3RORV DQG -HZV 7KH 4XHVW)RU 6HOI

%\ )HLJXH &LHSOLQVNL

3RODQG EHFDPH DQ LQGHSHQGHQW QDWLRQ DJDLQ
UHWDLQHG KHU VRYHUHLJQW\ IURP WR KHQ
YLFLVVLWXGHV RI KHU H[LVWHQFH HDUOLHU 7KHU WKH
-HZV ZLWKLQ KHU ERUGHUV VLQFH & (7K
SHULRG XQHTXDOHG LQ RWKHU SODFHV RI :HVWHUQ
DOOXVLRQ RI 1HZ ,QGHSHQGHQW VRPH VFKRODUV 0
PHPEHU RI WKH %ULWLVK -RLQW)RUH
-HZLVK &RPPLWWHH $-& DQG WKH -RL

> @ +LV

$XJXVW YLVLW IHOO EHWZHHQ WZR KLVWRULFDO HYH
PRQWKV EHIRUH LQ -DQXDU\ RI WKDW \HDU 3RODQ
DJUHHPHQW GHFODUDWLRQ DQG LQ 6HSWHPEHU &RORQ
DQQRXQFHG LQ *HQHYD KLV FRXQWU\¶V XQLODWHUD
IRUFH VLQFH 7KH VFKRODUV OLVWHG EHORZ KD
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EHWZHHQ 3RODQG DQG *HUPDQ\ RU WKH VLWXDWLR
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DEURJDWLRQ VL[WHHQ \HDUV ODWHU ZDV WKHUHIRU
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LW FKRVH WR GR VR XQLODWHUDOO\ FLUFXPVWDQ
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VWDXQFKHVW DOO\ )UDQFH ,Q DGGLWLRQ WR 3RO
LWVHOI DJDLQVW WKH WKUHDW RI *HUPDQ DJJUHVVL
SURMHFW LWVHOI WR EH LQ WKH VDPH OHDJXH DV R
)UDQFH %\ DEURJDWLQJ WKH 7UHDW\ 1HXWUDOLW\ DJ
WKDW LW ZDV D PDVWHU RI LWV RZQ KRXVH

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VRFLDO SUREOHPV ,Q DGGLWLRQ WKH 3RLVK JRY
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XS WR WKH LQWHUQDO SROLWLFDO VRFLDO DQG H
DVVHVVLQJ 3RLVK -HZU\¶V VLWXDWLRQ HDVLHU ,W
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FHUWDLQO\ QRW ³RQ WKH HGJH RI GHVWUXFWLRQ ´
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*HUPDQ\ 7KH 3RLVK JRYHUQPHQW FRXOG LJQRUH
DOO DORQJ ZLWKRXW WKH QHHG WR GHQRXQFH LW L
WRZDUGWKH /HDJXH RI 1DWLRQV EROVWHUHG E\ WKH

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PHPEHUV RI WKH /HDJXH RI 1DWLRQV DUH ERXQG E\
SDFW RI WKH /HDJXH RI 1DWLRQV HVSHFLDOO\ LQ W
WKH ODVW GHFLVLRQ RI WKH 5HLFK¶V JRYHUQPHQW
IURP WKH /HDJXH RI 1DWLRQV GHSULYHV 3RODQG R
VHFXULW\

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ZLOO LQ HDFK SDUWLFXODU FDVH RQ WKH EDVLV RI
VHHN D VROXWLRQ E\ RWKHU SHDFHIXO PHDQV ZLWK
WR WKH SRVVLELOLW\ RI DSSO\LQJ LI QHFHVVDU\ V
SURFHGXUH SURYLGHG IRU VXFK FDVHV E\ RWKHU DJU
LQ IRUFH EHWZHHQ WKHP ,Q QR FLUFXPVWDQFHV K
SURFHHG WR XVH IRUFH LQ>RU@HU WR VHWWOH VXFK

7KH SUHVHQW GHFODUDWLRQ LV WR UHPDLQ LQ IRUF
E\ RQH RI WKH &RQWDFWLQJ 3DUWLHV EXW WKLV PD
H[SLUDWLRQ>RI@WHQ \HDUV

3RODQG DQG *HUPDQ\µRUVVDWL:4VV4X\ 8LQE d

,Q WKH LQWHULP RQ -XQH D JURXS RI IRXU 5
DQG)DMQHU YLVLWHG &DUGLQDO .DNRZVNL LQ :DU
XVH KLV PRUDO DXWKRULW\ WR VWRS ³\RXWKIXO RX
IURP VXIIHULQJ PRUH YLROHQFH 7KHLU SHWLWLRQ

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,Q WKH QDPH RI WKH UDEELQDWH RI WKH 3ROLVK 5H
LQ WKH IROORZLQJ SRZHUIXO PDWWHU ,Q *HUPDQ\
RI WKH 7HXWRQLF NQLJKWV IURP WLPH LPPHPRULDO
D KRUGH RI EDUEDURXV SDJDQV KDV UHFHQWO\ FRP
DP ð DQ D Àtð € @ @Ltð € € „ ÀpD HQ ¨tð … Q€ ÀpB` • ÃQ, .` PRQ] P` €

