

THIS FILE IS MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE DECLASSIFICATION EFFORTS AND RESEARCH OF:

THE BLACK VAULT

THE BLACK VAULT IS THE LARGEST ONLINE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT / GOVERNMENT RECORD CLEARING HOUSE IN THE WORLD. THE RESEARCH EFFORTS HERE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECLASSIFICATION OF THOUSANDS OF DOCUMENTS THROUGHOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, AND ALL CAN BE DOWNLOADED BY VISITING:

[HTTP://WWW.BLACKVAULT.COM](http://www.blackvault.com)

YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO FORWARD THIS DOCUMENT TO YOUR FRIENDS, BUT PLEASE KEEP THIS IDENTIFYING IMAGE AT THE TOP OF THE .PDF SO OTHERS CAN DOWNLOAD MORE!

~~SECURITY INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO

*Declassified by SP-1 GSK/RE
on 12/24/80, per Bureau
communication ~~that~~
received 2/6/81 JF*



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

~~SECURITY INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL~~

21 1.5
~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO

February, 1953

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

53B 83

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>PREFACE</u>	i
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	
Purpose	v
Scope	v
Justification	vi
<u>BACKGROUND</u>	
A. Negro Defined	1
B. Negro Population	1
C. Negro Problem	1
1. Existence	1
2. Nature	2
a. Moral	2
b. Integral	2
c. Diverse but Unified	2
3. Cause	2
4. Result	3
5. Conclusion	5
<u>I. BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES</u>	
A. 1919-1928	5
B. 1928-1935	7
C. 1935-1939	17
D. 1939-1941	22
E. 1941-1945	25
F. 1945-1947	32
G. 1947-To Date	36
1. International Aspect of the Negro Question	37
2. Equal Rights	38
3. Self-Determination	39
4. Relation Between Equal Rights and Self- Determination	41
5. The Negro in Industry	41
6. The Negro in the Fight for Peace	45

	<u>Page</u>
7. The Negro and the Korean War.....	45
8. The Negro in the Event of War with Russia.....	47
9. Negro Liberation.....	48
10. Revolutionary Nature of the Communist Party Program for the Negroes.....	50
 II. <u>PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY NEGRO FRONT GROUPS</u>	
A. American Negro Labor Congress.....	51
B. League of Struggle for Negro Rights.....	52
C. National Negro Congress.....	53
 III. <u>OTHER COMMUNIST PARTY FRONT GROUPS ACTIVE IN NEGRO WORK</u>	
A. International Labor Defense.....	57
1. The Scottsboro Case.....	58
2. The Angelo Herndon Case.....	62
3. Distinction Between the Herndon and Scottsboro Cases.....	64
B. Civil Rights Congress.....	64
 IV. <u>THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND NEGRO PROTEST AND IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS</u>	
A. Principal Negro Protest and Improvement Organizations.....	68
1. National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.....	68
2. National Urban League.....	70
3. March on Washington Movement.....	71
B. Relations Between the Communist Party and the Above Organizations.....	72
 V. <u>RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD THE NEGRO</u>	
A. Effects Within the Communist Party (White Chauvinism).....	76
B. Effects on Non-Communist Negroes (Negro Member- ship in the Communist Party).....	79
 VI. <u>NON-COMMUNIST NEGRO COMMENTS</u>.....	
 VII. <u>CONCLUSION</u>.....	
 <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>.....	
	90

Preface

Since its organization in this country in 1919, the Communist Party, USA, has devoted an inordinate portion of its time, funds, propaganda and personnel to recruiting members from among the fifteen million Negroes who comprise almost ten percent of our total population. The failure of its efforts in this respect is best attested to by the fact that it can be estimated that there are at present only 1,994 active, disciplined, dues-paying Negro members in the Communist Party. Of course, in addition to this figure, there are approximately 18,000 other Negroes who have some contact with the Party and its front groups, and who are, to a certain degree, influenced directly or indirectly by its program, propaganda and agitation.

Its basic program in this field has been set forth in its two slogans: "equal rights" and "self-determination" for the Negroes in the Black Belt (i. e., the Negroes in the Southern States where they are a majority of the population have the right, if they wish, to secede from the United States and form their own government).

At the present time, the Communist Party in attempting to enlist the support of the Negroes in its united front for peace is claiming that the refusal of the Negroes to support the foreign policy of the United States will assist them in gaining equality, since, according to the Communist Party, the struggles for peace and Negro rights are interconnected.

In keeping with its policy of full equality for the Negroes, the Communist Party has, at least nominally, elected or appointed Negroes to positions of authority within its own organization. Henry Winston, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Pettis Perry may be cited in this connection. In addition, it has supported the candidacies of numerous Communist and also non-Communist Negroes for various public offices throughout the country. Yet, during the period of its existence in this country, it has had to wage a continuous fight against what it describes as "white chauvinism" thus indicating its inability to abolish discrimination against Negroes within its own ranks.

In addition to the activities which it has conducted under its own name, ostensibly in behalf of the Negroes, it has also organized Negro front groups, e.g., the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and supported the formation of the National Negro Labor Council from its inception to increase its influence in this field.

Moreover, other Communist Party front groups, e.g., the International Labor Defense and the Civil Rights Congress, while not primarily interested in the Negro question, have also devoted considerable attention to various aspects of this issue.

The Communist Party has also attempted, sometimes successfully as in the case of the National Negro Congress, to gain control of non-Communist organized Negro improvement organizations. In other instances, however,

e.g., the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and the National Urban League, Party efforts in this connection have met with failure.

Although the condition of the Negro in American society has remained essentially the same during the last thirty years, the Communist Party, due to its subservience to and domination by the Soviet Union, has been required to review this question periodically under "new conditions" and "in a new way." It has, therefore, stressed its demands for equal rights and self-determination with varying degrees of emphasis, governed not by any change in the status of the Negro in this country, but by the exigencies of the Soviet Union in international affairs.

Numerous reasons can be adduced to explain the failure of the Communist Party, in spite of its almost overwhelming effort, to attract even a significant minority of the Negro population to its program. Probably the most obvious is the realization by the Negro (as well as the vast majority of Americans) that the constant shifts in the Communist Party "line" are determined by the needs of the Soviet Union and not by any factor intrinsic to the American way of life. Other reasons, more specifically applicable to the Negro, include the Communist Party's continued espousal of the theory of self-determination (which was originally formulated in Moscow) in spite of the Negro's deep-rooted desire for total equality within the American society;

its severe criticism of the influential Negro clergymen, particularly during the late 1920's and early 1930's; its inability to justify Russia's aid to Italy when the latter invaded Ethiopia; its subversion of the National Negro Congress which originally showed promise of becoming an important Negro improvement organization; its activities during the last World War, when it admittedly "soft-pedaled" its fight for Negro rights; and the opposition of influential non-Communist Negroes and Negro organizations.

In essence, all except the last of the above reasons may be reduced to the fact that the Communist Party has consistently subordinated the interests of the Negro to those of the Soviet Union. And since, as part of the international Communist movement, it must of necessity continue this policy, it is believed reasonable to assume that its future efforts in this field will be no more successful than its efforts in the past.

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to set forth a brief analysis of the position taken at various times by the Communist Party in the United States on the Negro question in this country.

B. Scope

In view of the ramification of the Negro question into practically every phase of present-day society and the considerable publicity given this issue by the Communist Party, this paper is, of necessity, selective and is limited to an explanation of the basic principles governing the Communist Party position on this question and the major practical applications of these principles.

In order to furnish an evaluation of the over-all pattern of Communist Party activity in furtherance of its program among the Negroes, it has also been necessary to mention briefly the principal Communist Party Negro front groups; other front groups which have devoted considerable time and propaganda to various aspects of the Negro question; as well as to outline generally the relations between the Communist Party and the principal Negro improvement and protest organizations.

The quotations cited to illustrate the Communist Party position, all of which have been taken from official Communist sources, were chosen

as representative of various aspects of Communist Party theory and practice on the Negro question.

It was also deemed advisable to include a brief analysis of the Negro question from a sociological viewpoint in order to furnish an appropriate background for a more complete understanding of the nature of the Communist Party program for its solution.

C. Justification

Even the most cursory examination will disclose the large proportion of its time, funds, propaganda and other resources which the Communist Party, USA, has devoted to recruiting members from and increasing its influence among the Negroes in America. However, its activities in this connection are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances for the furtherance of Communist aims. This ulterior motive is clearly evidenced by the instructions issued by the Communist Party to its members as early as 1925; when it explained

"The aim of our Party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression in every form and which will be a militant part of the revolutionary movement of the whole American working class, to strengthen the American revolutionary movement by bringing into it the 11, 500, 000 Negro workers and farmers in the United States to broaden the struggles of the American Negro workers and farmers, connect

them with the struggles of the national minorities and colonial peoples of all the world and thereby further the cause of the world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat." ¹

Moreover, early in its history in this country, the Communist Party was equally explicit in warning its members that "to talk of a worker's revolution in this country without the active support of the Negro toilers is to give up all thought of a successful revolution." ²

This explicit emphasis on the importance of gaining the support of the Negro has been characteristic of Communist Party propaganda down through its most recent publications, one of which sets forth in less revolutionary terms:

"...Without an alliance, without the forging of a common front of struggle between the American working class and the Negro people, there can be no successful struggle against fascism in the United States...." ³

It is believed that the above quotations in themselves furnish more than ample justification for this study. In addition, it is felt that an understanding of the basic principles underlying the Communist Party concept of the status of the Negro in America will be of assistance in interpreting more comprehensively its past activities and predicting more accurately its future policies relative to this important aspect of its over-all program.

BACKGROUND

A. Negro Defined

The United States Bureau of the Census has defined the word "Negro" in the following manner:

"A person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood. Both black and mulatto persons are to be returned as Negroes without distinction. . . ." *

With reference to the question of what constitutes Negro blood, "it is generally understood that Negroes are persons of African descent." 4

B. Negro population

According to the 1950 census, out of a total population in the United States of 150,697,000 individuals, there were 135,215,000 whites; 14,894,000 Negroes; and 588,000 members of other races, indicating that the Negroes comprise a little less than ten per cent of the total population.

C. Negro Problem

I. Existence

"There is a 'Negro problem' in the United States and most Americans are aware of it, although it assumes varying forms and intensity in different regions of the country and among diverse groups of the American people. . . ." 5

*"Thus the scientific concept of race is totally inapplicable at the very spots where we recognize 'race problems.'" Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), Vol. I, p. 115. .

2. Nature

a. Moral

"The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on ...the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane...where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook." * 6

b. Integral

"The Negro problem is an integral part of, or a special phase of, the whole complex of problems in the larger American civilization. It cannot be treated in isolation. There is no single side of the Negro problem...which is not predominantly determined by its total American setting." 7

c. Diverse but Unified

"...the Negro problem...has widened in pace with public policy in the new 'welfare state,' and involves housing, nutrition, medicine, education, relief and social security, wages and hours, working conditions, child and woman labor, and, lately, the armed forces and the war industries....

"In this situation it has sometimes appeared as if there were no longer a Negro problem distinct from all the other social problems in the United States....

"The reason, of course, is that there is really a common tie and, therefore, a unity in all the special angles of the Negro problem. All these specific problems are only outcroppings of one fundamental complex of human valuations - that of American caste...." 8

3. Cause

"The Negroes...are commonly assumed to be unassimilable... They are excluded from assimilation...."

*Those quotations underlined in this paper were italicized in the original source, unless otherwise indicated.

"To the ordinary white American the caste line between whites and Negroes is based upon, and defended by, the anti-amalgamation doctrine...."

"This attitude of refusing to consider amalgamation - felt and expressed in the entire country - constitutes the center in the complex of attitudes which can be described as the 'common denominator' in the problem." 9

4. Result

"Being a Negro involves - everywhere in America, and independent of social class - having an inferior status...."

"Social discrimination is a powerful means of keeping the Negroes down in all other respects.... The very existence of the heavy mechanism of social segregation and discrimination makes inequalities in politics and justice more possible and seemingly justifiable on grounds of inferiority...." 10

5. Conclusion

"...practically all the economic, social, and political power is held by whites...."

"It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently also his opinions on the Negro problem, are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority." * 11

*These quotations have been set forth because (1) the thought manifested by them emanates from what is probably the most exhaustive and authoritative sociological study ever made of the American Negro - that directed by Gunnar Myrdal for the Carnegie Corporation; and (2) they reveal clearly a social

setting which is eagerly accepted by the Communist Party, USA for the purpose of conditioning its propaganda and activities directed toward the Negro, and without a knowledge of which setting it is not possible to have an intelligent understanding of the nature and function of such Communist propaganda and activities. The fact that these quotations have been used is not to be construed that this Bureau endorses all ideas contained therein nor that it endorses other views of the author and his collaborators.

It may also be of some interest to bear in mind at this point that, while the Communists do unscrupulously exploit the social setting described by Gunnar Myrdal, they have, nevertheless, disagreed fundamentally with Myrdal's evaluation and considered it sufficiently damaging to their Marxist - Leninist interpretation to warrant delivering a bitter attack against it in the work entitled The Negro People In America by Herbert Aptheker, "A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's 'An American Dilemma.'" Doxey A. Wilkerson wrote the "Introduction" for this work which was published by International Publishers, New York, 1946.

I. BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

An analysis of the basic Communist Party position on the Negro question and its application, discloses that it can be conveniently broken down into chronological periods each of which has special identifying characteristics. These periods, which will also be used as the breakdown in this study are as follows:

1919-1928
1928-1935
1935-1939
1939-1941
1941-1945
1945-1947
1947-to date

A. 1919-1928

World-wide Communist Party activity, during this period, was governed by Lenin's instructions to "...penetrate into the unions, societies and casual meetings where the common people gather, and talk to the people...catch the bourgeois on their own statements...utilize the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have appointed..." 12

This "boring from within" type of activity, characterized by propaganda for "partial demands" and "partial struggles," 13 was reflected in the position taken by the Communist Party on the Negro question in this country.

Communist Party activity among the Negroes during this period was largely limited to propaganda urging equality for the Negroes, with particular emphasis placed on the importance of organizing the Negro workers into trade-unions.

Although the 1920 platform of the Communist Party condemned the "economic bondage and oppression" of the Negro and promised to "carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers," ¹⁴ little practical work was done to recruit them into the Communist Party.

