

OF 10-6
Justice Dept, FBI

Survey of RACIAL CONDITIONS in the U.S.
SECTION 3 (Folder 3)

COMMUNIST PARTY AND NEGROES

The Communist Party's activities among the Negroes in this country and in Negro organizations is another phase of the united front policy of the Party. To understand the aims of the Party in such work, the directives and resolutions of the Communist International must necessarily be referred to, so that all aspects may be brought to the surface. It is believed that the fundamental premise in the Communist Party theory of its work among the Negroes is the resolution with regard to the colonial question and "oppressed nationalities" as set forth at various times in resolutions or directives of the various World Congresses' and Executive Committees' meetings of the Third (Communist) International.

Along with information relative to the Party's activities among and allegedly for the Negroes in this country there will be set out in this subdivision directives and resolutions not only of the Communist Party in this country but of its international affiliate, the Third (Communist) International, or the Comintern.

The Second Congress of the Communist International set forth twenty-one points which were adopted as the rules or conditions for the various Communist Parties throughout the world to join the Communist International. Attention is drawn to Point #21 which stated, "those members of the Party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International are liable to be excluded from the Party."

Point #8 stated with regard to this matter:

"In the colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is a necessary and especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the Parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'its own' Imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population."

To list completely and extensively all directives and resolutions is not deemed necessary, however, those important and pertinent parts thereof will be set forth as taken from the policy making directives and

resolutions which have been issued and adopted since 1920.

The colonial question was again dealt with at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in 1928. It involved the subject of the revolutionary movement in the "colonies." As part of the thesis on this subject the Negro question in the United States was dealt with. Pertinent parts as reflecting the Party's policy with respect to the Negroes in the United States will be set out hereinafter:

"In connection with the Colonial question, the Sixth Congress draws the close attention of the Communist Parties to the Negro question. The position of the Negroes varies in different countries and accordingly requires concrete investigation and analysis....."

Among the countries dealt with were:

"The United States and some South American countries, in which the compact Negro masses constitute a minority in relation to the white population."

The Communist International felt that:

".....the Growth of the Negro proletariat is the most important phenomenon of recent years. At the same time there arises in the Negro quarters -- the Negro ghetto -- a petty bourgeoisie, from which is derived a stratum of intellectuals and a thin stratum of bourgeoisie, the latter acting as the agent of imperialism."

The section of the thesis concerning the Negro question continues:

"One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party consists in the struggle for a complete and real equality of the Negroes, for the abolition of all kinds of racial, social and political inequalities. It is the duty of the Communist Party to carry on the most energetic struggle against any exhibition of white chauvinism, to organize active resistance against lynching, to strengthen its work among Negro, proletarians, to draw into its ranks the most conscious element of the Negro workers, to fight for the acceptance of Negro workers in all organizations of white workers, and especially in trade unions (which does not include, if necessary, their organization into separate trade unions), to organize the masses of peasants and agricultural workers in the South, to carry on work among the Negro petty bourgeoisie tendencies such as "Garveyism" and to carry on a struggle against the influence of such tendencies in the working class and peasantry.

In those regions of the South in which compact Negro masses are living, it is essential to put forward the slogan of the "Right of Self-Determination for Negroes". A radical transformation of the agrarian structure of the Southern States is one of the basic tasks of the revolution. Negro Communists must explain to non-Negro workers and peasants that only their close union with the white proletariat and joint struggle with them against the American bourgeoisie can lead to their liberation from barbarous exploitation and that only the victorious proletarian revolution will completely and permanently solve the agrarian and national questions of the Southern United States in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Negro population of the country."

It can be thus seen that the Third (Communist) International regarded the Negro population in the United States and the manner in which it is to be dealt with as part of the revolutionary work to be done in various colonies. The colonial sections of the world have been referred to in explaining sections of the thesis on the colonial question as "an unquenchable blazing furnace of the revolutionary mass movement". It has been said further in this regard that:

"The revolutionary emancipatory movements of the colonies and semi-colonies more and more rally around the banner of the Soviet Union, convincing themselves by bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except through alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, and through the victory of the world proletarian revolution over world imperialism".

It was said further that:

"In this struggle every conflict between two imperialistic states and war of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R. must be utilized in colonies for the mobilization of the masses and for drawing them into a decisive struggle against imperialism for national emancipation and for the victory of the workers and the peasants".

In 1929, when the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America was held, a letter was directed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Convention and several criticisms and suggestions were made with reference to Party work in America. One of the criticisms dealt with the Party's work among the Negroes in this country. It was stated:

"....it has as yet done little to shift its base from the immigrants to the native Americans employed in the basic industries. It has done still less in relation to the millions of the Negro proletariat".

With reference to suggestions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International it was stated that:

"Four principal conditions are now essential in order that the Party may definitely enter the path leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Party, four conditions, the decisive significance of which neither the majority, which is responsible for the leadership nor the minority have understood."

Among the conditions listed was:

"(3) Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to work among the Negro."

Among the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America on the address of the Communist International which were made on Saturday, May 18, 1929, it was stated in #5 of the decision:

"The Central Committee instructs the Secretariat to proceed immediately, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, to take all measures necessary to put into application the decisions and to realize the objectives of the Comintern as expressed in the Address."

In apparent answer to the criticisms and suggestions, there was among the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America the following decisions (#5):

"The Central Committee approves all decisions of the Secretariat of the same date, excepting in ordering immediate publication in the entire Party press of the Address of the ECCI to the American Party membership and instructs the Secretariat to put these decisions into effect immediately."

Early in 1929, an address containing instructions was made by the Executive Committee of the Communist International "To All Members of the Communist Party of the United States". Regarding the Negro situation, instructions were additionally issued to the Communist Party of the United States that it:

".....must widen its agitational and organizational work in the big plants, in the main branches of industry and among the Negroes, and must secure for the Party an independent leading role in the industrial struggles of the working class that are developed, organizing in the process of the struggle the unorganized workers".

In 1930 at the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America the Negro question was again dealt with and a resolution with regard to work by the Party among the Negro masses was adopted. The pertinent part of this resolution (#26) will be set out in view of its character and in view of its indication of the struggle by the Communist Party to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence:

"The building and the work of the party cannot be effective without a serious change in its attitude and practices in regard to the work among the Negro masses and the transformation of passivity and underestimation to active defense and leadership of the struggles of the Negro masses. The Party must be made to express in energetic action, its consciousness that revolutionary struggle of the American workers for power is impossible without revolutionary unity of the Negro and white proletariat. To achieve this unity and to win for Communist leadership also the masses of Negro workers, the Party must root out all traces of a formal approach to Negro work. The Party program for Negro work must become a living guide for the widest activity among the Negro and white masses and participation in the struggles of the Negro masses.

"The influence of white chauvinism is still felt in the Party and has recently manifested itself in St. Louis (opposition in the fraction to a correct Bolshevik line on Negro work); Detroit (opportunist reluctance in fraction to struggle against white chauvinism); Chicago, (Lithuanian fraction). In many instances there has been opportunist failure to expose such manifestations. Also, wrong, however, is the tendency, displayed by some Negro comrades (which they have since corrected more or less completely) to surrender to the propaganda of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois intellectuals of race-hatred directed against all whites without distinction of class."

(It is noted in the foregoing paragraph that in the machinations of the Party itself there appeared to have been racial differences).

"Protest against the special oppression to which Negroes are subjected, must take the form of intensive political campaigns, and mass organizations to fight against lynchingthe Party must carry on an uncompromising political struggle against all discriminatory laws, such as laws legalizing disfranchisement, segregation, laws against intermarriage, etc."

Resolution #27 also dealt with the Negroes in the United States, especially in connection with the "slogan of self-determination":

"The Party must organize a most intensive struggle around the demand of social and political equality for Negroes, which is still the main demand of our Party in its work among Negroes. At the same time the Party must openly and unreservedly fight for the right of Negroes for national self-determination in the South, where Negroes comprise a majority of the population. Self-determination for the Negro masses is the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights (social equality). As the Negro liberation movement develops, it will, in the territories and states with the majority of Negro population, take more and more the form of a struggle against the rule of the white bourgeoisie, for self-determination. Therefore, in its every day struggles for the concrete issues of social equality, against lynching, against all race discriminatory laws, the Party must systematically advance the demand for the right of the Negroes for self-determination. The demand must be popularized among the working masses of the whole country to win these workers for the support of the struggle of Negroes."

Another resolution (#28) dealt with the method, plan of attack, and technique in working among the Negroes:

"Special propaganda must be carried on among the Negro masses on the question of imperialist war, making full use of the victimization of the Negro masses both in the colonies and in the United States by the imperialist war makers who only plunge the Negro masses deeper into slavery."

"Unless our Negro program is concretized and energetically pushed, the work of our Party in winning the majority of the working class will be fruitless in the North as well as in the South."

The Party's proposed tactics in the South were set out in a subsequent resolution (#29):

"The industrialization of the South, the proletarianization of new masses under conditions of the most intense exploitation, turns the South into an ever more important battle field of the class struggle in America. This field becomes doubly important because Negro oppression here reaches its most violent and extreme forms, with its widest ramifications embracing both industry and agriculture. Southern white ruling class terrorism, directed against both white and Negro workers, assumes particularly vicious forms against the Negroes.....the Communist International has correctly pointed out that the Negro masses in the rural districts of the South are not 'reserved of capitalist reaction' as conceived by Lovestone and Pepper, but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

"Our Party cannot function in the increasingly frequent mass battles of the workers of the South without being rooted in the working class there. The problems of Communist leadership.....therefore, is the problem of building our Party in the South, of building it in those struggles and of putting into living practice a truly Bolshevik line in regard to the Negro question.

".....not less than half of the personnel of the leading functionaries in the South shall be Negro workers. Systematic preparation of this campaign shall insure the best possible use of these forces....."

With further reference to the South, it was resolved at the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party that:

"Our struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union and against the imperialist war danger must take on more of a popular character since the Southern bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are the most vicious and ardent supporters of patriotism, militarism and imperialism. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union must be contrasted with the terrible conditions of the Southern masses....."

Perhaps the most important directive to the Communist Party of the United States issued by the Communist International with regard to the instant matter was set forth in a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International in October, 1930. It is believed that the policy set down in this resolution with regard to the Party's handling of the Negro question in this country is still in effect

and evidences of its being followed are constantly being reported. The resolution appeared not only in the official organ of the Communist International, "The Communist International", which was published bimonthly by Workers Library Publishers, Inc., 35 East 125th Street, New York City (pages 65-74, February, 1931 issue), but also in the official organ of the Communist Party, "The Communist" for February 1931 (pages 153-167).

There are being set out hereinafter excerpts from this resolution which is the underlying theory of the program of the Communist Party in its activities among the Negroes in the United States:

1. "The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression, and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population.

"In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely as the question of an oppressed nation, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of a national oppression, not only in view of the prominent racial distinction, (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all because of considerable social antagonism (remnants of slavery).....furthermore, it is necessary to face clearly the inevitable distinction between the position of the Negro in the South and in the North, owing to the fact that at least three-fourths of the entire Negro population of the United States (12,000,000) live in compact masses in the South, most of them being peasants and agricultural laborers in a state of semi-serfdom, federated in the "Black Belt" and constituting the majority of the population, whereas the Negroes in the Northern states, are for the most part industrial workers of the lowest categories who have recently come to the various industrial centers from the South (having often even fled from there).

"The struggle of the Communists for equal rights of the Negroes, applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interests of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be: The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt.....

I. "THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF THE NEGROES.

2. "The basis for the demand of equality of the Negroes is provided by the special yoke to which the Negroes of the United States are subjected by the ruling classes..... this is partly due to the historical past of the American Negroes as imported slaves, but is much more due to the still existing slavery of the American Negro which is immediately apparent, for example, in comparing their situation even with the situation of the Chinese and Japanese workers in the West of the United States, or with the lot of the Filipinos (Malay race) who are under the colonial repression.

".....all through the South, the Negroes are not only deprived of all rights, and subjected to the arbitrary will of the white exploiters, but they are also socially ostracized, that is, they are treated in general, not as human beings, but as cattle.....everywhere the American bourgeoisie surrounds the Negroes with an atmosphere of social ostracism.

"The 100 per cent Yankee arrogance divides the American population into a series of castes, among which the Negroes constitute, so to speak, the caste of 'Untouchables', who are in a still lower category than the lowest categories of human society, the immigrant laborers, the yellow immigrants, and the Indians.....Negroes have to live in special segregated ghettos (and, of course, have to pay extremely high rent).....marriage between Negroes and whites is prohibited.....as wage earners, the Negroes are forced to perform the lowest and most difficult work;many American Federation of Labor trade unions do not admit Negro workers.....

".....the origin of all this is not difficult to find: This Yankee arrogance towards the Negroes stinks of the disgusting atmosphere of the old slave market.....

3. "The demand for equal rights in our sense of the word, means not only demanding the same rights for the Negroes as the whites have in the United States at the present time, but also demanding that the Negroes should be granted all rights and other advantages which we demand for the corresponding oppressed classes of whites, (workers and other toilers).....this is to be obtained by constant struggle by the white and black workers for effective legal protection for the Negroes in all fields, as well as actual enforcement of their equality and combating of every expansion of Negrophobia.....

"The struggle for the equal right of the Negroes does not in any way exclude recognition and support for the Negroes' rights to their own special schools, government organs, etc., wherever the Negro masses put forward such national demands of their own accord.....the broad masses of the Negro population in the big industrial centers of the North are, however, making no efforts whatsoever to maintain and cultivate a national aloofness, they are, on the contrary, working for assimilation. This effort of the Negro masses can do much in the future to facilitate the progressive forces of amalgamating the whites and Negroes into one nation, and it is under no circumstances the tasks of the Communists to give support to the bourgeois nationalism in its fight with the progressive assimilation tendencies of the Negro working masses.

4. ".....the struggle for equal right for the Negroes is, in fact, one of the most important parts of the proletarian class struggle of the United States.....

* * * * *

"The increasing unity of the various working class elements provokes constant attempts on the part of the American bourgeoisie to play one group against another, particularly the white workers against the black, and the black workers against the immigrant workers, and vice versa, and thus to promote the divisions within the working-class, which contribute to the bolstering up of the American capitalist rule. The Party must carry on a ruthless struggle against all these attempts of the bourgeoisie and do everything to strengthen the bond of class solidarity of the working-class upon a lasting basis.

"In the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes, however, it is the duty of the white workers to march at the head of this struggle.....they, the white workers, must boldly jump at the throat of the 100 per cent bandits who strike a Negro in the face. This struggle will be the test of the real international solidarity of the American white workers.

"It is the special duty of the revolutionary Negro workers to carry on tireless activity among the Negro working masses to free them of their distrust of the white proletariat and draw them into the common front of the revolutionary class struggle against bourgeoisie.....

"Furthermore, the Communist Party must resist all tendencies within its own ranks to ignore the Negro question as a national question in the United States, not only in the South but also in the North. It is advisable for the Communist Party in the North to abstain from the establishment of any special Negro organizations, and in place of it to bring the black and white workers together in common organizations of struggle and joint action.....

II. "THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE BLACK BELT.

5. "It is not correct to consider the Negro zone in the South as a colony of the United States.....on the one hand, the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States, but on the other hand this zone is not, either economically or politically, such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country.....

6. "Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural laborers and that the capitalist economic system as well as political class rule there is not only of a special kind, but to a great extent still has pre-capitalist and semi-colonial features), the right of self-determination of the Negroes as the main slogan of the Communist Party in the Black Belt is appropriate. This, however, does not in any way mean that the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes in the Black Belt is less necessary or less well founded than it is in the North.....

"The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism. But this slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands.....

(a) "Confiscation of the land and property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmer.....without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian revolution, the right of self-determination of the Negro population would

be only a Utopia, or, at best, would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

(b) "Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt.....if the right of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majorityevery plan regarding the establishment of the Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and, of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of the Negroes.....

(c) "Right of self-determination. This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States.....first of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative, and judicial authoritytherefore, the overthrow of this class rule in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American Imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the white bourgeoisie depend.....

7. ".....even if the situation does not yet warrant the raising of the question of uprising, one should not limit oneself at present, to propaganda for the demands: 'Right to Self-Determination', but should organize mass actions such as demonstration, strikes, tax boycott movements, etc.

".....it goes without saying that the Communists in the Black Belt will, and must try to win over all working

elements of the Negroes, that is, the majority of the population, to their side and to convince them not only that they must win the right of self-determination, but also that they must make use of this right in accordance with the Communist program.....

8. ".....Complete right to self-determination includes also the right to governmental separation, but does not necessarily imply that the Negro population should make use of this right under all circumstances, that is, that it must actually separate or attempt to separate the Black Belt from the existing governmental federation with the United States.....