QXPEHU RI YLROHQW LQFLGHQWV LQFUHDVHG GXULQ
-HZV LQ :DUVDZ 9LOQD DQG /HPEHUJ 6HH PDS $SS
WKHP EXW ZLWKLQ D IHZ >GD@V WKH\ DWWDFNHG DJD

7KHVH-HZLVK UHIXJHHV ZHUH RXWUDJHG @P7KHDWSRHV
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FRPPXQLW\ DV D ZK-RHZHVKQYLRHOGHQFHLQ SLUHG QRQ
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-HZLVK KRPHV XQGHU WKH H[FXVH WKDW WKH -HZV ³
:DUVDZ 7KH LQWHQVLILFDWLRQ RI YLROHQFH ZDV W
3RODQG@ :KLOH 3RLVK -HZV KDYH VXIIHUHG VLPLOD
EHULQG @V
MRX =HUEHU

M R X U Q D O L V W*Manchester Guardian*, the *Jewish Chronicle* D Q G *Catholic News*.

$UWLFOH

3ROLVK FLWL]HQV EHORQJLQJ WR QDWLRQDO UHOLJ
PLQRULWLHV KDYH WKH VDPH ULJKWV DV RWKHU FLV
VXSHUYLVLRQ DQG DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ RI WKHLU RZQ
UHOLJLRXV DQG VRFLDO LQVWLWXWLRQV VFKRROV D
LQVWLWXWLRQV DQG RI XVLQJ IUHHO\ WKHUHLQ WK
REVHUYLQJ WKH UXOHV RI WKHLU UHOLJLRQ

,P SRUWDQW •O\ DV WKH -HZLVK QHGHUVKLS VWUHVV
VWLSXODWLRQV RI WKH 0LQRULWLHV 3URWHFWLRQ 7
LQFRUSRUDWHG DOPRVW YHUEDWLP LQ WKH &RQVWLWXWL
SROLWLFDO DQG UHOLJLRXV ULJKWV WR DOO WKH P

QRW VXSSOHPHQWHG LQ WKH DUUDQJHPHQWV RU UDEELV 7K
DUUDQJHPHQWV LQ WKHVH LQVWLWXWLRQV ZHUH FR
VOHSW RQ WKH IORRUV RI WKH VFKRROV 0U /DVNL
EXW KLV RZQ LPSUHVVLRQV 2Q RQH KDQG KH HQMR

0U /DVNL ZDV DEOH WR WDON ZLWK RQH RI WKH PHP
DQ H[WUHPHO\ SURVSHURXV PHUFKDQW QRW WRXFKH
GLVWUHVVHG HFRQRPLF FRQGLWLRQ RI WKH -HZLVK
DVVRFLDWHG WKH SUREOHP RI GLVFULPLQDWLRQ ZL
7UHDW\ 0U :LVOLFNL VLGHVWHSSHG WKH LVVXH E\
ZRXOG VRRQ EH OLTXLGDWHG E\ WKH 3ROLVK JRYHU
IURP GHQRXQFLQJ WKH 0LQRULWLHV 7UHDW\ PHUHO
RXWVLGH RU EHFDXVH RI>WK@H 7UHDW\ RI 9HUVDLO

0U :LVOLFNL¶V FDVXDO IRUHZDUQLQJ RI VXFK DQ LP
PHPEHU RI D 1*2 LV DW ILUVW VXUSULVLQJ <HW SU
EURWKHU +DURG RIIHUV DQ LQWHUHVWLQJ FOXH 6
LQ WKH KLJKHVW HFKHORQV RI JRYHUQPHQW DV EDU
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4XLWH SRVVLEO\ LW ZDV D GHIW DWWHPSW WR EOX
*HQHYD

$V 0U :LVOLFNL SUHGLFWHG 3RODQG VWXQQHG WK
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7UHDW\ ZLWK D VXFFLQFWO\ VKRUW VWDWHPHQW

0\ JRYHUQPHQW LV FRPSOOHG WR UHIXVH DV RI WR
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VVWHP RI PLQRULWLHV SURWHFWLRQ SHQGLQJ WKH
XQLIRUP V\VWHP IRU SU>RW@HFWLRQ RI PLQRULWLHV

7KH NH\ ZRUGV LQ WKLV GHILDQW VWDWHPHQW DUH
V\VWHP ´ ,Q RWKHU ZRUGV XQOHVV DOO FRXQWULH
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WR GHILQH WKH FRQGLWLRQV RI DSSOLFDWLRQ 3RZHU LQ
WKH LQH[RUDEOH TXLG SUR TXR KDG DGYLVHG 3DGI
DERXW WKH LPSOLFDWLRQV RI FRPSOLDQFH WUPWK H
GHVSLWH UDWLILFDWLRQ WKH 3ROLVK JRYHUQPHQW
LWV RIILFLDO *D]]HWH XQWLO 'HFHPEHU YH EHKDY
ZDV D FOHDU LQGLFDWLRQ QRW RQO\ RI KXUW SUIG
XQZLOOLQJQHVV WR PHHW LWV WHUPV LQ WKH IXWX