In 1924, the Communist International criticized the American Communist Party because it had "allowed the Negro liberation movement in America... to get into the hands of the Negro bourgeoisie" and instructed that "the main task of our American comrades must consist in fighting against these prejudices, and in energetic action for full equality of rights regardless of race..." ¹⁵

In spite of this and other admonitions from the Communist International, in April, 1928, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of the United States conceded that "the party as a whole has not sufficiently realized the significance of work among the Negroes...." ¹⁶

Its position on the Negro question during this entire period is summed up in the Resolution adopted by the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America in May, 1928, which states:

"The organization of the Negro in the trade unions must be recognized by the Party as one of its foremost tasks....
a. The Negro question is a race question and the Communist Party must be the champion of the oppressed Negro race;
b. the Communist Party must especially be the organizer of the working class elements of the Negro race; c. the Communist Party must fight for the leadership of the working class in all Negro race movements; d. the work among the Negroes is not only a special task of the Negro comrades, but it is the task of the entire party." 17

At a later date, in evaluating its work among the Negroes during this period the Communist Party admitted that its activity consisted only of "propagandistic condemnation of Negro oppression" and that "little practical day-to-day struggle against Jim-Crowism and national oppression was carried on," 18 and that as a result of this policy, "up to 1929, we cannot claim any important results." 19

B. 1928-1935

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow, Russia in 1928. At this time, the Soviet Union felt that

"the ever-growing acuteness of tension in the struggle between capitalist powers and the Soviet Union" as well as the "completion of war preparations against the Soviet Union" portended an attack on Russia by the "capitalist powers." Accordingly, this Congress "worked out a program of fighting for the proletarian dictatorship on an international scale" which was characterized by an abandonment of the "boring from within" tactics of the previous period and the return to a militant revolutionary policy.

This phase of world-wide Communist policy resulted in "a program for an international Communist Party fighting in the period of social revolution... a program of a revolutionary army" which was officially described as "a weapon of class war." 20

This Congress was of "tremendous importance" to the Communist Party in America since it issued the first major pronouncement of the Communist International on the Negro question in the United States.

The Resolution of the Communist International, adopted in October, 1928, defined the Negro people in the United States as an "oppressed race" and promulgated "full social and political equality for the Negroes" as the "central slogan" of the Communist Party in this issue.

At the same time, it directed the Communist Party in the United States to "come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states."

This resolution also pointed out that the "Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world" since the "Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race...oppressed by imperialism."

In addition, it called for a "strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U.S.A.," which would be in a position "to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism."²¹

In accordance with this Resolution of the Communist International, the Workers (Communist) Party in October, 1928, adopted a resolution which stated:

"The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt' provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes.

"To accomplish this task, the Communist Party must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race (nation) for full emancipation. While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equality for the Negroes, which remains the

central slogan of our Party for work among the masses, the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the Southern states, where the Negroes form the majority of the population." 22

Its program relative to the Negro question, based on the 1928

Resolution, called for the Communist Party:

"...to lead the fight against this organized persecution of the Negroes. This is a revolutionary struggle. It must be carried on under the slogans of 'full social, political and industrial equality for Negroes,' and 'the right of self-determination for the Negroes.' This is necessary not only for the liberation struggle of the Negroes, but for the general revolutionary struggle of the whole working class."

Particular attention was to be given the Southern States through "an aggressive campaign to recruit the Party membership," together with agitation in favor of "concrete demands for the Negroes, and for the workers as a whole based on the actual situation." 23

It is interesting to note that as one of its "concrete demands," as early as 1930, the Communist Party advocated "the removal of all legal restrictions and social censorship of intermarriage in the Southern States." 24

In spite of the 1928 directive of the Communist International and numerous explanatory articles in Communist Party publications for almost

two years, in July, 1930, the Communist Party in the United States confessed that: "great misunderstanding exists in the ranks of our Party concerning our work among Negroes," particularly "in respect to the slogan of 'self-determination.' " 25

Accordingly, an elaboration of the 1928 Resolution was issued by the Communist International in October, 1930, "in the interest of the utmost clarity." The 1930 Resolution defined the Negroes in the United States as an "oppressed nation." It reaffirmed that "the struggle of the Communists for equal rights of the Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South," but insisted that "in the South... the main Communist slogan must be: The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt."

The 1930 Resolution of the Communist International also set forth the following "three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt":

"(a) Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers;

"(b) Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt;

"(c) Right of self-determination;"

and urged the necessity of "an energetic development of the struggle for

concrete partial demands linked up with the daily needs and affiliations of wide masses of working Negroes."

It also directed the Communist Party in the United States "to make an energetic beginning now - at the present moment - with the organization of joint mass struggles of white and black workers against Negro oppression." 26

As evidence of its adoption of the two slogans of "equal rights" and "self-determination" as its program for the Negroes in the United States, the Communist Party, in the 1932 national elections nominated James W. Ford, a Negro, for the office of Vice President of the United States, and included as one of the planks in its election platform: "Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt."

In his speech nominating Ford for this office, C.A. Hathaway a member of the Communist Election Campaign National Committee stated:

"The Communist Party stands squarely for complete and unconditional equality for the Negro people. We do not propose equality in some narrow and limited sense.... We stand unequivocally for full political, economic and, especially - we emphasize - social equality...."

"We are against all laws - without exception - which discriminate against Negroes, including segregation, Jim Crow and inter-marriage laws. We demand the repeal of all such laws and the breaking down of all practices which force an unequal position upon the Negro people."

"In the South... we must fight... not merely against inequality, but against the whole system by which this inequality is enforced.

"In the first place, our demand is that the land of the Southern white landlords... be confiscated and turned over to the Negroes....

"Secondly, we propose to break up the present artificial state boundaries... and to establish the state unity of the territory known as the 'Black Belt,' where the Negroes constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

"Thirdly, in this territory, we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination the right to set up their own government in this territory and the right to separate, if they wish from the United States." 27

In keeping with the militant revolutionary policy of the international Communist movement during this period, the Communist Party openly advocated the separation of the Negroes in the Black Belt where "they are ground under by the heel of Yankee imperialism," from the rest of the United States. In addition, in order to make this separation possible, it also advocated "that the troops of the United States Government, now stationed in the Black Belt to enforce the national oppression of the Negro people, be withdrawn" and that the "power of the white landlords and capitalists in the South must be overthrown and destroyed and their land confiscated and distributed among the tillers of the soil..." 28

In order to explain more fully the Communist Party program of self-determination for the Black Belt, there is being included at this point a brief review of the Marxist-Leninist definition of a nation, national oppression and self-determination since these definitions are regularly cited by American Communists as the basis for their theory of self-determination.

There have also been included various Communist descriptions of the geographical location and territorial extent of the "Black Belt."

It will be noted that the descriptions of this territory vary somewhat, since its extent is based principally on its Negro population. The date appearing in parenthesis indicates the date when the source for the description was originally published.

1. Nation

According to Marxism, a nation is defined as:

"...a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture...."

"None of the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation...."

"It is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a nation...."

"A nation constitutes the combination of all these characteristics taken together:..." 29

2. National Oppression

National oppression, according to Marxism, is defined as:

"...that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the political rights of subject peoples, which are resorted to by imperialist circles. These taken together present the policy generally known as a policy of national oppression." 30

3. Self-Determination

According to Marxism:

"...self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from other national bodies, the formation of an independent national state." 31

"...The right of self-determination means that a nation... has the right to complete secession." 32

"...Leninism broadened the concept of self-determination and interpreted it as the right of the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states." 33

Marxism-Leninism, however, attaches an important qualification to the right of self-determination:

"...There are occasions when the right of self-determination conflicts with the...right of the working class that has assumed power to consolidate its power. In such cases - this must be said bluntly - the right to self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise by the working class of its right to dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter." 34

4. Black Belt

(1931) "...the Black Belt, which starts in North Carolina and runs down thru South Carolina, across Central Georgia and Southern Alabama and over into Mississippi--the Negroes outnumber the whites. In this wide belt...there are 264 counties." 35

(1934) "...a large area in which the Negro population is concentrated...has come to be designated in a general way as the Black Belt...

"...there are 192 counties in the South in which Negroes constitute half or more than half of the population... The counties of Negro majority are grouped in southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, in a continuous belt of territory stretching from the South Carolina coast through central Georgia and Alabama and into Mississippi, and in another slightly detached area embracing the lower Mississippi Valley." 36

(1935) "The actual extent of this new Negro Republic would in all probability be approximately the present area in which the Negroes constitute the majority of the population. In other words it would be approximately the present plantation area. It would be certain to include such cities as Richmond, and Norfolk, Virginia, Columbia and Charleston, S.C., Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah and Macon, Georgia, Montgomery, Alabama, New Orleans and Shreveport, La., Little Rock, Arkansas, and Memphis, Tennessee." 37

(1948) "The Black Belt shapes a crescent through twelve southern states. Heading down from its eastern point in Virginia's tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North Carolina, embraces nearly all of South Carolina, cuts into Florida, passes through lower and central Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the

Louisiana delta, wedges into eastern Texas and Southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in Southern Arkansas...."

"Though it is primarily an agricultural community, ... cities such as New Orleans, Savannah, Mobile, Memphis, Charleston, Atlanta, Norfolk, Winston-Salem, all lying within the Black Belt or at its periphery... are economically and historically part of that region." 38

(1952) "The Black Belt... a contiguous stretch of territory (recorded in county units) forming a crescent moon-shaped pattern through at least five Southeastern states, with port outlets at Charleston on the Atlantic and Mobile on the Gulf, encompassing the bulk of Mississippi, and a good section of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama." 39

C. 1935-1939

Realizing that the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, underestimating the German and Italian totalitarian regimes, had erroneously considered the "capitalist powers" the greatest danger to Russia and that Communist policies since 1928 had isolated Russia from most of the democratic world, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International which was held in Moscow, Russia, in 1935, adopted a resolution which stated, in part:

"In face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made; to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to re-establish the united front of the working class....it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution....this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics in the new manner, by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale." 40

Since fascism was now considered the gravest danger to the Soviet Union, the American Communist Party was instructed to "find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad, discontented masses of the toilers" and not merely to "content itself with the organization of only its class-conscious vanguard, which is prepared to follow the revolutionary path." 41

These instructions required a change from the militant,

revolutionary policies of the previous period to the adoption by the Communist Party in America of the united-front tactic, which was reflected in its position on the Negro question. During this period, the Communist Party continued its agitation for equal rights for the Negroes, urging its members to have "greater confidence in those broad circles, not hitherto associated with us, who are taking up the struggle for Negro rights." 42

In addition, it consistently professed its willingness "to do everything possible in building and broadening the movement of the Negro people in cooperation with... other organizations..." 43

The adoption of the united-front tactic, however, placed the controversial theory of self-determination "in a new light" and the Communist Party "immediately set its tasks in regard to the problems growing out of the new situation." 44

Instructions were issued to Communist Party members "to stop using the word 'nationalist' too loosely and in a derogatory manner" and the entire concept of the theory of self-determination was considerably mollified. 45

The new concept of the right of self-determination is illustrated in a revision of the pamphlet "Negro Liberation" (originally published in 1932) which was prepared by James S. Allen in 1938.

In his introduction to the 1938 edition, Allen explained that since the publication of the original edition "important changes in the United States and in the world situation have rendered sections of the old pamphlet inadequate or out of date" and had "brought to the fore a number of new problems and have placed others in a new light."

The 1938 edition of Negro Liberation, while it reaffirmed the right of the Negro people to self-determination, significantly omitted all reference to the removal of United States troops from the Southern States and the confiscation and distribution of the land in the South to the Negroes.*

The revised edition of this publication also emphasized that:

"...It should be clearly understood by this time that Communists do not pose agreement with their ultimate program as a condition for their participation in any united front of democratic forces.... The Communists, however, are ready to cooperate with all those with whom they are in substantial agreement on the immediate problems facing the people."

"This, of course, does not mean that the Communist Party has given up the perspective of the development of the movement for Negro liberation in the direction of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination. The Negro

* cf. p. 13

question in this country can be solved, whether under capitalism or under socialism, only by the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South, the most important and culminating aspect of which is the guarantee of the right of self-determination for the Negro people." 46

The relegation of the revolutionary theory of self-determination from a practical, immediate demand for the Negroes to a purely propaganda level in the interest of furthering the united front, is demonstrated by the following quotation:

"Some people think that...our Party is abandoning its revolutionary demand for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt in the South. Nothing is further from the truth. Never was it more clear than it is today that the complete liberation of the people in the Black Belt will be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords and capitalists, the destruction of the semislave agricultural relations and the realization of the right to self-determination.... It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination. But they are ready to fight against jim-crowism and oppression, for democratic rights and other partial economic and political demands.... Our task is to join with them in the organization for their immediate struggle and strengthen their position economically and politically, strengthen the bonds between the white and Negro toilers, and in this way create the transition to the revolutionary struggle which will make possible the realization of the right of the Negro masses in the Black Belt to self-determination.

"In the meantime, we must continue to conduct the most careful, the most detailed, the most persistent agitation and propaganda for the slogan of the right to

self-determination.... We should constantly take advantage of every opportunity to carry this question of self-determination to the broadest possible masses, at the same time not attempting to make this a condition for the broadening out of the united front among the Negroes." 47

D. 1939-1941

On August 23, 1939, Germany and Russia concluded a nonaggression pact. Guided by an event of such significance, the Communist Party in the United States did not require any specific directive of the international Communist movement to determine its policy during this period.

The war in Europe became an "imperialist war" in which the position of the Negroes was clearly defined.

"...Negroes are not pacifists... The Negro masses are ever ready to fight for real democracy, but not to die for the benefit of the swollen coffers of imperialist hangmen. In this reactionary war... nobility lies in resisting, not supporting. The Negro's sacred duty... lies in joining hands with progressive labor and all the peace forces of America to keep the United States out of the war." 48

During this phase of its history, the Communist Party offered a new version of its theory of self-determination which was occasioned by a speech by Rayford Logan, Professor of History at Howard University, during which he advocated:

"I am no warmonger, but if self-determination for colored peoples necessitates a third world war, I say let it come by all means, so that the millions of colored peoples scattered all over the globe will be able to walk in dignity wherever they choose."

In criticising Logan's remarks, the Communist Party stated that he was merely attempting "to mobilize support for the imperialist war."

It also stated that:

"It may be necessary for the oppressed peoples to wage a war for self-determination, for liberation, but such a war will not be waged or led by the imperialist bourgeoisie; such a war would be anti-imperialist, a war directed against imperialist oppression."