".....If the proletariat has come into power in the United States, the Communist Negroes will not come out for but against separation of the Negro Republic from federation with the United States. But the right of the Negroes to governmental separation will be unconditionally realized by the Communist Party, it will unconditionally give the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question. Only when the proletariat has come into power in the United States the Communists will carry on propaganda among the working masses of the Negro population against separation, in order to convince them that it is much better and in the interest of the Negro nation for the Black Belt to be a free republic, where the Negro majority has complete right of self-determination but remains governmentally federated with the great proletarian republic of the United States....."

".....At the present time, however, the situation in the national struggle in the South is not such as to win mass support of the working Negroes for this separatist struggle; and it is not the task of the Communists to call upon them to separate, without taking into consideration the existing situation of the desires of the Negro masses.

".....In this sharpening of the situation in the South, Negro separatism will presumably increase, and the question of the independence of the Black Belt will become the question of the day. Then the Communist Party must also face this question and, if the circumstances seem favorable, must stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt.

9. "The general relation of the Communists to separatist tendencies among the Negroes, described above, cannot mean

that Communists associate themselves at present, or generally speaking, during capitalism, indiscriminately and without criticism with all the separatist currents of the various bourgeois or petty bourgeois Negro group....

".....The question of power is decided not only through the demand of separation, but just as much through the demand of the right to decide the separation question and self-determination in general.....

".....One cannot deny that it is just possible for the Negro population of the Black Belt to win the right to self-determination during capitalism; but it is perfectly clear and indubitable that this is possible only through successful revolutionary struggle for power against the American bourgeoisie, through wresting the Negroes' right to self-determination from the American imperialism.....

10. "The slogan for the right of self-determination and the other fundamental slogans of the Negro question in the Black Belt does not exclude but rather pre-supposes an energetic development of the struggle for concrete partial demands linked up with the daily needs and afflictions of wide masses of working NegroesCommunists must above all remember this:

(a) "The direct aims and partial demands around which a partial struggle develops are to be linked up in the course of the struggle with the revolutionary fundamental slogans brought up by the question of power, in a popular manner corresponding to the mood of the masses.....

(b) ".....Every kind of national oppression which arouses the indignation of the Negro masses can be used as a suitable point of departure for the development of partial struggles, during which the abolition of such oppressions, as well as their prevention through revolutionary struggle against the ruling exploiting dictatorship must be demanded.

(c) "Everything should be done to bring wide masses of Negroes into these partial struggles. This is important - and not to carry the various partial demands to such an ultra-radical point that the mass of working Negroes are no longer able to recognize them as their own

(d) ".....Negro Communists must clearly dissociate themselves from all bourgeois currents in the Negro movement, must indefatigably oppose the spread of the influence of the bourgeois groups on the working Negroes. In dealing with them they must apply the Communist tactic laid down by the 6th C. I. (Communist International) Congress with regard to the Colonial Question, in order to guarantee the hegemony of the Negro proletariat in the national liberation movement of the Negro population, and to coordinate wide masses of the Negro peasantry in a steady fighting alliance with the proletariat.

(3) "One must work with the utmost energy for the establishment and consolidation of Communist Party organizations and revolutionary trade unions in the South.....

11. "It is particularly incumbent on Negro Communists to criticize consistently the half-heartedness and hesitation of the petty bourgeois national-revolutionary Negro leaders in the liberation struggle of the Black Belt, exposing them before the masses.....their constant call to the Negro masses must be: Revolutionary struggle against the ruling white bourgeoisie, through a fighting alliance with the revolutionary white proletariat.....But it is also clear that 'only a victorious proletarian revolution will finally decide the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States, in the interest of the predominating mass of the Negro population of the country' (Colonial Theses of the Sixth World Congress).

12. "The struggle regarding the Negro question in the North must be linked up with the liberation struggle of the South, in order to endow the Negro movement throughout the United States with the necessary effective strength.....The Communist Party of the United States must bring into play its entire revolutionary energy in order to mobilize the widest possible masses of the white and black proletariat of the United States, not by words, but by deeds, for real effective support of the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes.....The more American imperialism fastens its yoke on the millions-strong Negro masses, the more must the Communist Party develop the mass struggle for Negro emancipation, and the better use it must make of all conflicts which arise out of the national differences, as an incentive for revolutionary mass action against the bourgeoisie. This is as much in the direct interest of the proletarian revolution in America.....Whether the rebellion

of the Negroes is to be the outcome of a general revolutionary situation in the United States, whether it is to originate in the whirlpool of decisive fights for power by the working class, for proletarian dictatorship, or whether on the contrary the Negro rebellion will be the prelude of gigantic struggles for power by the American proletariat, cannot be foretold now. But in either contingency, it is essential for the Communist Party 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. This alone will enable us to get rid of the bourgeois white chauvinism, which is polluting the ranks of the white workers of America, to overcome the distress of the Negro masses caused by the inhuman barbarous Negro slave traffic still carried on by the American bourgeoisie -- inasmuch as it is directed even against all white workers -- and to win over to our side these millions of Negroes as active fellow-fighters in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois power throughout America."

As positive indication that the directives of the October 1930 Resolution on the Negro question by the Executive Committee of the Communist International are still being followed, it has been reported that any course taught by Pettis Perry, Negro Communist Party functionary in Los Angeles, California, in the Los Angeles Workers School deals with the Negro question. In the outline of this course on Page 10 there is contained Lesson 4 which is entitled "The Negro Question as a National Question: The Struggle for the Right of Self-Determination for the Black Belt". In this lesson there is discussed the characteristics of the "Black Belt" and the right of self-determination in direct harmony with the directives laid down in the above-mentioned resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Furthermore, at the end of this lesson there is set forth suggested reading. Article No. 3 as stated on Page 14 where Lesson 4 ends is the "Resolution of the Communist International, October 1930", its source being designated as "The Communist", February 1931. Additional suggested reading which in turn refers to the Resolution of the Communist International is said to be in Harry Haywood's article entitled "The Theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement" as appearing in "The Communist", June 1931. In his article Haywood, who, of course, has been a Communist Party member, makes reference to the program of the Communist International on "the Negro Question". Haywood states with regard to this:

"The correctness of the program of the Communist International on the Negro Question is conclusively proven in the present crisis by the response of the Negro masses to the slogans of the Party, and by their increasing participation together with the white workers in joint struggles against the capitalist offensive."

The article then goes on to deal with an attack made on the Resolution of the Communist International by one Will Herberg in the publication "The Revolutionary Age" which was the official organ of the "Lovestoneites".

In a draft resolution for the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America, 1934, a section was devoted to "The Role of the Negro Reformist". It was stated:

"Among the Negro masses, the Negro reformists are being revealed more and more as the chief social support of imperialist reaction, (N. A. A. C. P., White, Pickens, DuBois etc.). They have supported the Roosevelt New Deal as a 'New Deal' for the Negroes. They carried through treacherous actions in connection with the Scottsboro Campaign and sabotaged the mass movement of the Negroes against the Scottsboro verdict.

"Because of the radicalization of the Negro masses the ever growing readiness of the Negroes to struggle, the revolutionary energy developed among the Negro masses, and the growing unity of the white and Negro workers, there are cropping up all kinds of petty-bourgeois nationalist movement....."

With further reference to the Negro, it was stated in the rough draft resolution with regard to Party work:

"It must expose chauvinist propaganda, and spread the ideas of solidarity and unity of Negro and white, of native and foreign born, and proletarian internationalism, fighting for equal rights for Negro and foreign born, for the right of self-determination of the Negro people and the black race....."

The draft resolution for the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America contained a section with reference to "Struggle for Negro Rights and Self-Determination". It was stated:

".....The Party must recruit Negroes into the Party in revolutionary mass organizations, and promote Negro cadres.....The Party must build the L. S. N. R. (League of Struggles for Negro Rights) as the mass organization around the Party program on the Negro question, organize a struggle of the Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the South.

"The strengthening of our Party among the Negro proletariat, the winning of a strong proletarian base for leadership in.

the liberation movement, as a whole, becomes a condition for the further extension of our work among the Negro masses.

"The situation among the Negroes brings to the fore as an urgent task, the preparation and organization of national rebellion of the Negro people as an integral part of the tasks of the preparation of the working class for the struggle for power.

In 1935, James W. Ford, one of the foremost Negro Communist Party leaders who is extremely and importantly active in work among the Negroes, stated:

"There is no question about the outcome of our united front activities among Negro organizations, providing the Communists and the advanced Negro workers and intellectuals undertake their work seriously."

With reference to church organization, he states:

"The church represents a fertile field for work as an institution that has a solid contact with the Negro masses, forming a social as well as a religious center. Long before there were social clubs, meeting halls or fraternal halls the church served their purposes. Marriages, baptisms, funerals, dramas, amusement, religion, all the features of Negro social activities were bound up in the church."

At the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party, in 1936, a resolution based on the report of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, was passed concerning "The Struggle Against Reaction, Fascism, and War". With reference to the Negroes, it was stated in this resolution:

"The central task in promoting the unity of action of the Negro people remains the policy of bringing about a United Negro Peoples Front as initiated by the Negro Congress. The success of this movement demands more intensive mass mobilization for daily struggles against Negro discrimination (in unions, jobs, relief, education, etc.), against lynching and for equal rights. The main practical tasks are to build a Negro Congress, to promote the organizations of the Negro workers in the unions, to improve our work in the South and develop the Negro leading personnel."

Speaking before the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America on May 28, 1938, at Carnegie Hall, New York City, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Party, dealt with "The Negro Liberation Movement":

".....For many years we labored, giving our utmost cooperation to the most advanced Negroes in their efforts to arouse a new liberation movement among them, giving our energies to winning the white workers and democratic masses to alliance with the Negroes to fight for that equal citizenship so vital to white and black alike.

"At our ninth convention, we could note hopefully the foundation, a few months before of the National Negro Congress which assumed the task of gathering together such a liberation movement. Today, at our tenth convention, we can declare that the National Negro Congress is beginning to realize its task in a serious way..... It has formulated the demands of the Negro people in such clear but restrained form as to win the attention and respect of the broadest masses of the population.

"We must continue to give the National Negro Congress our heartiest support. We should help it to solve its organizational problems, of linking up closely together in practical cooperation all the multitude of organizations of the Negroes pressing evermore stubbornly among the general labor and democratic organizations the full recognition of the Negro and his problems as the condition for the advance of all.

"Recruitment of Negroes into our Party, and their training for leadership, have made some advances in the past two years, but we can by no means be satisfied with what we have accomplished. Constant attention to this question is necessary, constant self critical examination of our work, let the outstanding contribution to our Party of Comrade James Ford, be a constant reminder to everyone of us of the great resources waiting for our Party among the Negro masses. We have been called "The Negro Party" by our enemies in the South; we repeat again that we claim this title as a badge of honor but let us deserve it by serious recruitment of Negro members."

In 1938, the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party reasoned purportedly with regard to the Negroes in this country:

* * * * *

"Clearly the interests of the Negro people lies in the continuation and strengthening of this alliance (The alliance of Negroes and whites). It is for this reason that we must emphatically reject all ideas which tend to weaken this unity, all ideas which contend that the fight for Negro rights, i.e., for our full participation in American democracy, is something separate and apart from the sight of the whole American people for the preservation and extension of democratic freedom. This is why the fiction of Fascist Japan, as the champion of the darker races against a presumably solid white world, based as it is on the false conception of race against race, is so dangerous to the interests of our people. The supporters of this theory would direct our justified hatred of the white ruling class oppressors into channels of hatred of all whites; that is, they would separate us from our true allies and thus weaken our fight. Such doctrines can only play into the hands of our bitterest enemies.

".....the tremendous cultural advances made by the liberated multi-colored nationality in the U.S.S.R. shatters the chauvinist theory of the 'inherent inferiority' of the darker people.

"Of a population of 175,000,000 people in the Soviet Union, more than one-fourth are dark skinned people. These peoples are today sharing the general prosperity and cultural advance that has been achieved under Socialism.

* * * * *

"The example of the Soviet Union in its abolition of race hatred, its successful solution of the question of national minorities through full equality in fraternity of people, points clearly the path which the Negro people and other oppressed peoples must follow in a successful struggle for their liberation. The main lesson of the Soviet Union for her people is the necessity of united action with other victims of Capitalism against the common enemy. In this country, it means the unity of Negro and white toilers and all progressive forces in the democratic front against the Fascist-minded bankers of Wall Street, for jobs, security, democracy, and peace."

In the election platform of the Communist Party for 1940, one plank dealt with the Negro race in this country:

* * * * *

"3. Guarantee the Negro people complete equality, equal rights to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, serve on juries and hold public office. Pass the anti-lynching bill, demand the just penalty for lynchers. Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution."

The above platform plank has been taken from a pamphlet entitled "Election Platform of the Communist Party", published by the Workers Library Publishers, August 1940, New York City, and which bore the pictures of Earl Browder who ran for president, and James Ford who ran for vice president. It should be noted in this same pamphlet there were contained resolutions that demand to the effect that the war in 1940 was an imperialist war and that all steps should be taken to see that America did not aid or engage in the war.

With regard to the "Negro People and the New World Situation", James W. Ford (Negro), member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and three times Communist Party candidate for Vice President of the United States in August, 1941, stated:

"This situation demands and places before us the following tasks for the immediate future:

"1. To work for greater collaboration between the Negro peoples' movement and the organized labor movement, because the fate of our country and that of the Negro people lies in the progressive organized labor movement that has the opportunity and ability to organize all the toilers for the defense of the best interests of our country and to help annihilate Fascism at home and abroad, and also for the defense of the special interests of the Negro people..... the Negro people must work towards the fullest cooperation with the labor movement. The trade unions have a splendid chance to take bold, organized steps to abolish discrimination in industry and in the trade unions against Negroes.

"2. The threat of Fascism requires that the Negroes work to influence the foreign policy of the government, to the end that its action corresponds with the spoken words of Roosevelt of 'All possible aid' to the U.S.S.R., to encourage and support the President's policy of 'All possible aid to the Soviet Union' in order to

defeat Hitler Fascism.....the Negro people must fight against the unjust political persecution of Earl Browder.

"3. To work to unite all the forces and organizations of the Negro people.....

"4. We must work among the people in such a way as to achieve cooperation with all sincere and progressive people; we must avoid the danger of sectarianism, and find the way to all those elements in this changing International situation, who are inclined to go along in this struggle against Fascism reaction and to join with us and with the Progressive forces.

"5. We must fight against discrimination in the armed forces for the right of the Negroes to bear arms in defense of democracy on the basis of equality.

"6. The Communist Party must increase its efforts on behalf of the Negro people and win Negroes for the Communist Party. The reports of this National Committee meeting have been shown that in many sections in the district substantial gains have been made in recruiting Negroes, especially Negro industrial workers, into our Party in that great campaign in behalf of the freedom of Comrade Earl Browder, and I think the possibilities today are still greater for winning Negroes into the Communist Party.

* * * * *

"However, in this new period we must begin to develop more intensive ideological work among the Negroes, explaining to them the struggle against Fascism, explaining the policies of the Soviet Union, explaining Socialism and Communism.

"7.our greatest attention should be given to winning the Negro proletariat into the trade unions and into the Communist Party.

"8. At the same time we must give great attention to the problems of the Negro middle class and intellectual elements, who bear in great measures the great cultural aspirations of the Negro people, and who play an important role in the struggle of

the Negro people for democracy and for defense of the democratic institutions of our country.

"The attack on the Soviet Union opens up the possibility for the unity of forces on a world scale to wipe Fascism from the face of the earth, and develop a path of freedom and democracy for people throughout the world."

It is pointed out that James W. Ford in furthering the Communist Party Line prior to the German invasion of Russia protested strongly against such things as lend-lease aid to England, the Selective Service system, and urging non-interventionism on the part of the United States in the world conflict.

The 1942 Communist Party platform carried the following plank:

* * * * *

"Winning the war demands the fullest integration of all sections of the American people in the common war effort. This must be achieved by enforcing the Federal and New York State Constitutional guarantees and ending every form of discrimination--of the Negro people, and the Jewish people--the loyal foreign born people of our State, those naturalized and those not yet citizens.

* * * * *

In the Spring of 1943, the Communist Party devoted considerable effort to the distribution throughout the country where active Party units are located and likewise where heavier Negro populations were centered, of a pamphlet written by Benjamin Davis, Jr., Negro member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and writer for the Communist Daily Worker, entitled "The Negro People and the Communist Party." This pamphlet, which was published by the Workers Library, Publishers, in March, 1943, has been distributed, according to reports, on a wide basis.

In view of such wide distribution it can be considered as being looked upon in a favorable light by the Communist Party, especially in its organizational and recruiting activities among Negroes. In effect, it is an invitation for Negroes to join the Communist Party and purportedly an explanation of the Communist Party. It is introduced by a portion of the biography of the writer, particularly that period in which he became a member of the Communist Party. Thereafter, in a section entitled "The Negro Stake in Victory," the writer sets forth how poorly the Negro population of this country would fare under Nazi or Japanese domination, as well as how unfruitful are the attempts of other political groups in this country to obtain added rights for Negroes. An eulogy to Russia is set forth, saying that it is the greatest champion for freedom and equality for all peoples, and it is stated that Russia's participation in the present war was one of the decisive factors in determining the character of the war as one for survival of national liberation. Thereafter in the pamphlet is a section entitled "The Soviet Union and the War" in which an additional eulogy is given to the Soviet Union as well as the necessity of close relations between Russia and the United States.