,Q DGGLWLRQ WKH DFWLYLVX0 R

1RQHWKHOHVV WKHVH LQFLGHQWV KDG FRQYLQFHG
SURWHFWLRQ RI PLQRUV WKDW HV 7KH DRH 1DXKE RQ VZRX OC
DVVXPH UHVSRQVLELOLW\ IRU UHLQIRUFLQJ WKH WU
QHHGHG WR EH VXUPRXQWHG WKLV SURYLVR ZDV G
EHFDPH D UHDOLW\ ,W ZDV QRW HYHQ FOHDU WKH
DFFHSW WR RYHUVHH VXFK D PLQHILHOG RI IXWXUH
SUHGLFWHG WKH REVWDFOHV WR VXFFHVV HQGXUH
PRUH SDODWDEOH ZDV DJUHHG XSRQ DQ\ PLQRULW\
DWWHQWLRQ ZRXOG RQO\ DGGUHVV WKH /HDJXH XQ
ZRUGV WKLV JURXS FRXOG VROYH SUDFWLFDO LVVX
EXW FRXOG QRW KDYH DQ >LU@H+GRHZQWHV WLXOZDU

3 R O L V K

*HUPDQ\ &RORQHO %HFN VXFFHVVIXOO\ PDQDJHG W
\HDUV@

%RWK 3LOVXGVNL DQG &RORQHO %HFN ZHUH H[WUHP
:LWKRXW WKH KHOS RI KDQGHG WKHUHVWLQJ WKHLU
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Secondary Sources

$OFRFN $QWRQL *History of The Protection of Regional Cultural Minorities in Europe* 1HZ <RUN 6W 0DUWLQ¶V 3UHVV

%ODQNH 5LFKDUG *Orphans of Versailles* /H[LQJWRQ .HQWXFN\ 8QLYHUV

&UHHO *The War, The World and Wilson* +DUSHU DQG %URWKHUV

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'DYLHV 1RUPDQ *God's Playground* 9RO 1HZ <RUN &ROXPELD 8QL

Europa R[IRUG 2[IRUG 8QLYHUVLW\ 3UHVV

'HEFNL *Foreign Policy of Poland* 1HZ <RUN 3HU 3XEOLVKLQJ

)LQN &DURO ´6WUHVHPDQQ¶V *Journal of Contemporary History* SS

)LQN &DURO ´'HIHQGHU RI PLQRULWLHV LQ *HUPDQ , Q *Central European History* SS

)LVFKHU *Nazi Germany* 1HZ <RUN &RQWLQXXP 3UHVV

)LVKHU *America and the New Poland* 1HZ <RUN 0DFPLOODQ

)ODQQHU *The Anguish of the Jews* 1HZ <RUN 3DXOLVW 3UHVV

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*LOEHUW)HOL[DQG *The End of the European Era to the Present* 1HZ <RUN 1RUWRQ 3UHVV

The Diplomats 1919-1939 1HZ -HUVH\ 3ULQFHWRQ

*RUGRQ $ *Gerhardt 1868-1945* 1HZ <RUN 3DXOLVW 3UHVV

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+ H O O H U *On the Edge of Destruction* 1 H Z < R U N & R O X P E L D 8 Q L Y H U V

- D Q R Z V N L *The Jews and Minority Rights 1898-1919* 1 H Z < R U N & R O X P E L D 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ 3 U H V V

. R U E R Q V N L $ Q G U H] H M ´ *The Concise History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* 1 H Z < R U N & R O X P E L D 8 Q L Y H U V L W \

. R U] H F 3 D Z H O ³ $ Q W L V H P L W L V P *Studies of Polish Jewry 1919-1939* < R U N < , 9 2 W, H Q V W L W X

/ H V O L H 5) $ Q W R Q \ 3 *The History of Poland since 1863* & D P E U L G J H & D P E U L G J H 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ 3 U H V V

/ H Y H Q H *War, Jews, and the New Europe* 2 [I R U G 2 [I R U G 8 Q L Y H U V L W \

/ X Q G U H J 1 L H O V H Q *The Polish Problem at the Peace Conference* ' H Q P D U N 2 G H Q V H 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ 3 U H V V

0 R G U D V *The Catholic Church and Antisemitism in Poland, 1933-39* & K X U 6 Z L W] H U O D Q G + D U Z R R G $ F D G H P L F 3 X E O L V K H U V

0 D] R Y H U *Dark Continent* 1 H Z < R U N . Q R S I

0 H Q G H O V V *The Jews of Central Europe Between the Two World Wars* % O R R P L Q J W R Q , Q G L D Q D

³ , Q W H U Z D U 3 R O D Q G *The Jews of Poland* / R Q G R Q % O D F N Z H O O

0 R G U D V *The Catholic Church and Antisemitism in Poland 1933-1939* & K X U 6 Z L W] H U O D Q G

0 X V K N D W *Philosemitic and Antisemitic Attitudes in Post- Holocaust Poland* / H Y L Q V W R Q (G Z L Q 0 H O O H Q 3 U H V V