The Communist Party also objected to Logan's views, since he placed self-determination "on a 'racial' basis, rather than on a national liberation, anti-imperialist basis" and concluded that:

"...self-determination with him becomes a means to cover up his support for imperialist war..." 49

During this period, the Communist Party reiterated its demands for complete equality for the Negroes and in a resolution adopted at its

Eleventh National Convention in 1940 stated that it fought for:

"...all measures for the complete abolition of discrimination as between Negroes and whites in wages, the right to jobs, admission to trade unions; for the ending of residential segregation, discrimination in public places and conveyances, and exclusion from restaurants, hotels, etc. - in short the Jim-Crow system of discrimination, both North and South..." 50

In support of this policy, during 1940 extensive protest was made in Communist Party publications against discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces.

However, in connection with the question of equal rights for Negroes in defense industries, the Communist Party was placed in a contradictory position. As a result of the defense preparations of the United States, additional employment opportunities for Negroes were opened in industry. The Communist Party was thus placed in the position of insisting that the Negroes be granted jobs in defense industries, while at the same time urging the Negroes to oppose the "imperialist war" which made these jobs possible.

The following quotation is illustrative of the attempts of the Communist Party to explain this dilemma:

"The Negro people must insist on jobs while at the same time opposing this imperialist war and our intervention in it. It is a war which cannot possibly serve to strengthen democracy or to liberate the people for it is an instrument of oppression the world over.

"It would be a mistake and it would do serious harm to the Negro people, if they demanded jobs in exchange for support of the war-making plans and of war itself, so this war holds no good for the Negro but will usher in destruction of democratic rights and further denial of the meager civil liberties he enjoys already." 51

In its efforts to support the position of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party went so far as to carry this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, which forced it to castigate a group of prominent Americans who had demanded that Negroes be given greater employment in defense industries as "enemies of the rights of the Negro people," because they were attempting to "soften up the Negro in preparation of the slaughter." 52

E. 1941-1945

On June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, thus precipitating another revision in Communist Party policy. The Communist Party in the United States immediately became "the only national political organization which has renounced all thoughts of partisan advantages and completely subordinated all other considerations to the needs of the quickest and most complete victory in the war." 53

As evidence of its desire to cooperate with all organizations in winning the war, eventually, in May, 1944, the Communist Party voted to dissolve itself "for an indefinite period in the future" and organized in its place the Communist Political Association "a non-party organization of Americans" which described itself as "an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people." The Communist Political Association immediately proclaimed that it was "ready and willing to work with any and all Americans who place victory in the war as the first law..." 54

The "imperialist war" in Europe was transformed overnight into a war "against fascism and reaction." As an example of the sudden change which this caused in the Communist Party program for the Negroes in America, the first article in the July, 1941, issue of The Communist called on:

"The American people - the workers, toiling farmers, the Negro masses, the middle classes [to give] full support and cooperation with the Soviet Union in its struggle against Hitlerism!" 55

A subsequent article in this same issue, however, contradicted this exhortation and affirmed that:

"The Negro people are opposed to this war and join with all the peace-desiring masses in America in the demand that the United States get out and stay out of the war..." 56

The Negroes were now advised that :

"the only course that is to the benefit of the Negro people is the course of entering the war effort fully, completely, making it their war effort, making their demands for unity in the war effort, making their demands in the first place against these measures of brutality, of the Jim-Crow system, that prevent their participation in the war effort," 57

Instead of "resisting, not supporting," the Negroes were urged to "demand the right to bear arms--on the basis of the fullest equality in defense of democracy and liberty" since "the oppressed Negro people are not, cannot be, indifferent to this threat to the Soviet Union." 58

In its efforts to promote national unity to win the war, the Communist Party went so far as to renounce its controversial self-determination doctrine, explaining that:

"...the Negro people in the United States have found it possible to make their decision once and for all. Their decision is for their complete integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation."

"This decision has been taking shape for several years. I think it is only comparatively recently that we can say it has taken a definite form, which no foreseeable development could now change...."

"The decision of the Negro people is, therefore, already made. It is that the Negro people do see the opportunity, not as a pious aspiration for an indefinite future, but as an immediate political task under the present system, of approximating the position of equal citizens in America. This is in itself an exercise of the right of self-determination by the Negro people. By their attitude, the Negro people have exercised their historical right of self-determination..."

"Therefore we see now, sharply and clearly, the right of the Negroes as a people to the determination of their own destiny. It is just as much an inviolable right as it ever was; and that right is being exercised today in the form of a decision by the Negro people themselves, without any pressure from special interests, to choose the path of the integration of the Negroes into the whole American nation as one united nation."

"It is this choice which gives the possibility in this period of integrating the Negro people into the general democracy of our country, on the basis of complete and unconditional equality; of solving this question now, and of no longer postponing it... we can and we must find the solution of full and equal citizenship for American Negroes in this country." 59

Through its propaganda media, the Communist Party ostensibly continued its campaign for equal rights for the Negroes. However, a new significance was attached to this campaign, as indicated in its fight to abolish the poll tax in the Southern States which was based on the argument that:

"Through the Negro discriminations and disabilities which the poll-taxers foster and impose on the production front and in the armed forces, they hamper the war effort, and undermine the civilian and army morale.

"Through their slanderous anti-Negro ratings, designed to demoralize the 13,000,000 Negro people, and to destroy national unity, they foment inter-racial strife and thereby furnish propaganda for a fascist fifth column...." 60

Similarly, the Communist Party advocated that:

"...lynchers should be executed as traitors; and those industrialists and others who practice Hitlerite racism should be condemned and punished as disloyal to our nation. Not only is this a matter of too long delayed justice to the Negro people, it is now essential to victory over the Hitler Axis. The war cannot be won unless... an effective fight is made to combat every type of inequality against Negroes and to secure the full citizenship of the Negro citizenry.

"We make at all times all of the demands for equality of the Negro. ... But the peculiarity of the present situation is that the granting of these demands is absolutely necessary now in order to strengthen our country's war effort. " 61

The Communist Party gave considerable publicity to its fight against discrimination and segregation in the armed forces during this period. However, this campaign also acquired a new significance because the Communist Party advocated:

"In the interests of national unity and the releasing of the great potential strength of the Negro people, and consequently of building a stronger army, the army command should initiate a policy... of more closely integrating Negroes in the army and eventually eliminating Jim-Crowism and discrimination completely. "

It also specifically instructed the Negroes that:

"... the elimination of Jim-Crowism in the army must not be made a precondition for support to, and service in, the army. To do this would be disastrous to the cause of Negro rights itself. "

In support of this policy the Communist Party explained that:

"If every class or group put its own immediate interests before those of the main issue and placed its narrower demands as preconditions for support to the broader struggle, then the result would be disaster to the National Front for the defeat of Hitler. " 61

In attempting to answer the obvious objection that this represented an almost complete abandonment of the fight for equal rights for the Negroes, the Communists, at the time, argued that :

"...It would be wrong to underestimate the grievances of the Negro people; it would be equally wrong to press these demands without regard to the main task of the destruction of Hitler, without which no serious fight for Negro rights is possible... The military destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism is the foremost task of the entire nation. The problems of the Negro people must be brought forward and incorporated in the solution in such a way as to take into account the new conditions facing the struggle for Negro rights. This requires that all sections of the Negro liberation movement recognize the absolute need of making a sharp turn, working in an entirely new way in the light of the new situation." 62

It is most significant, however, that in 1945, Earl Browder, was forced to admit that as early as 1942 the Communist Party had adopted the theory that:

"...the struggle for Negro rights must be postponed until after the war... [and that] ...it took more than two years to dissolve this wrong attitude..." 63

It is also significant that the Communist Party itself, on subsequently reviewing its activities on behalf of the Negroes during this period, admitted that:

"One of the major manifestations of our revisionist policy was our lack of waging a consistent and all-out struggle for the Negro people in all industries. When we fought for the right of Negro workers to enter industries we often fought for such jobs mainly in the interest of the war effort." 64

The Communist Party also admitted later that in addition to "the tendency of many Communists to soft-pedal the fight for Negro rights lest such struggles disrupt win-the-war national unity" it had also "failed signally to push the struggle to protect Negroes' wartime gains..."

It also specifically conceded that:

"We never did throw our full power into the fight against the Red Cross Jim Crow blood bank; and we tended to discourage, or certainly failed to promote the strong movement of a few years ago to amass hundreds of thousands of petitions demanding mixed Negro-white-units in the Army --a policy which eventually was initiated on the Western Front without our aid."

"We criticized, but seldom led, vigorous struggles against racial discrimination in the armed forces; indeed, we characterized as unduly 'nationalist' certain Negro organizations that demanded immediate and substantial correction by the Roosevelt Administration." 65

The betrayal of the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes by the Communist Party was officially recognized in the resolution "On the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination," adopted by its National Committee in December, 1946, which stated in part:

"The opportunistic errors of our former general policy limited the effectiveness of Communist work on the Negro question. This was especially expressed in our glossing over the national character of the Negro question..."

"It is true that we continued to proclaim our uncompromising demand for full Negro democratic rights and in many instances fought hard and effectively against Jim-Crow practices, especially in the interest of the war effort. However, the struggle for the national liberation of the Negro people... was often lost sight of."

"Moreover, our revisionist policies narrowed the scope and weakened the vigor of such struggles, even causing us at times to soft-pedal the struggle to eliminate Negro discrimination in the armed forces." 66

F. 1945-1947

In April, 1945, an article "On The Dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States," written by Jacques Duclos, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, appeared in Cahiers du Communisme, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France. This article set forth that the dissolution of the Communist Party in the United States and the organization of the Communist Political Association represented "a notorious revision of Marxism" and that the policies of Earl Browder had "swerved dangerously from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine whose rigorously scientific application could lead to but one conclusion, not to dissolve the American Communist Party but to work to strengthen it..." 67

As a result of the Duclos letter, the Communist Political Association immediately began an examination of its "opportunistic deviations," as a result of which, in July, 1945, it called an emergency convention and reconstituted itself as the Communist Party of the United States of America, "the political party of the American Working class, basing itself on the principles of scientific socialism; Marxism-Leninism." 68

The Resolution on the Negro Question adopted by this convention stressed that:

"Above all, we must deepen the theoretical understanding of the Communists, both Negro and white, on the fundamental nature and far-reaching implications of the Negro question.... As one step toward this end, we should create a special commission to undertake a basic study of the conditions and trends of the Negro people... and, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, to formulate a comprehensive definition of Communist policy and program on the Negro question." 69

Considerable publicity in Political Affairs* was given the question of self-determination for the Negroes during the year 1946, and, it is interesting to note, arguments both against and in favor of its adoption were published. A cogent argument against the adoption of this program claimed that:

"To the extent that we aroused enthusiasm among the Negro people, it was largely in spite of, not because of our over-simplified presentation of the right of self-determination...our presentation of this right for the most part had only the effect of puzzling and confusing the Negro people who followed our movement.... The most damning thing of all was that those Negroes who took the trouble to ascertain exactly what we were driving at generally voiced very decided opposition." 70

As a result of the "basic study of the conditions and trends of the Negro people" and the "discussion" of this question for over a year, a resolution "On the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination" was adopted by the Communist Party in December, 1946, which set forth that:

"As always the Communist Party stands firmly in the forefront of the struggle for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people."

"In fighting for their equal rights, the Negro people are becoming more unified as a people. Their fight for liberation from oppression in the Black Belt - the area of Negro majority population - is a struggle for full nationhood, for their rightful position of full equality as a nation...."

*Which at that time described itself as "a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism."

"Today, the struggle for Negro liberation is concerned with gaining equal rights throughout the country, which includes in the South the struggle for attaining representative government and land reform.... The development towards full and equal Negro participation in State and Federal government also moves in the direction of various forms of self-government by the Negro people, together with their white allies, in the Black Belt areas where they are in the majority."

"This movement provides the basis for the full realization of Negro nationhood, whether it be achieved under capitalism or socialism. The Communist Party supports the right of self-determination for the Negro people, that is, their right to realize self-government in the Negro majority area in the South...." 71

This Resolution, however, contained an important qualification which pointed out that:

"The Communist Party does not attempt to impose any specific solution in advance of the form in which the right of self-determination will be exercised; nor does it prematurely raise self-determination as an immediate slogan of action. The future solution of this question must arise from the living movement itself, out of the current and future struggles for democracy and equal rights." 72

Other Communist Party functionaries were even more specific in emphasizing this important qualification of the doctrine of self-determination, stating:

"...we do not present the slogan of self-determination as an immediate slogan of action, [and] ...we are not going to go to the sectarian extreme of using it to propagandize for the setting up of a Negro Republic." 73

A practical example of the manner in which the Communist Party could be expected to publicize this theory in the future was indicated as follows:

"...if...the term 'self-determination' is an obstacle... we could state negatively the same objective....For example, self-determination as applied to the Black Belt might also be expressed 'against forcible suppression of the growth and realization of the national aspirations of the Negro people and of the Negro majority in the Black Belt in the South.' We are against forcible suppression of their national aspirations, which means precisely that we are for self-determination." 74

The reason for this variation of the Communist Party position on the doctrine of self-determination for the Black Belt was explained in the following manner:

"It is a fact we must reckon with that, for the most part, the Negro people have not responded favorably to the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt, a slogan first put forward by our Party in 1928. Because of this lack of response, which amounts in many cases to vigorous opposition, there are some comrades in our ranks who conclude incorrectly that the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt is wrong." 75

To explain the "vigorous opposition" of the Negroes to this program, the Communist Party could only come to the conclusion that:

"...the Negro people, although a nation, are still a relatively young nation. They have not yet matured politically to the point where they will conceive of, and fight for, the slogan of self-determination." 76

G. 1947-to date

At the Founding Conference of the Cominform, * held in Poland, during the latter part of 1947, the late A. A. Zhdanov delivered a significant address regarding the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. According to Zhdanov, after the last world war:

"A new alignment of political forces came into being... the division of the political forces active in the world arena into two main camps - the imperialist and anti-democratic on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and democratic on the other.

"The main, leading force of the imperialist camp is the U.S.A....

"The basic aim of the imperialist camp is the strengthening of imperialism, the preparation of a new imperialist war, the struggle against Socialism and democracy and all-round support for reactionary, pro-fascist regimes and movements....

"The anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces constitute the other camp. The U.S.S.R. and countries of the new democracy constitute the mainstay of that camp...

"The aim of this camp is the struggle against the threat of new wars and imperialist expansion, the consolidation of democracy and the elimination of the remnants of fascism....

"The pursuit of this policy now takes place in a new situation, in which the United States... is going over to a new policy, the policy of preparing for new military adventures....

* The Cominform, or Communist Information Bureau, first had its headquarters in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. When the Yugoslavian Communist Party was denounced, the headquarters was changed in 1948, to Bucharest, Romania (Columbia Encyclopedia, p. 430).

