Next Steps in the Struggle for Negro Freedom By HUGH BRADLEY 15c

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The main report delivered to this important National Conference, and the Resolution on the 1952 elections, have placed before the Party and the nation the new situation emerging within our country and on a world scale. The main report points out: "The new Soviet peace initiatives, unfolded against the background of the most acute crisis of American foreign policy, have made imminent the conclusion of a cease-fire in Korea, have weakened the present anti-Soviet war alliance and have created new possibilities for easing the immediate danger of war against the Soviet Union." Moreover, it continues: "This new situation enhances the possibility of broadening the struggle against McCarthyism which is part and parcel of American imperialism's war drive, merging that struggle with the fight for peace, and definitely checking the destruction of the democratic freedoms of the American people."*

This new situation is characterized on the one hand, by intensified cold war policies pursued by the Eisenhower Administration, such as the fascist putsch in East Germany, and the menacing growth of McCarthyism. On the other hand, it is marked by a series of major defeats for American imperialism in the sphere of foreign policy and a rise in resistance to the pro-fascist offensive of big business on the part of labor, the poor farmers, the Negro people, and other strata of the population.

This two-sided process of development applies also to the Negro people's movement. There is an intensification of ruling class terror and bribery directed towards the Negro people and increased demagogy by Negro reformism, side by side with bold, militant, and courageous struggles

^{*} New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy, p. 3

of the Negro masses. We cannot, and must not, minimize the ever mounting violence of pro-fascist reaction. The new developments on the domestic and international scene, however, offer great promise for advancement of the Negro freedom movement. The possibility of transforming the positive promise of this moment into lasting victories for the Negro people can be realized by achieving the militant unity and leadership of the working class, allied with the poor farmers and Negro masses, to checkmate and irrevocably defeat the adventuristic foreign and domestic policy of U.S. imperialism.

Let us therefore turn to these new features in the Negro liberation movement, with particular attention to the fight for peace among the Negro masses.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

The most vital immediate question of today—peace or war, democracy or fascism—is of particular concern to the Negro people, for whom the achievement of freedom is impossible under conditions of pro-war and pro-fascist developments. What applies for labor and other sections of the population is doubly true for the Negro masses, namely, that the issue of peace is the all-embracing and most decisive one upon which depends the immediate future of the Negro movement.

In considering the fight for peace among the Negro people, we must strike a critical note. Despite the fact that Comrade Ben Davis placed this as the primary question in the Negro movement at the 15th National Convention of our Party, notwithstanding the emphasis given to this question by Comrade Gus Hall at that Convention, and the many urgent appeals made by Comrade Foster and the National Committee since, we face a situation in which this question has yet to become the central or even one of the primary issues in our Negro work. The Party as a whole must take note of this state of affairs with the view of bringing about a speedy change.

No other section of Americans have less to gain and more to lose by unjust imperialist wars than do Negroes. Although many Negro reformists argue that Negroes should "bargain" for "concessions" with the ruling class during a war situation, and in fact are now defending Eisenhower because of his alleged pre-occupation with foreign policy matters, experiences from American history teach that not every war fought by this country has advanced Negro rights. Whereas it is self-evident, for instance, that the Civil War, resulting in the abolition of chattel slavery, benefited Negroes considerably, the war with Mexico was just the reverse. This war was fought to extend the territory of the slave owners, and resulted in the all around strengthening of the slave system. Likewise, the war against Spain in 1898 resulted in the enslavement of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba by U.S. imperialism. Can it be seriously argued that a war which enslaves colonial and semi-colonial peoples, as did the war with Spain, is beneficial to Negroes?

What was the outcome of the First World War in relation to Negro rights? One of its first results was the redivision and further enslavement of Africa by the major Western European powers. A second result was a wave of lynching, terror, mob violence, and riots against Negro soldiers and civilians. Negro leaders at that time raised the slogan "close ranks," as a part of their support to the war. But it won them nothing. When Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Monroe Trotter went to Paris with a petition on behalf of Africa and the Negro people, they were insulted by President Wilson. Was such a war beneficial to Negroes?

Can it be seriously contended that the war waged by the mightiest of all capitalist powers, the United States, against the Democratic Republic of North Korea and its valiant Chinese volunteer supporters was beneficial to Negroes? It is so contended by Walter White, Lester Granger, Mrs. Edith Sampson and others, but the facts and the experiences of the Negro people during the three years of this war disprove their arguments. Some of these facts will be indicated in this report; others are to be found in the excellent Civil Rights Congress publication, We Charge Genocide, as well as in the study of the National Urban League on the status of Negroes in industry and the annual NAACP report on civil rights. The Urban League study shows that the important gains made by Negroes in industry at the time of World War II have been lost. The NAACP study proves conclusively that 1952, in an over-all sense, was one of the worst years for civil rights that the Negro people have witnessed.

Having no real facts to prove their case for supporting the Korean war and the imperialist foreign policy of this government, the Whites, Grangers, Sampsons and others, have taken over the arguments of McCarthy, the Dixiecrats, and other war-mongering firebrands, that the position of American Negroes is threatened by "Russian aggression," and the "Communist menace." But they can show no place in the world where Communists, or citizens of the Soviet Union, are lynching Negroes; they cannot find discrimination against Negroes or colored people in a single country where Communists are in power. Neither can they point to a single country in Africa or Asia where Soviet troops, Soviet resources or Soviet war materials, are being used for the murder of the native populations.

Who is supplying the guns so that the imperialists can continue to shoot down the natives of French Indo-China, Malaya, and Kenya? Is it not the U.S. government, the Eisenhower Administration? And it is this slaughter of colonial peoples which Walter White defends, and which he proposes that the Negro people defend.

What countries have proved to be the staunchest defenders in the United Nations on all questions of interest to the African, Asian and colonial masses? None have fought harder for their cause than the Soviet Union and the representatives of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. But who in the United Nations supports the arrogant imperialist aggression of France and England against these peoples? None other than our own country, our own government. Who was it that brought pressure to force the eminent leader of South Africans, Rev. D. Z. Matthews, to leave these shores? It was the government of the United States, the Eisenhower Administration. Who was it that issued the instructions to torpedo the Human Rights Covenant in the United Nations, thereby disgracing this country in the eyes of the world? It was President Eisenhower himself.

It is incongruous that the Negro people would support such a foreign policy, that they would support a war against the colonial people of Korea. Notwithstanding the volumes of words and tons of ink being used by their reformist leaders, it is a fact that sentiment for peace among the Negro people is widespread, and is growing. The level of this peace consciousness and the many forms through which it is being expressed vary, of course. Of signal importance is the continuing concern and actions of the Negro people around issues, such as the African question, or Jim Crow education in Southern Army camps, as well as a growing tendency to react to questions relating to an over-all peace settlement. The main

form, at this time, through which peace expressions are manifested among the Negro people, is in the struggle for Negro equality.

It is a serious mistake to view this struggle as a thing in itself, and to fail to see that Negro opposition to growing repression is related to, and is a part of, the fight against the consequences of the Eisenhower war policies. The relationship between the struggle for peace and the fight for Negro rights is of vital importance. Many incorrect views are evident in regard to this question. There are some who, while correctly asserting the primacy of the struggle for peace, proceed to gloss over the struggle for Negro rights. Others, while seeing in theory the importance of the issue of peace, assert nevertheless that the primary issue is the fight for Negro rights, and that Negroes cannot be moved effectively on the issue of peace. Both of these views are incorrect. While understanding that the struggle for Negro rights is one of the major aspects in the fight for peace, we must at the same time realize that neither the movement for peace nor the movement for Negro rights today develops in a "pure" form, unrelated to each other. The common denominator around which all social issues become related and interconnected is the fight for peace.

The struggle for peace finds expression, first of all, among the Negro workers in the organized labor movement. Thus the resolution of the United Auto Workers Convention calling for a meeting between Eisenhower and Malenkov was the expression and registration of a growing understanding among Negro and white workers on the issue of peace. The same is true of actions by Negro and white workers in other unions such as packinghouse, butchers, railroad. Such a process of development among Negro workers reflects similar currents in the Negro people's movement as a whole. The Negro press, as well as house organs of the main Negro organizations, give expression to this growing peace consciousness. It is expressed, too, in sermons on ending the war in Korea, conferences, seminars and mass meetings around issues flowing from the fight of Africans for national freedom and independence, public statements by leaders in many fields attacking colonial oppression in Asia and Africa. Finally, there is the emergence of a conscious identification by more and more Negroes of the fight for Negro rights with the struggle for peace and the necessity for ending the cold war.

One of the problems facing us in connection with the fight for peace among the Negro people is the fact that the Negro peace movement is not fully appreciated, nor its character understood. The explanation for this is to be found in the isolation of many Left and progressive forces from the main currents in organized Negro life. The Left-sectarianism, flowing from this isolation, inevitably results in glossing over or denying the many-sided character of the development of peace consciousness among the Negro people. The limited demands which Negroes bring forward in their own organizations in relation to peace are often overlooked or underestimated.

Nevertheless, out of these limited demands there often develops a powerful movement, as is now the case regarding Africa. Although in theory we have a more advanced program on peace than does the Negro movement as a whole, in some ways we are tailing this movement, especially on the African question. Further, this isolation means that the Left and progressive forces are not in a position to act with these organized Negro masses as a conscious force, stimulating, assisting, and helping to develop the broadest united front peace activity. Thus, spontaneity becomes a main feature of our work among the Negro people in relation to the fight for peace. A precondition for helping to stimulate and further extend this movement requires a conscious and relentless struggle against spontaneity, against sectarianism, and the rapid unfolding of the mass policy of the Party as it relates to Negro work.

In assessing what undoubtedly is a lag in the movement for peace among the Negro people, we must take into account the situation in the labor movement and the country as a whole. The strengthening and extension of peace activity among the Negro masses is a twofold process: first, to achieve a wider participation of the Negro people in the general peace movement; second, to help develop the specific national expressions of this peace movement, that is, its concrete manifestation in Negro communities and Negro mass organizations. Even here the demands will not develop uniformly or necessarily around the same issues, nor with equal levels of consciousness. While there will continue to be many parallel actions on peace in the respective organizations of the Negro people, there will at the same time be a growing tendency for unity among them on this question. This can be seen already in developments in every Negro community around issues flowing from the African struggles.