2 S D O V N L 0 D J G D O H Q *Poles and Jews: A failed brotherhood* < R U N % U D Q G H L V 8 Q L Y H U V L W \

2 U O R Z ' *A History of Modern Germany* (Q J O H Z R R G 3 U H Q W L F H + D

5DLW]YRQ)UHQNO *HVFKLFKWH GHU 1HX]HLW 6W 0DUWLQ¶V 3

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6HJDO *The New Poland* 1HZ <RUN /HH)XUPDQ

6HOW]HU *Jewish People, Jewish Thought* 1HZ <RUN 0DFPLOODQ

6WDFKXUD 3HWHU *Poland in the Twentieth Century* 1HZ <RUN 0DFPLOODQ

Poland Between the Two World Wars /RQGRQ 0DFPLOOODQ 3UHVV

7UXQN ,VDLDK ³(FRQRPLVKHU DQWLVHPLWLVLPXV LQ PLOFKRPHV ´ *Studies on Polish Jewry 11919-1939* <,92 ,QVWLWXWH

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9DJR % * / *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe* 1HZ %UXQVZLFN 7UDQVDFWLRQ %RRNV

:DQG\F] *Polish Diplomacy 1914-1945* *UHDW %ULWDLQ &DOGUD +

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=DUQRZVNL -DQXV ³/H 6\VWHPH GH 3URWHFWLRQ GHV Les Consequances Des Traites de Paix 1919-1920 En Europe Centrale Et Sud-Orientale* 6WUDVERXUJ $VVRFLDWLRQ GHV 3XEOLFDWLRQ

> @ &HOLD *On the Edge of Destruction* 1HZ <RUN &ROXPELD 8QLYHU

> @ *Encyclopedia Judaica* ³$-& ´ 7KH $PHULFDQ-HZLVK WHUULWRULDO RUJDQL]DWLRQ LQ WKH 8QLWHG 6W
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ZDV IRXQGHG LQ $V LWV QDPH LQGLFDWHV LW X
RUJDQL]DWLRQV EHORQJLQJ WR WKH VSHFWUXP RI U
,

8QLYHUVLWHV GH 6WUDVERXUJ *Polish Diplomacy* /RQGRQ :D
2UELV %RRNV SS

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History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century 1HZ <RUN &ROXPELD 8Q
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History %HUNOH\ 8QLYHUVLW\ RI &DOLIRUQLD 3UHVV

> @ *Josef Lipski: Diplomat in Berlin* :DFODZ -HGUH]HZLF] HG 1HZ <RU
8QLYHUVLW\ 3UHVV SS

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FULWLFL]HG 3RODQG IRU QRW DGYLVLQJ WKHP DERX
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WKH 3RO HW VXQH WKLV

> @ /LSVNL 'LSORPDW ´ S

> @ *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945* :DVKLQJWRQ 8QLWHG
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> @ *HUPDQ 'RFXPHQWV S

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> @ $-'&/DVNL SS

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> @ ,ELG &RQVWLWXWLRQ

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2VWRHXURSDV 9 SS

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> @ $-'& /DVNL S

> @ 3RORQVNL 3RLWLFV ´ WR WKH HR-HXZV WLRQ F
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> @ 3 D X O) 0 R K Q G H V Q G - H K *The Jew In The Modern*
World 2 [I R U G 2 Q R Y H U 8 V L W \ 3 U H V V 6 H H S D S R % H O D 9 D
³ 7 K H D W W L W X G H W R Z D U G W K H 5 L H Z R I *Jewish*
Non- Jews in Eastern Europe 1 H Z % U X Q V Z L F N 7 U D Q V D F W L R Q % R

> @ : D W W % L W W H U O * O R U 1 R G S U D V ´ & D W K R O L F ´ S

Rescue /RQGRQ 5RXWOHGJH S 'XULQJ DQG DI
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HQGHG $PHULFD DV DQ DXWRPDWLF SODFH RI UH
RQO\ -HZLVK RQHV)LQDOO\ VHH S 5XELQVWHL
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The free labor ideology of the nineteenth century was grounded in the beliefs that Northern free labor was superior to Southern slave labor. The key factor that made this system unique was “the opportunity it offers wage earners to rise to property-owning independence.” [1] It was this free labor ideology and not the republicanism of the Revolutionary War era that caused slavery to be problematic by the time of the Civil

aspects. All facets of the theory need to be explored in order to fully understand how and why slavery became such an important issue.

Free labor became the center of the Republican ideology in 1852, with the foundation of the Republican Party. It was the result of the economically expanding, enterprising, and competitive society of the early nineteenth century. The word “labor” had slowly begun

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the Industrial Revolution and reinforce social control through Christian values organized this resurgence. They wished for modernity with Christian self-control. [5] Charles Finney's arrival in Rochester provided a solution to the "social disorder" and "moral confusion" the town was facing. [6] The town was encountering much uncertainty with its adjustment to a free labor economy. Therefore, industrial capitalist beliefs of the free labor ideology became attached to visions of a perfect moral order based on individual freedoms.