"...the Communists are called upon to play a special historical role: to head the resistance to the American plan for the enslavement of Europe...

"Communists should be the leading force in the cause of drawing all anti-fascist, freedom loving elements into the struggle against the new American expansionist plans for the enslavement of Europe...

"The Communist Parties must head the resistance to the plans of imperialist expansion and aggression along all lines - state, economic and ideological; they must rally and unite their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialist and democratic platform and gather around themselves all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people." 77

1. International Aspect of the Negro Question

This new formulation of world-wide Communist policy, followed by the Korean War, gives rise to the present position of the Communist Party on the Negro question in the United States. According to the current adaptation of this policy:

"...the Negro question in the United States is no longer just a domestic question, which is becoming sharper; it is now an international question. The new stage of the Negro liberation movement merges with the struggle of the colonial and darker peoples of the Far East - as well as Africa - against the common enemy - Wall Street imperialism....

"The central lesson for the Negro liberation movement from the Asian colonial upsurge is that this movement will rise to new heights of action and achievement. It is inconceivable that the movement of the darker, colonial peoples of the East will fail to inspire the sharpest struggles and activities of the Negro people for their first-class citizenship....

"...Also many rich theoretical, political and practical lessons can be learned from the colonial liberation movements in the Far East...of inestimable value in connection with the application, in the framework of the special American conditions, of the slogan of the right of the Negro people in the Black Belt to self-determination." 78

2. Equal Rights

The "new, more advanced conditions," characterized by "Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism" are also seen as factors affecting the Communist Party fight for equal rights for the Negroes, since:

"The fight for Negro freedom and equality is an indispensable part of the struggle against war and fascism and a source of tremendous strength to the anti-imperialist peoples struggle." 79

The practical application of this interpretation leads the Communist Party to the following position in the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes at the present time:

"In the struggle for Negro rights, the fight for jobs, for the rightful place of Negroes in industry, continues to be a major, central task....

"We must realize, however, that the slogans used during the Second World War of fighting for jobs for Negroes as a means of helping the war effort must be reversed today. We must realize that a reactionary, imperialist war, a war for world conquest and domination, cannot and will not serve to advance the rights of the Negro people. Without a continuing fight, whatever gains the Negroes would make now could be wiped out overnight in the event of a third world war....

"We must see the fight to enter industry now as a sharp fight against imperialism and imperialist oppression....

"Today, the American working class must more and more rally the anti-imperialist forces in the United States in the struggle for peace. It must more and more assume leadership in fighting for the liberation of the colonial and semicolonial peoples. Here again, the Negro people, who form a common bond with the enslaved peoples of Africa and Asia and throughout the world, can and indeed must play an important role. And one of the paths which must be taken is the development of international solidarity between the Negro people, together with the white workers, and the colonial peoples. This necessitates an aggressive struggle for the rights of the Negro people in the United States. This would be an important step in the direction of unifying and strengthening the anti-imperialist forces everywhere in the struggles for peace and social progress." 80

Once again, as shortly before the invasion of Russia by Germany, "new conditions" have placed the Communist Party in the contradictory position of urging jobs for Negroes, while at the same time, condemning the situation which is making these jobs possible.

3. Self-Determination

The Communist Party's advocacy of self-determination for the Negroes in the Southern States at the present time, was affirmed this year in the following words:

"...We Communists stand without reservation for economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and the right for self-determination for the Negro nation in the Black Belt. The first three slogans summarize in basic outline all the aims and aspirations of the Negro nation minority in the North; while all four slogans are the basic aims and aspirations of the Negro nation in the Black Belt." 81

Actually, the use of the phrase, "without reservation," in the above quotation is erroneous, since the Communist Party attaches to the right of self-determination an essential Marxist-Leninist qualification, which, in fact, nullifies this right. The Communist Party euphemistically explains this qualification in the following manner:

"Serious ideological problems are arising among some Negro Marxists who see the Negro people's movement as having priority over the historical struggle of the American working class for socialism. This is a fundamental departure from the teachings of Lenin on the national question and must be resolutely combatted." 82

In this connection, it is interesting to repeat the words of Stalin, who, in treating this question, emphatically defined the secondary nature of the right of self-determination.

"...There are occasions when the right of self-determination conflicts with the...right of the working class that has assumed power to consolidate its power. In such cases - this must be said bluntly - the right of self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise by the working class of its right to dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter." 83

4. The Relation Between Equal Rights and Self-Determination

The Communist Party interpretation of the essential connection between equal rights and self-determination is indicated by the following quotations:

"...it is impossible for the Negro people to achieve their full economic, political, and social equality as Americans unless they organize as a nation, unless they forward the slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt of the South." 84

"All the comrades...accept, and agree with, the main slogan of action which our Party champions nationally in behalf of the Negro people, namely, the right of full political, economic and social equality for the Negro people...if this basic democratic slogan and Marxist principle is to mean what it says, then its application in the Black Belt - where the Negro people constitute not only a majority of the population, but have the fundamental characteristics of an oppressed nation - requires the exercise of the right of self-determination." 85

5. The Negro in Industry

Since the Communist Party has placed particular emphasis throughout its history on the importance of gaining the support of Negroes employed in basic industries, the following resume of the principal features of this aspect of its present program has been included.

In 1949, the Communist Party proposed the following measures to insure the retention of the employment gains obtained by the Negroes during the last World War:

- "1. All rehiring of workers must include Negroes;
- "2. Upgrading of Negro workers and the opening up of all skilled jobs to Negro workers;
- "3. An end to lily-white shops and industries....
- "4. An end to white chauvinism among trade unionists....
- "5. In addition, the unions must display special alertness to organize a broad fight for the demands of unemployed Negro workers." 86

In order to carry out this policy, the Communist Party advocates that trade-unions adopt "a fighting policy...on seniority as related to the Negro worker" in order to accomplish "the retroactive granting of the right of job seniority to Negro workers."

According to this proposal, in local unions, or even in entire international unions, consideration should be given to granting all Negro workers "an automatic accumulation of an agreed-upon number of years seniority...and then applying seniority equally to all thereafter." The reasoning behind this Communist Party proposal of "super-seniority" for the Negroes is that it would equalize the position of the Negro in industry, since "the Negro worker has been denied the right and opportunity to accumulate job security over the years because of the bourgeoisie's systematic discrimination against Negroes." 87

Obviously, the adoption of this proposal would not only violate every principle of union seniority, but, as the United Automobile Workers of America - CIO pointed out, would cause the breakdown of "the very

principle of union seniority by which unions won promotions for Negroes to higher-paid jobs during the war." 88

In addition to its advocacy of "super-seniority" for the Negroes in industry, the Communist Party also has supported and publicized the "model contract" proposed by the Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights held in June, 1950.

The Communist Party's evaluation of this conference was indicated in its appraisal that "never before in the history of the United States has there taken place such an important gathering for the promotion of the fight for Negro rights." 89

The "model contract" adopted by this conference which seeks to abolish "discriminatory practices against Negro workers" reads as follows:

"a. No discrimination in interviewing or hiring applicants for employment as well as no discrimination against employees during and after their trial period of employment because of color, race, sex, age, religious or political beliefs.

"b. Guarantee against discrimination shall in addition apply to promotions, upgrading, apprenticeship, job training and discharges.

"c. In the event of layoffs, every effort shall be made to maintain gains achieved in applying this policy and in the event of disagreement in relation to any issue arising out of the application of this clause, shall be subject to the grievance machinery of this contract.

"d. It is the purpose of this contract clause to guarantee in collective bargaining and by contractual rights the application of the union's policy for the protection and improvement of job opportunities for Negro workers and other minorities." ⁹⁰

According to the Communist Party, this model contract "merits the widest possible discussion," ⁹¹ and "must be made the property of the entire labor movement." ⁹²

The Communist Party also supported the formation of the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC) in Cincinnati in October, 1951. It has described the organizing conference of the NNLC as "a high point in the maturing of the Negro workers," ⁹³ and the NNLC itself as "the newest and most potent weapon that the Negro people have to date fashioned in their struggle against reaction." ⁹⁴

It also has urged "all out support" for the program of the NNLC which includes a nationwide drive for 100,000 additional jobs for Negro workers, with particular emphasis on jobs for Negro women; a campaign to solicit a million signatures petitioning a national FEPC* order; and the universal adoption of the "model contract" drawn up by the Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights. ⁹⁵

Since the Communist Party at the present time is placing great emphasis on the fight for peace, it is significant that the NNLC views its

*Fair Employment Practices Committee.

fight for jobs for Negroes as "tied up with the peoples' fight for peace," since "part of the American war drive against the colonial peoples is an intensified discrimination against Negro workers at home." 96

6. The Negro in the Fight for Peace

Since the Communist Party, at the present time, has designated "the struggle for peace" as "the crucial and the central question" as well as "the number one task for us Communists," 97 its conception of the role of the Negro in this phase of its activity is set forth as follows:

"Essential to a triumphant anti-war movement and as the only course through which Negro rights can be defended and extended, is the linking up of the Negro liberation movement with the growing conscious sector of the developing peace front.

"The fight for peace and the fight for freedom are indivisible. It is therefore necessary...steadfastly to fight for Negro equality and national liberation... as part of the struggle against war. It is of the utmost importance, simultaneously, to convince the Negro people that the struggle for peace and the struggle to bridle the imperialist war-mongers will serve to promote their full citizenship, politically, economically and socially."

"...the Negro people have no heart for a war conducted in accordance with 'white supremacy rules'." 98

7. The Negro and the Korean War

The Korean War has been condemned by the Communist Party as "an expression of hatred for the Negro people, for all colonial and

semi-colonial or white peoples who seek freedom, equality and self-determination."

Thus, the use of Negro troops by the United States in this conflict has been condemned by the Communist Party as "one of the new, most cynical aspects of U.S. imperialism's barbarous aggression against the heroic, freedom-loving people of Korea..."

According to the Communist Party, the fact that "the Negro troops are largely confined to the Jim Crow 24th infantry regiment...has enabled them to be singled out for the hardest, dirtiest and most murderous tasks."

In addition, it is the claim of the Communist Party that:

"...by using Negro sons, husbands and brothers in Korea, Wall Street seeks to win over their kin in support of its criminal ventures. It is a low and insulting appeal designed to beguile the Negro people in the name of its sons to support a war which is clearly directed against the interests of all colonial and oppressed people..."

Furthermore, the Communist Party alleges that:

"...the test of recognition and heroism for the Negro... is that the Negro people must lay down their lives upon the altar of American imperialism and must serve as cannon-fodder for the ruling class which has for more than 300 years kept the Negro people under the heel of Jim-Crow racist oppression. The new test of heroism which the ruling class offers the Negro workers is that they must die to enslave other colonial or colored peoples, even as they are enslaved..."

As an additional argument against the use of Negro troops in the Korean War, the Communist Party claims that "Negro troops who are called upon to die in Korea are denied the right to eat, work and live in dignity and equality in the United States, whether in Georgia or Harlem." 99

8. The Negro in the Event of War with Russia

The Communist Party viewpoint on the allegiance of the Negro race in the event of a war between the United States and Russia was aptly described by the well-known Negro singer, Paul Robeson, during the course of a speech before the World Congress of Partisans of Peace held in Paris, France, in April, 1949. On this occasion Robeson reportedly said:

"It is unthinkable that American Negroes will go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind." 100

On his return to the United States, Robeson furnished "a correct version" of his remarks at the Paris meeting, insisting that he had said:

"I love the Soviet people more than any nation, because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world.

"At the Paris conference, I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people in America or elsewhere in the world could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union. I repeat it with hundred-fold emphasis. They will not." 101

The Communist Party, in commenting on these remarks, stated that "Robeson serves America well." According to the Communist Party interpretation, Robeson did not say that:

"The Negro people were not ready to defend their country, the U.S.A.... What Robeson said was that he did not believe that the Negro people support or will support the kind of criminal war of aggression that is being plotted by the 'cold war' crowd today. Robeson helped greatly to rouse his people to help defend America against the recent aggressions of the fascist Axis. The Negro people, we are sure, would do the same in any case where the real interest of the nation was at stake. But since when is it in the interest of the Negro people to lend themselves as cannon fodder for the reactionary war which the munitions makers are trying to start against other peaceful nations?

"The munition makers and the Jim Crow system which enslaves the Negro are one and the same. In challenging the munition makers, Robeson is challenging the prime sponsor of the entire Jim Crow system - Big Business. In so doing, he is serving his country and the Negro people as a true patriot and American...." 102

9. Negro Liberation

In view of the frequent reference to the phrase "Negro liberation," in Communist Party parlance at the present time, the Communist Party interpretation of this phrase is set forth:

"By the term Negro liberation movement, we mean generally the sum total of the efforts of all organizations, groups, and agencies among Negroes which strive in any manner and to any degree to realize the ideal of Negro equality."

In 1929:

"...far-reaching developments within world capitalism were creating the conditions for an entirely new historical stage in the struggle for Negro freedom and the emergency of a new social force, the Negro proletariat to lead it.... The time had arrived when this new social force, led by the Communist Party, was to begin to place its imprint on the Negro liberation movement...."

"...the boundary was clearly drawn between the revolutionary and the reformist positions - between the line of effective struggle and the line of futile accommodation."

"Negro labor has reached manhood stature.... Negro labor has stepped forward on the political arena as what Marx called, 'A class on its own.'

"That is the new, decisive factor in the fight for Negro liberation.... This class is the factor which has given decided impetus to the whole fight for Negro liberation in modern times. It has sparked the great upsurge of the Negro people of the present post-war period."

"...The Negro industrial working class, in alliance with the masses of the oppressed agricultural population of the Black Belt, and leading them, is the main driving force of the Negro national liberation movement."

"...While there is common agreement on the necessity to struggle for equal rights and for the eradication of all forms of Jim-Crow oppression, there is not agreement

as to the basic concepts, ultimate goals and concrete implications of the slogan of equality.

"The decisive sections of the Negro liberation movement do not have any conscious orientation whatever toward the strategic goal of self-determination of the Black Belt area of Negro majority population.... Moreover, there is the general assumption that this goal of 'full democratic rights' can be won through struggles for more and more progressive reformism within the framework of existing political institutions and arrangements."