Some comrades hold the view that the lag which exists in the fight for peace among the Negro people is entirely due to the existence of white chauvinism. White chauvinism is undoubtedly a factor, and constitutes one of the major obstacles to a more speedy development of the Negro peace movement. Where it raises its head it must be combatted vigorously and consistently. But it is not the sole factor. We must search out and deal with other factors which help explain the lag existing in the fight for peace among the Negro people. For, if the Negro peace movement is to reach the proportions required to challenge decisively the current war policies of our government, we must combat the pro-war line pursued by sections of the Negro reformist leadership, expose the anti-Soviet propaganda among Negroes, and overcome the subjective weaknesses of the Left-progressive forces.

Issues around which the Negro people must be enlisted still further in the fight for peace include the maintenance of peace in Korea, an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting, recognition of People's China, struggles of the African people, and the fight against Jim Crow in the armed services. In this connection full use should be made of the excellent book by Dr. DuBois, In Battle For Peace, the splendid booklet recently issued by the Council on African Affairs, Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa. Moreover, maximum support is needed from all progressives for the newspaper Freedom, a monthly publication of Negro opinion which is making a fundamental contribution to the fight for peace among the Negro people. Freedom should be widely circulated

THE N.A.A.C.P. AND OTHER PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

During the past two years the major Negro organizations, such as the N.A.A.C.P., the Elks, the fraternities, the organizations of women and large religious groups, have increasingly concerned themselves with social, economic and political questions. This is demonstrated by the programs brought forward and acted upon in these organizations, by their establishment of social action machinery, by the election of full time and volunteer executive officers, the opening up of offices for the conduct of social action work, the publication of material and directives on vital issues facing the Negro people, and the raising of special social action funds. If it is true that Negro organizations were born out of struggle, it is equally true that the anti-Negro offensive waged by Big Business has

resulted in the revitalization of the will to struggle in many of these organizations in the past several years.

The 53rd annual Convention of the Elks, meeting in Atlantic City in September 1952, adopted a program which called for the abolition of the segregated school system in the South, the adoption by Congress of compulsory FEPC and anti-poll tax legislation, a decent and adequate housing program for the country, financial support of its Civil Liberties Department, and the organization of its membership by each Elk lodge on a block to block basis for registering and voting in all elections.

One thousand delegates attending the 38th conclave of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, meeting in Richmond, Va. in December 1952, demanded that the U.S. government lend its support to the struggles of the African people for self-determination, declared full support to the N.A.A.C.P., called for the complete abolition of segregated schools, called upon Congress to enact compulsory FEPC, to revise the McCarran Internal Security Act, to pass anti-lynch legislation, and to revise its procedures in accord with the U.S. Constitution. The Sigma convention also voted a number of demands to be placed before Eisenhower.

Five thousand delegates attending a joint meeting of six major Negro fraternities and sororities, meeting in Cleveland, December 1952, adopted a full program for social and economic rights for the Negro people. These six national Greek-letter organizations collaborate in fighting for this program through the American Council of Human Relations, a co-ordinating body which has been established by them for this purpose.

A group of prominent Negro ministers called upon President Eisenhower at the beginning of this year and presented him with an eight-point program in behalf of American Negroes. This group represented the National Fraternal Council of Churches, the major co-ordinating body of Negro religious bodies with thirteen different denominations participating in its work.

When we consider the social action program adopted by the National Baptist Convention, the AME Zion Church, the National Association of Colored Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Conference on the "Courts and Racial Integration in Education" which met at Howard University in April 1952, and a host of other Negro organizations and conferences, both national and state, there can be no doubt that the legitimate demands of the Negro masses are increasingly

being expressed through these organizations, and that they reflect a higher level of social consciousness which has developed during the past few years.

As in the past, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People remains the most important Negro organization, dedicated to the fight for Negro equality. The past two years have witnessed a consistent and steady growth in the influence of the Association, not only among the Negro people, but in the labor movement and among other progressive strata of Americans. The N.A.A.C.P. is increasingly becoming a coordinating center for all major organizations among the Negro people, and the pivot for the further advancement of the Negro-labor alliance. With over two hundred thousand members, reflecting all classes among Negroes, the Association represents the striving toward unity of the Negro people. However, it also typifies the continued dominance of Negro life by the Negro petty bourgeoisie.

Both these factors were strikingly revealed at the 44th National Convention of the Association held in St. Louis in June 1953. This Convention was held against the background of a new political situation in the country, following closely upon the advent of the Eisenhower administration. It convened at a time when the hope for peace was rising in the hearts of humanity everywhere, but when at the same time the pro-fascist offensive of the McCarthyites had already reached menacing proportions, and when the reign of terror against the Negro people continued unabated. Clearly, the Negro people were looking to this Convention for clear leadership on the vital issues facing them, and expected a call for united and militant action in their behalf.

To what extent did the Convention and its leadership live up to this expectation?

First, the Convention adopted a general progressive program on such questions as compulsory FEPC, housing, an end to Jim Crow in education and in the railroad industry. Second, the delegates associated themselves with the growing movement in our country against McCarthyism, calling for an end to book-burning, taking a forthright stand in defense of academic freedom, and demanding revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, as well as revision of the "loyalty" program. The growing anti-McCarthy feeling among the Negro masses was reflected both in the resolutions adopted by the Convention and by the militant nature of

the anti-McCarthy discussions, which found expression also in the opening address delivered by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the N.A.A.C.P.'s National Board. Delegate after delegate expressed the sentiment that McCarthy has gone too far, that he represents a serious danger to the country, and that his tactics have already weakened the fight for Negro rights. Third, a positive stand was taken in defense of the labor movement; there was a call for labor-Negro collaboration and the branches and members were urged to work with the unions in their community.

The resolution on Labor and Employment, one of the most important adopted by the Convention, represented a significant advance in the prolabor position of the Association. If this resolution is effectively fought for and implemented at the community level with the positive features as the guiding principle of every branch, the coming period should witness a considerable strengthening of the Negro-labor alliance.

Rejecting completely the proposal that the Negro people should break with organized labor (advanced by the *Pittsburgh Courier* immediately following the 1952 Presidential elections) the resolution stated: "The NAACP reaffirms its support of democratic trade unionism," and pointed out that "it becomes increasingly possible to use the trade union as an instrument to eliminate racial discrimination in employment. . . ."

Further, the resolution states: "Democratically run unions serve the interests of all America. . . . Negro workers and the entire Negro community have directly benefited from these victories won by a militant American labor movement, and therefore the N.A.A.C.P. vigorously supports the objectives of organized labor." It demanded the "repeal of all the crippling provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law," and called "upon all labor unions to negotiate strong anti-discrimination clauses in their contracts and to provide for vigorous enforcement of these agreements."

In arguing persuasively for greater Negro-labor cooperation, the resolution pointed out that "organized labor is an important power center in American life today. The support and cooperation of the American labor movement for the Civil Rights program of the N.A.A.C.P. is extremely important and in certain situations perhaps even decisive. We urge our branches and state conferences wherever possible to seek the support of responsible trade unions for measures that we favor and in turn give our support to such measures supported by organized labor as are consistent with our policy and program."

The program on foreign policy adopted by the Convention also showed an advance. While still weak in several respects, it represents an important departure from that of the 43rd Convention. In contrast to the almost one-hundred percent endorsement of the Truman foreign policy a year ago, this Convention refused to give such blanket support to the Dulles-Eisenhower conduct of foreign affairs. Moreover, the growing impact of the African question upon the Negro people was demonstrated in the ovation given to the letter which had been received from Krunath, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, as well as by the strong resolution passed on colonialism.

In contrast to the actions of a year ago, the 44th Convention also "urged the planning and execution of a Civil Rights mobilization in Washington, D. C.," and voted to welcome "in this mobilization the cooperation and support of bona fide organizations genuinely at one with us on our stated objective."

Another important feature of the Convention was the militant participation of the youth, and the overwhelming support given to the youth program by the adult delegates.

The Convention launched a program to rid America of Jim Crow and to win the total integration of Negroes by 1963, the one-hundredth anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. The wiping out of Jim Crow in the United States in the next ten years aroused a great deal of discussion among the delegates. Naturally, when the issue of Negro oppression is placed in this way, one is forced to ask how far have we come and what distance remains to be traveled. Some delegates thought that this objective should be advanced and fought for, others were of the opinion that too much discussion about 1963 would divert from the immediate tasks, while still another group, primarily from the South, were convinced that such a perspective is entirely utopian. The convention established a committee to review this proposal and make recommendations to the Association's National Board.

A ten-year plan to guarantee equal rights to the Negro people is now being discussed and debated on a national scale, as a result of the decisions of the N.A.A.C.P. convention. The proposal for such a plan places immediately before the Negro movement a number of ideological, strategical and tactical problems. It would be premature to attempt an exhaustive examination of these questions, but it is necessary to make such an

examination without long delay. Clearly from this point on, the concept of setting a date by which time Negro freedom must be achieved will gain increasing headway among the Negro people.

Notwithstanding the many positive features of the 44th Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P., there were serious weaknesses revealed in the deliberations. Certain negative and harmful resolutions were adopted which run counter to the progressive and positive ones, and which can only be harmful to the Negro movement. A number of addresses were delivered, the themes of which were in flat contradiction to the main line of the principal resolutions. Chief among these was the closing address, delivered by Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the Association, an address which should be carefully appraised by the Negro people. In his address, characterized throughout by a fawning attitude, White called for complete confidence in and support for the Eisenhower Administration (an Administration whose policies are generating further anti-Negro measures in the country). He advanced the position of complete defense of Eisenhower, exonerating him completely for his duplicity on the Negro question.

He argued that Eisenhower is an unwilling prisoner of his own Cabinet, his party and Congress, and, if the President has failed to do more on the Negro question, it is because he "has been so absorbed with war and foreign problems." Attempting to explain away in advance any future failures of the Administration on the Negro question, the chief executive officer of the Association set this forth in the following way:

"The third and most discouraging barrier to the fulfillment of his intentions to make America a place free from racial handicaps is opposition within his own party which the President faces—those who value their alliance with the Dixiecrats more than they do democracy itself. The conflict on basic issues between the Eisenhower Republicans and the Taft-McCarthy wing of the party is deep and possibly unbridgeable.