Republicans placed much emphasis on economic growth and social mobility. It was these main concepts that led Northerners to justify the supremacy of their society and extensively criticize the South. Held up to Northern standards, Southern life appeared wholly different and inferior, and seemed to pose a threat to the survival of their cherished economy. To Northerners, slavery was the very basis of all that was wrong with the South. Southern society seemed an unchangeable hierarchy dominated by the aristocracy of slaveholders. The economic superiority of free to slave labor became a major part of their argument against slavery. The conservative Bostonian Robert Winthrop remarked, "the South is, upon the whole, the very poorest, meanest, least productive, and most miserable part of creation…" [7] Republicans noted intricate statistical comparisons between the North and South, and free states took the lead in population growth, manufacturing, property values, agriculture, railroads, canals, and commerce. [8] These comparisons proved that slave labor was an inefficient failure. They were far more convincing than the moral arguments presented by abolitionists and defenders of the Republicanism in the Declaration of Independence. This is not to suggest, however, that morality was not at all inherent in the Republican free labor ideology.

Morality was certainly part of it, but to attribute that to be the main cause is to miss the complete theory. For example, most moral opposition was centered in specific parts of the North, such as rural and small town New England, areas of rural New York, Pennsylvania, and the Midwestern areas settled by New England migrants. This movement grew from the beliefs of three main groups—the Quakers, freed people of color, and Evangelicals. [9]

“infidels”. [10]

and provided temporary protection for those states wishing to import Africans, thereby condoning it.

Other legislation passed after 1800 acknowledged and supported slavery. Slavery and slave holding were created in areas of national jurisdiction as the United States began to expand westward. Slavery was permitted in the areas of Louisiana and Florida, and finally the Missouri Compromise (1820) allowed slavery to cross the Mississippi River. At this time, slavery was not allowed North of the southern border of Missouri, which was located at 36°30'. The annexation of Texas and the Compromise of 1850 only compounded Northern aggressions and belief in a conspiratorial Slave Power grew. By the passage of a more strict Fugitive Slave Law (part of the Compromise of 1850), and the decree of popular sovereignty in the new territories acquired through the Mexican War (1846-1848), many Northerners had had the proverbial "last straw". The lands won from that war completed America's desire for manifest destiny and included modern-day California, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona, for example. Popular sovereignty would allow the people in the territories to vote on whether they would enter the Union as slave or free states. [15] Any former faith in the republican ideals of the Revolution was long forgotten.

Many blacks—slave and free, rural and urban, artisan and field worker, illiterate and literate—tried to claim freedom on the grounds of Revolutionary ideals in the late eighteenth century. Around 1765, slave unrest was more intensive and widespread than any other period. Northern blacks, more concentrated in urban areas, which were mostly native-born and English speaking, were generally well versed in the ideology of the times. They cited the philosophical arguments that white revolutionaries were making in their own oppressive battles. [16] However, in the South, the commitment to slavery was much more involved, and few educated blacks there perceived the ideology of aristocracy.

Some blacks gained their freedom through services rendered in the Revolutionary War, in this manner consistent with the Republican ideals of the time. Many blacks fought on the side of the British and were promised their liberty, believing in the cause of their own freedom. [17] For example, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, was forced to recruit slaves due to the shortage of loyalists. When the war was being fought more in the South in 1778, many blacks flocked to the British lines. When the British left America at the end of the war, they carried thousands of former slaves to Great Britain, the West Indies, Canada, and Africa. Numerous slaves were freed by their British masters and eluded them and stayed in the country. Many blacks fought with Patriots as

well and earned their own freedom, some grateful masters freed their slaves, and

There is very little moral mixture in the anti-slavery feeling of this country. A great deal is abstract philanthropy; part is hatred of slaveholders; a great part is jealousy for white labor, very little is consciousness of wrong done and the wish to write it. [24]
The Republican Party ideology was the comprehensive title of these elements. None of the above factors could stand alone; they melted into one another and emerged as the free labor creed. These beliefs surpassed the Revolutionary ideals of the Founding Fathers and they were the true roots of anti-slavery sentiments.

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[4] Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 5

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[11] Foner, 235
[12] Richard D. Brown, *Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution, 1760-1791* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 409
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On Christmas day 1964, Claudia Jones, only forty-nine years old, died alone in her London apartment. Over three hundred people attended her funeral on January 9, 1965 to commemorate the woman who spent her entire adult life agitating against oppression. “Visitors who come to London’s Highgate Cemetery see that next to the grave of Karl Marx there is the tombstone of Claudia Jones. Many wonder what earned her the honor of being buried beside the founder of scientific communism.” [1] On the other side of the globe, Ella Baker, a leading African-American Civil Rights leader, was defending her theories of decentralized leadership. Tensions mounted in the movement when grassroots organizations rejected the ideas of central leadership and non-violence. One such organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), founded in part, by the efforts of Ella Baker, became dedicated to Ella’s ideals of decentralized leadership, challenging the authority of high profile individuals in the Civil Rights Movement. In this paper I will examine the experiences of these two radicals.