"... Our analysis has brought out the true revolutionary content of the slogan of equality. Under the conditions existing in the Black Belt, this slogan can have no meaning other than national equality, that is equality between the Negro nation and the white nation, and this can be achieved only through struggle for democratic land redivision and for self-government, including the full right of self-determination." 103

10. Revolutionary Nature of the Communist Party Program for the Negroes

The true nature of the ultimate solution of the Communist Party to the question of "jimcrow oppression" was forcefully indicated in its comment on the 1950 decisions of the United States Supreme Court, * which, although upholding the "separate but equal" laws, nevertheless insisted that any separate Negro facilities must be, in fact, equal to those provided for whites. On this occasion the Communist Party ominously warned: "let there be no illusions: abolition of the system of jimcrow oppression will not come by court decisions." 104

* In the Henderson, McLaurin and Sweatt cases.

The revolutionary nature of its solution to this problem is further clarified by its statement, made in July, 1950, that:

"Communists, in the first place, refuse to tolerate any concept that mitigates the responsibility of the white supremacists for anti-Negro violence or oppression. We can have no truck with a line that seeks to 'blame' the Negro people 'too' for the violence that may accompany their just struggle for equality and national liberation." 105

II. PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY NEGRO FRONT GROUPS

Since a considerable amount of Communist Party work among the Negroes is and has been conducted through its front groups, both those whose activities center around the Negro problem as well as others which, although not primarily interested in this problem, have devoted considerable attention to it, a brief mention of the more important of these organizations is being included in this analysis.

A. American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC)

The ANLC was organized by the Communist Party in Chicago in October, 1925:

"...to lead the struggles of the Negro workers and farmers against terrorism, lynching, mob violence, police brutality, segregation, and all forms of race hatred; for equal pay for equal work, for better working conditions; for the organization of Negro workers into trade unions on the basis of complete equality." 106

"The American Negro Labor Congress laid special emphasis on the organization of Negro workers and farmers. It called for struggle for the admittance of Negroes into the existing trade unions and their full participation in all offices and affairs; it called for the organization of Negroes into unions and in industries where no unions existed..." 107

However, the "ANLC was too narrow in its approach" and since, "for the period of its existence it was almost completely isolated from the basic masses of the Negro people," 108 at its 1930 convention, held in St. Louis, "by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights." 109

B. League of Struggle for Negro Rights (LSNR)

This group, an outgrowth of the ANLC, was organized by the Communist Party in 1930 as "an intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership." 110

The program adopted by the LSNR called for:

"...the destruction of the plantation system in the South, for confiscation of the land of the big landlords and declared for the complete right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt of the South." 111

In later years, commenting on the failure of the LSNR the Communist Party realized that "the L.S.N.R. fell into the same sectarian method of work as the A.N.L.C." in that it failed to "base its activities

sufficiently on immediate, daily needs of the people." ¹¹² As a result, "branches of individual members of the L.S.N.R. became invariably, as in the A.N.L.C., small sectarian groups and, as such, remained isolated...." ¹¹³

Since, the LSNR had "ceased to exist" by 1936, the Communist Party instructed that:

"Where local branches are functioning and occupy an organized position in the community, they should affiliate with the local council of the National Negro Congress, while maintaining their independent existence. Where councils of the LSNR are small sectarian groups with no influence in the community they should be liquidated." ¹¹⁴

C. National Negro Congress (NNC)*

The National Negro Congress was organized at a conference held in 1935 at Howard University in Washington, D. C., under the joint auspices of its Division of Social Sciences and the Joint Committee on National Recovery (which had been set up in the early 1930's to protect Negro rights in policy-making at Washington).

"The idea was born that a national Negro agency, embracing all the existing Negro trade unions, religious, fraternal and civic bodies, could give more strength and unity to all those organizations and help awaken a response from the Negro masses. Stress was laid upon economic and social betterment as well as upon justice and citizen's rights...." ¹¹⁵

* The National Negro Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist organization under Executive Order 9835.

Its first Congress met in Chicago in February, 1936, and:

"...was attended by 817 delegates, representing 585 organizations from 28 states and the District of Columbia. In a great number of resolutions, the Congress expressed the Negroes' dissatisfaction and protest and made practical proposals for change." 116

The Communist Party, now in its united front period, unequivocally announced that although:

"The National Negro Congress did not adopt a Communist program...we Communists stand one hundred percent behind it in its effort to unite the Negro people upon a common program and with a common tactic, to fight for the advancement of the Negro people, against all forms of discrimination, against fascism and war, for equal rights, and on issues which are in the interests of all the toiling masses of the country in advancing the general fight against capital." 117

Its ultimate aim of controlling the NNC, however, was indicated in its conception of this organization as one which would "develop still further the movement for Negro liberation already started by the American Negro Labor Congress (and) the League of Struggle for Negro Rights...." 118

"In October, 1937, the second National Negro Congress was held in Philadelphia. The delegates formed a total of 1,149 persons. Nothing important happened. Account was given of the progress in building up the organization. It is apparent that a chief difficulty was to get it on a sound financial basis." 119

"The third... meeting was held in Washington, D. C., in April, 1940." ¹²⁰ At this time, during the Russian-German Non-Aggression Pact, the Communist Party was exerting every effort to keep the United States neutral in the war in Europe. In preparation for this convention, in February, 1940, the Communist Party instructed:

"...it is fundamentally necessary to extend the greatest assistance to building the National Negro Congress as the broad expression of anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle on a local, state and national scale....

"This can be started...by helping to assure the success of the coming Third National Negro Congress...by helping to draw into the Congress the trade unions, civic, church, fraternal and community white and Negro organizations; by helping to build locally! the National Negro Congress through stimulating and encouraging the greatest united activity on a local scale around the specific issues affecting the Negro people and the multitude of common issues affecting all white and Negro people." ¹²¹

At this meeting of the Congress, A. Philip Randolph, its president, "gave a carefully prepared address" in which he "warned the Congress to stick to its principle and remain nonpartisan...."

"During Randolph's speech the Communists arranged a demonstration and walked out, leaving only a third of the audience when he finished talking." ¹²²

As further evidence of the now complete Communist Party control of the NNC, at this convention a resolution was adopted condemning the

"imperialist war," which resolution was described by the Communist Party as "in accord with the fundamental interests of the Negro people...." 123

According to the Communist Party plan, the National Negro Congress would now become "the unifying force of the Negro people and their organizations around an anti-imperialist, anti-war program" and, as such, Communist Party members were instructed to "give serious attention to assisting the Negro masses to build the Congress movement." 124

However, the NNC, as a result of its obvious domination by the Communist Party, was practically inoperative until its fourth Congress, held in Detroit in May, 1946, which even the Communist Party described as "a rebirth of the Congress." 125

The principal purpose of this conference was to submit:

"... a petition from the National Negro Congress to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on behalf of the Negro people of America 'for the elimination of political, economic and social discrimination against Negroes in the United States of America.' " 126

However, the "rebirth" of the NNC was short-lived and in 1947, it merged with the Civil Rights Congress in the interest of a "much more effective, unified and broad defense of all the civil liberties of the Negro people, labor and all other minorities now under violent attack." 127

For the Communist Party, this merger was an "important event which will be enthusiastically welcomed by all who see the fascist danger...." 128

In reviewing the history of the NNC, it is significant to note that as early as 1936, one year after the organization of the NNC, the Communist Party felt itself in a position to claim: "We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress." 129

III. OTHER COMMUNIST PARTY FRONT GROUPS ACTIVE IN NEGRO WORK

A. International Labor Defense (ILD) *

Although organized in the United States in 1925, it was not until 1931 that:

"... the I. L. D., under the guidance of the Party, began in real earnest the struggle for the defense of the rights of the Negro people, with the Scottsboro case, and raised this struggle, under the leadership of the Comintern and the International Red Aid (I. R. A.), to the level of an international issue." 130

Since the Communist Party also concedes that the Scottsboro Case was "the first big battle conducted by the Party in the field of Negro liberation," 131 and since this case developed into an international cause celebre, a brief resume of its background and developments has been included herein.

* The ILD has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist organization under Executive Order 9835.

1. The Scottsboro Case

"On March 31, 1931, nine Negro boys were indicted at Scottsboro, Alabama on charges of having raped two white girls (Ruby Bates and Victoria Price) in a gondola car of a...freight train passing through Jackson Co. Alabama....Eight of them (the ninth was only 13 years old) were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death early in April. In March 1932, the Alabama supreme court affirmed the conviction of seven; the eighth was also a juvenile....The decision was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which declared (Nov. 1932) a mistrial on the grounds that the defendants' right to counsel had been infringed. In March, 1933, a change of venue was granted, and Haywood Patterson, called by the prosecution the ringleader of the defendants, was retried at Decatur, county seat of Morgan Co., Alabama. Despite Ruby Bates' recantation of her previous testimony, the jury convicted Patterson and imposed the death penalty (April). However, in June, Judge James E. Horton set aside the conviction on the ground that it was against the weight of evidence and granted a new trial....At this trial Patterson was again convicted (Dec., 1933) as was Clarence Norris shortly afterwards; both were again sentenced to death. Once more the case was appealed, and in April, 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the grounds that Negroes had been excluded from the juries which had indicted and tried the boys. In Nov. 1935, at Scottsboro, a grand jury of 18, which included one Negro, returned new indictments charging rape against all of the boys. Patterson, tried again at Decatur, was convicted by an all-white jury (Jan. 1936) and sentenced to 75 years in prison. The trials of the remaining defendants were postponed until July 1937, when three more were convicted and sentenced - Clarence Norris (execution), Andy Wright (99 years), and Charlie Weems (75 years): The indictments against the remaining five defendants were quashed. Ozzie

Powell, who pleaded guilty to attacking with a knife one of the deputy sheriffs who were transferring the prisoners, was sentenced to 20 years for that assault. The remaining four defendants - Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Eugene Williams and Roy Wright - were freed. Norris' death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment... Patterson's petition for a review of his sentence by the U.S. Supreme Court on the ground that a fair trial in the county court had been impossible was denied in Oct. 1937. In Feb., 1940, the Alabama pardon and parole board began to consider the cases of the imprisoned five, and by Sept. 1946, when Clarence Norris was freed on parole, only Haywood Patterson remained in prison. However, Andy Wright was returned (October, 1946) to prison for having violated his parole. Patterson later escaped...." 132 *

According to the Communist Party: "On April 1, 1931, the International Labor Defense stepped into the case," combining "the best court defense with the best mass defense...." 133

The ILD and the Communist Party organized:

"...international campaigns of protest...national campaigns of protest; ...mass conferences, parades and demonstration; ...circulation of petitions...demanding the freedom of the victimized; ...the exposure to the public at large of the whole system of terror; ...the enlistment of scientists, writers, artists, etc... all demanding the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys....

"The roar of protest rose, and extended around the world. Tours were organized for the Scottsboro mothers... not only in the United States, but...through 26 European countries. Millions the world over participated in the struggle." 134

* Patterson later was imprisoned again and recently died there.

There is, however, considerable controversy regarding the manner in which the Communist Party and the ILD entered and subsequently conducted the defense in this case. Therefore, the following version of their activity, furnished by the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP) which provided the defense in the first Scottsboro trial, has been included.

According to the NAACP, after the Scottsboro Boys had been first convicted as a result of a defense which "fell considerably short of perfection" as well as the "appallingly hostile... atmosphere," it retained "the outstanding criminal law firm of the State and Clarence Darrow agreed to join counsel retained by the NAACP for the defense." ¹³⁵

However, "a new element entered the case" as "with a blare of trumpets the Communists seized upon the Scottsboro convictions" as an opportunity "to capitalize Negro unrest in the United States against lynching, jim crowism, proscription, and insult." ¹³⁶

The lawyer retained by the NAACP was "accused in the 'Daily Worker,' the Communist organ, of being a member of the Ku Klux Klan, of having conspired with the prosecution to electrocute the nine boys, of having been the inmate of an insane asylum." ¹³⁷

The officers of the NAACP were attacked "as being 'in league with the lyncher-bosses of the South,' as plotters to 'murder the Scottsboro

martyrs, 'and as sycophantic 'tools of the capitalists.' " 138

The result of the Communist Party's attacks on the personal integrity of NAACP officials and the organization itself was that the NAACP withdrew from the case, and the Communist Party was able to claim "a decisive victory by establishing its hegemony over the Scottsboro movement." 139

However, with the adoption of the united-front tactic in 1935, the ILD joined the Scottsboro Defense Committee, which consisted of the following groups:

"... The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Church League for Industrial Democracy (Episcopal), the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Methodist Federation for Social Service." 140

The fact that the Communist Party and the ILD seized the Scottsboro case not to secure justice for the nine Negro youths, but to serve their own purposes is best illustrated by the following quotation:

"... among liberal groups who still believe in democracy and civil rights, support will be gained when the fight for Scottsboro is presented as inseparably bound up with the rights of the Negro People and the struggle for the maintenance of civil rights. Scottsboro is bound up with the national liberation struggle for the right to self-determination of the Negro people and with the struggle of the entire American working class for the dictatorship of the proletariat-Soviet Power." 141

On June 5, 1950, the Communist Party attempted to organize "a campaign to win pardon for the last framed Scottsboro Boy still in prison and two others who are fugitives from the Alabama prison hells." This campaign was organized in connection with the publication of Scottsboro

Boy which purports to be the story of Haywood Patterson's experiences while incarcerated in Alabama before his escape in 1948, and an expose of "the inhuman conditions under which Negro prisoners lived in Alabama jails and prison camps." 142

However, the release of Andy Wright, the last of the Scottsboro Boys from prison on June 6, 1950, only one day after the beginning of the Communist Party "campaign," gives credence to the claim that his release was obtained "largely through NAACP efforts." 143

2. The Angelo Herndon Case

Since the Communist Party almost invariably couples the Angelo Herndon Case with the Scottsboro Case as an example of its activity and that of the ILD on behalf of the Negroes, the following summary of this case is being set forth.

Angelo Herndon, a nineteen-year-old Negro Communist from Cincinnati, was arrested in Atlanta, Georgia, in July, 1932, for distributing Communist Party literature. His bail, originally fixed at \$25,000, was lowered and he was released in December, 1932, on \$2,500 bond. At his trial for violation of the Georgia Anti-Sedition Law in January, 1933, he was found guilty of attempting to incite an insurrection based on his possession of Communist Party literature, some of which advocated self-determination

for the Negroes in the South, and sentenced to 18 to 20 years imprisonment.

A motion for a new trial, which was filed in February, 1933, was denied in July of that year and in June, 1934, Herndon's bail was set at \$15,000, which amount was raised by popular subscription in August, 1934.

On May 20, 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the sentence imposed by the Georgia Court on the ground that Herndon was tardy in asserting his constitutional rights in the Georgia Court and that the Supreme Court, therefore, lacked jurisdiction.