"This conflict is clearly visible in the failure to date to fulfill the President's campaign promises to appoint qualified Ne-

groes to important posts in the government."

If Mr. White's premise were to be accepted, a President who is an innocent but sincere victim of evil men, a total captive of forces whom

he cannot possibly be expected to control, and whose own Cabinet members defy him daily, should not be expected to carry out successfully his pledges to the Negro people. Although we are informed, "there is little prospect that the deadly coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats will permit the President to do what I believe is firmly in his mind to do," Mr. White claims to be convinced that the President has the necessary courage to "challenge the entrenched forces of bigotry and greed."

In addition to surrendering to the Eisenhower Administration on the Negro question, Walter White's address includes an orgy of Red-baiting and anti-Communist slander that is rare even for these times. "Two of the factors which plague the modern world are universally recognized—war and communism," he falsely proclaimed. There "is the almost total absence of Communist inspiration" for the revolution in Africa. "As is always the case the Communists have rushed in whenever possible to exploit misery and unrest." "Communism is ruthless . . . Godless." We "have rejected the siren song of Communism." "We don't want the Communists running our affairs."

Having nominated himself as a candidate for chief Red-baiter in the United States, Mr. White rushes on to make an "analysis" of the world situation. He claims to see a "stupendous social revolution which today sweeps throughout Asia and parts of Africa." And against whom is this revolution directed? Against British or French or American imperialism? Not at all. Evidently Mr. White has never heard of the evil of imperialism. In his estimation the revolution is directed against "white domination," against "the white man's evaluation of himself as all-wise and all-powerful." Who are the leaders of this revolution? Whom does Mr. White select as the symbol? None other than the American puppet, Syngman Rhee. Modestly professing to shed light on "another consideration which no one has pointed out so far as I know," the speaker spoke rapturously of his new-found hero:

"Rhee is a symbol of Asian determination no longer to accept passively and submit meekly to whatever the white Western world decides... the West might just as well learn now that the old order is ended. It should awaken to the fact that the South Koreans are willing to die in lieu of being treated as puppets or serfs. The day of Kipling's 'white man's burden' is over. Syngman Rhee's adamant stand is a warning to the West which

it had better heed or there will be no peace, in Korea now or anywhere else in the world."

But it must be stated that at no time did the convention approve of Mr. White's pro-Eisenhower oration, and it is the opinion of many observers that a majority of the delegates were definitely against the Eisenhower Administration.

The address by Walter White emphasized the major weaknesses and most negative features of the 44th Annual Convention of the NAACP—the capitulation by the top leadership to the Eisenhower Administration and an orgy of Red-baiting which reached a level never before equalled in any Negro gathering. This Red-baiting began with the opening address of Dr. Tobias, and included the passage of an anti-Communist resolution, the condemnation of the National Negro Labor Council and the progressive-led trade union internationals.

What is the explanation for the inconsistent and contradictory policy adopted by the Convention—a policy which calls at the same time for struggle and surrender, for anti-McCarthyism and Red-baiting, for support to the national independence movement of Africans and condemnation of Mau Mau "violence"?

The explanation is to be found in the composition of the Convention and its leadership, made up as it was of the Negro middle class and petty-bourgeoisie. The Negro workers in the main were absent; progressives and Communists, in the main, were absent. The reformist leadership of Walter White was not basically challenged, and he maintained an iron-fisted control over every aspect of the deliberations. The spokesmen claiming to speak for labor at the Convention were primarily a handful of Trotskyites and Social-Democrats, although there was one leading national spokesman for labor present, Patrick Gorman, who delivered one of the principal addresses.

The negative features of the NAACP Convention constitute a prime example of the vacillating role being played today by the Negro petty-bourgeoisie, and of the continuing subordination of the Negro workers to the bourgeoisie in the Negro liberation movement. These negative features should constitute a warning as to the dangers inherent in the present situation, and the necessity of maintaining the most powerful pressure upon reformist leadership. Further, it is a warning which signalizes the vicious effect which McCarthyism is having upon Negro

reformist leadership, and the extent that some people will go to "save themselves" from McCarthyism.

The program adopted by the NAACP and other major Negro organizations reflects, among other things, the striving for unity on the part of the Negro people. Not only is there increased unity of action but the path along which this unity is developing is becoming clearer. First and foremost, it is proceeding in the struggle around issues. The fight for jobs and FEPC is one example. Here we see a struggle with its base in the shops, one in which Negro workers are playing a leading role, and which is moving tens of thousands of Negro shop workers into many different forms of action.

Second, the path toward unity being taken by the Negro people is the fight for Negro representation and the right-to-vote movement in the South. The recent elections in Atlanta demonstrate the non-partisan character of this movement, its all-class nature, and the fact that it has, and will increasingly receive, the support of progressive whites. The greatest success in such a movement is assured when the Negro people as a people are drawn most fully into the fight, when they see clearly the possibility for victory, and believe that there is a leadership to whom their confidence may be entrusted. The Atlanta Negro community was united on candidates, on how many offices should be contested, what the program or platform should be, and met head-on the white supremacists who set out to destroy the movement by Red-baiting.

The past period has also witnessed in a number of Northern and Western states a higher unity of the Negro people in advancing the cause of Negro representation. This is particularly true in New York City, the result being the election of the first Negro State Senator, and the nomination by all parties of Negro candidates for the Borough Presidency of Manhattan in the 1953 municipal elections.

The striving for unity among the Negro people is reflected not only by parallel and united action around issues. It is increasingly being effected through collaboration between many of the mass organizations with and under the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. The FEPC mobilizations recently organized in a number of states by the N.A.A.C.P. have gained the widest support in the Negro community and at the same time that of major sections of the labor movement and important mass organizations among the white population.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

Side by side with the more active social role of Negro organizations is the growth in influence of the labor movement upon the Negro community. The pace of this development thus far is much too slow. A basic reason for this is that this influence is expressed primarily through the collaboration between the labor bureaucracy and the Negro reformist leadership, and that the Negro workers have not been drawn in.

An integral part of the Negro liberation movement over the past few decades has been the Communist Party and important progressive forces in the country. This trend has always represented an anti-imperialist viewpoint and constituted the most militant section of the Negro people's movement. This trend, though never dominant, has since the early 30's wielded a considerable influence upon the Negro movement as a whole. For the past several months there has been a noticeable decline in the influence of the organized Left in Negro life, although the prestige of certain progressive Negro leaders remains at an all-time high.

Four fundamental reasons, among others, are responsible for this decline:

- 1. The general political climate in the country of fascist-like repression, and the reactionary policies of the trade-union bureaucracy.
- 2. The small concessions granted to Negro reformist leaders by the bourgeoisie, thereby facilitating their role of waging war against progressive and Communist ideas.
- 3. Right opportunist influences upon the Left movement, and especially the strong capitulatory tendencies on the Negro question which have been manifested during the past period in several of the independent progressive-led unions.
- 4. The failure to apply a correct united front policy in the Negro community, reflecting strong sectarian tendencies in the ranks of Negro Marxists as well as among some progressives. Thus, many have failed to maintain their organized ties with the established Negro organizations.

In line with the Resolution on the 1952 Elections, a primary and most urgent task is that of regenerating the role of the Party, that of the Left as a whole, in organized Negro life. We must adopt and fight for a policy in which all Negro Communists, and those Negro progressives

whom we can influence, will establish and maintain firm ties with organized Negro life, with the established Negro people's organizations. The visiting of Negro leaders on this or that issue is no substitute for active participation in existing organizations.

Negro forces active in the general political movement, must be given the opportunity to continue to play a role in Negro life, in Negro people's organizations, and to maintain and extend relationships with leading representatives of the Negro community. Irrespective of the reasons advanced, the time has come to put an end to the self-imposed isolation from the Negro community of key Negro cadres. We must insist that all Negro Party members, without exception, develop and strengthen their ties with the organized sections of the Negro community.

The fight for a mass policy in the Negro community, together with the struggle inside the labor movement to challenge reformism, is a pre-requisite for the ultimate isolation and defeat of Negro reformism, for the creation of conditions which will make it impossible for a Walter White to deliver such speeches as he made at the N.A.A.C.P. Convention. Such a policy will enable leading and rank-and-file trade unionists to take their rightful place in the leadership of the struggle for Negro freedom in the key mass organizations to which they belong. The successful and speedy execution of our Party's mass line in relationship to Negro work, both in respect to community and industrial concentration is the only serious path to the defeat of Negro reformism. Any other course is sheer phrasemongering.

INTERVENTION OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

In the fight for peace and Negro-labor unity we must take serious note of the fact that the bourgeoisie, conscious of the new influence the Negro question has on domestic and international affairs, is engaged in a major and far-reaching intervention in the Negro liberation movement.

With the aid of the traitor, Dr. Max Yergan, U.S. News and World Report, May 1, sought to shed some Wall-Street light on the subject: "Africa! Next Goal of Communism." Not to be outdone in this Big Business policy of spreading misinformation on the Negro and colonial question, the Luce publication Life appeared on May 4th with the entire issue

devoted to events in Africa for the alleged purpose of helping to develop "an informed American attitude toward Africa." On May 11th, the weekly news magazine *Time* carried a four-page article which masqueraded as a factual and objective treatment of the U.S. Negro, 1953.

At the very outset we learn from the *Time* article, that "a decade of progress has wrought a revolution in his life, brought him more prosperity and freedom." On the economic front "for most Negroes, the problem is no longer jobs . . . it is no longer bread, but cake." An important aspect of *Time's* self-created "revolution" is the allegation that "the forces that kept the Southern Negro from voting—intimidation and the poll-tax—are largely beaten . . ." and that "the Negro gets justice in the courts, although in some Southern courts he still has to fight for his right to be heard by mixed juries. The big issue today is no longer justice in the courts, but justice in daily life."