Both Ella Baker and Claudia Jones spent their entire adult lives writing, speaking and debating the issues that African-Americans faced. These issues included racist oppression, class hierarchy and the roles of women. However, although they both confronted the same issues, they had divergent philosophies that shaped their political careers. Their individual ideas can be examined in terms of Winston James’ definition

the United States, his definition could be applied to native-born African-

force. Throughout the southern United States, “state legislatures adopted the principle of partus sequitur ventrem-the child follows the condition of the mother.”

helped to develop her radicalism. However, the 1930's also saw mass actions on the part of global black communities that affected Claudia's future radical development. Both the 1936 invasion of Abyssinia by fascist Italian forces and the movement for the nine youths involved in the Scottsboro frame-up had an incredible political impact on Claudia. According to Angela Y. Davis, it was through her work in the Scottsboro Defense Committee that she became acquainted with members of the Communist party. [13]

At the age of 18, Claudia joined the Young Communist League (YCL). According to Claudia, it was her experiences as a youth that developed her political ideology:

It was out of Jim Crow experiences as a young Negro woman, experiences likewise born

Of working class poverty that led me to join the young Communist league and to choose The philosophy of my life, the science of Marxism-Leninism-that philosophy that not Only rejects racist ideas, but is the antithesis of them. [14]

The Scottsboro case piqued the interest of many African-Americans in the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). According to Robin D. G. Kelley, "the Communist led ILD (International Labor Defense) attracted national attention for its defense of nine young black men accused of raping two white women near Paint Rock, Alabama." [15] Claudia began to rise in ranks within the CPUSA, by the time she was in her twenties, she became responsible for the party's Women's commission.

It was not until 1945 when a controversy within the CPUSA emerged, did Claudia become a well-known member of the party and an important voice for women. In 1945, Claudia published an article in Political Affairs entitled, "On the Right to Self-Determination for the Negro People in the Black Belt." Prior to this an ideological struggle emerged within the party ranks between Earl Browder and William Z. Foster over self-determination. Browder drew a line between, "the national liberation struggle of an oppressed nation" and its "nationalist" bourgeoisie, which "invariably subordinates itself to the interests of the oppressing imperialist power." [16] He raised the issue over whether African-Americans could be included in the communist working class consciousness or as a separate entity within the larger capitalist struggle. According to Paul Buhle, "the national question, the status of an oppressed group within a state or empire, tended by its very nature to raise questions about the entire Marxist Class analysis." [17]

Claudia's article emerged within this debate and had an impact on other black communists. In Harry Haywood's autobiography, Black Bolshevik, he claimed, "I was withdrawn-still reluctant to become involved in the inner-Party struggle. But I had seen

an article by Claudia Jones, a young black woman communist from the West Indies who had challenged Browder's line on the right to self-determination." [18] Haywood concluded, "The article had greatly stimulated my interest." [19] According to Haywood, the article sparked several issues within the debate and raised the issue of the interests of the black community. The article also articulated Claudia's own theories within radicalism, including the alliance of Black Nationalism and anti-capitalism.
The article attacked Browder's revisionist views on the question of the African-American community. According to Claudia, "Even the worst enemies of the Communist Party cannot fail to admit that we have been in the forefront of the struggle for equality of the Negro People." [20] The CPUSA had previously been reputed as an organization concerned with the interests of African-American people. Since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the Communist International (COMINTERN) took special interests in African- Americans. In 1928, the sixth World Congress of the COMINTERN, "insisted that blacks concentrated in the black belt counties of the Deep South constituted an oppressed nation." [21] Browder challenged these by claiming that Marxist ideology did not recognize special interests, rather, African-Americans were not a separate oppressed class. Browder wanted to maintain a distinct class-consciousness, regardless of race and gender identity.
Claudia emerged as a leading ideologue in the communist community. Her art (ni)16(t)2(y)14([r)1(t4n,

of sexism. “Claudia used the moment of internal rethinking, to question common Old Left assumptions about race, class and gender.” [25] Sexism, according to Claudia, was another form of fascism. Her goal was to, “inspire the growing struggles of American women and heighten their consciousness of the need for militant united front campaigns around the burning demands of the day, against monopoly oppression, against war and fascism.” [26]

A theory emerged out of women’s wartime (WWII) experiences. The theory, called the [redacted]tique of the [redacted]imed that, [redacted]d curb women’s progressive social participation, particularly in the struggle for [redacted]rp0(g)10K Tm scscnue o

statement alludes to both the fascist government of the Nazi's as well as the role of women as reproducers of free labor. In the case of Nazi's, it is soldiers, however, it is also an allusion to the reproductive responsibilities of African slaves. She continues her statement that the women also did not want to be merely, "objects of pleasure, according to the old motto: Kinder, Kirche, Küche." [32] The fascist triple K had roots not only in Nazi occupied Germany, but in African slavery as well. The fundamental problem was monopoly capitalism's claim on women. Claudia claimed that, "The Wall Street monopoly capitalists in their drive to aggressive world domination, atomic war and domestic fascism are seeking to align the masses of women with the war camp." [33] The threat of monopoly capitalists was a direct challenge to the Communist party.