In the next section, which is entitled "Victory Will Help Smash Jim Crow," the theme is taken that through the successful prosecution of the war, additional rights will be obtained for Negroes, yet in this prosecution there must be a constant fight for the abolition of discrimination and segregation. (This theme is to be distinguished from that taken by Negro organizations and groups which put forth the program that winning the war and winning added "equal rights" for Negroes are on a par.) Certain statements in this section are believed to be significant in that not only do they set forth the ostensible Communist Party line but they are familiar to those used in the directive of the Communist International of October, 1930, which has been set forth previously in this section:

"The urgency of military necessity requires that all treatment of the Negro people and the Colonial people as 'inferior' and 'second class' human beings be promptly ended The right to self determination for India, for the Colonial peoples of Africa, the West Indies, Asia, Puerto Rico, and Latin America must be recognized in order to mobilize these peoples for a peoples' victory and a peoples' peace.

"In order to speed the tempo of ending Jim-Crow it must be fought for actively by labor and the people. Total mobilization for winning the war can spell the death knell of the disgraceful Jim-Crow system.

"The Communist Party, equipped with the scientific teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, is the only Party that has placed the elimination of all 'race supremacy' practices and theories as a pre-condition for swift victory.

"The struggle for Negro rights was always a matter of justice and the enforcement of the Constitution. Now this fight must be pursued relentlessly as a military necessity--as a matter of achieving victory at the earliest moment and at the least cost.

"We Communists fight against the Jim-Crow system as a part of the national effort to speed production and to speed all-out offensive--especially the opening of the second front against Hitler on the European Continent...." (The reference to the "opening of the second front" brought in in connection with the theme of this pamphlet is not the first instance this demand of the Party has been put forth in connection with its exploitation of the Negro population in this country. This has been done in numerous articles appearing in Communist publications and it is to be recalled that the charge, unsubstantiated by corroborative information, was made by Communists subsequent to the Detroit riots in June, 1943, when it was stated by Communist functionaries in Detroit that the riots had been prompted by fifth column forces as a hindrance to the war effort "on the eve of an invasion" of the mainland of Europe.)

A recent publicized statement of Earl Browder was given space in the Daily Worker, Communist news organ, for July 14, 1943. This statement, with regard to the Negro situation, was made in answer to the hypothetical question: "Does the Communist Party ever undertake to stir up racial and group antagonisms....?" Browder, in his answer, is quoted as follows:

"No, that charge is a falsehood, complete and unconditional. There are no more relentless enemies of racial antagonism than the Communists. If the inference is drawn that

"Communists stir up racial antagonism by demanding equal rights for all, thereby provoking riots by those who would deny equal rights, then I can only say that the Communists stand upon the U. S. Constitution in this respect, while our critics stand upon evasion or flouting of the Constitution. The Communists openly fight against anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism in the U. S. as evidence of Hitlerism which must be completely destroyed. If the question infers the old charge that Communists incite strike movements, that is absolutely the opposite of the truth in this wartime in which the Communists are restraining all strike action or trends among the workers. No matter how justified they might be in peace time, as for labor struggle in general, that is not a special issue of the Communists. The Communists work for the most complete national unity for the war, for unity among the United Nations, for victory and for the post-war reconstruction of the world, for the elimination of all artificial divisions among mankind -- in short for the practical realization of the brotherhood of men."

INSTANCES OF EXPLOITATION

From time to time information has been received from confidential sources which reflects the Party's maneuvering among and exploitation of members of the Negro population in this country. These actions appear to controvert that which appears on the surface to be fostering the advancement of Negroes in this country by the Communist Party.

A digression should be made momentarily to information which has been received concerning the general broad program of the Communist Party in the United States in which all of the propositions point to a calculation of strengthening in the long run the world position of the Communist Party. Numerous examples have been quoted in which Party leaders in various districts of the Party are working day by day with the rank and file members of the Party and actively preaching revolution and preparing for revolutionary activity when the opportunity presents itself.

Along these lines a confidential informant who has been a Communist Party member and who is believed to be schooled in its technique, has commented as follows: The consensus of opinion among Party members is that no trouble will result from their efforts until after the war when Negro labor and

employees hired during this war will be replaced by men returning from the armed forces. The Communist Party believes that after the war is over there will be at least a short period of unemployment, after which men returning from the armed forces will replace the newly trained workers, including Negroes, who will then be forced out on to a waiting list. Discontent will be the result. It is then that the Communist Party will be able to spread further seeds of discontent.

The foregoing reasoning was offered by this confidential source as an explanation for the Party's interest in supporting the Negro population along with the war effort by decrying alleged abuses or discrimination against Negroes and supporting social intercourse and the abolition of the suppression of races.

Another confidential informant, a Negro who was for many years a member of the Communist Party and reached important heights in this group, has made the following comments:

"However, there are certain conditions under which the Negro lives that tend to create grave dissatisfaction with the way democracy works. It is this dissatisfaction that Communists are using to spread among Negroes the seeds of lack of confidence in and disloyalty to American democracy."

(Referring to "Jim-Crow" laws): "The Communists are constantly exploiting this law in order to rally the Negro under their banner."

(Referring to the poll tax): "The Communists are utilizing this to stir up the Negroes. They are linking up the demand for the abolition of the poll tax with the 'right of the Negro of the land' and the establishment of an autonomous Negro government in the black belt."

"The recent lynchings of Negroeshave added fuel to the fire which is always being fanned by the Communists and other anti-American elements."

(Referring to crime in Harlem and its publication in white newspapers): "Here again the Communists react to this situation, attack the city administration, urge the people to protest and fight against police brutality and to fight against discrimination and for jobs."

"Communists are always alert and react quickly to each and every grievance of the Negroes and form some sort of committee to rally the people to struggle to eliminate the grievance. Their methods are devious. They form various front organizations, making use of prominent persons to attain their objectives, the Daily Worker, the Negro papers, and leaflets."

As a practical example of the foregoing, information has been received from two areas, namely, Detroit and Washington, wherein known Communists have sent Negroes, properly qualified, to various industrial places to seek employment with the intent that, jobs being denied these Negroes, the Party, through its various forces, would publicize the matter as discrimination. It is also known that Communist Party members have offered to "drum up" alleged cases of discrimination against Negro workers for the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

An additional example of the Party's machinations involving the Negro question is incorporated in the following information wherein it will be seen that the Party's participation in labor union matters was turned into an incident allegedly involving the racial question.

During the period of August 1 to August 5, 1942, a series of conferences were held in Room 514, Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Alabama. In attendance at these conferences were Robert F. Hall, Communist Party Chairman for District 17; John P. Davis, colored, a representative of the National Negro Congress, Washington, D. C.; Louis Burnham, colored, Executive Secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; Mary Southard, Executive Secretary of the Young Communist League for District 17; Anne Mayfield, colored, Communist Party member; Mike Ross, a representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, CIO; and Bernard Borsh, Southern Director of the National Council of Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America, CIO.

At the meeting held on August 1, 1942, Hall advised those in attendance that recently Ordway "Spike" Southard (white), husband of Mary Southard, had been attacked by a group of approximately 15 individuals while selling copies of the Daily Worker at a steel plant in Birmingham. Southard was injured severely. At the time, he was accompanied by Dorothy Burnham, colored, a Communist Party member, and an unknown white girl, also a Party member.

The issue of the Daily Worker sold by Southard carried a story about a racket being perpetrated upon the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers by John L. Lewis and those individuals in that union who favored Lewis' policies. It was stated that the information contained in the Daily Worker was furnished to the Party by one Mayfield, whom Hall described as a member of the Communist Party and a member of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

During this meeting on August 1, 1942, Hall attacked Governor Dixon of Alabama and a Birmingham attorney, one Horace Wilkinson, who is stated to be the controlling factor of the organization known as the League for White Supremacy and the Ku Klux Klan. Hall also brought up an incident wherein a brick was thrown into a house close to the residence of Ethel Goodman, a colored Communist, and that he believed this was an attempt to wreck her home.

Hall stated that the Communist Party should make every effort to publicize these attacks upon its members as attacks upon labor and the Negro race. He stated that he had flown to New York City on July 30, 1942, to take up the matter with members of the National Committee of the Party and that he talked it over with Robert Minor who expressed the opinion that since the rights of the Negroes were involved, it would be better for the Party to proceed through the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

At the meeting on August 1, Hall dictated the following telegram to Malcolm McLean, Chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, a similar one being forwarded to the Director:

"This is to advise you that myself, Mike Ross, International Representative of our union, and several officers of our local unions have been threatened with violence and some physically assaulted because of activity of our organization in carrying through policies of President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Ross and I have received threatening anonymous communications. We believe federal agencies should investigate and Government should prosecute those interfering with enforcement of federal war measures."

This telegram, it was noted, was signed by Alton Lawrence, Regional Coordinator of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Birmingham, Alabama.

On August 2, 1942, another meeting was held at the same place, which is the office of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and all persons attending the previous meeting attended this meeting. At this meeting, those present discussed possible ways of circulating material among "reactionaries," leaving no trace of Communist activity behind such material. Discussions at the meeting centered on alleged attacks and instances of discrimination against Negroes in Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia. Another letter was prepared then at the direction of Hall, denouncing the Governor of Alabama, which was forwarded to the President. Mention was also made in this letter to Horace Wilkinson, the Ku Klux Klan and generally the practice of discrimination against and segregation of Negroes in the South. This letter was signed by five individuals representing various unions in Alabama. They are:

Noel R. Reddow, CIO Regional Director, President Alabama CIO Council, Southern Director United States Steelworkers of America.

Bernard Borah, Southern Director National Council of Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers.

Van D. Jones, Executive Board Member, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Frank Allen, International Representative, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Leo Kendrick, Secretary, Red Ore Council, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

During the meeting on August 2, 1942, Alton Lawrence advised that he had just contacted Ben Davis, Jr., Staff Member of the Daily Worker, New York City, in an attempt to have Davis come to Birmingham. Lawrence advised that Davis informed him that since he, Davis, is a known Communist, he would not be effective in operating with the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

After the meeting on August 2, 1942, Hall instructed Louis Burnham, colored, Communist Party member, to go to Tuskegee, Alabama, to see Dr. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, to enlist his aid against Governor Dixon of Alabama. At the time, Hall instructed Burnham that he was to attempt to go by bus, telling him that the bus would in all probability be overloaded and that he probably could not get a seat, pointing out that in the event there was no space available on the bus, it would give him an opportunity to state that the bus companies were discriminating against Negroes.

On August 3, 1942, a meeting was held at the office of the Southern Negro Youth Congress which was attended by Louis Burnham, Dorothy Burnham, John P. Davis and Mable Temple, all colored and all believed to be Party members. At the meeting Burnham stated that the Party had done more for the Negro race than any other political party, that it gives active support to the Southern Negro Youth Congress and that it always aids Negroes in a controversy over their rights. He stated that all Negroes should support the Party and that members of the Southern Negro Youth Congress were given the same training and instructions as given to members of the Young Communist League, and that as soon as they were ready, those who were thought worthy were taken into the Party. At the time, Burnham also stated that seven Southern Negro Youth Congress members would attend the Southwide Conference of the Communist Party at Birmingham on August 23, 1942. In this connection, he stated that the Southern Negro Youth Congress, when dealing with the general public, dealt under the name of Southern Negro Youth Congress, but in closed and secret meetings it was the Communist Party. He stated that the policies and activities of the Congress were decided upon and directed by the Communist Party.

On August 4, 1942, a meeting was held at the office of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, attended by Robert F. Hall, Louis E. Burnham, John P. Davis, Bernard Borsh, Alton Lawrence and Mike Ross. Hall advised that a committee had been formed which was to proceed immediately to Washington to see various executives in the Government and protest to them of alleged violence and discrimination against Negroes and labor in the South. The following individuals were members of the committee, it being noted that Joseph Curran was contacted by telephone and his acceptance of membership received:

John P. Davis, colored, Representative of the National Negro Congress
William Y. Bell, colored, Representative of the National Urban League.
Forrester B. Washington, colored, Professor at Atlanta University,
Atlanta.

Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime Union.
Alton Lawrence, colored, Coordinator of Organization, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Birmingham, Alabama.
Bernard Boreh, Southern Director of the National Council of Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

During the meeting on August 4, 1942, Burnham stated that he had contacted Dr. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, and that Patterson stated he could not afford to serve on any "bi-racial" committee because of his position, however, that he was in accord with the purpose of the committee and sent a contribution of \$10. for the committee. Burnham also reported that he had attempted to purchase a bus ticket to visit Dr. Patterson but that there was no space left on the bus. Hall in turn stated that this was a clear case of discrimination "against the Negroes" and should also be taken up by the committee in Washington.

Immediately after the meeting on August 4, 1942, Davis is reported to have left Birmingham by plane for New York City where he was to discuss the matters to be brought up in Washington by the committee with Earl Browder and James W. Ford. It was also stated that Davis was to receive suggestions which Browder saw fit to submit.

At the meeting on August 4, 1942, Hall also said that there would be a meeting of CIO officials on August 8, 1942, and that the committee after its return from Washington would make a report on its accomplishments to the meeting of union officials. He stated that Mike Ross would be present at these meetings and would report to him and that he, Hall, in turn would relate the information to the Party in New York City.

It is interesting to note that in the August 16, 1942, issue of The Worker, the Communist Party Sunday organ, an entire page (page 2) was devoted to "The Threat Against Unity in the South," an article by Earl Browder, and the "Conspiracy in the South" by Sender Garlin. In the middle of the page appeared a reprint of a letter directed to the President and signed by those individuals listed above and contains practically all the paragraphs dictated at the meeting on August 1, 1942.

Also on page 2 of the August 16, 1942, issue of The Worker appeared statements issued by the United Automobile Workers of America, CIO, the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO, the National Negro Congress and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (the latter two being Communist Party front organizations and the two unions penetrated with Communists) which attacked certain discriminatory practices in the South.

In view of the appearance of the letter to the President in this issue of The Worker, it is possible that this page resulted from the conferences previously referred to.

An article appeared on page 3 of the Daily Worker for August 17, 1942, bearing the headlines "Lewis Linked to 'White Supremacy' Plot." In this article it was charged that John L. Lewis and "his District 50 agents are active collaborators in the current copperhead conspiracy in the South" The article stated that Lewis' agents were responsible for a series of instances wherein Negroes were either physically attacked or discriminated against. The article also stated that members of the United Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union of America, CIO, were attempting to overcome these practices.

It should be noted here that one Carl Frederick Geiser, President of Local 1227, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, Long Island City, New York, reportedly advised he had received a letter dated August 10, 1942, from the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, New York City, signed by Joseph Curran, President, and Saul Mills, Secretary, directed to all CIO affiliates. He allegedly stated that the letter was a call to prevent destruction of the unity of white and Negro Americans behind the Nation's war effort and that it advised of a conspiracy in the South aimed at undermining the war effort through incitement to race hatred and open violation of the anti-discrimination policy of the Government. He reportedly stated that the letter advised that the campaign included beating of CIO organizers and terrorization of white and Negro workers in the South. The letter is stated to have requested the sending of telegrams to various officials in the Government including the President and to the Department of Justice. He is said to have also advised of a memorandum being attached to the letter which had been prepared by CIO representatives and other "progressive forces" in the South, citing specific instances occurring there.

With reference to the letter prepared by the CIO Industrial Union Council which Geiser referred to, it is recalled that Joseph Curran was reportedly a representative of the committee formed by the Communist Party in Birmingham on August 4, 1942. It is also recalled that Robert Hall advised after the meeting on August 4, 1942, that the committee would report on its accomplishments to a meeting of CIO union officials on August 8, 1942, and that the results of this meeting would be furnished by Hall to the Communist Party in New York.

There has been obtained a mimeographed release in the form of a memorandum entitled "Threats to National Unity in the South -- A statement of the Southern Delegation -- Washington, D. C., August 6 (1942)." This memorandum

refers to an alleged conspiracy in the South in "organizing open opposition against the war policies of the Government of the United States." It is said that the reason for the conspiracy is for "maintaining white supremacy." The memorandum then refers to Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham, Alabama, and a speech made before the Kiwanis Club of Bessemer, Alabama, on July 22, 1942; a statement issued by Governor Dixon of Alabama on July 23, 1942, relative to known discrimination clauses in war production contracts; and to several Southern newspapers said to have championed Governor Dixon's statement. Other broad statements, allegations and recommendations are made in this memorandum.

The above memorandum was circulated by the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO.

It has been further reported with regard to this mimeographed statement, or memorandum, that the material contained therein is believed to have been prepared on August 3, 1942, at a meeting attended by Robert Hall, John P. Davis, Louis Burnham, Mary Southard, Mike Ross, Bernard Borah, Van Jones and Alton Lawrence, the latter four being affiliated with various unions of the CIO in the South. It is said that Robert Hall and Louis Burnham, both Communist Party members, dictated the majority of the statement.