According to *Time* "the signs of Negro prosperity are everywhere," with literally "an ugly forest of TV antennae" and Cadillacs to be found all over Harlem, symbolizing the development among Negroes of a strong "middle class," and the transformation of the Negro "into the nation's new Babbitt." In fact, Negroes are so well off that "Swift & Company does not advertise its ordinary fowl in Negro publications, but the more expensive Swift's Premium." Why are there not more Negroes upgraded in industry? Simply because "there are not enough qualified Negroes. Example: U.S. industry will hire all the Negro engineers it can get, but few Negro college students go in for science or engineering." *Time* simply liquidates the problems of the Negro people who live in the North with the declaration that "as a citizen, the Negro in the North, by and large, enjoys full rights: everywhere except in the border states, he is equal in the schools and in most public services."

With regard to the problems of the Negro people in the South, *Time* has begun "to wonder whether the Deep South really exists any more," since "segregation now seems like something out of *Alice in Wonderland*... and mob violence is rare..." Asserting that "Booker T. Washington is the greatest Negro leader in U.S. history," that "the majority of U.S. Negroes feel no more kinship to the Kikuyu than to the man in the moon," that "no more than 1,400 Negroes ever belonged to the Communist Party at one time," and that "there are fewer outstanding Negro leaders on the national scene today than ever before," *Time* brings its

deceptive revolution to a safe conclusion. But just in case the Negro people refuse to accept this advice and insist that they have yet to experience in life the revolution created in the editorial offices of Henry Luce, the editors assure us that the problems which remain are "basically not economic, or social, or psychological . . . but moral."

Since the publication in 1943 of An American Dilemma by Gunnar Myrdal, increasing attention has been given to the Negro question not only by leading Wall Street publications such as those cited above, but also by the press of trade union, religious, national group, professional, civil rights, youth and women's organizations. In addition, general books, novels, booklets and pamphlets with a Negro theme are appearing in increasing volume. In 1952 alone some ninety books published were read and studied by millions. When we consider that in addition to the treatment of the Negro question in books, magazines, and the press, other millions witness daily the marvelous achievements of Negro athletes over TV, it can be said that not since the events of the Civil War and Reconstruction has consciousness of and concern with the problems of the Negro people reached the level of understanding among the masses generally as is the case today. However, the vast bulk of the material on the Negro and colonial questions reaching Americans and peoples in other lands originates from self-interested and prejudiced sources.

The victory of the October Revolution and the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the defeat of fascism in World War II, the rise of People's Democratic China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the inspiring struggle of the North Koreans and their Chinese allies in delivering a major military defeat to U.S. imperialism, the developing liberation movements of Africans for national independence and freedom, combined with the militant growth of the Negro liberation movement in the United States, have resulted, as Comrade Ben Davis emphasized at the 1950 Convention, in the transformation of the Negro question from a purely domestic issue into an international issue. Negro oppression in our country is a major refutation of the hypocritical pretense of our government's claim that it speaks for world democratic opinion.

This discrepancy between claims and deeds on the Negro question confronting U.S. monopoly capitalism and its Eisenhower Administration has resulted in a more intense application of the two-sided tactic long pursued by American ruling circles to counter the legitimate demands of the Negro people. The essence of this tactic is a combination of minor concessions with terror, bribery, and the iron fist.

What then are the aims of the recent articles by *Life*, *Time* and *U.S.* News on the Negro and African questions? To what extent are they realizing their aims?

In the first place, as spokesmen for reactionary Big Business interests, their aim is to convince Americans, Negro and white, as well as the rest of the world, that radical and phenomenal progress is being made by the Negro people, that with good will, patience, a stout heart, and a little more time, the problems of the Negro masses will basically and finally be solved. This point is pressed by gross exaggeration of gains achieved, drawing false and premature conclusions from such gains, and crediting the "enlightened" policy of Big Business for such advances, rather than the militant struggles of the Negro people supported by their allies in the labor movement.

For instance, *Time* correctly states the fact that there are today more than a million Negroes qualified to vote in the South, as compared with some 300,000 in 1938. From this, it draws the dangerous and highly misleading conclusion that the right-to-vote problem has, in the main, been solved. But what are the facts? Notwithstanding the positive achievement of registering a million Negroes to vote, there are between five and six million still denied this right; over 80% of the Negro people are disfranchised in the South. It has taken twenty years to win the right to vote for approximately 18% of the Southern Negro population, and at this rate of progress, it will take another eighty years before all the Negro people in the South will be able to vote!

A second aim of Big Business is to establish the claim in our country and the world that Negroes are achieving this "phenomenal" progress under the capitalist system, under the "American way of life," without "dictatorship," without exchanging "individual liberty" for "economic security." This lying propaganda is spread in order to "justify" American imperialism's "moral" right to intervene in the "solution" of the problem of Africa, to prepare the public for such intervention.

Third, the ruling class is anxious for Negro and white Americans to conclude that the two-party system, the existing judiciary and gradual

reforms offer sufficient latitude and resiliency to allow for the achievement of Negro equality.

The oceans of propaganda pouring from these Big Business organs constitute a form of chauvinist intervention in the Negro movement, to win the support of the Negro people for the war program of U.S. imperialism. It is designed, furthermore, to strengthen the currents of reformism among Negroes, to place the mantle of leadership upon and to strengthen the role of such reformists as Walter White and Lester Granger, and such arch betrayers as Max Yergan and George Schuyler. It is designed to create conditions in which Social-Democracy will be able to exert a more potent influence upon Negro life. This intervention constitutes a major factor in the Negro movement today.

It would indeed be a most serious error not to see that in several respects Big Business is succeeding in its two-sided approach to the Negro question, despite its failure to achieve the total subordination of the Negro liberation movement to the Wall Street policy of war and fascism, and its abject failure abroad. The one-sided estimate of Negro progress, advanced by Big Business and supported by important sections of Negro conservative leadership, is accepted by large numbers of Negroes. The pro-capitalist promise of resolving the Negro question through a process of gradual integration into American social life is cultivated widely by Negro reformist leaders like Lester Granger, Mrs. Edith Sampson and George Schuyler, and continues to receive wide support among Negroes. The Big Business aim of maintaining the hold of the two-party system in the Negro community has been successful, thanks again to the supporting role of Negro reformist leaders.

It is of decisive importance to the course of development of the Negro liberation movement to estimate the status and level of Negro advancement, and to draw the proper conclusions from such an estimate. There is no doubt that the strength of Negro reformist and conservative leadership among the Negro masses is determined not alone by the fact that they lead struggles and win victories, but also by their ability to convince large masses to accept their exaggerated estimate of these victories.

A basic task of our Party, and of Negro Marxists particularly, is to analyze the rate, tempo, and perspectives for Negro advancement, to bring our analysis and program to the Negro masses, to win them for this program—a program based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, the only

science which can light the path for the full liberation of the Negro people.

What then is the view of our Party on these questions, and what conclusions do we advance as a result of our estimate?

The stated goal of the Negro movement, as outlined by a majority of its leaders, is that of total integration, without discrimination or segregation, into every sphere of American society, as it is presently organized and functioning. The advocates of this point of view are quite convinced that total integration would solve the problem of Negro oppression, and many are convinced that this goal is already in sight, given a continuation of the level and rate of progress made during the past ten years. Implicit in the theory of the integrationist school of thought is the idea that the prime source of the problems of Negro people is to be found in the fact that white people are against Negroes because they are black and darkskinned. The essence of this theory was placed as early as 1903 by the eminent sociologist, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who wrote that "the problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the color line."

The Communist Party knows that the source of the problems facing the Negro people is to be found in factors other than those advanced by the integrationists. Present-day Negro problems have their origin in chattel slavery. Modern slavery arose with the strivings of Western European capitalism, in its early days, to find an abundant supply of cheap labor. The oppression of Negroes in modern American society continues because big capital, the owners of General Motors, Ford, U.S. Steel, and others, make huge profits from the exploitation of all labor, Negro and white, and make even higher profits from the exploitation of Negro workers by taking special advantage of their color, and through the cultivation of white chauvinist ideology. Color is unquestionably a factor, but is not the source of the problem. The basic problem of Negro workers is a class problem, arising from their exploitation by Big Business and landlords, or by what some call the "American system of free enterprise."

In addition, the entire Negro people are confronted with the problem of national oppression, arising from the heart of the Deep South where the Negro people constitute a distinct nation, held in subjugation, and denied all major rights as a nation.

There is also the problem, almost entirely overlooked by the integrationist, of the oppressed Negro agricultural workers, several hundred thousand sharecroppers and tenant farmers, facing ever deepening ruin as exploited landless farm toilers.

The program of total integration as conceived by Negro reformers is one-sided and inadequate; it all but excludes the class position of Negro workers in industry; it fails to take into consideration the nature of the crisis confronting the Negro agricultural masses; it denies completely the existence of an oppressed Negro nation in the Deep South.

While helping to unite the Negro people in support of a minimum national program for complete equal rights the Communist Party must advance a class program in behalf of the Negro workers in industry, a program designed to relieve the burden of the Negro farming masses, as well as to raise and popularize the demand of self-determination for the Negro nation in the South.

Not only must we take exception to the one-sided manner in which the integrationists place the demand for total integration, but we must at the same time challenge in a concrete manner the exaggerated claims regarding Negro advancement. While doing so, however, we Communists greet every step forward made by the embattled Negro people. There can be no doubt but that the Negro freedom movement, supported by our Party, the labor movement and other sectors of democratic public opinion, has struck important blows against their imperialist oppressors during the past period, and will continue to do so in the future.

Despite all the gains made, it must be stated that after 244 years of chattel slavery, and 90 years following the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln, Negro oppression in the U.S. continues unabated. The status of the Negro people is dramatically seen each week in the headlines of the Negro press: "Howard University Hard Hit as GOP Economizes", "God in Christ Meet Barred by Bombsters", "Slap Brutal Cops Here, But Congress Still Silent", "Black Friday in Washington, D. C.", "One Thousand Negroes Lose U.S. Jobs . . . Shocking News Hits Hundreds in Capitol", "Lost Boundaries Doctor Is Fired; Charges Bias", "Family Receives Bias Bomb Threat".

Headlines such as these confirm the indisputable fact that there is not a single aspect of American life, including the armed services, in which total integration without discrimination has been achieved. Let us take a few illustrations in this regard.