In October, 1935, Herndon surrendered himself to the Georgia authorities and in November of that year a hearing on his petition for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the law under which he had been convicted was unconstitutional was held. In December, 1935, the Fulton County Superior Court upheld Herndon's petition and ruled his arrest, conviction and sentence illegal. Herndon was freed on \$8,000 bond but in June, 1936, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the statute under which he was convicted was constitutional. This opinion was finally reversed in April, 1937, by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled that the Georgia Anti-Sedition Statute was unconstitutional. 144

In the Herndon Case tactics similar to those used in the Scottsboro Case were again utilized by the Communist Party and the ILD,

including "the national tour of the reproduction of the chain-gang, the circulation of the Herndon petitions which were signed by two million people ... monster mass meetings held for Herndon in every part of the country, the formation of local Herndon committees." 145

3. Distinction Between the Scottsboro and Herndon Cases

As early as 1935, the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People pointed out the essential difference between the activity of the Communist Party and the ILD in the Scottsboro and the Herndon cases which it editorialized in its official publication as follows:

"It is not a question of whether the Communists have done a good job in exposing and fighting the evils under which Negroes live. They have. The question is: did they have the right to use the lives of nine youths, who, unlike Angelo Herndon, did not know what it was all about to make a propaganda battle in behalf of the Negro race or the theories of Communism? The Crisis does not believe they had the right." 146

B. The Civil Rights Congress (CRC) *

The CRC was organized at a conference held in Detroit, in April, 1946. Its announced purposes were:

"TO SAFEGUARD AND EXTEND ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, especially the rights of labor, and of racial, political, religious and national minorities; TO COMBAT ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION against these groups; TO DEFEND AND AID VICTIMS of the fight for these rights; TO FIGHT AGAINST DOMESTIC FASCISM and all its forms - jim crow, anti-Semitism, red baiting, discrimination against the foreign born." 147

* The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist organization under Executive Order 9835.

The CRC has described itself as a:

"...national, non-partisan, mass organization... democratically controlled by its members (which) conducts campaigns on local and national civil rights issues...provides attorneys to fight civil rights cases in the courts... (and) maintains a bail fund and prisoners relief fund for victims of injustice."

It also claims to fight "for labor's rights... against jimcrow and discrimination...for academic freedom...for minority rights... (and) against thought control."

In addition the CRC has affirmed that it believes:

"...that jimcrow and segregation have become policies of government - that the legislative, judicial and executive arms of the government today are brazenly used to maintain the oppression of the Negro people."

It is also emphatic in stating that it:

"...does not believe freedom of speech means license for Klan, anti-Semites and fascists to spread hate, incite violence and terror, and destroy democracy and the Constitution." 148

The high esteem in which CRC is held by the Communist Party is indicated in the Party's description of the CRC as "the logical inheritor of the I. L. D. 's record and experience" and "the mass defense organization (which) merits the wholehearted support of our Party organizations everywhere." 149

That the CRC is the successor of the ILD is further indicated by the fact that its Executive Secretary, William L. Patterson, a Negro

and a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, also served as Executive Director of the ILD.

Like the ILD, the CRC has devoted considerable attention to the Negro question, particularly in cases of civil rights, organizing mass pressure tactics and, on occasion, assisting in the actual legal defense. In cooperation with the Communist Party, it has given extensive publicity to the cases of the Trenton Six, the Martinsville Seven, Rosa Lee Ingram and Willie McGee, in all of which the defendants were Negroes. 150

With reference to the Negro question, the Communist Party has described the CRC as having played "an outstanding role in the fight for civil and democratic rights for the Negro people." 151

In addition to the legal defenses in which it has participated, one of the principal activities of the CRC in connection with the Negro question has been the preparation of a:

"...petition to the General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the Negro people in the interest of peace and democracy, charging the Government of the United States of America with violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide."

This petition was published in 1951 in book form under the title, We Charge Genocide and alleges that:

"...the oppressed Negro citizens of the United States, segregated, discriminated against and long the target of violence, suffer from genocide as a result of the consistent, conscious, unified policies of every branch of government."

In particular, it also claims that:

"this crime of genocide is the result of a massive conspiracy, more deadly in that it is sometimes 'understood' rather than expressed, a part of the mores of the ruling class often concealed by euphemisms, but always directed to oppressing the Negro people."

This petition also maintains that officials of the United States government are guilty of:

"Incitement (to Genocide which) takes many forms but the common denominator of every form is the openly avowed determination that the Negro shall not have the rights guaranteed him under the Constitution of the United States, the United Nations Charter and the Genocide Convention...."

The petition concludes by stating that:

"This genocide...serves now, as it has in previous forms in the past, specific political and economic aims....Now its aim is the splitting and emasculation of mass movements for peace and democracy, so that reaction may perpetuate its control and continue receiving the highest profits in the entire history of man. That purpose menaces the peace of the world as well as the life and welfare of the Negro people..."

"The end of genocide against the Negro people of the United States will mean returning this country to its people. It will mean a new growth of popular democracy and the forces of peace. It will mean an end to the threat of atomic war. It will mean peace for the world and all mankind." 152

The Communist Party has praised We Charge Genocide as "an historic contribution to the cause of Negro freedom," and has designated "full support to the Civil Rights Congress' U.N. petition on genocide" as one of its "main tasks" at the present time in order that this publication can be circulated "among literally thousands of Negro and white workers." 153

IV. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND LEGITIMATE NEGRO PROTEST AND IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

In order to present an over-all picture of the pattern of Communist Party activity among the Negroes, the following brief account of its relations with the principal legitimate Negro protest and improvement organizations has been included, together with a summary of the history and purposes of these groups.

A. Principal Negro Protest and Improvement Organizations

1. National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP)

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is without question the most important agency for the Negroes in their struggle against caste."

It was started on the initiative of a group of white citizens who in 1909 called a conference, supported by both Negroes and white, to organize

"a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

In 1910, this group merged with the Niagara Movement (formed in 1905 by a group of Negroes who urged protest rather than accommodation in an effort to secure equal rights for the Negroes), and the NAACP was formed, with the objective of winning full equality for the Negro as an American citizen.

Its national office is located in New York and supervises the work of its branches located throughout the country. While its leadership has always been interracial, the majority of its membership, which is still largely confined to the upper class Negroes, is practically all Negro. In addition to its official publications, The Crisis and the NAACP Bulletin, it also publishes additional literature on various aspects of the Negro question.

The major portion of its work is carried out through its national office which keeps a constant check on Negro rights; attempts to secure passage of favorable state and federal legislation and, in a broad sense, attempts to create favorable publicity for the Negro and air his grievances before the American public.

Both for strategic and financial reasons its tactics have been, to a certain extent, pragmatic and expedient in that it usually limits its

activity to those law cases and demands where there is a reasonably favorable chance of gaining its objectives. In recent years it has shifted its emphasis from the defense of the Negro, to a more offensive position in his behalf.

Its greatest weakness has always been its lack of mass support by the Negroes while its principal assets are the good will and respected position which it enjoys. 154

2. The National Urban League

Like the NAACP, the National Urban League was formed on white initiative in 1911, as the result of the merger of three pre-existing organizations. Its principal purpose was to obtain for the Negro "opportunity to work at the job for which the Negro was best fitted, with equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity for advancement."

Its central office which is located in New York is governed by an interracial Executive Board as are its local Urban Leagues throughout the country.

Its original purpose of assisting unadjusted groups of Negroes who had migrated to the northern industrial cities has been continued and at present its principal function is to act as a national employment agency for the Negroes.

It publishes Opportunity, directed toward the general public, and The Secretariat, an international organizational bulletin.

In addition to its placement activity the League also acts as a pressure group for the general social improvement of the Negro. It advocates discussion rather than mass Negro action in obtaining its ends and is dependent on community good will and financial support for carrying out its program. 155

3. March on Washington Movement (MOWM)

The March on Washington Committee was organized by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in January, 1941, after he withdrew from the National Negro Congress. Its purpose was to organize a mass Negro march on Washington, D. C., to express protest against anti-Negro discrimination. Organized and directed by Negro labor leaders and with its membership restricted to Negroes, the MOWM received the backing both of the Negro workers and the established Negro organizations.

After preparations for the march had been almost completed, on June 25, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802. This executive order prohibited discrimination in employment in defense industries and government agencies because of race, color, creed or national origin, and also established the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. 156

Progress in this direction continued and a second executive order which strengthened the original one was issued on May 27, 1943. 157

B. Relations Between the Communist Party and the Above Organizations

During the early period of its existence in the United States, the Communist Party referred to "all Negro movements" as "nothing more than periodical conferences of 'prominent persons' delegated by nobody and present only by virtue of a vague general recognition and the possession of the price of a railroad ticket." According to the Communist Party, the fact that those who attended these conferences "were assumed to be the 'natural spokesmen' for the Negro masses" was a "fatal weakness which has spelled sterility for...Negro movements." 158

In particular, the "bourgeois" NAACP was singled out as:

"...an organization resembling in its pattern the ancient abolition society and breathing the spirit of the white philanthropists in benign collaboration with colored bishops and lawyers, and, of course, the white Republican politician of the border states and other parts where Negroes vote and where anti-lynching speeches can be made." 159

The relations between the Communist Party and the Negro organizations underwent a change when the Communist Party reverted to a policy of militant revolution during the 1928-1935 period.

During this phase of its activities, the Communist Party condemned the NAACP and the National Urban League (NUL) as "supporters of capitalist imperialism" which were "the chief and 'highest' representatives of the American bourgeoisie amongst the Negro masses. " 160

The NAACP was further criticized as an organization which "represents, and is openly soliciting a further consolidation of its position as an instrument of the white capitalist class for the perpetration of this slavery of the Negro people, " and the NAACP leaders were condemned as "lickspittles of the capitalist class. " 161

The NUL was also castigated as "an organization noted for its strike-breaking activities. " 152

During the period of the united front, when the Communist Party welcomed "the possibility of working with all sections of the Negro people to consolidate the united front, " it praised the NAACP for "an excellent campaign with splendid results for the passage of anti-lynching legislation" and commended the NUL for "quite a number of progressive undertakings. " 163

However, the Communist Party's purpose in "working with all sections of the Negro people" was indicated by its activities in the various Workers Councils which had been organized by the National Urban League for the purpose of "indoctrinating Negroes in the importance of trade union membership and the ways members of a minority group can protect their status. " 164

The National Urban League has explained Communist Party activity in its Workers Councils in the following manner:

"That was an ideal organization for the Communists to capture and they did. . . . The Communists were never barred from entering, but as soon as we found out that a council was being subverted from its true purposes and was becoming a mere mechanism for the propagation of Communist strategy, we would close it down and open another. That kept us going all over the country." 165

Prior to the invasion of Russia by Germany, however, the officials of the NAACP and the NUL were again described as "spokesmen for an anti-Negro program among their people" who had assumed this "treacherous role" in their efforts "to win the Negroes to the support of the British-American gang of imperialists. . . ." 166

Also during this period, although excluded from official participation, it supported the original proposed march on Washington in order to assure "a tremendous demonstration against jim-crowism and the imperialist war." However, because of the exclusion of the Communist Party, it described the proposed march as "a feeble and compromise gesture" which was designed "to tie the Negro people behind Roosevelt's war program." 167

However, after the invasion of Russia, when the Communist Party was supporting all-out efforts to defeat Hitler, it declined to "commit itself

unreservedly" to support a 1942 meeting of the MOWM because the MOWM did not take "a clear stand on the war." According to the Communist Party, the Negroes in 1942 opposed "any effort to take advantage of their just grievances" since the struggle for Negro rights merged with "the common fight to beat Hitler, in the enthusiasm for a Second Front to defeat Hitler this year." 168

In 1943, the Communist Party described the continued refusal of the MOWM to admit white members as an "Axis-abetting move" which was "out of harmony with the Negro-white unity struggle for victory." The MOWM itself was derided as a "narrow racial organization" whose "black nationalism is ridiculous." 169

At the present time, the Communist Party program for infiltrating legitimate Negro organizations consists in working for:

"...a policy of uniting the rank and file...with sections of the leadership, wherever possible, in fighting for a militant program to advance the movement of the Negro people against their national oppressors - Wall Street and the proponents of the Truman bi-partisan doctrine." 170

Its stress on "uniting the rank and file" is explained by its current opinion of the leaders of these organizations, which has been expressed as follows:

"Lester Granger, head of the National Urban League, Negro-reformist agent of imperialism, the main Negro misleader on the President's committee appears now in his full ugliness - a contemptible Red-baiter and a belly-crawling Uncle Tom apologist for Truman, and the Negro-hating white ruling class. The same is true of such Social-Democratic flunkeys and supporters of imperialism and its war program as A. Phillip Randolph, George Weaver and such Wall Street-serving turncoats as Walter White and others - all of whom mouth a few empty phrases against Jim Crow in order to camouflage their subservience to American imperialism. Granger's role... is to make apologies for the continued existence of Jim Crow in the Army. These Negro misleaders... have identified themselves with Wall Street's imperialist war program...." 171

Realizing the aim of Communist Party efforts to penetrate its organization, the NAACP at its 1950 convention voted to give its national office power to "expel any unit which, in the judgement of the board of directors... comes under Communist or other political control and action." 172

V. RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD THE NEGRO

The following analysis of the results of Communist Party activity directed toward the Negro people has been broken down into its effects within the Communist Party itself, and its effects on non-Communist Negroes.

A. Effects within the Communist Party

Since the Communist Party has consistently advocated full social, political, industrial, economic and political equality for the Negroes, a brief

analysis of the application of this policy within its own organization has been included to indicate the result of this policy.

The Communist Party has frequently elected or appointed Negroes, at least nominally, to positions of authority. Two Negroes, Henry Winston and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., were members of its National Committee and National Board, prior to their conviction in 1949 for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. Pettis Perry, also a Negro, is a member of its present National Committee. In addition, Negroes have frequently been placed in charge, formally if not actually, of important Communist Party Districts, e. g., Edward E. Strong in Philadelphia.

Its candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States in the 1932 and 1936 national elections was James W. Ford, a Negro, and it has frequently nominated Negroes for election to other federal, state and municipal offices.

Yet, in spite of this and the voluminous publicity which it has given its slogan of equal rights for the Negroes, the Communist Party, throughout its history, has had to wage a continuing fight against what it describes as "white chauvinism, or 'white supremacy.'" * 173

* Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition, Unabridged, 1935, defines chauvinism as "the sentiments or disposition of a chauvin; hence vainglorious or exaggerated patriotism."