While the Communist Party decries social segregation of Negroes as well as racial chauvinism, several instances have been reported wherein the Communist Party has set up separate units or branches for Negroes. The general explanation for this has been that this action is convenient for organizational purposes as well as for the attendance of members at Party meetings. It is known that such separate branches or units are established in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Indianapolis. In this connection information has been reported that in Omaha, Nebraska, a separate branch composed of Negroes was established on the North Side of that City at which there will be separate social functions and business meetings held for Negroes. The reason for this action, according to a confidential informant, was that previously Negro members often outnumbered white members and as a result a number of white people had dropped out of the Party. It was felt, according to the informant, by functionaries of the Party that, by doing this, more white people would attend the social functions of the Party. In this regard, it was also pointed out that the Negroes themselves felt something must be wrong with the Party because so few white people appeared at the meetings.

In February, 1943, at a meeting of functionaries of the Communist Party for the States of Illinois and Indiana, Phil Bart, organizational secretary of that district, mentioned a Negro Communist Center in Chicago, Illinois, and reportedly pointed out the success which the Party had with the Negro situation in that city. He is said to have remarked: "Our most fertile field of recruiting at present is the Negro -- we are recruiting more

Negroes than white." He suggested, according to the informant, that the one Negro Center could be used as the foundation for smaller Negro groups in the city. He said that the Party should take these people and train them, and use them in community work, and mentioned specifically they might be influential in housing projects and fighting for the rights of Negro workers.

The informant advised that Bart continued, saying that the leader of this group should be made a "public figure;" even though all members could not be known publicly because of the possibility of persecution the chairman of the group could afford to be well known. Bart stated: "We will have to show we are not building a Jim-Crow party." He thought that such a group might have two or three representatives trained in Income Tax matters by a Party attorney, in order that they could help other members fill out their income tax returns. In this way, he said the people would feel that the Party was answering a real need.

During this discussion the idea of establishing a Negro center for Indianapolis, Indiana, was discussed. It was suggested that one Sea Ferguson was to be contacted for financial aid for the group. It should be noted that Ferguson is one of the most influential people of the Indianapolis Negro section. It was planned that a group of Negroes in the Party in Indianapolis would be called together for a meeting on February 4, 1943, to make plans for the opening of the Negro center in Indianapolis. The Negro Center as suggested for Indianapolis, according to information received, was formally opened at 1208 North Senate Avenue in that city.

The Communist Party, it has been observed previously in this section, has and is continuing to exert considerable effort toward obtaining Negro recruits. It will be recalled that in the various digests of the Field Divisions a degree of success has been obtained by the Party in recruiting added Negro membership, varying, of course, in different communities. The general approach in obtaining membership from Negro ranks is that the Party is the only political group advocating true democracy and the granting of equal social rights to Negroes. Information has been received, however, which reflects that there possibly is a lack of sincerity on the part of the Communist Party in its activity of recruiting Negro members. Information is to the effect that in February, 1943, Ned Sparks, Secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Wisconsin, after ascertaining that what he termed were "rank and file" Negroes had been recruited into the Party, became angry with another Party member who had done the recruiting. At the time, Sparks is said to have stated that the Communist Party desired not quantity but only quality in its Negro recruiting. He is said to have ordered that only outstanding Negroes be recruited, saying that the ordinary Negroes

were not an asset to the Party because they would not work. He also reportedly pointed out that they were active as members but for a short time and thereafter drop their membership. It is to be noted that these remarks by Sparks, according to the informant, were directed to Katherine Hartmann, an organizer for the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada, CIO, and an active Communist Party member.

As an example of an attitude exhibited by functionaries of the Party, the following information is set forth to show how Negroes are regarded as Party workers. In March, 1943, confidential informants reported that functionaries of the Party in the San Francisco area were concerned over Negro members inasmuch as they had not been evidencing an interest in Party problems except in so far as they concerned Negroes themselves. Rudie Lambert, labor director of the Party in that area, is said to have remarked that the Party had a problem in keeping new Negro members interested and that the Party should not forget the weaknesses of Negroes in organizational work since too much could not be expected of them. Along these lines, it was further reported that a known Communist member stated the main problem in dealing with Negroes, as far as the Party is concerned, is that Negroes are afraid of terrorism and are, therefore, backward in taking an active part in Party problems.

It has been reported that the Communist Party in the San Francisco area has exhibited in the past considerable interest in an organization formed by Negroes known as the Shipyard Workers Committee Against Discrimination. This organization was formed in 1942 and was brought under the recognized leadership of one Roy Thompson, a Negro. The purpose of the organization is to combat "Jim Crow" local labor unions, particularly those of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Ironworkers, Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers of America, AFL. In recent months Thompson is said to have directed his activities at attempting to break up these segregated union locals and in turn setting up a separate Negro union. Thompson was thereupon criticized by the Communist Party leaders in the area for his action in this matter, their claim being that Thompson does not know what he is doing and has not been fully integrated into the Party to the extent that he can understand and dictate Party policies. (It is to be noted that Thompson has been reported to be a member of the Party.) The Committee is said to have over 160 members, both white and Negro, who represent the various Bay area shipyards and has furnished approximately 20 Negro recruits for the Communist Party in the past several months. It is believed that Thompson's actions opposed the Party's plan of infiltrating the "Jim Crow" union locals with the view of thereafter obtaining control of them and the Party, for this reason, opposed Thompson's tactics. It has also been reported that the Communist Party in the San Francisco area contemplated deposing Thompson in view of what they termed his "nationalistic attitude." (It might be stated here that Thompson is stated to have been militantly opposed to the white leadership of the union having the bargaining rights in this area for shipyard workers.)

During recent months, particularly on the West Coast and involving specifically the Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland, California areas, the Communist Party has varied its approach to opposing the establishment of separate labor union locals for Negroes. In the Los Angeles area, led by Pettis Perry, Negro Party functionary, the Party has militantly fought the establishment of the "Jim Crow" locals. However, in the San Francisco area, where such locals had been already established, observations were made by Steve Nelson, National Committee member of the Communist Party and leader in the San Francisco area, that this situation presented itself with respect to the shipyards there. It was pointed out by Nelson, according to an informant, that the "Jim Crow" locals had already been formed and that the Party either had to take an extreme leftist position (possibly to call strikes or to take other such militant action) or to urge that the "comrades" go into the auxiliaries (or "Jim Crow" locals) and work. It was further stated, according to the informant, that since there were approximately 15,000 Negroes in the shipyards and 7,000 of them were members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Ironworkers, Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers of America, AFL, it would be impractical for the Party to assume "an extreme leftist position."

The Communist Party has interested itself in segregation of Negroes not only in labor fields but also in public places. In this connection, the following information has been received with regard to the maneuvers of the Party in the Seattle, Washington, area:

Ostervald Carl Brooks, Negro Communist Party member along with Eugene Moszee, reported Negro member of the Young Communist League, appeared at the Olympic Hotel Grill in Seattle, Washington, with three colored sailors demanding that all receive service in the eating place. According to an informant, these individuals were not given immediate service as a result of the extreme shortage of help; thereupon Brooks and Moszee raised considerable disturbance in the grill, claiming that they were being discriminated against because of their color. The management of the hotel was called upon and the matter was settled, the colored sailors being offered service and given a glass of beer or milk as they desired; however Brooks and Moszee were not given service.

According to an informant who was present at the time the demonstration was arranged, the same being sponsored by the Young Communist League. He expressed the opinion that the colored sailors who accompanied Brooks and Moszee were unaware of what they were getting into. The version of the colored sailors was also to this effect and in fact they advised they thought the individuals whom they accompanied to the Olympic Hotel were members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and were

attempting to break down discrimination against Negroes in that area. They stated that Brooks and Moszee gave the impression they were going to "break it up" referring to the alleged discrimination against Negroes.

Later another informant was contacted by Eugene Moszee who identified himself as a member of the Young Communist League. Moszee reportedly stated that his organization had sent a number of its members to the Olympic Hotel Grill and after service was refused Moszee and the rest of the party requested that they see the manager. Moszee then admitted that a riot almost ensued. He also admitted to the informant that the Young Communist League had been responsible for the previously mentioned incident.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNIST PARTY

The exact figure representing Negro membership in the Communist Party has not been reported. However, the National Committee of the Communist Party in June 1943 made available information showing the comparative figures between the composition of the registered total membership and the composition of new members obtained as a result of the national recruiting drive that extended from the beginning of February 1943 through April 1943. The figures it released reflect that 10 per cent of the registered membership were Negroes and 27 per cent of the total new recruits were negroes. Using these percentages in connection with the figures of membership in the Party previously reported, along with the figure of new recruits, it is believed that a fairly accurate figure of Negro membership in the Party can be obtained.

As of May 1, 1943, the Party is reported to have recruited 14,998 members since the beginning of February, 1943. A recent announcement in the Daily Worker stated that the aim of the Party was to recruit between 25,000 and 30,000 additional members in 1943 for the purpose of bringing the total membership figure up to 100,000. Using these two figures brings the result of a membership at the beginning of February 1943 of between 60,000 and 65,000. This figure varies slightly from a figure arrived at from the registration of members at the end of 1942 which totaled slightly over 59,000. However, the figure 59,000 was exclusive of sympathizers, fellow travellers and members in trade unions and other groups whose affiliation with the Party has remained secret.

Therefore, 27 per cent of 14,998, the recruitment total, would bring a total of Negroes recruited by the Party during the period February

through April 1943 to a figure slightly over 4,000. Taking 10 per cent of a registered total of Party members of 80,000 at the beginning of 1943 would result in approximately 6,000 Negro members. This figure plus the 4,000 referred to above would total in the neighborhood of 10,000 Negro members of the Communist Party at the present time. This figure compared with the total Party membership (approximately 75,000) represents about 13.3 per cent Negro membership in the Communist Party. This figure, of course, is in excess of the per cent of Negro population in the United States to the entire population.

It might be noted that it has been determined in several Party districts throughout the country the number of Negro recruits in the recent recruiting campaign total well over 50 per cent of all recruits in the particular districts.

COMMUNIST PARTY FRONT ORGANIZATIONS
AND NEGROES

During the period of the existence of the Communist Party in this country, and concerning its activities with regard to the Negroes, there have been coexistent at various times three organizations formed by or at the instigation of the Party to carry out its program in respect to the Negro race. They are, in their respective chronological order, the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the National Negro Congress. The first two are out of existence. Each organization was formed to replace the other, as the result of some failure or malfunction of the preceding organization.

The most recent Communist Party front organized for work among Negroes is the Negro Labor Victory Committee, which was formed in the month of May, 1942 to combat and destroy the popular appeal of the March on Washington Movement.

All four of these organizations are described hereinafter. In reviewing this material it should be kept in mind that there are numerous other Communist Party fronts which have been established by the Party for other purposes. However, there appears almost universally at least one point in their respective programs which deals directly or indirectly with the Negro situation. That these organizations are agitational in effect cannot be overlooked, although a particular group is not solely devoted to this matter. As an example, a Communist front group may clamor for the end of the poll tax system or demand that Negroes be given increased employment in defense industries, yet it may have been formed originally through demands of non-interventionism or isolationism. Numerous front organizations have fought for regiments in the United States Army which are formed of mixed races and at the same time urged the opening of a "second front" in Europe. Yet the group was organized for the fundamental purpose of aiding "political prisoners."

It is believed that the following statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party should be set forth herein to show the "blue print" which the Party follows in forming Communist Party front organizations as a part of its United Front program:

"The Communist Party is obliged to penetrate all existing working class organizations and to form other open organizations to reach the masses, using these organizations as tools or auxiliaries of the Communist Party."

AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR CONGRESS

This organization is stated to have been founded in October, 1925, just subsequent to the Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America in August, 1925. In this connection, it is said that in the "Report of the Central Executive Committee" of the Party under the subheading "Negro Work" it was reported that "a Negro Comrade was sent to the Fifth Congress (of the Communist Internationale) after which the Central Executive Committee authorized him to stay for training. It is believed that the Negro Comrade referred to here was Lovett Fort-Whiteman. Shortly after Fort-Whiteman's return to America, according to records with the Department of State, the American Negro Labor Congress, a Communist enterprise, was founded in which Fort-Whiteman was to become the outstanding figure.

Under date of June 3, 1925, in the publication known as the Negro Champion, Volume 1, Number 1, wherein on page 1 it is stated that this publication is the organ of the National Committee for organizing the American Negro Labor Congress, the call to the American Negro Labor Congress is set out. Following are statements taken from this call:

"The American Negro Labor Congress will consider such problems as the payment of equal wages for equal work, regardless of race and sex."

"The American Labor Congress will fight for the abolition of Industrial discrimination in factories, mills, mines, on the railroads, and in all places where labor is employed."

"The American Negro Labor Congress proposes to stir the working masses to take some organized action against the unjust conditions of residential segregation imposed upon the Negro in our larger cities. . . ."

". . . the American Negro Labor Congress proposes to make plans for the waging of war against policy of the officialdom of the trade unions which bar Negroes from membership. . . ."

". . . the American Negro Labor Congress shall propose that the seat of action be changed to the masses themselves and shall endeavor to stimulate and promote the organization of interracial committees throughout the nation with the aim of bringing about a better feeling between white and black workers."

"The American Negro Labor Congress shall demand the abolition of Jim Crowism, not only in the Southern States but throughout the nation."

"The American Negro Labor Congress shall bring to bear the full force of its organized strength against any measures on the part of any section of the nation to curtail the right of the ballot of any section of the working class."

In this same publication it was stated that the Congress was to be composed of delegates from the various independent Negro labor unions and from mixed unions from unorganized factory groups of Negro workers, of representatives of Negro agricultural workers, and of individual advocates, both Negro and white, who are well known for their championship of the cause of the Negro.

The call was signed by:

William Bryant, Business Manager of the Asphalt Workers Union,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Edward L. Doty, organizer of Negro Plumbers, Chicago, Illinois
H. V. Phillips, organizer of Negro Working-Class Youth,
Chicago, Illinois
Elizabeth Griffin, President of the Chicago Negro Women's
Household League
Everett Greene, Chicago Correspondent of the Afro-American,
Baltimore, Maryland
William Scarville, Pittsburgh American
Charles Henry, representative of the unorganized Negro Steel
Workers, Chicago, Illinois
Otto Hall, Waiters and Cooks Association, Chicago, Illinois
Louis Hunter, Longshoremen's Protection and Benevolent Union,
New Orleans, Louisiana
Otto Huiswood, African Blood Brotherhood, New York City
Lovett Fort-Whiteman, organizer of the Congress
Arron Davis, Neighborhood Protective Association, Toomsaba,
Mississippi
John Owens, organizer of the Negro Agricultural Workers,
Ripley, California
Rosina Davis, Secretary of the Chicago Negro Women's Household
League
E. A. Lynch, paternal delegate from the West Africa Seaman's
Union, Liverpool
Jack Edwards, representative of the Negro Pullman Car Workers,
Chicago
Sahir Karimji, fraternal delegate from Natal Agricultural
Workers, South Africa.

With reference to the above named Otto Huiswood of the African Blood Brotherhood, it was reported that this individual was active as a member of the Soviet Red Army at one time.

As a matter of background information, it is reported that Trotsky in 1923, at the time he was an official of the Third (Communist) International, in a letter to an American Negro Communist named Mackay published in the Moscow "Izvestia" of February 15, 1923, stated under the subheading "The Training of the Black Agitators Is the Most Important Revolutionary Problem of the Moment":

"....one of the most important methods of struggle against this capitalistic corruption of mind is to wake up the human dignity and revolutionary protests among the black slaves of America and capital. This work can be best carried on by the devoted and politically educated Negro Revolutionists. Naturally the work must not assume the character of 'black chauvinism' but must be carried on in a spirit of solidarity among all laborers regardless of the color of their skin. I am at a loss to say what are the most expedient organization forms for the movement among the American Negroes, because I am not familiar with the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the organization formed will be found as soon as sufficient will for action is displayed."

It is believed that Trotsky referred to an organization comparable to the American Negro Labor Congress.

The first convention of the Congress is said to have taken place in Chicago during the week beginning October 25, 1925.

With reference to the first congress it is reported that in the August 27, 1925, issue of the International Press Correspondent (reportedly a former official Bolshevik organ) there is an article on the then approaching Congress by Lovett Fort-Whiteman opening with the following paragraph:

"The American Negro Labor Congress will take place in Chicago beginning on October 25, 1925, and lasting about a week. It will be made up of delegates coming from the various Negro labor unions throughout the country, from organizations of Negro agricultural workers and representatives from unorganized industries. The fundamental aim in calling the American Negro Labor Congress is to establish in the life of the American Negro labor working class an organization which may serve as a medium through which the American Communist Party may reach and influence the Negro working class, and at the same time may constitute something of a recruiting ground for the Party."