1. In 1933, a young Negro by the name of Donald Murray, sought

to enter the University of Missouri law school. The N.A.A.C.P. took up this case, and the fight for equality in American education was on. Now, twenty years later, two thousand Negro students are attending some few major state-supported universities in the South that were formerly lily-white. To date, the private white colleges in the South are untouched. The employment of Negro educators in these institutions, even where Negro students are now attending, has not begun, and many state universities still refuse to admit Negro students. The question of lily-white state-supported primary schools in the South is still pending before the Supreme Court. Can it be seriously argued that integrated education without discrimination is in sight in the U.S., given a continuation of the present tempo of progress in this field, especially when we bear in mind that widespread discrimination continues to exist in this field against Jews and Catholics?

2. Several Southern governors recently predicted that "educational facilities for Negroes would be equal to those for whites within five years" (*Pittsburgh Courier*, *Dec.* 20, 1952). But in the state of North Carolina, claiming to be the pace setter in equalizing educational facilities, what did the *Courier* find?

"In 1900, the average white pupil enjoyed a school investment of \$200 more than the average Negro pupil; however, in 1951, the differential between the average white and the average Negro pupil was \$2,000.

"On the dollar basis, the difference between the value of the average Negro and white classroom increased from \$2,800 in 1925, to \$4,600 in 1951. If this differential in the gap between the expenditures per class room is reduced by 15% every ten years, the classrooms will become equal about 1981.

"The greatest injustice unearthed by the Courier was the difference in the amount of money spent per Negro pupil and the money spent on white students. In 1945 the difference was only \$15.65, but in 1950 the difference was \$29.62—almost double."

3. On July 26, 1948, an executive order was issued by former President Truman ordering the abolition of Jim Crow in the armed services. Three years later, in July 1951, the Department of Defense, according to the New York Times, "announced that steps were being taken by the army to complete integration of personnel." Nearly five years later President Eisenhower announced that he had received a memorandum from

the Secretary of the Army, indicating that the Secretary of the Army was in the "process of making a survey relative to this question (segregated Army schools) designed to bring about agreement with local authorities for integrating the schools. If such integration is not achieved, other arrangements in these instances will be considered."

4. Ten years ago, with great publicity and fanfare, Walter White and Wendell Willkie went to Hollywood and held several meetings with the major Hollywood producers. Speeches were made, pictures were taken, and an announcement issued to the effect that Hollywood was about to tackle seriously the problems of integrating Negro cultural workers into the motion picture industry. Every movie-goer knows the results thus far—zero. Will the integrationists argue that they visualize an integrated motion picture industry during the next few years, under the continued ownership and control of the present movie moguls?

5. "In 1950, Negro families had an average income of \$1,869, 54% of the average income of \$3,445 among white families. The differential seems particularly wide in view of the fact that a higher proportion of Negro family members are in the labor force. . . . In 1945, the last year of World War II, the average money income of all Negro families was almost 57% that of whites—a comparative level that has not again been reached in more recent years. . . . Between 1945 and 1949 the average income of white families had increased by over \$500 while among Negro families it remained practically unchanged. . . .

"Among rural farm families the average money income of Negroes increased from \$550 in 1945 to \$691 in 1949, when it was about 40% of the average for white families. This, however, represented a decline from the high postwar average of \$1,026 in 1947, when it was almost 48% of the average among white families on farms." (Excerpts from Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, Washington, 1952. Issued by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate.)

6. In 1910, Negro farm ownership in the U.S. was over 200,000. In 1930 less than 200,000 owned their farms and held title to 11 million acres of land. Ten years later, in 1940 Negro farm owners held title to 8,215,010 acres of land. In 1952 the U.S. Department of Agriculture announced that there were 189,232 Negro farm owners, a loss of 6,000 in the South since 1945.

What conclusions should we draw from the above facts? How should the Negro people appraise these facts? The conclusion must be that far from granting total integration the bourgeoisie is intensifying Negro oppression all down the line, while trying to sell the world a false bill of sale on "Negro progress." A second conclusion must be that these exaggerated claims on Negro advancement cannot stand the slightest examination, and that they can and must be exposed before the American people, Negro and white, as being completely fraudulent. Thirdly, it follows from the data presented, that the strategic line of march advocated and fought for by Negro reformist leaders will never achieve total integration for the Negro masses, and is incapable of bringing about the complete emancipation of the Negro people from national oppression.

THE FIGHT FOR JOBS—LEADING ROLE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The relationship of classes among the Negro people is of vital importance to the struggle for Negro rights. Examination of the 1950 census, with related data, reveals information on class relationship and population trends in the territory of the Negro nation, and highlights the necessity of a more conscious fight for the leading role of the Negro workers in the liberation movement.

According to the 1950 census there are fifteen-and-a-half million Negroes in the United States, comprising 10 percent of the general population. Allowing for the fact that the practice is still widespread of not counting many Negroes in the South, and the growth in population during the past two years, it is probably correct to say that there are now 17,000,000 Negroes in our country. Data drawn from the census and from other sources, lead to the following conclusions:

1. The most significant fact is the growing proletarianization of the Negro people, the absolute relative increase of the Negro industrial workers in comparison with the Negro farm population, the Negro middle class, or the Negro bourgeoisie. This development is taking place because of the shift of agricultural workers from countryside to towns and cities in the Black Belt, thus strengthening the Negro working class and semi-proletarians within the Negro nation. It is also taking place because of

the continuing large migration from South to North, thereby enhancing the role of the Negro industrial workers in such states as Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

"About 63% of all Negroes aged 14 years and over were in the labor force compared to 57% of all whites." Of all Negroes, 84% of the men and 45% of the women are in the labor force. The continuing entry of Negro workers into industry is particularly important to the labor and Negro movement in view of the fact that large numbers are going into already organized industries and shops, resulting in a corresponding increase in the organized sector of Negro workers, and in the general strengthening of both the labor and Negro movement. The rural to urban migration of Southern Negroes and their entrance into industry is facilitating the development of more favorable conditions under which the rural poor can be organized.

- 2. In contrast with 1940, when a majority of Negroes lived in rural areas, today 60% are living in urban communities. It should be emphasized, however, that over six million Negroes live in rural areas, and that there are over a half million Negro farmers. With only one million less Negroes on the countryside than there were in 1900 (1950 census, 6,092,000; 1900 census, 7,106,000), it became evident that there is no foundation to the pseudo-scientific concept of migration solving the problems of the Southern Negro masses or that the agrarian crisis confronting the Negro farmers is "disappearing."
- 3. Notwithstanding the great migration of Negroes from South to North which began with World War I, 60% of the Negro population still live in eleven Southern states (9,100,000 in the states of Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas). In fact, between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population actually increased in seven of these states (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas), while remaining approximately the same in two (Georgia and Alabama) and declining in two (Mississippi and Akansas). From this census data it is evident that the heart of the Jim Crow system remains in the South and that population shifts have not changed this fact. However, it is necessary to examine the relative decline of the Negro population as compared with the white which took place in each of these eleven states during the past ten years. A concrete study and estimate of this

data, particularly as it relates to the Negro nation, is now being made by Comrade Pettis Perry.

4. An examination of the 1950 census reveals the necessity for placing new emphasis upon Negro work in general, and the Negro-Labor alliance in particular, in the states of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, California, New Jersey, Missouri, and Maryland. In several key cities of these states the Negro population increased by more than 50% during the last decade. (New York, 62.4; Chicago, 80.5; Detroit, 101.4; Washington, 50.5; Los Angeles, 116.2; Cleveland, 76.1; San Francisco, 155.9; Newark, 63.6; Oakland, 292.1). It should be noted that the Negro population in the state of California is second only to New York among non-Southern states with more than 700,000 Negro residents, and that the Negro population in Michigan has more than doubled since the 1940 census, standing today at 453,000.

Furthermore, the percentage of Negroes in the total population increased sharply not only in the cities listed above but in several others as well. In Chicago, for instance, Negroes were 8.3% of the population in 1940; today they constitute 14.1%. Significant increases have taken place in the following key cities: New York, 6.4 to 9.8; Philadelphia, 13.1 to 18.3; Detroit, 9.3 to 16.4; Washington, 28.5 to 35.4; Baltimore, 19.4 to 23.8; Los Angeles, 6.5 to 10.7; St. Louis, 13.4 to 18.0; Pittsburgh, 9.3 to 12.3; San Francisco, 5.0 to 10.5; Cincinnati, 12.2 to 15.6; Newark, 10.8 to 17.2; Oakland, 4.7 to 14.5; Cleveland, 9.7 to 16.3. From the viewpoint of the labor movement, political action, the fight for peace, this and similar data warrant the closest study.

- 5. The U.S. Bureau of the Census offers conclusive evidence that relatively and absolutely there has been no significant growth in the Negro middle class. During the decade covered by the census, for instance, "in the professional occupations the proportion of Negro men remained about 3%." Whereas in 1944 non-whites composed 2.1% of all Americans listed as managers, officials, and proprietors (excluding farm), by 1952 non-whites had been reduced to 1.6% of this category. Non-whites had been reduced from 3.3% of all professionals and technical workers in 1944 to 2.5% in 1952.
- 6. In regard to the accumulation of capital and the status of the Negro bourgeoisie, there have been some changes, but none that appear radical or far-reaching in scope.

There have been moderate increases in capital accumulation in those areas historically invested in by the Negro bourgeoisie (insurance, consumer industry, newspapers and publications, real estate). There has been some venturing out into new areas, e.g., in light manufacturing (shirts, sausage). Notwithstanding such growth, there has been no fundamental chage in the restricted nature of Negro capital, or the Jim Crow character of the market to which the Negro bourgeoisie is limited.

One of the features of the bourgeois democratic revolution in India was a limited fusion of Indian and British capital. For instance, the dominant financial interest in the *Times* of India, the traditional spokesman in India of British capital, was taken over by Indian stockholders, although British capital maintained a minority interest. Moreover, the majority of managerial posts in British-owned industries have traditionally been filled by Indians. In contrast to the experiences of the Indian bourgeoisie, there is today no fusion of Negro and white capital, no acceptance of the Negro bourgeoisie as a junior partner, nor any other kind of partner, by the big bourgeoisie or any other sector of American capital. (Unless we consider the election of Dr. Channing Tobias to the Board of Directors of a leading Wall Street bank as representing a trend.)

The Negro bourgeoisie has received just about as many government war contracts as have the Negro workers. It has received not even a pittance from the tens of billions extracted from the taxpayers by the government since 1947 for war preparations.

