil. It is this system which corrupts and decays. It is anti-human and hence, if moral we must be, evil. The Civil War, a great step forward in the struggle by the white and Negro people for the attainment of bourgeois democratic rights, is decried as evil by Faulkner. Why? Because it attacked a system which by his morality was good. Yet even this bourgeois democratic revolution has never been carried through, thwarted as it was by the moneyed hand of Northern capital. The Negro people still live in oppression. Yes, reasons Faulkner, the Negro is marked with his sin and is doomed to suffer. Faulkner says this is good. He is oppressed and Faulkner wants him oppressed and hence, it is morally just! Regardless of the psychic mechanisms which lead Faulkner to this view, its objective importance is as a rationale for the continued oppression of the Negro people! Whatever curious myths Faulkner has developed around Negro-white relations, their underlying wish and significance is to justify the *status quo*, and in *Intruder in the Dust*, to advocate a regression. This is the purpose of his involved logic and the objective character of his ideology.

Some have asked why chauvinism is so important. They say that it is, after all, not the only ideological

question which faces us. They take Kutzig's comments about the task of the Marxist critic as being that of combatting chauvinist ideology and complain of its narrowness. Kutzig is correct. Bourgeois ideology is the ideological prop which is used by a decaying capitalism to support its crumbling structure. The task of the Marxist is to combat this ideology which distorts reality, using the philosophy of Marxism which explains and clarifies reality. Chauvinism, today, is the foremost weapon of bourgeois ideology. In a multitude of forms, the bourgeoisie continually fosters this vicious attitude. The failure to recognize its presence is a manifestation of ignorance and insensitivity on the part of the person concerned. It is tacit acceptance of the capitalist code. When chauvinistic remarks are paraphrased and left alone, the reader can only assume that the critic either does not understand their significance, or that he agrees with them; in either case, that the critic expresses chauvinism tendencies.

Since the criticism of my article I have done a great deal of research on the Negro question. I have found that my ignorance of the conditions of the Negro nation, their needs and desires, was amazing. I have learned of the heroic revolutionary history of the Negro people and of its profound culture, and have become aware of its deep significance for me as a white progressive. I can well understand, now, that my tacit acceptance of chauvinist concepts was a "concession to imperialism and fascism." Appearing in a Marxist journal, this kind of thinking could do nothing but alienate the Negro allies of the progressive movement

and further confuse the thinking, and hence, the activities of white progressives. Thus the presentation of fuzzy and chauvinist notions could serve only to weaken what must now be a powerful and victorious struggle. It is the struggle for life itself.

Many have condemned the directness and "harshness" of the criticism of my article. In this regard I want to publicly express my appreciation to my fellow editors of the NF board and those who brought the issue to our attention. I have learned a great deal from the discussions which have since taken place. The criticism opened up a vast field of knowledge for me; it has enhanced my understanding of literature immensely. For those to whom criticism connotes a destruction of their "individual liberty" I hold no quarter. We can grow only through mutual knowledge and advice. There is no room in the progressive movement for the "thinking reed" who withers under the first drop of "adverse" comment. Criticism is intended to improve and is the highest indication of *camaraderie*. It is indeed strange that these people who are so solicitous about their adolescent individuality submit so readily to the professorial bourgeois authority. To take the warm and meaningful advice of one's co-workers seems to them offensive. For us criticism is a sign of maturity, mutuality, not antagonism.

Because, as indicated by this article, Kroner has shown a willingness and ability to struggle against white chauvinism, he has been reinstated on the editorial board.

—EDITORS.

The Poetry of the Negro

Book Review: "The Poetry of the Negro," edited by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1949.

THE lie that the Negro people are intellectually inferior and uncultured is dealt an effective blow by the anthology, "The Poetry of the Negro." This fine collection of poetry by Negro poets will not find a warm reception in the drawing rooms of Rankin & Co.