It is stated more significantly in the "Report of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) on Past Activities" submitted to the Fourth National Convention of the Party in

August, 1925. Under the subheading "Negro Work" it is said, "In accord with the instructions of the Communist Internationale, most of our work has been carried on in connection with the American Negro Labor Congress."

It has been reported that the first public announcement of the Congress appears to have been made in the Daily Worker of April 14, 1925. Therein is listed a provisional organizational committee headed by Lovett Fort-Whiteman. In this connection, it should be noted that in July, 1925, the first issue of the Negro Champion, the organ of the Congress, appeared with Fort-Whiteman as editor.

It has been further stated with regard to the Convention that only 40 delegates attended instead of the 500 as had been forecast. It is said that William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, appeared to have been largely responsible for the so-called failure of the Congress. He is stated to have remarked to the Convention:

"It will not be held to benefit the Negro, but to instill into the lives of that race a most pernicious doctrine - race hatred."

Failure

The extent and influence of this organization at the time of its existence is not known. However, it is believed that although its membership may not have been large, the effect created by its agitation through meetings or publications was felt in at least a few areas. The organization failed and the reasons for its failure have been pointed out by James W. Ford, Negro, National Committee member of the Communist Party. He has stated with regard to its weaknesses and shortcomings:

". . . the A.N.L.C. (American Negro Labor Congress) was too narrow in its approach. For the period of its existence it was almost completely isolated from the basic masses of the Negro People; this shortcoming was carried over into the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The class contents of the program of the A.N.L.C., which was essentially correct, was, however, not carefully adapted to the feelings and moods of the Negro People. The Local Councils were too rigid instead of uniting broad masses of the Negro People through their organization; the councils were built on a basis of individual membership composed in almost all cases of those people and individuals who were dissatisfied with the existing organization and were breaking away from them completely. . . .

"I recall particularly the strict and unyielding attitude taken by the leaders of the American Negro Labor Congress toward religion. This attitude prevented the Congress from becoming a mass influence among church

people. At an A.N.L.C. meeting in Chicago, 1926, composed of a large number of religious people, a leader of the organization in the course of his remarks said, 'To hell with religion; damn the church'

"Despite its shortcomings, the A.N.L.C. served as a useful purpose. The last convention of the American Negro Labor Congress was held at St. Louis in November, 1930, where, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. There was a change in program also; the program called for the destruction of the plantation system in the South, for confiscation without compensation 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. Such a program prevented the development of a broad movement; the masses did not understand this full program; furthermore, the L.S.N.R. followed the same sectarian methods of work as the A.N.L.C. It did not base its activities sufficiently on immediate, daily needs of the people. Naturally, this narrowed down the L.S.N.R."

In comparing the National Negro Congress with the above named organization, Ford stated:

"It is precisely on this point that the National Negro Congress has made a great step forward to the advantage of the United Front and joint action of different organizations.

"What actually happened was the following: Branches of individual members of the L.S.N.R. (League of Struggle for Negro Rights) became, invariably, as in the A.N.L.C., small sectarian groups, and, as such, remained isolated and even were unable to hold these people who were willing to break away from other organizations. These branches could have attraction for unorganized Negro People but contrary to opinions held by many, the Negro People are an organized people, that is, they are members of churches, lodges, fraternal organizations, etc."

Character

In the decision of the Honorable Francis Biddle, Attorney General, on May 28, 1942, in the matter of Harry Bridges, the Attorney General identified the American Negro Labor Congress as a front organization of the Communist Party.

It is reported that out of the American Negro Labor Congress grew the League of Struggle for Negro Rights at the St. Louis Convention of the American Negro Labor Congress held in 1930. The American Negro Labor Congress was then abolished and its most recent successor, the Communist front organization presently in existence, is the National Negro Congress.

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

Origin

At the last convention of the American Negro Labor Congress held in St. Louis in November of 1930, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. There was a change in program also. The program called for the destruction of the plantation system in the South, for confiscation without compensation 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. (It should be pointed out that it was in October of 1930 when the resolution with regard to the Negro situation in the United States was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In this resolution it is recalled that such a program was called for as was that of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.)

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was reported by a confidential informant of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who was at one time in the Communist Party, to have been based on the program of the Communist International relative to the Negro question in the United States. It is recalled that the resolution regarding this matter made in October 1930 by the Communist International has been set out hereinbefore. The essence of the resolution, it is further recalled, was the fight for equal rights to be extended to Negroes with the simultaneous effort to foment a revolutionary overthrow of the landowners in the "Black Belt", or as it was commonly called, the "Cotton Belt", and the subsequent establishment of an Autonomous Negro government there.

The membership of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights is said to have never been more than several thousand members on a national basis. These members are claimed to have been mostly Communist Party members or sympathizers.

James W. Ford, Negro Communist and member of the National Committee of the Party, in criticizing the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, stated that the program of this organization prevented the development of a broad movement, and that the masses did not understand its full program. He stated further that the League of Struggle for Negro Rights fell into the same sectarian methods of work as the American Negro Labor Congress, that it did not base its activities sufficiently on immediate daily needs of the people.

Ford did, however, commend that practical part of the program of the League which was the "Bill of Negro Rights", which aimed to develop a movement to enforce the enactment of legislation for Negro rights and the suppression of lynching.

Speaking of the organizational weaknesses of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Ford claimed that they were identical with those of the American Negro Labor Congress. He stated that calling for affiliation on the basis of the complete program, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights tended to make existing organizations suspicious. He stated that the by-laws provided for the leadership of struggle for the League of Struggle for Negro Rights' program of immediate and general demands, but many organizations could not be drawn into the United Front struggle on the basis of the full program of the League.

National Council

The following were officers and National Council members of this organization. Asterisks preceding various names reflect either the individual's known or reported affiliation with the Communist Party:

*Langston Hughes, President	
*James W. Ford)
Mrs. Jessica Henderson)
*William L. Patterson) Vice Presidents
*Robert Minor)
*Benjamin Davis, Jr.)
Hose Hart)
*Richard B. Moore, General Secretary	
Herman MacKawain, Assistant Secretary	
Esther Anderson, Financial Secretary	
Bernice Da Costa, Recording Secretary	
Dr. Reuben S. Young, Treasurer	
*Louise Thompson, Director of Education and Culture	
Harold Williams, Director of Defense Activities	
Charles Alexander, Director of Bureau--Internation Relations	
*Leonard Patterson, Director of Young People's Activities	
Williana Burroughs, Director of Activities Among Women	
*Eugene Gordon)
Maude White) Liberator Staff
Tom Truesdale, Director of Research	
Steve Kingston	
Henry Shepard	
*Harry Haywood	
Dr. Arnold Donawa	
James Moore	
Rabbi Ben Goldstein	
George Maddox	
	Mrs. Mary Craik Speed
	Bonita Williams
	Hanou Chan
	*James Allen
	*Cyril Briggs
	*William Fitzgerald

New York

Eleanor Henderson, Agricultural Workers Union
*Joseph Brodsky, International Workers Order
*Clarence Hathaway, Daily Worker
Myra Page, Writer
*William Z. Foster, Trade Union Unity League
*Robert Dunn, Labor Research Association
*Irving Potash, Needle Trades
*Henry Shepard, Trade Union Unity Council of Greater New York
*Louis Weinstock, American Federation of Labor
Joseph Moore, Mechanics' Association of Harlem
*B. D. Amis, Communist Party
*Israel Amter, National Committee Unemployed Councils
Peter Uffre, Tobacco Workers of Harlem
*William Dunne, Trade Union Unity League
Gladys Stoner, National Student Committee on Negro Student Problems
*Ben Goldstein, National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners
*Earl Browder, Communist Party
Ruth Ruben, National Student League
Samuel Patterson, Caribbean Union
Steve Kingston, L. S. N. R.
*Harry Haywood, Communist Party
*Bill Lawrence, International Labor Defense
*Leonard Patterson, Young Communist League
*Louis Coleman, International Labor Defense
*J. Adler, International Workers Order
James Toney, L. S. N. R.
*Gil Green, Young Communist League
William Burdell, L. S. N. R.

Southern Section

Al Murphy, Sharecroppers Union, Alabama
*Mrs. Mary Craik Speed, Montgomery, Alabama
Rev. J. A. Morten, Angelo Herndon Defense, Alabama
*Jane Speed, International Labor Defense, Birmingham, Alabama
*Angelo Herndon, Fulton Tower Prison, Georgia
Mrs. Ada Wright, Scottsboro Mother, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Mrs. Janie Patterson, Scottsboro Mother, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Attorney Pierson, Durham, North Carolina
*Anna Williams, Communist Party, Charlotte, North Carolina
*Bernard Ades, International Labor Defense, Baltimore, Maryland
Gough McDaniels, High School Teacher, Baltimore, Maryland
*Robert Hall, National Farmers' Action Committee, Washington, D. C.
Macey, New Orleans Railroad Workers, New Orleans, Louisiana
Manny Jackson, Savannah Longshoreman, Savannah, Georgia

Chicago

*Herbert Newton, Communist Party
*Claude Lightfoot, L.S.N.R.

Pennsylvania

Dr. Patterson, Physician, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
*Tom Meyerscoff, National Miners Union, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Henry Wickman, Marine Workers Industrial Union, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
*Ben Careathers, Communist Party, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Detroit

Joe Billups, L.S.N.R.

Minnesota

Alfred Tiala, National Secretary, United Farmers League, Minneapolis, Minnesota

New England

Mrs. Cravath Simpson, Federation Women's Clubs, Boston, Massachusetts
*Ann Burlak, National Textile Union

California

*Tom Mooney, San Quentin, California
Leuren Miller, Journalist, Los Angeles, California
Matt Crawford, San Francisco National Scottsboro Action Committee

Buffalo

*Manning Johnson, Communist Party

Missouri

*A. W. Berry, Communist Party, Kansas City, Missouri
Carrie Smith, Nut Pickers Union, St. Louis, Missouri

Cleveland

Arthur Murphy, Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union

Radical Activities

In a booklet entitled "Proceedings of the First Pacific Coast Congress Against War on Fascism", dated at San Francisco, California, April 27-28, 1935, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was listed as having representatives in attendance at this Congress. This Congress is stated to have been Communist inspired.

It has been reported that on August 2, 1933, a mock trial of a police officer who was alleged to have shot a Negro, one James Porter, was held at the Communist Hall, 3040 South Antonine Street, Detroit, Michigan. The mock trial was held under the sponsorship of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

James W. Ford was the first Vice President of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights at which time Langston Hughes, prominent poet and author and reported Communist, was President. Ford, of course, has been a Communist for many years and is presently a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

At a mass meeting held on May 25, 1934, attended by 8,000 Civil Works Administration Workers, in protest against the proposed demobilization of the CWA, there was in attendance Dan Young of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The meeting is said to have been dominated by left-wing and Communist elements. Young is said to have addressed the meeting.

It was reported in March, 1932, that one of the addresses to be used for the receipt of literature from the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers in Hamburg, Germany, was that of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Room 506, 50 East 13th Street, New York City. It should be stated that James William Ford, National Committee member of the Communist Party, was the editor responsible for the policy and publication of the magazine "The Negro Worker" and was also at the time functioning as Chairman of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. The "Southern Worker" was reported to have been also distributing the publication "The Negro Worker" at that time. The "Southern Worker" was issued by the Communist Party weekly.

Communist Affiliations

Appearing in the September 1, 1932, issue of the "Liberator," which is the official organ of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, was a map of eleven southern States. On this map were shaded various areas which were referred to as the "Black Belt." It was stated that the "'Black Belt' which runs through eleven southern States includes not only the one hundred and ninety-five counties with over 50% Negroes, but also the two hundred and two counties with from 35% to 50% Negroes. These three hundred and ninety-seven counties form a continuous area in which the Negroes are over 50% of the total population." Under this map it was stated, "The Communist Party and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights demand the right of the Negroes of the 'Black Belt' to rule over this territory, including any white minority residing there, and even to separate this territory from the United States if they so desire."

The map referring to the "Black Belt" and the above statement are, of course, in direct harmony with the resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International concerning the Negro question in the United States in October of 1930 which has hereinbefore been referred to.

Referring to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, in the report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, it was stated:

"A broad and all-inclusive organizational form for the Negro liberation struggle is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This should embrace, in its activities, all of the basic economic organizations of Negro and white workers standing on the program of Negro liberation, and further, unite with them all other sections of the Negro population drawn towards this struggle, especially those large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, who can and must be won in the national liberation cause. The L.S.N.R. must, in the first place, be an active federation of existing mass organizations; and secondly, it must directly organize its own membership branches composed of its most active forces and all supporters otherwise unorganized. The present beginnings of the L.S.N.R. and its paper, the 'Liberator,' which with only a little attention have already shown mass vitality, must be energetically taken up and spread throughout the country."

With regard to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the following information has been supplied by a confidential informant who was a former member of the Communist Party and who was a National Council member

of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights:

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was based on the program of the Communist International on the 'Negro question' (October 1930). The essence of the program was the fight for 'Equal rights for Negroes generally with the simultaneous effort to foment a revolutionary overthrow of the Landowners in the 'Black Belt,' or as it was commonly called, the old 'Cotton Belt', in the establishment of an autonomous Negro government in the 'Black Belt.'

"The Revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords in the 'Black Belt' is to be accomplished by organizing white and Negro farmers and workers to fight against lynching, the poll tax, right to sell their own crops, Jim Crowism, and the right to ownership of the land. In the course of the development of this struggle involved in the above-mentioned issue, the following slogans were raised: 1. Confiscation of the land and property of the white landowners and capitalists. 2. Unite the 'Black Belt' into an autonomous state or government with the right of this Black Republic to secede from the rest of the United States. 3. The right of this newly formed government to determine its own form of government."

This same informant has advised that the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was abolished and its publication, the "Liberator," suspended because the Party considered the organization a duplication of the Communist Party and the "Liberator" a replica of the Daily Worker. The membership of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was never more than several thousand members nationally. These were mostly Party members and sympathizers.

It is further advised that in December of 1934 at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held in the Finn Hall on 126th Street near Fifth Avenue, New York City, the abolition of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was approved and the recommendation made to build a broad united front organization embracing all the existing organizations among Negroes.

In November 1933 there were published and circulated by the National Council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights several drafts which definitely presented the aims and purposes and objectives of this organization. Included in the draft of the program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights were the following:

* * * * *

"We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes

are a nation--a nation striving to manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American Imperialism.

* * * * *

"Today nine and one-half million Negroes still live in the prison of the South, stifled by oppression, cut off from even a breath of freedom.

* * * * *

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers.

"These plantations are concentrated in what is known as the "Black Belt"--that continuous territory stretching from the eastern shore of Maryland to the southeastern corner of Virginia, cutting a strip through North Carolina and comprising practically the whole state of South Carolina passing through central Georgia and southern Alabama, engulfing Mississippi and the delta regions of Louisiana and Arkansas, including the southwestern tip of Tennessee, and driving a wedge into Texas.

* * * * *

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights stands for the complete right of self determination for the Negro people in the "Black Belt" with full right for the toiling white minority.

* * * * *

"The Soviet Union offers the shining example of the correctness of this program. There, nations and races, who, under the old Czarist regime, suffered oppression equal to that of the Negroes of the United States, are now under the New Soviet Government of the workers and farmers, enjoying complete freedom, equality and the rights of self determination: There the workers and farmers of the varied nationalities have united in fraternal and harmonious union in the work of building up a Socialist society."

At the same time an immediate program was set forth by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights; it was as follows:

"1. Against Jim Crowism, and discrimination in all forms, and in every field, on jobs, in professions, public places, trains, boats, busses, all institutions, places of residence, etc.

"2. A relentless fight to wipe out all forms of forced labor, chain gangs, forced work on roads and public work for payment of taxes, and all other hangovers from chattel slavery.

"3. A constant daily fight for ordinary human and civil rights for Negroes in all parts of the country, for the actual enforcement of their rights as human beings.

"4. A determined fight against the whole system of social segregation in which Negroes are set apart from the rest of the population as a despised and outlawed people.

"5. A ruthless combating of all ideas of 'White Supremacy' and 'Superiority' fostered by the white rulers to justify their enslavement of Negro people."

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

Origin

The National Negro Congress is said to have been formed after its suggestion at a meeting of leading Negro Communist Party members, among whom are said to have been James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, Otto Hall, Louise Thompson, William Patterson, James Fitzgerald, Richard B. Moore, Audley Moore, Cyril Briggs, Edward Strong, Maude White, and Ben Davis. The suggestion was based on the failure of the Communist Party to build the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and its predecessor organization, the American Negro Labor Congress, into effective Communist transmission belts among Negroes.

In the summer of 1934 the abolition of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was approved and the recommendation to build a broad united organization embracing all existing organizations among Negroes was made. The Political Buro is said to have sent instructions to all Party districts to begin work on the Congress immediately by grouping together "liberals" and Communist sympathizers in forming professional committees for local conferences to lay the foundation for the National Negro Congress.