As early as 1925, the Communist Party was urging the "white workers" to "rid themselves of their ruling class-inspired prejudices" and instructing that "in every union the left wing must carry on a constant and fearless struggle against every manifestation of racial prejudice." 174

In 1929, the Communist Party, after a review of its work among the Negroes from 1919 to 1928, admitted not only that white chauvinism had "made progress in Negro work well-nigh impossible," but that it was "still a powerful influence in the Party" and urged that "a major campaign" be waged against it. 175

Again, in 1932, the Communist Party discovered that "within our Party ... white-chauvinist influences are still widespread" 176 and Party members had to be warned against "concessions to white chauvinism" and adopting "a paternalistic attitude toward Negro comrades." 177

In 1938, the Communist Party detected "some disquieting signs of a relaxation of vigilance within our Party on the Negro question" and urged that "not merely formal but actual equality in every respect" be granted its Negro members. 178

By 1949, this problem had grown so serious that the entire June issue of Political Affairs for the year was devoted to "the struggle against the many alarming manifestations of white chauvinism" 179 in the Communist Party.

However, in spite of this publicity, in 1951, the Communist Party again found that "there has been a noticeable lag in our Party's struggle for Negro rights," and that "a period of complacency set in with respect to the fight against the main danger, white chauvinism. . . ." In particular it deplored the fact that "primitive acts of white chauvinism can still reveal themselves even at the level of County and State Communist Party conventions." 180

Finally in February, 1952, the Communist Party once again reported "a serious weakening of the struggle against white chauvinism" and designated "a renewed struggle against white chauvinism" as one of its "main tasks" at the present time. 181

Numerous quotations in addition to those set forth above could have been included in this section. Those chosen were selected merely to indicate the continuity of this anomalous situation within the Communist Party throughout its history in the United States.

B. Effects on Non-Communist Negroes

Since the result of Communist Party activity directed toward non-Communist Negroes can best be determined by analyzing its Negro membership, there follows such an analysis.

In 1928, the Communist Party in the United States, reporting to the Communist International, was forced to admit that "we have no more

than 50 Negroes in our Party, out of the 12 million Negroes in America." 182

This claim was contradicted on two different occasions only a year later. One Communist functionary candidly admitted that:

"Prior to the Sixth Congress* one could almost count the Negro membership on the fingers of one's hand - in fact, for a number of years this was literally possible." 183

This estimate was increased by another Communist Party functionary who also in 1929 claimed "we have somewhere between 150 and 200 Negroes in the Party." 184

In 1932, the Communist Party realized that in "Harlem, Chicago, and the other big cities with a Negro population, we have not yet really consolidated our Party among them." 185

One year later, in 1933, it conceded that it had still "failed to find the organizational instruments capable of embracing this broad mass movement of Negroes." 186

In addition, the Communist Party was fully cognizant that, during this period, "what recruiting we do is mainly among the unemployed." 187

An improvement was noted at the beginning of the united front period when in 1935, the Communist Party claimed:

* Sixth World Congress of the Communist Internationnal, held in Moscow in 1928.

"Our total membership is at present very close to 31,000....On the Negro composition there are 2,227 Negro workers or less than 10 per cent of the membership, excluding District 17, which has 90 per cent Negroes, and would add quite a few hundred bringing the total to about 11 per cent." 188

Yet, even this increase was qualified by the Communist Party, which admitted: "A most serious problem of Party growth is the fluctuation in membership....Two out of every three recruited have not been retained in the Party." 189

A slight increase was noted in 1937, when the Communist Party asserted that "the total number (of Negroes) registered in January, 1937, was...2,649...quite less than ten per cent." 190

The inability of the Communist Party to retain newly recruited Negro members continued through 1939, the height of the united front period, when it furnished the following analysis of its Negro membership:

"In 1939 the Party registered 5,005 Negro members, and we recruited in 1938, 4,820 members....Our 1939 registration however, was 5,355, leaving an unregistered Negro membership of 4,407....

"The recruiting figure among the Negroes of 4,820 in the year 1938 represents an increase of 96 per cent when compared with the membership in January, 1938. However...among the Negro members fluctuation was 92.7 per cent." 191

Also, in 1939, it admitted that "the progress of the (Young Communist) League among Negro youth has been slow." 192

Nine years later, after its sudden reversals of policy during the last World War, while it was careful not to disclose any actual membership figures, the Communist Party intimated a further loss in its Negro membership when it conceded:

"...one of our biggest problems was revealed in the lag in registration of our Negro members in both shop and community clubs. This problem exists uniformly throughout the country and it must be tackled as one of the basic problems of the Party at the present time." 193

In spite of this admission, in 1952, William Z. Foster claimed that:

"The percentage of Negro members in the Party during the post-war years was as follows: 1946 - 14 percent; 1947 - 17 percent; 1948 - 17 percent; 1949 - 14 percent; 1950 - 15 percent." 194 It is noted that these figures represent an average Negro membership of 15.4 per cent, claimed by the Communist Party during this period.

Even if it were conceded that Foster's claim is correct, the total Negro membership in the Communist Party would amount to only 3,701 members at present, based on the estimate of a total Communist Party membership of 24,674, made in August, 1952, by J. Edgar Hoover. Thus even accepting the Communist Party's own claim as true, its message has attracted only 3,701 of the almost fifteen million Negroes in the United States, or less than one out of every 4,000 Negroes.

However, when the Communist Party membership in this country reached its peak during 1944, its Negro membership was only 14 per cent. In addition, Foster would undoubtedly claim a Negro membership in the Communist Party at least in proportion to the ratio of Negroes to whites in the total population, which is a little less than ten per cent.

In the light of the above, plus information available from other sources, it can be concluded that the Communist Party claim is exaggerated. It is more in keeping with the facts to estimate the Negro membership in the Communist Party, USA, as of November, 1952, at 1,994 active, disciplined, dues-paying members.

In addition, however, it can also be estimated that there are approximately 18,000 other Negroes who, to some extent, are influenced directly or indirectly by Communist Party programs, propaganda, agitation and "front" groups.

VI. NON-COMMUNIST NEGRO COMMENTS

One of the most influential factors in the failure of the Communist Party to sway the Negro has been the opposition of responsible Negro leaders and organizations, who have realized the specious nature of its program.

In commenting generally on the Communist Party program for the Negroes, a recent article in The Crisis explained:

"...Actually, the Communist position on the Negro has undergone a change with every shift in Russian policy, and the only valid explanation for these about-faces and reversals of policy in the 'Negro question' is that the American Communist Party is an instrument of Soviet Foreign policy.

"It is therefore inevitable that American Communist Party interest in the Negro can be neither genuine nor sincere. Quite the contrary. Strategic needs of the party as dictated by Moscow take precedence, not the goals and aspirations of the Negroes. Whenever the interests of Negroes come into conflict with the political interests of Russia, the Communists abandon Negroes like rats a sinking ship."

"...the Communists have performed more twists and turns, more somersaults and cart-wheels than the man on the flying trapeze. Not a one of their dizzy gyrations was dictated by the interests of Negroes or the union workers whose cause they claimed to espouse. For the Communists both the Negro and labor were pawns in the Russian game of power politics. Today they speak as radicals; yesterday, they spoke as one-hundred-percent superpatriots; and before that, as apostles of the proletarian revolution. Tomorrow? Whatever Russia tells them to mouth!"

"...the fight for Negro rights demands a consistent program under bold and inspiring leadership, and this the Communists cannot give, tied as they are to Russia and an opportunistic cynicism."

"However, the Communist line on the Negro is arrived at, the fact remains that it is dictated from Moscow in the interest of the Soviet Union and that the American Communist Party is today one of the Negro's implacable enemies in his fight for equality. In the United States, the Communists stand for more efficient segregation." 195

As early as 1935, The Crisis, commenting on the Communist Party proposal of self-determination for the Black Belt, maintained that:

"...the mere existence of the proposal proves that the idea of separation is uppermost in the minds of the red brain trust and not the idea of oneness, and in advancing this theory of separation the Communists are hand-in-hand with the southern ruling class." 196

Elaborating on the element of segregation inherent in this proposal, the NAACP subsequently pointed out that:

"Communist justification for this policy of a separate Negro republic...is inapplicable to the American Negro.... On the contrary, Negroes are and have been for many centuries thoroughly American in every sense of this word, and the history of the Negro in America is warp and woof of the history of the United States.

"Though millions of American Negroes are subjected to every conceivable variety of economic, political, and social discrimination, these injustices of themselves have not and cannot make them a separate nation....

"The fundamental social compulsion of the Negro in America is toward integration and assimilation into all aspects of American life on the basis of complete equality. The history of the Negro in the United States proves this. And in recent years he has so intensified this struggle for complete equality that any tendency toward separatism,

nationalism, or group introversion can result only in mass despair. To preach separation for the Negro is really to become an advocate of a more vicious form of segregation.

"...for the Negro this is the most dangerous aspect of the Communist drive to cprral Negroes and to infiltrate their organizations. If Communists gained influence among Negroes they would not hesitate for a moment to foment racial strife and dissension, and all in the interests of the Soviet Union." 197

The termination of the Communist Party struggle for equal rights for the Negroes, after the invasion of Russia, quickly became apparent to the Negroes as is indicated by the following quotations taken from the period of 1943 and 1944.

Willard S. Townsend, international President of the United Transport Service Employees-CIO, pointed out that:

"To us, the present 'party line' of the Communist carpet-baggers on the Negro question in America is indistinguishable from that of many of our southern poll-taxers or Uncle Toms. They wrap their reactionary positions in a Red flag and yell 'unity.' In the open they shout fire-eating but harmless phrases about freedom and equality of opportunity for Negroes, but behind closed doors they are sabotaging every decent effort and impulse on the part of independent liberals and trade unionists to push for an immediate and adequate solution of these problems." 198

Roy Wilkins, Acting Secretary of the NAACP, noted that:

"...as soon as Russia was attacked by Germany they dropped the Negro question and concentrated all effort

in support of the war in order to help the Soviet Union. During the war years the disciples of the extreme left sounded very much like the worst of the Negro-hating Southerners." 199

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters-AFL, stated that:

"...Negroes cannot logically and with sound wisdom tie up with a movement such as the Communist which organized labor in America condemns and rejects. The history and record of this political cult shows that it conforms with rigid fidelity to the rapidly changing, unpredictable climate of Soviet Russia; without regard to the national interests of any other group. When the war broke, the Communists who had posed as the savior of the Negro promptly dropped him like a hot potato. This was not the first time the Communists deserted the Negro." 200

George Schuyler, of the Pittsburgh Courier, weekly Negro newspaper, argued that:

"...the record shows that where and when the Communists seemed to be fighting for Negro rights, their objective was simply to strengthen the hand of Russia. When this was accomplished, they abandoned the fight and turned to something else.

"Whereas at one time they were all for stopping production because of Jim Crow employment policies, low pay or bad working conditions, they are now all-out for the Government's policy of no wartime strikes and have actually endorsed labor conscription; i. e., human slavery. Everything must be done to save Russia even if Negro rights have to go by the board." 201

VII. CONCLUSION

Numerous reasons, in addition to those indicated in this study, can be adduced for the failure of the Communist Party to attract even a significant minority of the Negroes in the United States to its program.

Some, not mentioned for reasons of brevity, include its scathing attacks on the influential Negro clergymen particularly during the 1928-1935 period, as well as its inability to justify Russia's assistance to Italy when the latter invaded Ethiopia.

Gunnar Myrdal, the well-known Swedish social economist, after an extensive study of the Negro question in the United States, has offered the following additional reasons:

"...it is a mistake to assume a priori that poor, uneducated, and socially disadvantaged groups are particularly susceptible to radical propaganda."

"...Negroes who care so much for society as to have any general political opinions at all are intent upon 'respectability' in a middle class sense. Communism is definitely not respectable in America generally or among Negroes specifically. The unpopularity of Communism in America... must, furthermore, be uninviting to a group like the American Negroes who know so well that they are unpopular already...."

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

"But there is... a still deeper reason why Negroes are so immune against Communism. Negroes are discriminated against in practically all spheres of life, but in their fight for equal opportunity they have on their side the law of the land and the religion of the nation. And they know it, all the way down to the poorest stratum. They know that this is their strategic hold. No social utopia can compete with the promises of the American Constitution and with the American Creed which it embodies.... Merely by giving him the solemn promise of equality and liberty, American society has tied the Negroes' faith to itself." 202

This last quotation may explain in part why a prominent Negro could proudly make the patriotic boast that "no Negro has ever been a traitor to the United States." 203

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOURCES

1. Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America - Report of the Central Executive Committee (Chicago: Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1925), p. 123.
2. Southern Worker, February 28, 1931, p. 4.
3. Bob Thompson, "Strengthen the Struggle Against White Chauvinism," Political Affairs XXVIII(June, 1949), p. 16.
4. Florence Murray, The Negro Handbook 1946-1947 (New York: Current Books, Inc., A. A. Wyn Publisher, 1947), p. 1. (A compendium)
5. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), Vol. I, Introduction, xli.
6. Ibid., xliii.
7. Ibid., xlix.
8. Ibid., pp. 74-75.
9. Ibid., pp. 53, 54, 58.
10. Ibid., pp. 640, 642.
11. Ibid., xlvii.
12. V. I. Lenin, Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder (New York: International Publishers, 1940), p. 79.
13. Theses and Resolutions Adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International, July 12, 1921 (New York: Contemporary Publishing Assn., 1921).
14. Platform of the Communist Party, American Labor Year Book (1920), p. 419.
15. Editorial Comment on the Negro Question, Communist International, No. 8, New Series, p. 54.

16. John Pepper, "American Negro Problems," The Communist, VII (October, 1928), p. 634.
17. Otto Huiswoud, "The Negro and the Trade Unions," The Communist, VII (December, 1928), p. 775.
18. James W. Ford, "The Struggle for the Building of the Modern Liberation Movement of the Negro People," The Communist, XVIII (September, 1939), p. 818.
19. Earl Browder, Communism In The United States (New York: International Publishers Co., 1935), p. 45.
20. Jay Lovestone, "The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International," The Communist, VII (November, 1928), pp. 659-675.
21. Resolution of the Communist International, Oct. 26, 1928, reprinted in The Communist Position on the Negro Question, (n.d.), pp. 56-63.
22. Ford, op. cit., p. 824.
23. William Z. Foster, "The Workers (Communist) Party in the South," The Communist, VII (November, 1928), pp. 676-681.
24. Myra Page, "Interracial Relations Among Southern Workers," The Communist, IX (February, 1930), p. 164.
25. Editorial, The Communist, IX (July, 1930), p. 581.
26. Resolution of the Communist International on the Negro Question in the United States, reprinted in The Communist Position on the Negro Question (n.d.), pp. 41-56.
27. C. A. Hathaway, "Who Are the Friends of the Negro People?" reprinted in The Communist Position on the Negro Question, (n.d.), pp. 21-29.
28. James S. Allen, Negro Liberation (New York: International Publishers Co., 1932), pp. 23, 24.