In the penetration of American capital into Africa, India, or other colonial countries, the Negro bourgeoisie is neither included nor consulted. Although the imperialists are training some young Negroes as technicians to be used as running dogs of Wall Street in Africa, this no more proves that the Negro bourgeoisie is being brought into the picture than does the employment of some Negroes by Walgreen's Drug Company in the Negro community.

In the realm of politics and all other phases of American life, in so far as the ruling class is concerned, the Negro bourgeoisie is "just another Negro", to be treated with arrogant contempt. Big finance capital is showing far more interest today in the Negro market than in the status of the Negro bourgeoisie. And if *Our World*, *Ebony*, the *Courier*, etc., are receiving large ads from the big corporations, it is because these concerns, in their strivings for maximum profits, have an eye for the

\$15,000,000,000 Negro market. Reports have been circulated for some time that the contemptuous policy of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company towards the Negro market is being revised, with the outlook of seriously seeking Negro business. There is every possibility that this is the case; if it proves to be so, Negro insurance companies will be faced with competition from dominant groupings of finance capital, whereas in the past such competition came mainly from secondary and parasitic white capital.

The unstable, indecisive, and vacillating nature of the Negro bourgeoisie becomes quite understandable when we consider their dilemma. They have no prospect at present of securing capital in the form of loans, contracts, or otherwise, from Big Business or the government, and with a very weak middle class to draw upon, they are confronted with the greater proletarianization, ever increasing militancy and pressure of the Negro workers on the one hand, and the ever mounting terror and bribery of finance capital on the other. It also becomes quite clear why this bourgeoisie, and their spokesmen, who constitute the dominant section of Negro reformist leadership, are incapable of leading the Negro people to freedom, are incapable of successfully leading the bourgeois democratic revolution in the South. We can understand why they swing like a pendulum, advancing the demands of the Negro movement and at one and the same time paying homage to the pro-war foreign policy of the American government.

It is precisely because of the tenuous and unstable position of the Negro petty bourgeoisie in all spheres—economic, political, social—that it is quite possible and correct to advance the policy of an all-class, united national Negro movement, inclusive of important sections of the Negro petty bourgeoisie. The Negro petty bourgeoisie derives its progressive potential in part from its rejection by the dominant capital in the country, from the absolute and arrogant refusal of Wall Street to grant any major concessions, and from its continued dependence upon the Negro market.

We are confronted with a situation in the Negro movement against which Lenin warned, one in which the Negro proletariat is a "subsidiary to the bourgeoisie," where the Negro proletariat has yet to transform the "possibility of escaping the fate of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie, and of becoming the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revo-

lution." It is the solving of this problem which will make possible the realization of the progressive potential inherent in the Negro petty-bourgeoisie, and the achievement of an all-class national unity among the Negro people led by the Negro proletariat. This is a most important question to which we must address ourselves during the coming period.

The Resolution on the 1952 Elections states that "the heart of the resistance movement to Wall Street's program lies in labor, the poorest strata of farmers, and the Negro people. The mobilization and the unity of this giant core, which already recognize the peril inherent in the G.O.P. victory, represents our most basic and immediate task." Of prime importance in the struggle to mobilize and unite such a broad people's coalition is the necessity of building and further consolidating the movement among Negro workers in basic industry for jobs and economic equality. The basis for this, and the achievement of a higher level of unity among the Negro workers, is to be found in the struggles already being waged for jobs, upgrading, and FEPC. This fight now embraces the mass of Negro workers in basic industry, many sectors of the labor movement, the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and independent unions, and has the support of leading mass organizations of the Negro people, such as the N.A.A.C.P.

The fight for jobs for Negro workers in basic industry not only strikes a fundamental blow against Jim Crowism, but constitutes also an important avenue for advancing the leading role of the Negro workers within the Negro liberation movement. Moreover, the fight for jobs is indispensable to further the unity of Negro and white workers, which alone can guarantee a fighting alliance of labor and the Negro people's movement.

A major obstacle to Negro-white unity in industry is the continued and widespread existence of white chauvinism. It is essential to place at this time in a forceful and forthright manner the necessity of unfolding the struggle against white chauvinism in the organized labor movement on a level not yet seen in the United States. Such a struggle can be developed successfully only on the basis of winning the white workers to an understanding that it is to their own class interest to vigorously support the demands for full economic equality of the Negro workers against the Fords, DuPonts, Morgans, Mellons, etc. It must be understood that the struggle for jobs and economic equality for the Negro

workers is the main path through which white chauvinism among the workers can and must be fought, and that such a struggle must be unfolded as a result of a policy which is consciously planned and executed.

The struggle for the unity of the Negro workers, as well as for Negro-white unity in basic industry, has produced important results during the past period. In the packing industry a series of conferences have been held around such questions as the upgrading of Negro workers, the fight against white chauvinism, the further advancement of Negro workers to leading positions in the union (Packinghouse Workers, C.I.O.), the rights of Negro women, and the fight to place the labor movement more solidly behind the general demands of the Negro people.

In the Hotel and Restaurant International, the general president, Hugo Ernst, has come out strongly against continuing anti-Negro discrimination in the industry and has threatened to lift the charter of any local which discriminates against Negro members. In auto, the U.A.W. has begun to demand that each local contract (not yet chain-wide contracts) either contain a clause or be supplemented by an exchange of letters between the local and the company prohibiting discrimination in the employment and upgrading of Negro workers. Further gains have been registered by Negro workers in the United Electrical Workers as a result of several factors, including the fighting policy of its national Fair Employment Practice Department. One of the best examples of a skillfully and successfully conducted fight against white chauvinism and for Negro-white unity is to be found in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. Negro workers are to be found at all levels in this sector of the maritime industry. Here also the policy of integrating Negro leadership at all levels in the union, inclusive of the two top posts in the international, has been vigorously pursued.

Important struggles for the entrance and upgrading of Negro workers in the building trades in California, for the model contract clause and against white chauvinism in steel, for the maintenance of the job rights of Southern Negro railroad workers, are further indications of the fact that the unity of Negro workers in industry and the organized labor movement is growing. Directly related to this development is the further growth in Negro-white unity as a whole in our country.

Notwithstanding the positive gains won thus far, the objective of

equality for Negro workers in basic industry is far from being realized. In basic industry, auto and steel, the majority of all job classifications remain lily-white. The fight for jobs, seniority rights and upgrading in railroad and for membership rights in the Brotherhoods has hardly begun. Southern textile, currently employing some three hundred thousand workers, and located largely in the area of the Negro majority, remains basically lily-white. Skilled A. F. of L. crafts such as plumbing, electrical, and printing are also still basically lily-white. The apprenticeship training programs in industry overwhelmingly bar Negro youth, thereby constituting a major obstacle to the entrance of Negro youth into the skilled sectors of industry. Negro women workers continue to be confined, in the main, to domestic work, and to face intolerable discrimination in industry. Side by side with these problems is the fact that hundreds of thousands of Negro workers, especially in the South, remain unorganized.

In light of the growing economic crisis of American capitalism, the economic plight of Negro workers is becoming increasingly aggravated, thereby making urgent the necessity of more resolutely waging a united struggle of Negro and white workers for jobs, upgrading, FEPC, a program of apprenticeship training, and special seniority contract clauses in behalf of Negro workers.

What are the main tasks which confront the Party, the Negro workers and the labor movement in the fight to unite the Negro workers and to advance still further Negro-white unity around the most pressing economic demands of the Negro peoples? Our starting point must be the further development of the unity of Negro and white workers in industry around the defense of labor, Negro and white, and the struggle to strengthen the Negro-labor alliance. Labor cannot effectively defend its interests without recognizing the special problems of Negroes in industry. To the degree that there is a recognition in practice of this fact, to the degree that the struggles for Negro economic rights are further extended, to that degree can we say that labor unity in general will be further strengthened, thereby facilitating the struggle against reaction.

The problems of Negro workers in industry involve not only questions of an economic nature, but social and political questions as well. The labor movement must vigorously champion the rights and aspirations

of the Negro people as a whole, rallying them as firm allies of the labor movement.

It is this task which conditions the content of the Negro-labor alliance. Consequently, the problem of raising the ideological level of the alliance, of consolidating and extending it, requires, among other things, a vigorous concentration upon the problems of Negro workers in basic industry-auto, steel, and railroad; a concretization of the policy to organize the unorganized in the South, especially in relation to textile and lumber; the building of FEPC and anti-discrimination committees in unions and locals where none exist; the activation of existing anti-discrimination committees around a detailed and concrete job program, and drawing into this movement all possible union machinery such as LLPE, PAC, Negro caucuses, shop stewards' systems, the union press, educational departments, grievance machinery and union bargaining machinery; the fight to include in all union contracts (industry-wide, chain-wide, or local) the Model Contract or FEPC clauses (fighting for the strongest possible clauses); the fight to enforce the Fair Employment Compliance Clauses, which industries that do business with the Federal government must now sign; the maximum mobilization of labor, Right-led and progressive-led unions, in support of the NAACP's campaign for FEPC legislation, and support for the organization and development of the Labor and Industry Committee of the NAACP.

The birth of the National Negro Labor Council, in Cincinnati, Ohio in the fall of 1951, helped provide a much needed stimulant to the labor and Negro people's struggle for jobs, upgrading, and FEPC. Although the NLC has not yet established firm ties or extensive united front relations with the Negro workers in basic industry, it has begun to play an important and leading role in helping forge united and more militant struggles of Negro workers and the Negro people as a whole.

Since the birth of the NLC, there has been a growth of the Negro caucus movement, the spread of union FEPC committees and increasing collaboration between labor and the NAACP. These developments, and the opposition to the NLC by the dominant sections of Right-led unions, certain Negro reformist circles, as well as some white progressives, and the inability of the NLC thus far to establish its base among Negro workers in basic industry, have led a number of people to conclude that the NLC cannot make important contributions to the fight of the Negro

people for economic equality. This erroneous position, held by some progressives, and even by some Communists, is harmful and constitutes at this time a real obstacle to the growth of the National Negro Labor Council. The position which holds that the NLC is without a future and should be liquidated must be rejected. Similarly the view that the "NLC may be all right in helping to win jobs in light and consumer industry but has no role in auto, steel, railroad, etc." also must be combatted and rejected. It is precisely in the basic industries that the NLC must seek to make its major contribution, for it is here that the heart of the problems of the Negro workers is to be found.