Claudia's most fundamental concern was the role of black women. Her most inmo u15h4(t)10(f)-u6(l)

bourgeois domestic settings. Monopoly capitalism perpetuates this idea in propaganda that included the, “mammy who puts the care of children and families of others above her own.” [37] This idea is reminiscent of antebellum slave holding families. African-American women, have since according to Claudia Jones, been forced back into the homes of whites, thereby forfeiting their domesticity within the African-American community. Claudia argued that this image must be combated in order to reject it as a, “device of the imperialists to perpetuate the white chauvinist ideology that Negro women are ‘backward,’ ‘inferior,’ and the ‘natural slaves,’ of others.” [38]

Claudia adopted the fascist triple K theory to point out to the CPUSA their failure to address the needs of women, including African-American women. Claudia urged communists, like she had during the Browder debate, to recognize the issues of women and race within Marxist theory. As Lenin claimed, and Claudia Jones reiterated women, “can be at times the decisive part of the mass movement.” [39] The conflict emerged after World War II when the CPUSA echoed the movement of the larger society and relegated women to domestic roles. The Communist Party also failed to organize women in industry as well as African-American domestic workers. Claudia complained that this was a fundamental failure of the party. In response to a draft resolution of 1948 to build up anti-monopoly and peace campaigns, she claimed that, “The resolution does not sufficiently stress the need for the people’s coalition to fight for the special social,

rebellion, and her mother's role in the church influenced her radical development, as she grew older.

Education was central to Ella's early years. Her mother insisted that she be properly educated, teaching her to read before she attended school. However, education for African-Americans was limited after Grammar school. Her mother sent her off to Shaw

organizing. She realized that one could organize people around the grassroots. Baker's experiences in Harlem provided an organic learning experience. According to George Shuyler, "By force of circumstances her 'post-graduate' work has included domestic service, factory work and other freelance labors." [53]

The economic dislocations of the African-American community compelled Ella, along with Marvel Cooke, to investigate the impact on women in labor. The two went undercover for a day soliciting for domestic work on the street corners of New York. Their results were published in the November 1935 issue of The Crisis, entitled, "The Bronx Slave Market." According to Barbara Ransby, the article. "reflected Ella's lucid assessment of the complex reality of race, gender and class in the lives of African-American women." [54] The women were forced to seek work on the street corners since employment ee4 ETm[

theories centered on the idea of de-centralized leadership. Although she appreciated the role of religion in the African-American Community, she recognized the roles of preachers as too central. A central figure often placed more emphasis on their own public development, instead of the development of the community.

To answer some of the problems of the Depression, and an experiment in Ella's theories of organizing, she along with her friend George Shuyler formed the Young Negro Cooperative League (YNCL). According to Ella, the organization's purpose was to, "accept with zest the opportunity which is now ours to prove to ourselves and others that the Negro can and will save himself from economic death." [58] Although the

experienced in the rural community she was raised in. It exhibited the ideals that Ella would dedicate the rest of her life to, namely grassroots organizing.

For the remainder of Ella's life she was involved in organizations such as the NAACP,

organization. Her experiences in some of the organizations radically altered her ideas

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Baker witnessed first-hand the rise of charismatic leaders. However, she alsothe Nofgfest diced Herrude6(a ha)10(d)]TJ ET 1 37n 70.5

ideas. Ella Baker remained dedicated to organization on the community level, even among poor whites, to combat the evils of capitalism and oppression.

Both Ella Baker and Claudia Jones spent their adult lives organizing for social justice, a justice that included African-Americans, women and the poor. Their theories, however eclectic, reflect Winston James' definition of radicalism. Both women recognized the evils of capitalism, specifically its affect on African-Americans. They both experienced the worst economic crisis of the early twentieth century, witnessing the impact of poverty and destitution on the working class and African-Americans. This contributed to their attacks on capitalism. However, the fundamental difference is that Claudia Jones adopted Marxist theories to combat class oppression and Ella Baker formulated community-based ideals of organization that reflect socialism, but adopted no specific dogma.

Claudia Jones remained a devout communist her entire adult life. Her dedication is evident when one visits the grave of Karl Marx. Right next to the founder of communism is Claudia Jones' gravesite, the inscription on her headstone reads, "Valiant fighter against racism and Imperialism who dedicated her life to the progress of socialism and the liberation of her own Black people." [66] Early in her life, Claudia developed a class and race consciousness that allowed her at an early age to adhere to Marxist philosophies. Her solution was a socialist uprising, this only, she believed, would liberate the masses of the oppressed from class, race and gender oppression. Although Ella Baker too had a distinct class and race consciousness, rooted in her upbringing, Ella did not believe in Marxist theory, she was in fact often a critic of the CPUSA. She admired their de-centralized committees that allowed for effective organizing, however, she did not believe in Marxist ideology. Instead, she created her own ideals of organizing that would forever impact the grassroots movement. Although she was already over fifty when she helped organize SNCC, she recognized the importance of young people and women in the movement for social justice. Her ideas of de-centralized leadership created a schism in the movement between organizations dedicated to non-violence, led by individuals and organizations committed to community organizing that became disillusioned by the violence of whites and the often ineffectiveness of non-violence.