It is said that every effort was made by the Party to make the first Congress a success and every leading Negro Communist and many white Communists were instructed to go to the Congress as delegates in order that the Congress would pursue the Party line and would not be captured by certain Negro leaders. It is further reported that the most capable Communists were placed on all Congress committees and given key positions in discussion groups to guarantee control. This, of course, is typical in the Party moves to infiltrate or form a Party front organization.

Present at the Congress were such outstanding known or reported Communists as:

Henry Johnson, Chicago National Organizer of the International Workers Order
John P. Davis, subsequently National Secretary of the National Negro Congress
Columbus Alston, President of the Young Peoples Protective League, New York City
Rosa Naiside, New York Organizer for the Domestic Workers Union
Neva Ryan, Chicago Organizer of the Domestic Workers Union
Thyra Edwards, Chicago Social Worker

Richard B. Moore, New York Organizer for the International Labor
 Defense
 Dr. Arnold Donawa, New York
 B. D. Amis, former District Organizer of the Communist Party
 in Cleveland, Ohio
 Merrill Work, New York
 Marty Richardson, Jacksonville, Florida
 Layton Weston, St. Louis, Missouri, President of the Dining Car
 Cooks and Waiters Union, A.F.L.
 Abner W. Berry, Communist Party
 Arthur Huff Fauset, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Edward Strong, Vice President, American Youth Congress
 James W. Ford, Communist Party
 Max Yergan, Secretary, International Committee on African Affairs
 Al Jackson, Montgomery, Alabama
 Harry Haywood, Communist Party Section Organizer, Chicago, Illinois
 Louise Thompson, New York, National Organizer of the International
 Workers Order
 Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist Party, New York; Legal Staff
 of the International Labor Defense
 Angelo Herndon, New York
 Manning Johnson, New York
 Maude White, Cleveland, Ohio
 Audley Moore, New York

The Congress was held in February 1936 at the Eighth Illinois
 Armory in Chicago, Illinois. It was attended by some 912 delegates and it
 is said there were several thousand people present at the opening sessions.

The certificate of incorporation of the National Negro Congress
 (No. 22570) filed in the District of Columbia reflects that the National
 Negro Congress was incorporated on April 30, 1934, and that the terms of
 the organization were perpetual. The business and the objects of the
 corporation were listed as follows:

1. To suppress the spread of the Doctrines of Communism
 among Negroes.
2. To investigate and present in proper form to the right and
 proper Governmental agencies, the economic, social and
 political needs of the Negroes, with a view to their enhancement.
3. To foster a movement having as its ultimate aid, a
 periodic meeting in convention of Negro representatives
 from all the States, elected by Negroes, so that
 the problems affecting the Negroes generally may be
 discussed and means of their solution determined upon.

4. To promote the welfare of all Negroes.

A National Conference was held early in 1935 at Howard University, Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the Joint Committee on National Recovery. Out of this conference at Howard University, there arose plans for the organization of the National Negro Congress as it exists today. Shortly thereafter, the Joint Committee on National Recovery became inactive with the exception of John P. Davis. In October, 1935, this individual wrote an article published in pamphlet form, entitled, "Let's us Build a National Negro Congress". This pamphlet was reportedly distributed throughout the Country and urged all sympathetic organizations to meet together and form sponsoring committees for the new National Negro Congress to be held in Chicago, Illinois, February 14, 1936.

In the latter part of 1935, a call was issued for a National Negro Congress to meet in Chicago, Illinois on February 14 to 16, 1936. This call was:

"To all Negroes, native and foreign born. To all Negro organizations, churches, labor unions, farm and sharecroppers' organizations. To all fraternal, civic, professional and political groups. To all organizations and persons of whatever race, who are willing to fight for economic and social justice for Negroes."

The purpose of the Congress is said not to have been to usurp the work of existing organizations, but rather to seek to accomplish unity of action of existing organizations.

James W. Ford, prominent Negro Communist, addressing the November, 1935 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, declared that the National Negro Congress

"promises to be one of the broadest movements ever organized among the Negroes in this country.

"The Congress should be a broad Congress for Negro rights.

"The Communist Party endorses the National Negro Congress. We support any sincere movement that will unify the Negro people for their daily needs and demands. It is under these conditions that we are supporting the building up of this National Negro Congress. It is based upon a minimum program which we agree with."

"These are some of the minimum demands of the program around which we can develop and build up a broad united front movement. Let us help build the National Negro Congress. It doesn't intend to destroy nor replace other Negro organizations. Every Party member, every Negro comrade, must now begin to throw every bit of energy he can into building local sponsoring committees in communities helping to raise funds."

The following are the points which the Congress planned to accomplish as outlined by John P. Davis in the call and pamphlet:

- "1. The organization of the protest of Negro organizations against civic, social and economic injustices heaped on the Negro and a heightening of that protest.
- "2. United Front of Negro and white organizations around a basic minimum program of Negro rights.
- "3. Molding on a nation-wide scale, as never before accomplished, public opinion, both Negro and white, against these injustices.
- "4. A reaction as a result of the first three items listed above among federal, state and local governments which will result in the improvement of the conditions of Negro people in this country, and finally.
- "5. A reaction as a result of the first three items listed above in the trade union field which will result in fairer treatment of Negro workers by trade unions."

To further show the interest of the Communist Party in the National Negro Congress, the following is quoted from page 35 of "People's Front", written by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party at the time. It was published by the International Publishers in 1938. "Significant progress has been made in building a United Front of struggle for Negroes' liberation. The National Negro Congress, which met in Chicago in February, 1936, and established a permanent organization, found the correct road--the Negro people have learned to expect and demand of the Communists, the greatest sensitivity of their problem."

Aims and Purposes

The First Congress made the following seven demands:

1. The right of Negroes to jobs at decent living wages and for the right to join all trade unions. For the right to equal wages and equal labor conditions with other workers. For the organization of Negro workers with their fellow white workers into democratically controlled trade unions.
2. Relief and security for every needy Negro family; for genuine social and unemployment insurance without discrimination.
3. Aid to the Negro farm population, to ease the burden of debts and taxation; for the fight of farmers, tenants and sharecroppers to organize and bargain collectively.
4. For a fight against lynching, mob violence and police brutality; for enactment of a federal anti-lynching law; for the right to vote, serve on juries and enjoy complete civil liberty.
5. The right of Negro youth to equal opportunity in education and in the economic life of the community.
6. For complete equality for Negro women; for their right, along with all women, to equal pay for equal work; for their right to suitable environment for themselves and their children - an environment which demands adequate housing, good schools and recreational facilities; for their right to organize as consumers.
7. To oppose war and fascism, the attempted subjugation of Negro people in Ethiopia, the oppression of colonial nations throughout the world, for the independence of Ethiopia."

Second National Negro Congress

The Second National Negro Congress was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 15, 16, and 17, 1937. The Congress is claimed to have represented more than 500,000 members organized in trade unions, churches, civic, political and fraternal groups.

This Congress was addressed by such prominent Communists or near-Communists as:

James W. Ford
Clarence Hathaway
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Louise Thompson
William L. Patterson

The following is a list of discussions entered into at this Congress in Philadelphia:

- "1. The right of Negroes to jobs at decent wages and the right to join on an equal basis all trade unions; the right to equal wages and equal labor conditions with other workers; the organization of Negro workers with their fellow white workers into democratically controlled trade unions.
- "2. Relief and security for every needy Negro family; and genuine social and unemployment insurance without discrimination.
- "3. Aid to the Negro farm population, to ease the burden of debts and taxation; the right of farmers, tenants and sharecroppers to organize and bargain collectively.
- "4. A fight against lynching, mob violence and police brutality; for the right to vote, serve on juries and enjoy complete civil liberty; and for enactment of a federal anti-lynching law.
- "5. The question of the Scottsboro Boys as a special demand, by bringing forward its full social and political significance.
- "6. The right of Negro youth to equal opportunity in education and in the economic life of the community.

"7. For complete equality for Negro women; for their right, along with all women, to equal pay for equal work; for their right to a suitable environment for themselves and their children--an environment which demands adequate housing, good schools, and recreational facilities; for their right to organize as consumers.

"8. The struggle for economic, political, social and cultural equality of the Negro people; the necessity of joining with all the progressive forces in the land to defeat in a common front the forces of fascism and war breeding."

Third National Negro Congress

The Third National Negro Congress was held in Washington, D. C. in the Labor Department Auditorium on April 26, 27, and 28, 1940. This Congress was attended by 1,264 delegates. It approved the following major resolutions:

1. To accept unanimously and enthusiastically the offer of John L. Lewis to establish a working agreement with Labor's Non-Partisan League.
2. To condemn this imperialist war and the policies of the Roosevelt Administration which lead toward war and to cooperate with the progressive and labor forces in working for peace.
3. To demand the immediate dissolution of the Dies Committee as a great threat to our fundamental rights.
4. To press for immediate passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

A split occurred between the Communist and Non-Communist forces within the Third National Negro Congress. A. Phillip Randolph, who had been its President up to that time, refused to be a candidate for the presidency.

On May 5, 1940, he issued a statement that the Congress was

"deliberately packed with Communists and C.I.O members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists."

He added that most of the contributions to the Congress came from C.I.O. unions and said that John P. Davis of Washington, D. C., the Secretary of the Congress, had said during an Executive Committee meeting in New York,

"that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to the Congress."

Randolph declared that the Communist Party, instead of trying to refute charges of the Dies Committee that it was a transmission belt for Communist propaganda,

"has brilliantly succeeded in giving the charge every appearance of truth and validity."

In his stead Max Yergan was the unopposed nominee for President of the Congress. He is a lecturer at the City College of New York and Treasurer of the International Committee on African Affairs. During his speech to the Congress he defended the Soviet Union and attacked President Roosevelt's foreign policy. It is interesting to note that James W. Ford was elected to the Executive Committee at this Congress.

The principal address was made by John L. Lewis.

John P. Davis, Secretary of the National Negro Congress, in outlining the peace program, followed the identical program of the Communist Party when he declared:

"The position which our Congress should take on the question of war should be to oppose loans, credits, arms or any other aid direct or indirect to either side of the belligerents. We speak out firmly against aid to Nazi Germany but we speak out equal firmness against aid to imperialist Britain and imperialist France."

He said he believed that:

"The American Negro people will refuse to follow American imperialism in an attack upon the Soviet Union, will refuse to fall victim to anti-Soviet adventures, will refuse to join

American or world imperialism in an attack against the Soviet people."

OFFICERS

The only reported change in the officers of the National Negro Congress is to the effect that Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O. and a reported Communist, in May of 1942, was made National Treasurer of the Congress. Henry Johnson, one of the former Vice Presidents, was removed as an officer and member of the organization. It was also announced that George B. Murphy was made Administrative Secretary. With regard to Henry Johnson, it is said that he was expelled from the National Negro Congress because of his actions as "an agent of John L. Lewis", thus rendering him as "inimical to the best interests of the National Negro Congress, the Negro people, labor and national unity".

The following individuals are reported to be the present officers of this organization:

Max Yergan, President
Reverend William H. Jernigan, Washington, D. C., Vice President
Mrs. Fay Allen, Los Angeles, California, Vice President
Reverend Owen Whitfield, Missouri, Vice President
Reverend Charles A. Lewis, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
Vice President
Dr. Robert A. Simmons, Massachusetts, Vice President
John P. Davis, Washington, D. C., National Secretary
George B. Murphy, Jr., New York City, Administrative Secretary
Ferdinand C. Smith, New York City, National Treasurer
Julius A. Bostick, Atlanta, Georgia, Financial Secretary
Louis Burnham, New York City, National Youth Secretary

Organization

The National Negro Congress is being organized under a regional, or district, and local council basis. A region or district is composed of several states, with a vice-president in charge. There are to be also state organizations. These are made up of city bodies or local councils within the state. The local council is the basic form of organization. The local sponsoring committees, which initiate the movement for the National Negro Congress, automatically become local councils. These councils are to be federated bodies of already existing organizations which affiliate to the council on the basis of a part or the whole of the program adopted at Chicago.

Branches

The organization is said to have branches in the following States:

Alabama (Birmingham)
Connecticut (South Norwalk, Hartford)
Illinois (Chicago)
California (Los Angeles)
Washington, D. C.
Indiana (Gary, South Bend)
Massachusetts (Boston)
Missouri (St. Louis)
New York (Manhattan, Brooklyn)
South Carolina (Greenville)
Virginia (Suffolk, Richmond, Roanoke)
Maryland (Baltimore)
Michigan (Detroit)
New Jersey (Orange)
Ohio (Akron)
Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Pittsburgh)
Rhode Island (Providence)
Texas (Waco)

Headquarters

Recently the headquarters of the National Negro Congress was moved from Washington, D. C., to 290 Lenox Avenue, New York City. It was stated, however, that the Congress would maintain a Washington Bureau with John P. Davis, National Secretary in charge, while George B. Murphy, Jr., Administrative Secretary, would be in charge of the New York City office.

Officers

The history of the Congress reflects that since its inception it has been under the leadership, for the most part, of two men: James W. Ford, Negro candidate of the Communist Party for Vice President of the United States in 1934, 1936 and 1940, and John P. Davis, who although he has not been proven to be a member of the Communist Party has been definitely identified with that Party for the past five years.

Max Yergan, who became the President of the National Negro Congress, has been likewise identified with the Communist Party for the past five years. Scarcely an issue of the Daily appears which fails to reflect the name and accomplishments of Yergan, who is a Negro.

An article appearing on page 546-547 of the periodical, "The Communist", June, 1940, attributes the following statement to John P. Davis, a leader of the Negro Congress:

"I have visited the Soviet Union. I have talked with the Soviet people. I have witnessed their accomplishments and achievements. I know of their ideals and aspirations. I have witnessed the real and genuine rights of its freedom. I have witnessed their many nations and peoples, business and work in amity, collaboration and peace. I know of their deep friendship and aid to all oppressed peoples and on the basis of that experience and knowledge, which is shared by thousands of people, I firmly believe that the American Negro people will refuse to fall victim to anti-Soviet ventures. Will refuse to join American or World Imperialists in any attack against the Soviet people....."

As further indicative of the cooperation and infiltration of the Communist Party in connection with the National Negro Congress, it was noted in an article appearing in the October 30, 1940 issue of the Daily Worker that:

"In a panel section of the Convention devoted to a discussion of political parties, Mother Ella Reeve Bloor Ohmbolt, Communist Candidate for Congress from Pennsylvania, Second District, spoke, advancing her Party's Program to aid the economic status of both Negroes and whites and abolish the poll tax in the South."

Accomplishments

The principal work of the National Negro Congress, in addition to being a part of the United Front for the Communist Party, has been its campaign on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys, organizing Negro workers in the Congress for Industrial Organizations and its campaigns on behalf of Anti-Lynching and Anti-Jim Crow legislation.

Radical Activities and Connections

The following statements have been issued by James W. Ford concerning the interest of the Communist Party in the National Negro Congress:

"In all of these issues, the role of the National Negro Congress becomes of utmost importance for us. The Congress does not receive sufficient support from us. It is still weak organizationally. It needs to be built and it is up to the Communists to do their share in helping to build it."

"We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress. We were not deterred by the charges of 'Communist domination.' We were guided by what we knew of the desire of the Negro masses for united action."

"The Communists have played a big part in this development as well as in the struggle for unity of the Negro people and the white masses. Our Party as a whole has helped to organize the Negro people and has gained wide support for their struggles. There has been a better understanding on the part of Negro Communists of how to work among the Negro masses, bringing to them Communist methods of struggle, and creating faith among them in the ability of the Communist Party to break down the barriers of prejudice....."

"Today the tactic of the united front bringing together large masses of Negroes....."

"The National Negro Congress (First Congress) recorded progress made by Communists and many delegates who supported our program, in the increasing work we are carrying on in the various organizations of the Negro people. Our modest successes are, however, just beginnings. We must now undertake to profit from our experiences, mistakes, shortcomings and successes, by showing what changes are necessary in our methods of work to build the National Negro Congress."

"It is necessary for the Party membership, particularly the Negro members, to see the need and possibility of strengthening our influence in the existing Negro organizations, by joining them where possible and becoming useful members. We can today unite the Negro people on the basis of their day-to-day needs, and for the preservation of democratic rights in such a way that the greatest number of people will be brought together in common struggle."

"We do not contrapose immediate issues to the revolutionary objectives; we are concerned daily, hourly, with the miserable life of the whole of the Negro people, as a part of the larger struggle for socialism."

"As a duly elected member of the Executive Committee (of the National Negro Congress) at the 'recent Congress at Philadelphia, in the name of the Communist Party, I pledge one thousand Negro Communists to become members of the National Negro Congress during its drive. Our Communists must become the most active and enthusiastic workers in the National Negro Congress. We must see that the best of these comrades are utilized for work in the National Negro Congress."

"We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program. If we develop systematic work we shall be able to fulfill very soon the task of developing a broad People's Front among the Negro people in the United States against Fascism and war and for the liberation of the Negro people."

"Great united front organizations such as the National Negro Congress.....will be an important sector of the Democratic Front."