While we reject the arguments, both theoretical and practical, that in effect call for the liquidation of the NLC, it must be said that the views of some passionate supporters of the NLC fall into error. They exaggerate the role of the NLC and see it becoming the main organization of Negro workers in the United States, having priority, in fact, over the labor movement. This view, no less than the liquidationist arguments, is harmful, leading to a go-it-alone policy, to ultra-leftism, and to isolation of the movement from Negro workers in basic industry and the established Negro people's organizations.

An examination of the NLC indicates, notwithstanding the relatively small size of the organization in terms of members or its influence in basic industry, that it has already made significant, positive contributions to the cause of the Negro workers, and has had an important impact upon the labor and Negro freedom movement as a whole. Its accomplishments, among other things, include the fight for jobs in Sears, Roebuck and the hotel industry; the fight for FEPC in Detroit and Highland Park; the current fight against the lily-white hiring policies of the big new GE plant in Louisville; bringing before the country in a dramatic way the discrimination in railroad and the airlines, and beginning to set forth a program designed to tackle and wipe out Jim Crow in the railroad industry; compelling the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. to convene their first jointly sponsored national conference on the job problems of the Negro workers; stimulating a number of unions to tackle the job questions and to set up FEPC committees; the fight for the Model Contract Clause, and bringing this concept to the entire labor movement.

The current trend in organized labor in support of model contract clauses, already official policy in such internationals as auto and packing, must be attributed primarily to the splendid initiative of the NLC. Likewise the pace-setting initiative of the NLC is responsible for the fact that the St. Louis convention of the NAACP called upon the labor movement to include FEPC clauses in all contracts, and established as a primary goal for the next period the abolition of Jim Crow in the railroad industry. Moreover, notwithstanding the Red-baiting and anti-NLC tirades of A. Philip Randolph, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, after months of silence, is currently head-lining the problems of Negro railroad workers, and the Brotherhood has begun to advance, far more extensively than in the past, a program in support of Negro railroad workers.

Clearly, the National Negro Labor Council has already begun, and can continue, to play an important and leading role in helping to forge the unity of the Negro workers, provided its orientation is towards basic industry, and provided it follows a firm united front policy in the selection of its leadership and in the execution of its program.

The development of the program of the National Negro Labor Council, within the framework of the general fight for jobs and FEPC, must be seen as a necessary movement reflecting the growing militant and progressive trend among Negro workers. At the same time it must be clearly understood that the development of the many-sided struggle, for jobs with the main base in the labor movement, is the key to realizing the program of the NLC and to the growth of the NLC movement.

The Third Annual Convention of the NLC which convenes this year can mark another high point in the struggle for the economic rights of the Negro workers. This Convention is one which should be fully supported by all conscious fighters for Negro rights, by the Negro workers and their progressive white allies. Its success calls for early and sustained attention by all supporters of the NLC.

Of prime importance to the further advancement of the fight for jobs is the struggle to abolish Jim Crow in the railroad industry. This issue is already assuming significant proportions among the Negro masses, having been taken up by key Negro organizations, and recently headlined by the *Pittsburgh Courier*. The railroad industry, controlled by a tightly-knit group of rapacious Wall Street warmongers, and employing a million and a half workers, is one of the most heavily subsidized in the United States. In total disregard of the Ku Klux Klan anti-Negro policy pursued by this industry, and notwithstanding the Fair Employment

Compliance Directive, the Eisenhower Administration, like that of Truman, continues to grant hundreds of millions of dollars, extracted from Negro and white taxpayers, to support the railroads.

The fight for jobs, upgrading, and an end to Jim Crowism in railroad, is one which can secure the support of all sections of the Negro population—Negro workers in basic industry, the oppressed poor farmers, and important groups in the petty bourgeoisie. Unlike the present FEPC campaign, this issue must emerge under the leadership of Negro workers. The progressive forces in this fight should advance a program designed to unite the Negro people, the NAACP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negro Railway Associations in the South, the Dining Car Workers, and the Red Caps, so that the maximum strength of the Negro people can be thrown against the Wall Street magnates who control this industry.

While giving full support to the legal cases which the NAACP is now preparing, under no circumstances should this struggle be allowed to remain primarily a legal battle. The basic aim of this fight must be to win equality for Negroes on every type of job which exists in the industry—conductors, ticket agents, locomotive engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, station masters, head baggage men, clerks, dispatchers. The maximum mass pressure—leaflet distributions in such railroad terminals as Grand Central, petitions, delegations, the securing of thousands of resolutions—must be brought to bear against the railroad magnates and the federal government on this question.

A vital aspect of the fight is to win the Railroad Brotherhoods for a policy of non-discrimination. It is indeed a harmful development for the labor movement in the United States when Negro organizations are forced to appeal to the bourgeois courts for redress against a union, as was the case with the Boilermakers. In the struggle which is now shaping up, the Negro people will naturally demand an end to the anti-Negro policies of the Brotherhoods. This demand is correct. It is one which our Party and the entire labor movement must support.

The National Negro Labor Council has already announced that the issue of railroad discrimination will be one of the key problems to be placed before its convention. The convening of this convention will mark another high point in helping to mobilize labor and the Negro people for this important campaign.

There can be no doubt that conditions are ripe for a major breakthrough on the demand of the Negro people for economic equality in the railroad industry. This is already shaping up as one of the historic battles waged by the Negro people, and our Party should stand second to none in rendering all possible aid.

SOME ADDITIONAL TASKS

Although time does not permit extensive treatment, there are a few other questions, in addition to those already mentioned, that must be commented upon, even though briefly.

First among these, is the necessity for a more conscious policy to enlist the Negro liberation movement fully in the struggle against every manifestation of pro-fascist reaction and McCarthyism. This means a planned energetic fight to bring to the Negro masses our estimate of the fascist danger; this means also the development of a broad movement among the Negro people against McCarthyism, against repressive anti-labor legislation and the policy of economic ruin pursued by the Eisenhower Administration. Moreover, it means the defense of the legal rights of the Communist Party and its leadership.

Second, we must be on guard against strong tendencies in Negro work to deal exclusively with national demands, omitting almost entirely decisive questions confronting the working class as a whole. This is a reflection of strong nationalist currents in our ranks which must be resolutely combatted. In this connection we should recognize self-critically our failure to estimate satisfactorily the significance of the Rosenberg case for the Negro people's movement, and to bring it energetically into the Negro community.

Likewise, it is necessary to self-critically point to our slowness, in most areas, in rising to the defense of Negro leadership, and to the defense of the Negro victims of the Smith Act frame-ups in particular.

What is the situation in regard to this problem? The Negro people are witnessing frenzied and ever-mounting attacks by pro-fascist reaction upon both militant and conservative Negro spokesmen. A vile and slanderous campaign against the popular and internationally renowned artist, Josephine Baker, has been conducted for months. Initiated by the U.S. State Department, and kept alive by that jackal of the under-

world, Walter Winchell, with the support of the Negro pro-fascist, George Schuyler, these attacks upon this extraordinary representative of popular culture, continues without the necessary rebuff from the democratic-minded masses.

In the field of religion, the Negro clergy, along with other religious leaders in the country, are under sharp attack from the renegade, J. B. Matthews, and the various Congressional investigating committees. Bishops W. G. Walls, C. C. Alleyne of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Bishops W. A. Fountain, S. L. Green, Carey A. Gibbs, Frank M. Reid and R. R. Wright, Jr. of the A.M.E. Church, and J. Arthur Hamlett of the C.M.E. Church, are only a few of the prominent Negro leaders falsely listed by Matthews as engaging in so-called un-American activities.

Our nation continues to be disgraced by the spectacle of the State Department's refusal to grant passports to such eminent figures as Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. In the persons of Dr. Du Bois and Paul Robeson, the finest in American democratic culture and tradition is represented. As men of science and art, as scholars and writers, as fearless champions of the oppressed everywhere, they are known and loved by the world's common people. Notwithstanding the greatness and monumental achievements of these men, a frightened but arrogant government in Washington, disregarding the American Constitution and the democratic heritage of our country, has decreed, in Hitler-like fashion, that these two foremost spokesmen of the oppressed Negro people shall remain forever political prisoners in the United States, without the right to travel abroad.

It is decreed, without a trial or a hearing, that they shall remain in the United States, under conditions tantamount to house arrest, and under the strict supervision of the American variant of the Gestapo, the FBI. Apparently, if they ever wish to travel, they must take the path of the renegade, Max Yergan—abandon their opposition to imperialism and become supporters of the Malan regime in South Africa, give up their fight for peace and use their rare talents to champion the present suicidal foreign policy of the American government, wash their brains of every notion that there could possibly be anything wrong with conditions in the so-called "free world," abandon science and truth for the cult of mysticism, ignorance, obscurantism, and anti-Communist hysteria. Do these things, become a slave of the State Department, then,

and then alone, does the Government propose to grant passports to Dr. Du Bois and Paul Robeson.

But can the American people tolerate such a state of affairs? Will the labor movement accept this system of house arrests, arbitrarily decreed by the State Department? Can the professional and scientific organizations in this country ignore this basic threat to American freedom? The democracy-loving people in our land are very late indeed in raising the passport issue. It is imperative that this question be tackled successfully in the period ahead.

We must also place the question of building the amnesty movement for Negro Smith Act victims—Comrades Henry Winston, Ben Davis, Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones, James Jackson, Thomas Dennis, Ben Carreathers, Al Murphy, Thomas Nabried, and Pat Bowen—as one of the prime and most urgent tasks in the field of Negro work.

There can be no doubt that an integral part of the anti-Negro offensive in this country is the drive to jail, under the Smith Act, all leading Negro Communists. It is no accident that the first two Negro Smith Act victims were outstanding fighters for Negro rights, widely known throughout the country, and loved by tens of thousands, Comrades Benjamin J. Davis and Henry Winston.