The theme that runs throughout this entire book, through the poetry written in the 18th Century until the present, is the desire of the Negro people for freedom. In a wide variety of verse form—couplet, quatrain, sonnet, free verse; the poets express their people's conditions and their people's hope.

The book is divided into three sections, the first and main section is Negro Poets of the U.S.A., followed by Tributary Poems by Non-Negroes, and contributions by The Caribbean Poets. The abundance of talent in the first and last sections makes it difficult to select "outstanding" poems. In reading this book I kept repeating to myself "Why haven't I heard of this poem? Why haven't I read this one?" Until now I thought I was fairly familiar with American poetry, but in this entire section I recognized only a half dozen poems, four of them by Langston Hughes. It is a pity that even the student of American literature sits in his classrooms unconscious of the lyricism of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the sweet melancholy strain of Fenton Johnson, and the fortune in other poems by Negro authors. It would be more honest to the students if the books in school were designated *White-American Literature* instead of *American Literature*.

In dealing with the major, first section it is helpful to discuss also the Caribbean section. A strong individual folk quality is present in the poetry of each of the oppressed national groups. In both sections the poets identify themselves with their peoples and, in contrast to many other modern poets, they know their oppressors. As a result they sing in sharp, clear tones.

There is the religious, majestic anger of W. E. B. Dubois in "A Litany at Atlanta":

"Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, O God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes

Mr. Segal, a veteran, is a student at Brooklyn College in literature and an associate editor of *New Foundations*.

who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jireh, and burn it in hell forever and forever!"

And the sharp sarcasm of the Cuban poet, Nicolas Gillen, in "Sightseers in a Courtyard" to a Calypso tune:

"With what one tourist
spends on brandy in a day,
a month's room rent
anybody could pay."

Poems such as these and others which are too numerous to quote do not contain the tortured metaphor or the private symbol which plagues modern poetry. This is illustrated by the sharpness of the lines of Langston Hughes' "Merry-Go-Round":

"Where is the Jim Crow section
On this merry-go-round,
Mister, cause I want to ride?"

The Negro poets sing sharply and clearly because they do not sing simply for themselves.

My immediate reaction, after reading these two sections, was to rush to the library and look up the rest of the poetry of this host of exciting but unknown poets. I had the feeling of discovering a whole new culture; just as, after reading Herbert Aptheker's *Essays on Negro Slave Revolts*, I had the feeling of discovering a whole history. It is not accidental that Negro poetry and Negro history are omitted from our educational institutions and that we have to learn about them outside of school. These omissions are part of the drive to spread and foster white supremacy.

The Tributary Section consists of poems by well known poets such as Whitman, Blake, Wordsworth and many more celebrities. While the other sections ranged over a variety of subjects, this section deals specifically with Negro slavery—old style and new style. Most of this section is familiar to poetry-readers and most of it is good, but on the whole the general level of poetry of this section does not reach the level of the other two sections.

The editors have done a fine job in accomplishing the task they set for themselves. But I think it is incorrect to exclude Negro spirituals, folk rhymes and blues because, as the introduction asserts, this material lies "outside the literary traditions of the American language." It has its own living tradition; it contributes a great deal to the strength and beauty of the poems that are presented; and in particular, it has enriched American culture. Nevertheless, the anthology is valuable and will stimulate further work in the field of poetry of the Negro. Both editors deserve to be complimented for their pioneer work in this direction.

SUPPRESSED DATA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography that follows makes no attempt to be exhaustive. Many subjects and fields have been combined when each should have had an extensive bibliography. Many Negro historians, sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have either been inadequately represented or left out altogether.

I have tried to point up the anti-Negro bias of American sociological, economic and political textbooks and the attempts to correct this; the falsification of Negro history by reactionary white American historians, and the books by Negro and Marxist historians as antidotes to this; the creation and perpetuation of Negro stereotypes by films, radio and newspapers; and the contributions of Negroes to American technology and culture. These things are very important and should be constantly stressed. But all of this has been done many times before.