James W. Ford has further characterized the National Negro Congress as:

"A broadening of the People's Front in America. The Congress is built upon the organizational idea of a federation of Negro organizations which, in effect, is the Negro People's Front."

A. W. Berry, one of the leaders of the National Negro Congress, has in the past been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and an Upper Harlem Section Organizer of the Communist Party.

Edward Strong, an executive of the National Negro Congress, has been reported to be a high functionary in the Young Communist League.

The National Negro Congress is affiliated with the American Council on Soviet Relations. This latter group is regarded as the

"most intellectual Red setup in America."

The National Negro Congress was one of the organizations sponsoring the American Peace Mobilization at Turner's Arena in Washington, D. C., on September 13, 1940. John P. Davis, Chairman of the National Negro Congress, was chairman of the meeting in Washington, D. C., and introduced such well-known radicals as

Vito Marcantonio
Fred Keller, former member of the Abraham
Lincoln Brigade in Spain

Dr. Max Yergan, now President of the National Negro Congress, has identified himself with the Communist Party for at least the last five years. An examination of the issue of the Daily Worker would indicate that it constitutes itself as being his advance press agent. There appeared in the Daily Worker for July 26, 1938, a statement to the following effect:

"Dr. Max Yergan is not only an expert on African affairs but is also close to the throbbing pulse of the American Negro. As Executive Vice President of the National Negro Congress he participates in the shaping of policies that affect the lives of millions of Negroes."

William Z. Foster, writing in "The Communist" for November, 1936, under an article styled "The Crisis in the Socialist Party," declared, in part:

"The Party's role was also one of significant importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February, 1936, of 1,817 delegates representing 1,200,000 members organized in trade unions, churches, youth groups and so forth. In all these united front movements the Communist Party is an official participant."

The Communist Party of California issued the following statement concerning Communist work in the National Negro Congress:

"The Communist Party has given full support to the program of the National Negro Congress, both nationally and in California. Communist Party members in California worked very actively for the achievement of this United Negro People's Front."

A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, resigned in April, 1940 as President of the National Negro Congress on the grounds that it is controlled by Communists. Speaking before the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Harlem, New York, on September 17, 1940, Randolph declared:

".....we reject the Communist program as a solution of the problems of the Negro because it is the negation of democracy. We condemn all Communist-Front and transmission belt organizations as a peril to the constructive and sound program of the Negro people since they seek only to serve the cause of the Communist Party, which is only concerned about the success to the foreign policy of Soviet Russia."

It was reported in April of 1941 that the combined forces of the National Negro Congress and the Maryland Youth Congress would carry on a drive to win jobs for 7,000 Negro Workers in the "Jim-Crow" Plant of the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company and the Bethlehem Steel Company.

Prior to the repudiation of the Non-aggression Pact between Germany and Russia, Doctor Max Yergan, President of the National Negro Congress, issued the following statement on May 24, 1941, in connection with the organization campaign to secure employment of Negroes in various National Defense Industries, ".....it would be a mistake and it would do serious harm to the Negro People, if they demand jobs in exchange for support of war-making plans and of War itself, so this War holds no good for the Negro but will usher in destruction of his Democratic Right and further denial of the neager Civil Liberty he enjoys already.

"The Negro people must insist on jobs while at the same time opposing this imperialistic war and our independent interests. It is a war which cannot possibly serve to save Democracy or to liberate the people, for it is an instrument of oppression of the people the world over."

On July 4, 1941, subsequent to the German invasion of Russia, the National Negro Congress issued a significant policy statement calling on the Negro people, "to give their fullest support to the cause of a genuine struggle against Hitlerism both at home and abroad.....this is the only way to secure manhood rights for the Negro people and to truly defend American Democracy." The statement continues:

"The slightest possibility of successful conquest by the Forces of Hitler of the vast territory and resources of the Soviet Union is a cause for alarm to all American people, but especially the Negro people for whom the world domination of Hitlerism would mean disaster for all their hopes for Democratic Rights".

The statement concluded: "The pledge of our Government for full aid to the Soviet Union in the brave fight against Hitlerism, will find welcome response from the Negro people."

"This is true not only because of the grave military disadvantage to which our country would be put by the defeat of the Soviet Union, but, equally because of the genuine admiration which the Negro people have for the land where race discrimination has been abolished."

".....It is now the clear task of every section of the Negro people to give their fullest support to the cause of a genuinely Democratic struggle against Hitlerism, both at home and abroad. This is the only way to secure Manhood Rights for the Negro people and to truly defend American democracy."

It was reported in November, 1941 that the Manhattan Council of the National Negro Congress demonstrated in front of the R. H. Macy Department Store, Herald Square, New York City. The demonstration is said to have been a failure inasmuch as it was planned to have approximately 5,000 persons present, however, actually there were approximately 25 persons in the demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration is said to have been to negotiate with the Macy Department Store to employ Negro personnel.

More currently, the National Negro Congress has been carrying on a campaign against the policy of the Army and Navy in refusing to accept donations of Negro blood, for "blood banks", which are stored to provide transfusions for men in battle. The Congress has alleged that this attitude of the Army and Navy is another demonstration of its Jim-Crow practices. In addition, there has been a demand on the part of the National Negro Congress, as well as related groups, for Negro Employment in National Defense Industry. Charges have been made, also, that there has been discrimination against the Negro race in employment in these industries. It has been additionally reported with respect to this program that the Communist Party and the Communist Front organization, the International Workers' Order participated in it. It is stated that this way Communist Doctrines may be presented to the Negro Race.

The following excerpt is taken from a pamphlet advertising a meeting of a unit of the National Negro Congress held March 2, 1942, at the New York Public Library, 9 West 124th St., New York City. "America has been at War for nearly three months! Sufficient time has elapsed and sufficient events have occurred for us again to "take stock".....examine the situation..... and see where the Negro people stand in relation to the War....."

It is reported in May, 1942 a meeting was held by the Manhattan Council of the National Negro Congress at which many of the speakers spoke against alleged discrimination against the Negro and called for mixed regiments of white and black soldiers. The question involving the people of India and Africa who dealt with by various speakers and it was urged that they be properly armed to guarantee the defeat of the Axis. Hope Stevens, who presided at the meeting, is said to have expressed their disappointment that only 70 persons were in attendance after arrangements had been made for 700.

In June 1942 the National Negro Congress issued an appeal styled "This is Our War--Wipe Out Discrimination--Let Negroes Fight Equally". It stated that "Negro Americans, especially, want to defeat Hitler, because Nazi slavery threatens our onward march to full freedom. The security of America and the defeat of Hitler make it imperative to open a western front in Europe now". In the appeal there were also demands that alleged discrimination against Negroes in war industries, in the Armed Forces, and in civilian life be abolished and that the Negro people be integrated into all phases of the war effort. Along with the appeal were the following instructions:

1. Do everything you can to win the war.
2. Urge the removal of all discriminatory bars from the war effort.
3. Expose the disrupters of war unity.
4. Promote unity among Negroes for victory and full citizenship.

The above-set-out "appeal" is, of course, in direct harmony with the Communist Party line in that it urges full participation by Negroes in the war effort but on the other hand, in effect, agitates them. It is the reported theory that the Communist Party and its front organizations desire to attract the Negroes by such appeals and statements, but at the same time keep them within the bounds of the war effort.

The Daily Worker on March 15, 1943, announced that at a session of the National Executive Board of the National Negro Congress it was decided that a series of three regional "Victory conferences on the Problems of the War and the Negro People" would be held in three areas; the Eastern Seaboard, the Middle West and the Pacific Coast. It was further stated that the conferences would be designed to bring together official representatives of organization among the Negro people as well as among progressive white Americans to consider and to act upon the basic problems of the negro as they relate to the war. It was decided that the conferences, the first of which would be held on the Eastern Seaboard, April 10 and 11, 1943, would be based primarily upon three vital issues before the negro people, namely,

1. Manpower (FEPC, Negro women in industry, the organized labor movement).
2. The Poll Tax (a united campaign to abolish the Poll Tax in the 78th session of the Congress).
3. Democratization of the stage, screen and radio (a national campaign for an accurate interpretation of the life and culture of the Negro people).

It was said further that in addition to the above questions, there would be such matters as the armed forces, "The Fascist Defensive on the Home Front", and the problem of strengthening civilian morale (rationing, price control, child care, high cost of living) to consider.

Accordingly, a "call" was issued by Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, to bring together official delegates from the North-eastern states and the Eastern Seaboard who represented the leading organizations concerned with the problems of the Negro people.

On April 10, and 11, 1943, the conference was held with an estimated attendance of 1500. The main speakers were Max Yergan; Thelma Dale, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress; Edmonia Grant, member of the National Council, Y.W.C.A.; James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Vito Marcantonio, U. S. Congressman and president of the International Labor Defense, a Communist Party front organization.

Among the people taking a prominent part in the conference were the following individuals who are reported to be Communist Party members:

Ferdinand Smith, secretary, National Maritime Union
Edward E. Strong, National Executive Secretary, National Negro Congress
Hope R. Stevens, Legislative representative of the National Negro Congress
James W. Ford, member of the National Committee, Communist Party.
Ben Davis, Jr., member, National Committee, Communist Party
Dorothy Funn, of the Negro Labor Victory Committee

Audley Moore, Communist Party functionary, New York City
Doxey A. Wilkerson, Howard University
Charles Collins, Executive Secretary Negro Victory Committee
George Marshall of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
Clifford McAvoary, Legislative Representative of the Greater N. Y., CIO,
Industrial Union Council

The following panels were held at the conference "Manpower Panel",
"A People's Victory - A People's Peace Panel", "Democratic Rights Panel", "Wartime
Living Standards Panel."

Writing in the Worker, James W. Ford, previously referred to as a
member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, had this to say about the
conference:

"The Conference was timely because of urgent problems connected with
effective prosecution of the war and sentiments among the Negro people for
unity. It will be a big step forward towards national unification behind
the President, providing immediate measures are taken, first, by government
and labor to break down barriers that still operate against the fullest
mobilization of Negro citizens for the war; and secondly, providing broader
organizational unity is established among the Negro people behind the central
political and military issue that faces the nation, namely, the immediate
opening of a second military front in Europe against Hitler. In this connection
a great responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Negro leaders.

"Despite significant and outstanding advances which have been
made in placing large numbers of Negro workers into war industries through
the elimination of discriminatory bars, and by the fact that hundreds of
thousands of Negro soldiers are sharing the burdens of our armed forces,
it is stupid to fail to see that there still operates a conspiracy of Negro-
baiting and discrimination. The Fair Employment Practice Commission which
was set up to force employers to hire Negro citizens, men and women, was
abandoned through a conspiracy of poll-tax Congressman, defeatists and
appeasers. -----

"Labor and the Negro people face new and greater common problems.
A reactionary group of defeatists and appeasers headed by poll tax Congress-
men and Martin Dies of the Dies Committee, is out to hamstring both labor
and the Negro people. The initiators of the anti-labor Hobbs bill, the
Johnson bill, opponents of a law to abolish the poll tax are Negro baiters,
labor baiters and anti-Semites. Ties between the Negro people and labor must
be made stronger. The fight to break down discrimination against Negroes in
industry is a central task of labor. The trade unions must fight more
aggressively for the re-establishment of the FEPC. They must stand in the
forefront of this fight, so that the President's Executive Order 8802 against
discrimination will not become a dead letter law.

"The regional Eastern conference of the National Negro Congress
outlined a campaign for securing one million signatures in favor of re-

establishment of the FEPC. Labor's participation in the conference is a pledge of support and assistance to this campaign

"Red-baiting and anti-Soviet activities in our country were linked with the poll taxers and appeasers in Congress. By his sterling example Congressman Marcantonio delivered a stinging rebuke at all of those who are thus hindering the struggle for rights of all citizens, black and white. At the present moment in the war when certain forces are trying to do everything possible to strain the relations between the Soviet Union and our own country, it behooves every loyal American to understand the meaning and full danger of red-baiting and Soviet-baiting to success in the war against Nazi Germany. This was the fundamental and contribution to the conference of Congressman Marcantonio, himself a democratic American and friend of the Negro people.

"The Conference brought together a broad representation of labor and of organizations of the Negro people. It demonstrated that the Negro people desire unity and are seeking the closest alliance with labor

".....The chief responsibility for failure to gain Negro rights and unity for the war effort will be at the door of all those who oppose unity and lag behind the spirit of fight now prevailing among broad masses....."

A midwest conference of the National Negro Congress was held at the Masonic Temple, 275 East Ferry Street, Detroit, Michigan, on May 29 and 30, 1943. The conference was called to consider the problems of the war and the Negro people. The number of delegates and observers in attendance was said to be approximately three hundred on each day.

Pat Toohy, Michigan State Secretary of the Communist Party, and Jack Raskin, reportedly a known Communist Party member and Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Federation of Michigan, were in attendance during the conference. Raskin conducted a panel discussion on "Democratic Rights."

The following individuals were reported to have addressed the conference at some time during the two day session, either to the conference as a body or to the panel groups:

C. Lebron Simmons	President of the Detroit Council, National Negro Congress, reported Communist
Edward E. Strong	Secretary of the National Negro Congress, reported Communist
A. Clayton Powell, Jr.	Editor, "People's Voice"
Shelton Tappes	Sponsor, Michigan Free Browder Congress, reported Communist
G. James Flemming	Fair Employment Practices Committee
Ray Campbell	Of Local 633, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Helpers, Chauffeurs, and Warehousemen, AF of L
Arthur Bowman	Chairman, Negro Youth Council for Victory and Democracy
Mrs. Rosa L. Cragg	Michigan Division, Office of Civilian Defense

Jack Raskin	Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Federation of Michigan, reported Communist
William L. Patterson	Of the Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois, National Committee member of the Communist Party
Clayborne George	Attorney, representing the Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Closter Current	Executive Secretary, Detroit Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported Communist
I. P. Flory	Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, C.I.O. Chicago, Illinois

The theme of the conference was to end discrimination in the armed forces and against Negro women in war plants. The resolutions adopted consisted of a six page statement which called for:

1. The opening of a second front.
2. Endorsement of the Marcantonio Anti-Poll Tax Bill.
3. Enforcement of the rationing laws.
4. End of discrimination.
5. Hiring of Negro women in all war plants.
6. For the Department of Justice to enforce the anti-lynching laws.
7. For all the Negroes to support the Administration's plan to fight the Axis until unconditional surrender.
8. The endorsement of the formation of an active Executive Committee for the midwest branch of the National Negro Congress.
9. A request that a full-time paid executive secretary be appointed to carry on the program of the conference.

There was distributed at the conference the following literature:

1. A sixteen-page booklet published by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, entitled "Poll Tax Repeal--A Priority for Victory."
2. A flyer which announced a freedom rally to be held Sunday, May 30, at Scott Methodist Church, 609 East Kirby, Detroit.
3. A publication of the National Negro Congress, entitled "Congress Vue," which announced a Negro Freedom Rally at Madison Square Gardens on June 7, 1943.
4. An announcement of the Negro Youth Council for Victory and Democracy to be held in Detroit on June 12 - 13, 1943.
5. A printed folder of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Incorporated, soliciting financial contributions.
6. A printed flyer from the Detroit chapter of the American Council on Soviet Relations, which cautioned the readers to beware of those who seek to show distrust and suspicion of the Soviet Union, because "these people are doing Hitler's work."

RE: NEGRO LABOR VICTORY COMMITTEE

Background

On the week end of June 27 and 28, 1942, there were held two separate meetings, one the Trade Union and Negro Peoples Victory Conference at the Fraternal Club House, 110 West 48th Street, New York City, on June 27, 1942, and the other the Negro Labor Victory Committee Meeting held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Harlem, New York City, on June 28, 1942. It has been reported that these two meetings were part of the same program.

As a matter of background information concerning these two meetings, it has been confidentially reported that they were planned by the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA. The reason for this, it has been stated, was arrived at during a meeting held sometime in the middle of May, 1942, by the Negro Commission of the Party, at which time James Ford, member of the National Committee of the Party, is reported to have stressed the need of counteracting the influence of and the interest in the March on Washington Movement. It was reported that the Movement was deemed anti-Party in character and was considered a danger to the "united front policy" of the Party.

It was reported further that the Communist Party believed that danger existed of the Negro Movement falling under the leadership of the Socialist Party as allegedly represented by A. Phillip Randolph. It has been further reported that it was decided at the meeting that a form of negative criticism of the March on Washington Movement was not enough and that simultaneously with the criticism by the Party of the Movement there should be set up an organization with the policy of the Party in contradistinction to the purely "Nationalist Movement" led by A. Phillip Randolph.

It has been reported that Benjamin Davis, Jr., was assigned by the Party to write an article for the "Daily Worker" criticizing the March on Washington Movement. It should be noted at this time that an article concerning the March on Washington Movement appeared in the June 18, 1942, issue of the "Daily Worker" and was written by Ben Davis, Jr., who is Secretary-Treasurer of the "Daily Worker" and reported to be a member of the Communist Party.