Although Claudia Jones was also devoted to Black Nationalism, Ella Baker was suspicious of nationalist sentiments. Staying within the borders of the United States her entire life, Ella recognized the oppression of Blacks globally and often rallied to their support, however, she was not interested in nationalism. Claudia Jones was born in the West Indies and remained concerned about the state of Blacks in the international

arena. During her exile in London she became the editor of the West Indian Gazette and traveled often in support of equal rights, including a demonstration in South Africa against Apartheid.

Both of these women were also influenced by the role of Blacks and women as a result of the development of the Black Radical Tradition. Her grandparents who had lived their early lives in bondage more directly influenced Ella Baker. She heard their stories of resistance and struggle and developed her own ideals of radicalism based on their influence. Both women were also concerned with African-American women as domestics, reminiscent of slavery. They agitated for the recognition of women and their liberation from the homes of whites. Their ideas were rooted in the oppression of slavery, and the poor economic development of Blacks on both a global and a local level.

They were also both targeted by US officials as threats to the well being of the country. Some have argued that Claudia Jones imprisonment exacerbated her already failing health and contributed to her early demise. Although Ella Baker was older, she lived another twenty-two years after Claudia Jones. During her life, federal officials also investigated her. These investigations legitimize the impact of both Ella Baker and Claudia Jones. They were a threat not merely because they vocalized their objections to oppression, they also agitated others and influenced younger generations of activists. The most enduring impact of both women is that they forged a new role for women in social justice movements. Claudia Jones forced the CPUSA to recognize the influence of women and their role in the working class community and Ella Baker forged a new role for women and youths in the Civil Rights movement. Although they were dedicated to different and often divergent ideologies, Claudia Jones and Ella Baker helped to forge an important role for women within the Black Radical tradition. They became the voice for those who were often silenced and agitated not only for the recognition of women in the radical tradition, but for the recognition of the unique role women have played both in the development of the radical tradition and the development of ideologies within it.

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[4] Cedric Robinson, Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1983) p. 3.
[5] Robinson p. 72.
[6] Robinson p. 73.
[7] Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race & Class (New York: Vintage 1981) p. 12.
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[9] Davis p. 12.
[10] Buzz Johnson, "I Think of my Mother:" Notes on the Life and Times of Claudia Jones. (London: Karia Press 1985) p. 2.
[11] Johnson p. 6.
[12] Johnson p. 7.
[13] Davis p. 167.
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[15] Robin D. G. Kelly, Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1990) p. 23.
[16] Mark Solomon, The Cry was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917-1936(Jackson: University of Mississippi Press 1998) p. 83.
[17] Paul Buhle, Marxism in the USA (London: Verso 1987) p. 123.
[18] Harry Haywood, Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American communist. (Chicago: Liberator Press 1978) p. 543.
[19] Haywood p. 543.
[20] Claudia Jones, "On the Right To Self Determination For the Negro People in the Black Belt." Political Affairs (January 1946) p. 68. Claudia goes on to sight the Scottsboro case as evidence of the CPUSA's previous interests in the problems of African Americans.
[21] Kelley p. 13.
[22] Claudia Jones, "On the Right to Self Determination…" p. 69.
[23] Claudia Jones, "On the Right to Self Determination…" p. 69.
[24] Rebecca Hill, "Fosterites and Feminists, Or 1950's Ultra-Leftists and the Invention

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[27] Claudia Jones, “International Woman’s Day and…” p. 35.
[28] Claudia Jones, “For New Approaches to our Work Among Women.” Political Affairs(August 1948) p. 740.
[29] Claudia Jones, “For New Approaches…” p. 740.
[30] Hill p. 77.
[31] Claudia Jones, “Fosters political and Theoretical Guide to our work among women.” Political Affairs, (March 1951) p. 75.
[32] Claudia Jones, “Fosters Political and…” p. 75.
[33] Claudia Jones, “Fosters Political and…” p. 75.
[34] Claudia Jones, “And End to the Neglect of the Problems of Negro Women!” Political Affairs (June 1949) p. 28.
[35] Claudia Jones, “An end to the Neglect of…” p. 28.
[36] Claudia Jones, “And end to the Neglect of…” p. 29.
[37] Claudia Jones, “And end to the Neglect of…” p. 32.
[38] Claudia Jones, “An end to the Neglect of…” p. 32.
[39] Claudia Jones, “Fosters Political and…” p. 74.
[40] Claudia Jones, “For New Approaches…” p. 738.
[41] Claudia Jones, “For New Appoaches…” p. 738.
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[62] Ella Baker, “Bigger than a Hamburger.” T

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