What I have only suggested here, and I fear most inadequately, is the broadness and the ramifications of fields such as Negro education, history, sociology, political and economic conditions, anthropology, psychology, housing and health. It is true that Marxists and near-Marxists such as Herbert Aptheker, Doxey Wilkerson, Oliver C. Cox, Harry Haywood and James S. Allen have written critically on Negro history, education, sociology, politics and economics. Marxists have also recognized the broadness and richness of Negro culture although no Marxist has ever pulled together the voluminous material on each phase of Negro culture to say nothing of writing Marxist critiques of Negro music, art and literature. But more importantly, Marxists have paid little or no attention to the many ramified disciplines and fields dealing with the Negro such as social anthropology, psychology, linguistics and folklore. Consequently, these fields are dominated for the most part by Negro and white bourgeois scholars who, it must be said, have contributed some valuable limited studies. These scholars are excellently trained by the bourgeoisie never to show the scientific and cultural superstructures as basically rationalizations of the productive forces and production relations of our society, but rather as distinct, completely autonomous fields. The result has been theoretical and methodological confusion worse confounded with endless emphasis upon secondary factors as basic and determining. What is badly needed is a consolidation of the material in the various fields treating of the Negro and finally thorough-going Marxist critiques of all phases of Negro life and culture.

Mr. Kaiser is a member of the staff of the Schomburg Collection in New York City, and wrote the article entitled "The Aptheker-Myrdal Controversy" listed in this bibliography.

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A carefully documented model of historical research and interpretation by a Marxist historian.

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Douglass, Frederick, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, N. Y., Pathway Press, 1941.

This was the third autobiography by Frederick Douglass, anti-slavery propagandist and foremost Negro in the anti-slavery movement. The other two were "Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass" (1845), and "My bondage and my freedom" (1855)

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Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America, compiled by Monroe N. Work. N. Y.: H. W. Wilson Co., 1928.

Published more than twenty years ago and now out of print, this thick volume is still quite valuable to students and scholars doing serious research.

The Interdisciplinary Aspects of Negro Studies, edited by M. J. Herskovits. Bulletin No. 32, Sept., 1941. American Council of Learned Societies.

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The Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York March 25-27 and attended by internationally-known delegates from all corners of the world, was a mighty expression—an expression of the desires of the millions of Americans who, regardless of different ideas as to ultimate solutions, are joining together to demand peace.

We are proud of the American students who, despite intimidation, understand that the Conference planted the seeds of peace which must be nurtured by every American who loves his people. We are proud of those students of New York University—leaders of organizations ranging from the regional National Student Association to the American Veterans Committee, the Track Team, and the Young Progressives of America—who took their stand firmly in a leaflet issued on the home base of that campus propagandist for the State Department, Professor Sidney Hook. We believe that students throughout the nation, throughout the world, will join these students who say boldly:

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"We stand proud and unashamed—ready to be counted by all who care to do so—as advocates and fighters for peace. We refuse to budge in our convictions, regardless of any names our efforts may earn us. To support efforts for peace today is declared subversive and un-American. Those of us who fought for this peace refuse to stand by and see the cold war become another hot war.

"We hail the 'Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace,' being held this weekend by the National Council Of The Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a magnificent demonstration of the true peaceful sentiments of the American people.

"We note with shame the position taken by Professor Sidney Hook in connection with this conference. Professor Hook's actions have contributed neither to the efforts of peace, nor to the maintenance and extension of free intellectual inquiry and exchange. His actions are as unfortunate as those of our State Department in their refusal to admit the delegates from Britain, France, and Italy, who like us, stand firmly committed to fight for peace.

"We point out that there can be no compromising with freedom of thought and inquiry and the exchange of ideas.

"We raise a warning to all intellectuals—we must halt now the incursions upon our heritage of freedom.

"We must demonstrate for peace and we must know and recognize those who would negate our efforts, in order to more effectively combat them.

"To the 'Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace' we send our greetings and sincerest wishes for success in their proud undertaking. WE SALUTE YOU!"