29. Joseph Stalin, Marxism and the National Question (International Publishers Co., 1942), pp. 12-16.
30. Ibid., p. 69.
31. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works (New York: International Publishers Co., 1943), Vol. IV, p. 251.
32. Stalin, op. cit., p. 23.
33. Ibid., p. 183.
34. Ibid., p. 158.
35. Southern Worker, March 7, 1931, p. 4.
36. James S. Allen, "The Black Belt: Area of Negro Majority," The Communist, XIII (June, 1934), pp. 581-599.
37. James S. Allen and James W. Ford, The Negroes in a Soviet America (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1935), p. 39.
38. Harry Haywood, Negro Liberation (New York: International Publishers, 1948), pp. 12, 15, 144, 145.
39. Charles P. Mann, "Mr. I. F. Stone and the Negro Question," Political Affairs, XXXI (March, 1952), pp. 23, 24.
40. Resolution on the Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of Working Class Against Fascism, adopted by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August, 1935, Communist International, XII (Sept. 20, 1935), p. 951.
41. Georgi Dimitrov, The United Front (International Publishers Co., 1938), p. 42.

42. Earl Browder, "New Steps in the United Front, " The Communist, XIV (November, 1935), p. 1005.
43. James W. Ford, "Uniting the Negro People in the People's Front, " The Communist, XVI (August, 1937), p. 728.
44. James W. Ford, "The Struggle for the Building of the Modern Liberation Movement of the Negro People, " The Communist, XVIII (September, 1939), p. 826.
45. James W. Ford, The Negro and the Democratic Front (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 34.
46. James S. Allen, Negro Liberation (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 34.
47. Earl Browder, "The United Front - The Key to Our New Tactical Operation, " The Communist, XIV (December, 1935), pp. 1075-1129.
48. Theodore R. Bassett and A. W. Berry, "The Negro People and the Struggle for Peace, " The Communist, XIX (April, 1940), pp. 320-335.
49. Henry Winston, "Professor Logan is Ready for a Third World War!, " The Communist, XX (July, 1941), pp. 618-620.
50. Resolutions Adopted by the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., The Communist, XIX (July, 1940), pp. 618-620.
51. Daily Worker, May 24, 1941, p. 5.
52. Sunday Worker, May 11, 1941, p. 5.
53. Earl Browder, "Partisanship - A Luxury America Cannot Afford, " The Communist, XXIII (March, 1944), p. 200.
54. Daily Worker, May 24, 1945, p. 8.

55. "Support the U.S.S.R. in Its Fight against Nazi War!" (Statement of the Communist Party, U.S.A., June 22, 1941), The Communist, XXI (July, 1941), p. 580.
56. Henry Winston, op. cit., pp. 614-618.
57. Robert Minor, "The National War," The Communist, XXI (January, 1942), p. 53.
58. James W. Ford, "The Negro People and the New World Situation," The Communist, XX (August, 1941), pp. 696-704.
59. Earl Browder, "The Negroes and Self-Determination" The Communist, XXIII (January, 1944), pp. 83-85.
60. Theodore R. Bassett, "The New Stage in the Fight to Abolish the Poll-Tax," The Communist, XXII (May, 1943), pp. 452-460.
61. Ben Davis, Jr., "The Communists, The Negro People and the War," The Communist, XXI (August, 1942), pp. 633-639.
- 61-A. John Gates, "The Army and the People," The Communist, XX (November, 1941), pp. 1008-1009.
62. James W. Ford, "Some Problems of the Negro People in the National Front to Destroy Hitler and Hitlerism," The Communist, XX (October, 1941), p. 889.
63. Daily Worker, July 20, 1945, p. 1, CPA Discussion Page.
64. Ibid., August 8, 1945, p. 8.
65. Doxey A. Wilkerson, "Discussion Speech on the Amended Draft Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.A. June 18-20, 1945," Political Affairs, XXIV (July, 1945), pp. 619-624.
66. Daily Worker, August 12, 1945, p. 14.
67. Ibid., May 24, 1945, p. 9.

68. Ibid., July 30, 1945, p. 4.
69. Ibid., August 12, 1945, pp. 7, 13, 14.
70. Francis Franklin, "The Status of the Negro People in the Black Belt," Political Affairs, XXV (May, 1946), pp. 438-456.
71. Resolution on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination adopted at the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., December 3-5, 1946, reprinted in The Communist Position on the Negro Question, (New York: New Century Publishers, 1947), pp. 9-13.
72. Ibid., p. 12.
73. Ibid., pp. 18, 25.
74. Ibid., p. 28.
75. William Z. Foster, "On Self-Determination for the Negro People," Political Affairs, XXV (June, 1946), p. 549.
76. Ibid., p. 549.
77. A. A. Zhdanov, "On the International Situation," Political Affairs, XXVI (December, 1947), pp. 1091-1111.
78. Benjamin J. Davis, "On the Colonial Liberation Movements," Political Affairs, XXIX (December, 1950), pp. 37-39.
79. Working-Class and People's Unity for Peace, Main Resolution of the Fifteenth National Convention C.P.U.S.A., Political Affairs, XXX (January, 1951), p. 37.
80. Pettis Perry, "Further Strengthening of the Fight Against White Chauvinism," Political Affairs, XXIX (December, 1950), pp. 55-60.
81. Pettis Perry, Negro Representation - A Step Towards Negro Freedom (New York: New Century Publishers, 1952), p. 16.

82. John W. Preston, "Recent Developments in the Negro People's Movement," Political Affairs, XXXI (February, 1952), p. 42.
83. Joseph Stalin, Marxism and the National Question (New York: International Publishers Co., 1942), p. 158.
84. The Communist Position on the Negro Question (New York: New Century Publishers, 1947), p. 16.
85. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
86. John Williamson, "Defend and Extend the Rights of Negro Workers," Political Affairs, XXVIII (June, 1949), p. 32.
87. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
88. Ibid., p. 35.
89. Pettis Perry, "Further Strengthening of the Fight Against White Chauvinism," Political Affairs, XXIX (December, 1950), p. 51.
90. Sunday Worker, July 16, 1950, Sec. 2, p. 2.
91. Ibid.
92. Pettis Perry, op. cit., p. 51.
93. John W. Preston, op. cit., p. 33.
94. Pettis Perry, "Negro Representation - A Step Towards Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, XXX (December, 1951), p. 15.
95. Sunday Worker, February 10, 1952, Sec 2, p. 2.
96. Ibid.
97. Gus Hall, "Summary Speech to the Convention," Political Affairs, XXX (February, 1951), p. 13.

98. Benjamin J. Davis, "The Negro People in the Fight for Peace and Freedom," Political Affairs, XXIX (May, 1950), pp. 101-109.
99. Benjamin J. Davis, "On the Use of Negro Troops in Wall Street's Aggression Against the Korean People," Political Affairs, XXIX (October, 1950), pp. 47-57.
100. Daily Worker, May 8, 1949, p. 3.
101. New York Herald Tribune, June 20, 1949.
102. Daily Worker, April 26, 1949, p. 8.
103. Harry Haywood, op. cit., pp. 168, 169, 170, 206, 215, 216, 217.
104. Daily Worker, June 8, 1950, p. 6.
105. Gus Hall, "Raise the Struggle for Peace to New Heights," Political Affairs, XXIX (July, 1950), p. 29.
106. James W. Ford, "Build the National Negro Congress," The Communist, XV (June, 1936), pp. 552-561.
107. James W. Ford, The Negro and the Democratic Front, (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 31.
108. Ibid., p. 82.
109. Ibid., p. 83.
110. John Pepper, "American Negro Problems," The Communist, VII (October, 1928), p. 637.
111. James W. Ford, op. cit., p. 83.
112. Ibid.,
113. Ibid., p. 84.

114. James W. Ford, "The United Front in the Field of Negro Work," The Communist, XV (June, 1936), p. 560.
115. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York - London: Harper & Brothers, 1944), Vol. II, p. 817.
116. Ibid.
117. James W. Ford, "Political Highlights of the National Negro Congress," The Communist, XV (May, 1936), pp. 457-464.
118. James W. Ford, The Negro and the Democratic Front (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 76.
119. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 818.
120. Ibid.
121. Pat Toohey, "Greater Attention to the Problems of the Negro Masses," The Communist, XIX (March, 1940), pp. 278-288.
122. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1401.
123. Theodore R. Bassett, "The Third National Negro Congress," The Communist, XIV (June, 1940), pp. 542-553.
124. Ibid.
125. John Pittman, "The Negro People Spark the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, XXV (August, 1946), pp. 724-733.
126. Ibid.
127. Daily Worker, December 21, 1947, p. 9.
128. Ibid.
129. James W. Ford, "The National Negro Congress," The Communist, XV (April, 1936), p. 322.

130. William L. Patterson, "The I. L. D. Faces the Future," The Communist, XIII (July, 1934), p. 723.
131. Harry Haywood, "The Struggle for the Leninist Position on the Negro Question in the U. S. A.," The Communist, XII (September, 1933), p. 893.
132. The Columbia Encyclopedia (2nd ed. ; New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 1781.
133. James W. Ford, The Negro and the Democratic Front (New York: International Publishers, Co., 1938), p. 98.
134. Ibid., pp. 97, 98, 99.
135. Walter White, "The Negro and the Communists," The Crisis, LVII (August - September, 1950), pp. 504, 505.
136. Ibid., p. 505.
137. Ibid., pp. 505-506.
138. Ibid.; p. 506.
139. James S. Allen, "The Scottsboro Struggle," The Communist, XII (May, 1935), p. 441.
140. James W. Ford, op. cit., p. 100.
141. James W. Ford, "The United Front in the Field of Negro Work," The Communist, XIV (February, 1935), p. 174.
142. Daily Worker, June 7, 1950, p. 2; Daily Worker, June 5, 1950, p.1.
143. Walter White, op. cit., p. 502.
144. Monroe N. Work, Negro Year Book, 1937-1938 (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1937), pp. 78-80. (A compendium).
145. James W. Ford, op. cit., p. 103.

146. The Crisis, XLII. (December, 1935), p. 369.
147. Urgent Summons to a Civil Rights Congress (Civil Rights Congress, undated).
148. Whoever You Are (Civil Rights Congress, undated).
149. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The Militant Traditions of Labor Defense Inspire Our Fight Today," Political Affairs, XXX (February, 1951), pp. 127, 128.
150. 'Whoever You Are' (Civil Rights Congress, undated).
151. Pettis Perry, "Negro Representation - A Step Towards Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, XXX (December, 1951), p. 13.
152. We Charge Genocide, " (Civil Rights Congress, 1951), pp. 3-28.
153. Political Affairs (January, 1950, p. 60; December, 1951, p. 15; February, 1952, p. 42).
154. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 819-836.
155. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 837-842.
156. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 850-851.
157. Final Report, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1947), pp. 98-100.
158. Robert Minor, "The First Negro Workers Congress," The Workers Monthly, V (December, 1925), p. 69.
159. Ibid., p. 68.
160. Robert Minor, "The Negro and his 'Judases,'" The Communist, X (July, 1931), pp. 635, 639.

161. Ibid., p. 638.
162. Harry Haywood, "The Crisis of the Jim-Crow Nationalism of the Negro Bourgeoisie," The Communist, X (April, 1931), p. 333.
163. James W. Ford, op. cit., p. 89.
164. Hearings Before Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, First Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1949), p. 467.
165. Ibid.
166. Daily Worker, May 23, 1941, p. 7.
167. Ibid., June 18, 1941, p. 4.
168. Ibid., June 14, 1942, Magazine Section, p. 5.
169. Ibid., July 21, 1943, p. 3.
170. Edward E. Strong, "On the 40th Anniversary of the NAACP," Political Affairs, XXIX (February, 1950), p. 32.
171. Benjamin J. Davis, op. cit., p. 55.
172. The Crisis, LVII (August - September, 1950), p. 523.
173. Bob Thompson, op. cit., p. 14.
174. William F. Dunne, "Negroes in American Industries," Workers Monthly, IV (April, 1925), p. 259.
175. Cyril Briggs, "Our Negro Work," The Communist, VIII (September, 1929), pp. 495-501.
176. Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (New York: International Publishers Co., 1935), p. 302.

177. Ibid., p. 297.
178. Earl Browder, Social and National Security, (New York Workers Library Publishers, 1938), pp. 32, 33.
179. Pettis Perry, "Destroy the Virus of White Chauvinism," Political Affairs, XXVIII, (June, 1949), p. 3.
180. Benjamin J. Davis, The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom (New York: New Century Publishers, 1951), pp. 16, 17.
181. John W. Preston, op. cit., pp. 41, 42.
182. Inprecorr, July 30, 1928, p. 772.
183. Cyril Briggs, op. cit., p. 494.
184. Jack Stachel, "Organization Report to the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.," The Communist, VIII (April, 1929), pp. 178, 179.
185. Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (New York: International Publishers Co., 1935), p. 156.
186. Ibid., p. 137.
187. Ibid., p. 112.
188. Jack Stachel, "Organizational Problems of the Party," The Communist, XIV (July, 1935), p. 627.
189. Earl Browder, op. cit., p. 71.
190. Jack Stachel, "Build the Party for Peace, Democracy and Socialism," The Communist, XVII (March, 1938), pp. 220-241.
191. The Party Builder, (July, 1939), p. 12.

192. Henry Winston, "The Young Communist League Prepares for Growth," The Communist, XVIII (April, 1939), p. 330.
193. Henry Winston, "Some Aspects of Party Work," The Communist, XXVII (March, 1948), p. 246.
194. William Z. Foster, History of the Communist Party of the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1952), p. 479.
195. Herbert Hill, "Communist Party - Enemy of Negro Equality," The Crisis, Vol. LVIII (June - July, 1951), pp. 365, 423, 424.
196. The Crisis XLII (October, 1935), p. 367.
197. Herbert Hill, op. cit., p. 367.
198. Ibid., p. 370.
199. Ibid., pp. 421, 422.
200. A. Philip Randolph, "March on Washington Movement Presents Program for the Negro," What the Negro Wants, ed. Rayford W. Logan, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 148, 149.
201. George Schuyler, "Have the Communists Quit Fighting for Negro Rights?," Negro Digest, III (December, 1944), pp. 63, 64.
202. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., Vol-I, pp. 508-510.
203. J. Saunders Redding, On Being Negro in America (Indianapolis - New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1951), p. 85.