Why were these two Party leaders seized and illegally indicted under the Smith Act? Because the ruling class understands the historical significance of the rise and development of Negro Communist leadership in the U.S. For the first time in the history of the Negro liberation movement, a new type of leadership was emerging, a leadership whose ideas and strategic concepts were based upon the scientific principles of socialism, upon the revolutionary world outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Beginning in the 1920's and growing rapidly in the decade of the '30's and '40's, the ties of Negro Communists with the Negro community were strengthened. James W. Ford in Harlem, Pettis Perry in Los Angeles, Abe Lewis in Cleveland, Ben Carreathers in Pittsburgh, Tom Nabried in Philadelphia, Ray Hansborough, Claude Lightfoot, and Harry Haywood on Chicago's South Side are only a few of the Negro Communists who emerged during the hectic days of the 1930's to help lead the Negro people, alongside of their white allies, in struggle against the hunger and misery of the Hoover depression. In addition to these, the brilliant contributions to the cause of Negro freedom which have been made by such leading Negro Communists as Pettis Perry, James Jackson, and Claudia Jones, and outstanding Negro Marxists like William A. Patterson and Doxey Wilkerson, have been recognized in all parts of this country by the Negro people.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens have known Ben Davis, Henry Winston, and their Negro co-workers. They have come to admire and respect Negro Marxists. There is not a single Negro in this country, among the hundreds of thousands who have known Communists, who ever heard Ben Davis, Henry Winston, or any of their colleagues, Negro or white, advocate the violent overthrow of the American government. There can be no doubt, therefore, that if the Negro masses are reached with the facts, the false and frame-up nature of the government kangaroo trials against Communist Party leaders in this country will become quite clear.

A people whose best fighters have been framed for 300 years, a people that have witnessed the frame-up of thousands of Negro soldiers, that have witnessed Scottsboro, the Angelo Herndon case, the legal rape of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, the frame-ups against the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, and the Trenton Six, and who saw only recently their own government's attempt to send Dr. Du Bois to jail on a charge which was not supported by a single fact—a people with such experiences, can easily understand that the government is perfectly capable of framing Negro leaders like Ben Davis and Henry Winston.

If the masses of Negro people are not drawn into the struggle to win amnesty for Comrades Davis and Winston, and all other victims of the Smith Act frame-ups, it is primarily because the Party is not undertaking this task with the necessary vigor and understanding. It cannot be denied that this is one of the weakest aspects of our Negro work. We must set the objective of altering this situation radically in the period ahead. One of our first and most important tasks must be to build among the Negro people the movement for amnesty for Ben Davis, Henry Winston, and all other Smith Act victims. The maximum distribution should be given to the very moving and penetrating booklet written by Comrade Esther Cooper Jackson, This Is My Husband.

A second vital task which must be tackled more energetically during the coming period is the development of the Negro youth movement. The three strikes of Negro high school students in Virginia, the militant struggle for academic freedom by the students at Talladega College, the Negro youth crusade to Washington to save Walter Lee Irwin, and the numerous Negro youth conferences held by various church groups, attest to the fact that the time is ripe for new advances in uniting and organizing the Negro youth movement. Further confirmation of this is to be seen in the steady growth of the work of NAACP Youth Council and the decisions of the NAACP Convention to organize local Negro Youth Conferences. A surge forward during the period ahead in the Negro youth movement is possible provided our Party recognizes that this work is not alone the task of youth cadres—but the responsibility of our entire Party.

The main report to this conference has already discussed in a very comprehensive manner the major questions relating to our work in the South and the field of Negro political action, thus making unnecessary further elaboration here.

BUILD THE PARTY IN KEY NEGRO CENTERS

Our Party has always placed high on the agenda of its work the importance of concentration in key Negro communities and in the South. Over the years we succeeded in building Party organizations in Southern Negro communities such as Birmingham, as well as in Northern Negro centers such as Harlem, Chicago's South Side, Cedar Central in Cleveland, the East Side in Detroit, and elsewhere. In these areas, masses of Negro workers and an important section of Negro leaders accepted us as an integral part of the forces working for Negro liberation. Today, in the light of the mass responsibilities before us, and the increased political influence exerted by Negro communities on a local and national scale, it is necessary to restate this concentration policy—a policy to build the Party among the Negro masses and to adopt all measures necessary to guarantee the success of this vital task.

There continues to exist serious fluctuation among Negro Party members. This fluctuation has already led to the partial liquidation of the Party organization in some communities, and if not checked, will lead to its total liquidation. In the past several years, fluctuation in these communities, proportionally speaking, has been larger than for the membership as a whole. Here we have a paradoxical situation. Over

the years, percentage wise, recruiting among Negroes was larger than for other sections of the population.

What explains this situation? The tremendous struggles for Negro rights which the Party led, earned for us among the Negro masses the title of "the Party of the Negro people." Activities led by the Party resulted in winning a number of impressive victories, victories that materially improved the daily living conditions of the masses. The Negro people saw our Party as an organization through which immediate relief could be gained from their oppression. In recent years there has been a decline in Negro membership. The attacks upon our Party by the white ruling class, the concessions, even though few, thrown in the direction of Negro reformists, the growth of Red-baiting influences among Negroes, and the lack of sufficient struggle by the Party to adjust to these new developments, have, among other causes, contributed to this decline. Good will for our Party still exists among the masses. But the belief that the Party is no longer a potent force is gaining headway. If we are to arrest the decline in membership, step up recruiting, broaden our base, it will be necessary to carry out the mass policy already outlined in this report.

Another important aspect in reducing fluctuation, and in the building and strengthening of our Party, is the content of our ideological work. In the past this has represented one of the weakest phases of our work. We must, therefore, tackle this problem in the most serious manner. Our objective must be to train hundreds of Negro Marxists. The Negro Commission together with the Educational Department must work out a program to accomplish this objective, concentrating especially among Negro women and youth.

Finally, to convince our Negro membership that only the Party can lead to the final solution of the problems of the Negro people, both as workers and as an oppressed people, we must intensify our work to eradicate all manifestations of white chauvinism in our own ranks and to vigorously combat white chauvinism among the masses. The Negro people welcome the interracial character of our organization. However, they do not judge us by this alone. They are equally concerned about our ability to combat the influences of the chauvinist poison among the masses. In recent years the Party has waged an intensive fight against expressions of white chauvinism within the Party. We must continue this

fight. But this struggle must be linked with the mass tasks, and the fight must also be conducted among the white workers. We must combat the Right-opportunist capitulation of some white comrades, who write off the white workers as hopeless on the Negro question.

The past two years have witnessed a noticeable decline in the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights in a number of key districts. In several respects this is also true on a national scale. This is demonstrated by the absence of articles in *Political Affairs* since February 1951 written by leading white comrades on the struggle against white chauvinism, by the absence of total Party mobilization in defense of Negro rights as was achieved at the time of the Willie McGee and Martinsville Seven frame-ups, by the decline in organizing support to the newspaper *Freedom*, to the Negro Labor Council, etc. All districts are called upon to review their work in this field, and to draw all the conclusions necessary to rapidly overcome the lag in the struggle for Negro rights and the fight against white chauvinism.

Note must be taken of a certain dangerous complacency in regard to the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights, where some comrades believe that the Negro question has been "over-emphasized," that we have "gone too far," and that we need "to slow down." These comrades confuse the pointing to mistakes and errors made in the course of fighting white chauvinism, to mean a lessening of our vigilance on this front. In one district the "too far" theory was elevated into a programmatic position, by leading members of the District Committee. This is an impermissible situation.

Under conditions of pro-fascist reaction, retreat on the Negro question is inevitable unless there is the most sustained and uncompromising struggle against racist ideology at all times. The elimination of distortions in the struggle against white chauvinism within our Party and among the white masses generally is to strengthen, not weaken, the Party's ability to give leadership to the struggle for Negro rights and to wage war against the poisonous and divisive influences of white chauvinism.

Notwithstanding important gains during the past two years in the fight for Negro-white unity, it must be said that there still does not yet exist in the labor movement an all-out, concerted, and organized attack upon white chauvinism. A shameful example of this was the situation at the last auto convention where the Reuther leadership kicked out

some of the most militant Negro leaders in the union. The Negro auto workers waged an heroic struggle to remain in the union, but no important support was forthcoming from their progressive white allies.

Most Americans still see many aspects of the jim crow system as perfectly "normal." They see nothing wrong with lily-white communities or projects, nor do they see anything wrong with the whole lily-white pattern of the lives they lead. It is "normal" to sit on jim crow boards of unions, to work in lily-white departments, to practice law in lily-white firms, to perform musical programs in lily-white pits, to eat in lily-white restaurants, or to vacation at lily-white resorts. But this state of affairs is "normal" and profitable only for the bourgeoisie. For the Negro people and the working class such a state of affairs is harmful, and cannot be accepted as "normal."

It is in this white supremacy environment that Communists, militant trade unionists, and all white progressives live and function. Consequently, the policy of daily struggle for Negro rights and for Negrowhite unity, of a continued and sustained fight against white chauvinist ideology, of persistently studying and endeavoring to master the Negro and national questions, of advancing the ideology of proletarian internationalism in opposition to the ruling class ideology of white supremacy and national chauvinism—only such a policy vigorously pursued by the American working class, and under the leadership of the Communist Party, can lead to the abolition of jim crowism in the United States.

In delivering the main blow against white chauvinism, it is necessary simultaneously to wage a struggle against petty-bourgeois Negro nationalism. There can be no compromise in the Party with Negro nationalism, which feeds separatism and weakens the indispensable unity of the Negro and white masses against their common oppressors—the white supremacist ruling class.

Two eventful years have passed since the infamous decision of the Supreme Court upholding the frame-up of the eleven leaders of our Party. In the course of these two years, the historic struggle for peace and democracy, for national independence and colonial freedom, for the abolition of capitalist slavery and the triumph of socialism has proceeded with ever increasing tempo. Demonstrating utter contempt for the wishes of U.S. imperialism, the world's common peoples, the workers

in the shops, the tillers of the soil, the men and women of science and culture, hearken to the advice of the immortal Stalin, and are taking the cause of peace and democracy into their own hands.

The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negro people for the abolition of the Jim Crow system in the United States. Given the vanguard leadership of the Communist Party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy, thereby giving additional assurances for the final triumph of the American working class and popular masses over Wall Street's drive towards war and fascism.

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