The article referred to the meeting of the March on Washington Movement on June 16, 1942, in Madison Square Garden, New York City, and advised that the meeting "recorded a new high point in the militancy and aggressiveness of the Negro people for their just demands of equal integration into the war effort and complete citizenship in the United States."

With regard to the organization itself, however, the article stated:

" . . . The meeting revealed further that Norman Thomas Socialists, Trotskyites, Lovestoneites and other malignantly defeatist elements are seeking to exploit the just grievances of the Negro people to turn them against the nation, spread disunity, and ultimately to use these grievances against the Negro's own best interests. These nondescript, unpatriotic elements -- who insult the honor of the Negro people by trying to incite them to disloyalty to their country and to their own interests -- have a heavy influence in the so-called March on Washington Movement, which conducted the rally."

Prior to the above-mentioned article, an article appearing in the June 14, 1942, issue of the "Daily Worker," styled "Call Parley to Increase Negro Role in War," announced the Trade Union and Peoples Victory Conference. The article stated that the Conference was sponsored by the "People's Voice," a Negro weekly paper published in New York City, the National Conference of Negro Youth, and the Negro Labor Victory Committee.

In the above-mentioned article a "call" to the Conference was set out. The substance of this "call" was that for a victory of the United Nations in 1942 to become a reality "a WESTERN FRONT MUST BE OPENED," and that a failure to strike quickly might mean the danger of "a Hitler Victory." The "call" continued, pointing out that such a victory would impose "upon us all their false ideas of 'racial superiority.'" It stated that the Negro people were anxious to make their contributions to the war effort and that they should be given an opportunity. The "call" concluded by demanding a "full and complete integration of the Negro people into all war activities. . . ."

The Trade Union and Peoples Victory Conference

The Trade Union and Negro Peoples Victory Conference was held June 27, 1942, from 10:00 A.M. until 6:30 P.M., at the Fraternal Club House, 110 West 48th Street, New York City.

It has been reported that the meeting was attended by 350 delegates and 75 observers, representing eleven international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and seventy-five local unions and seventy-nine international unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It was further reported that 45 of the delegates represented religious, fraternal, political and civic groups.

The "keynote address" was given by Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union and reported member of the Communist Party. Smith has been confidentially reported to have been selected by the National Committee of the Party to organize the Party's work among the Negro people.

In his "keynote speech" Smith is reported to have stated that the Negroes "are denied real participation in this struggle for freedom." He is reported to have said that "they are Jim Crowed in the armed services," and he is reported to have attacked "appeaser groups" who, he stated, are attempting to divide the Negro people.

The second session of the Conference was opened by Harry Reich. Reich is stated to have been a member of the Communist Party since 1933. He is also reported to have been an organizer of the Food Workers Industrial Union, an organization reportedly built by the Communist Party which was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League.

The main speaker at the second session of the Conference was Congressman Vito Marcantonio. In his speech he is reported to have announced that he was introducing a bill for punishment of discriminatory employers.

Among the other speakers listed were John A. Davis, Executive Secretary of Governor Lehman's Committee on Discrimination, and Elmer Carter, Member of the New York State War Council.

A twelve-point program was adopted at the Conference calling for such measures as the training of 100,000 Negroes for war production, a demand that a National Conference on Discrimination be called, a demand for full citizenship rights for Negroes, and a program to rid the Army and Navy of Jim Crowism.

Fourteen resolutions were passed at this Conference, the majority of which pertained to the promotion of the adoption of anti-discrimination measures. However, certain political resolutions were adopted, including independence for Puerto Rico, the ending of foreign domination of foreign countries by the United States, the granting of political amnesty for political prisoners in the West Indies and Puerto Rico, and urging that the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration be extended.

Negro Labor Victory Committee "Unity for Victory" Rally

On Sunday, June 28, 1942, at the Golden Gate Ballroom, 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, the Negro Labor Victory Committee sponsored a "Unity for Victory" Rally. This meeting is reported to have been attended by approximately 6,000 persons, 4,000 of whom were seated and 2,000 of whom were reported to have stood on the outside.

The main speaker at the Rally was the Honorable Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. Other speakers were Congressman Vito Marcantonio; Reverend A. Clayton Powell, New York City Councilman; Ferdinand Smith of the National Maritime Union; Winifred Norman, Chairman of the National Conference of Negro Youths; and Eddie Tolan, former Olympic track star.

A twelve-point program was adopted at this meeting, the substance of which called for the extending of anti-discrimination measures and the ending of Jim Crow practices.

The Chairman of the meeting was stated to be Charles Collins, an organizer of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, Local No. 6, American Federation of Labor. Collins is reported confidentially to be a member of the Communist Party and one whom the Party is building up in the trade union field.

The following individuals are reported to have been active in the organizational activities connected with the meeting and are stated to be members of the Communist Party:

- George Brown - International Vice President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, AFL.
- James Alston - Business Agent and organizer of Local 623 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL.
- Arthur Garvin - Organizer for the Hotel Front Service Employees Union, Local 144, AFL.
- Sabina Martinez - Organizer for the Cleaners and Dyers Union, Local 328, CIO.

As reflecting the attitude of the Communist Party toward the "week end conference" of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, June 27 and 28, 1942, an editorial appeared in the "Daily Worker" of June 30, 1942. The editorial stated that the conference "was a tremendous expression of the Negro people's patriotic desire for their country's victory over Hitler," and that at the same time "it was a powerful demonstration, demanding the full rights of the Negro people. . . ." It commented favorably on the speeches of the Honorable Paul V. McNutt, Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

The editorial continued, advising that "The Negro people showed their desire for unity behind win-the-war candidates in November, when thunderous acclaim greeted Councilman Powell's request that Harlem vote for Marcantonio."

The editorial concluded demanding that "An immediate program and action by our national government against every single discriminatory practice . . . is urgently necessary."

Activities

On July 15, 1942, at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, the Committee held a meeting in conjunction with the National Conference of Negro Youth, described as a Communist Party instructed and sponsored organization. It was stated that the meeting was part of a campaign the Party organized on a nationwide scale around the "Odell Waller execution," the purpose of which is said to be the abolition of the poll tax and lynching. At the same time, it has been stated, the meeting was part of the movement to counteract the effect of the March on Washington Movement.

The meeting was also attended by representatives of Local 65, Fur Workers Union, CIO, and the National Negro Congress. The Confidential Informant has described the meeting as being composed of a series of speeches

made by individuals who posed as "first time speakers" but whose Party "jargon and manner" indicated that they were not beginners. The meeting was said to have been attended by approximately 100 persons. The outward purpose of the meeting was to protest against the lynching of one Willie Vinson, a Texarkana, Texas, Negro.

On July 15, 1942, it was also ascertained that the Committee prepared and sponsored a petition in cooperation with Local 91, United Furniture Workers of America, CIO, 186 Remsen Street, Brooklyn, New York, directed to Mr. Donald Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board, urging the utilization of the skill of the workers and the facilities of the Spring Products Corporation, Long Island, New York, through the allocation of war contracts to that company. The petition further stated that 400 Negro workers were employed at this company and that they faced loss of their jobs because war contracts had not been allocated to this plant.

It has been reported that the Committee, in connection with the Young Communist League, on July 17, 1942, called a meeting which was held but a half of a block away from the meeting place of the March on Washington Movement. Circulars were stated to have been distributed near the meeting place of the March on Washington Movement in order to confuse the people and to attract them to the Communist-inspired meeting away from the March on Washington Movement meeting.

On July 24, 1942, the Committee sponsored a meeting held at the Uptown Fur Center, 2132 7th Avenue, New York City, the purpose of which was to draw up an action program "for getting Citizens Rights for the Negro in America today." At the meeting a report was given by Ewart Guinier, a reported Communist concerning a conference had with the Attorney General wherein alleged facts were presented concerning recent lynchings and injustices committed against the Negro people. Guinier stated that he urged the Attorney General to ask the President to issue a proclamation for Negro rights. At the meeting a resolution was passed to bring pressure to bear on the Attorney General and President Roosevelt for the issuance of the proclamation. Several members of the Communist Party spoke and it was decided to hold a mass rally in Brooklyn on August 8, 1942.

The Committee voted to support the March on Washington parade and mass meeting held on July 25, 1942, in New York City. It was decided that instead of getting out their own petitions, members would use the petitions of the March on Washington Movement.

A committee, consisting of Ferdinand Smith, Solomon Harper, Sabina Martinez, Ewart Guinier and George Murphy, was appointed to visit local Congressmen in an attempt to obtain their signatures for a petition urging members of the House of Representatives to support the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. It should be pointed out that all members of the committee had been reported to be either Communist Party members or closely affiliated with the Party.

On July 27, 1942, the Daily Worker announced that a letter had been forwarded by the Committee to Admiral Emory S. Land, Chairman of the War Shipping Administration, wherein it was demanded that a Negro sea captain, one Hugh Mulzac, be "used immediately as a ranking officer" in the interest of "defeating the Axis."

The letter is stated to have also pointed out that the Maritime industry "is still protecting its prejudice at the cost of transportation for victory. This is near treason, especially when we need to use every shipping resource to transport men and materials. . . ."

On August 12, 1942, the Negro Labor Victory Committee held a meeting at the Harlem Workers Club, 126th Street near Lenox Avenue, New York City, attended by approximately 40 persons. A report and discussions were centered around efforts to obtain the passage of the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. The report pertained to the results obtained by the delegation stated to have visited Congressman Gavigan to obtain his support in the passage of the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. It was stated that the delegation was assured that Congressman Gavigan would do all within his power to see that the bill was brought to the floor of the House.

The delegation is reported to have consisted of Ewart J. Guinier, Secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee; Charles Collins, organizer of the Hotel, Restaurant and Club Employees, AFL, Local No. 6; George B. Murphy, the Administrative Secretary, National Negro Congress; Elinor Kahn, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and James Allen, head of the New York State National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was reported further that all of these individuals are Communist Party members except James Allen.

On August 31, 1942, the Negro Labor Victory Committee sponsored a meeting which was attended by approximately 2,000 people at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Harlem, New York City. The meeting is said to have been endorsed by the State, County and Municipal Workers of America; Local No. 65 of the Wholesale and Warehouse Union, CIO; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; Local No. 125, Fur Floor Boys and Shipping Clerks; Joint Board of the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union, CIO; and the United Shoe Workers of America.

The meeting was presided over by Charles Collins, organizer for Local No. 6 of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, AFL, a reported Negro Communist from Trinidad, British West Indies. The following individuals are stated to have spoken:

Lyndon Henry, Manager of Local No. 88 of the Fancy Fur Dyers.
James Lustig, organizer, District No. 5, United Electrical,
Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO.
Thomas Jasper, Executive Secretary of the Negro Labor Victory
Committee.

Canada Lee, former boxer and actor in the play "Native Son."
Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, New York City Councilman and
Pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church.
Louis Weinstock, Secretary, District Council No. 9, Painters
Union, AFL.

All of the speakers referred generally to discrimination against the Negroes and exhorted the listeners to do something about it. It was stated that they were particularly vitriolic in their denunciation of the Police Department of New York City, the Governor of Alabama, the Governor of Georgia, the Daily News, the World Telegram and the Journal-American, branding all either as Hitler agents or agencies. It is stated that numerous examples of what particular unions are doing to provide jobs for Negroes were cited. The crime wave in Harlem was attributed to the economic conditions of the Negro which were asserted to be deplorable. All are said to have been vehement in their demand for the opening of a "second front" immediately as a solution of all the problems of the people. Resolutions were stated to have been made for the independence of India and the opening of a "second front."

The National Maritime Union is said to have provided a delegation of Negro seamen who served on ships which were torpedoed. These individuals in turn served as a color guard, it is reported.

The meeting was described as evidencing a marked lack of enthusiasm except when Adam Clayton Powell spoke. Powell, in his speech, is stated to have praised the fight of the Russians, stressed the need for unity to create a "new world where there will not be any rich or any poor people--a people's world based on justice and equity."

On November 15, 1942, at the Golden Gate Ballroom the Negro Labor Victory Committee sponsored a "Peoples Rally and Drama on the Four Freedoms," in attendance at which were said to have been approximately 1,000 persons. The chairman of the meeting was Earl Robinson who made introductory remarks, explaining the purpose of the meeting as being to dramatize the "Four Freedoms" and to make them a living reality. Juan Antonio Cretjer, Secretary of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, spoke on the Puerto Rican situation and attributed starvation in that country to the United States Government. He charged the American policy with regard to Puerto Rico as being imperialistic and said that the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party aims to set up a democratic republic in Puerto Rico.

Barbara Watson, described as the daughter of Municipal Court Judge Watson, New York City, is reported to have spoken on Africa and expressed the aspirations of Africans for freedom.

An individual by the name of Lui Liang-Mo spoke on China and condemned American isolationism prior to December 7, 1941.

Kumar Goshal is said to have spoken on the Indian situation, in effect condemning Great Britain, and said that the Indians do not want a dominion status, rather they want a government of their own.

Congressman Vito Marcantonio spoke on the Puerto Rican situation and urged lend-lease aid to the Puerto Rican Government. At the same time he denounced the filibustering in the Senate on the poll tax bill.

Charles Collins, a reported Communist, who made the collection appeal, spoke against lynching, "Jim Crow," and urged the application of the Four Freedoms to all countries.

On January 22, 1943, members of the Negro Labor Victory Committee who had been designated as delegates formed a delegation which visited several officials in Washington to protest over the curtailment of activities of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The delegation was composed of approximately 20 people and was led by A. J. Isserman representing the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, a Communist front. It is said that the delegation advised representatives of the Fair Employment Practices Committee that they wanted to support the Committee but that they desired to see it returned to an autonomous status rather than to have it controlled by "appeasers." After visiting the various Governmental representatives, the delegation reportedly went to the local offices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties at which time they selected four individuals who were allegedly to fulfill an appointment at the White House on the same day. The individuals selected were William Bassett, A. J. Isserman, Moran Weston and Zera Dupont.

On February 16, 1943, members of the Negro Labor Victory Committee reportedly had an appointment with the Honorable Paul V. McNutt at which time it presented the following proposals:

- A. That the railroad hearings of the Fair Employment Practices Committee should be rescheduled at once.
- B. That the Fair Employment Practices Committee function as an independent Governmental agency responsible to the President.
- C. That the Committee be granted an adequate budget.
- D. That the Committee be given power to apply penalties for violations of the President's Executive Order.
- E. That the Committee be comprised of representatives of labor minorities and industry functioning on a voluntary basis.

- F. That Mr. McNutt issue a stern warning to contractual agencies to cease their discrimination practices against Negro workers who leave their nonessential jobs for war work in compliance with the "work or fight" order.

On June 7, 1943, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, the "Negro Freedom Rally" was held under the auspices of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, the Brooklyn Committee and the Peoples Committee. Approximately 20,000 individuals are said to have attended this function with several thousands remaining on the outside.

Confidential informants have advised that considerable Communist Party control and influence have existed behind the scenes of this meeting and that Party functionaries have been active in assisting in the arrangements for the affair. Among the people who are said to have been responsible for staging this meeting are Dorothy E. Funn of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, a reported Communist; Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union and reported Communist; Benjamin Davis, Jr., National Committee member of the Communist Party; Max Yergan, reported Communist and leader of the Council on African Affairs; and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York City Councilman and minister who is said to have numerous connections with the Communist Party and Communist Party front groups. All of the foregoing individuals are Negroes.

A large crowd estimated at 20,000 attended the meeting at which the following measures were urged: the passage of the anti-poll tax bill, the opening of a "second front now" and the elimination of "Jim Crow in the Armed Forces." It might be noted that urging for a second front has recently resumed its place in the Communist Party line. The principal speakers at the meeting were Ferdinand Smith, Dr. Channing Tobias, Lester Granger, Max Yergan, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Charles Collins, Michael Quill, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and Dorothy E. Funn. It is said that the general theme of the speeches dealt with race discrimination. Congressman Marcantonio spoke on the anti-poll tax bill and urged its passage.

A drama was presented at the meeting which was entitled "For This We Fight." This play, written by Langston Hughes, Negro poet and a reported Communist, was described as impressive. It depicted alleged racial discrimination in the Armed Forces. The Negro artists Paul Robeson and Duke Ellington took part in the play. In this connection, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Reverend Thomas Harten and Ferdinand Smith were delegated to carry "the message of the people" to the President at an unknown date. This message reportedly contains a demand that alleged discrimination in the Armed Forces be abolished.

The "Daily Worker," the Communist daily news organ, under date of June 9, 1943, devotes considerable space to this meeting and points out the effectiveness and power in the demonstration shown at the meeting. Robert Minor, National Committee member of the Communist Party points out that the meeting was "a discovery of strength" and eulogizes the part of organized labor in the meeting.

Officers

The following individuals, according to a public release of this organization, are the officers of it:

Co-Chairmen:	Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary, National Maritime Union George E. Brown
Vice Presidents:	Roger Straughn Amelia Lockhart, Ladies Auxiliary Local 370, Dining Car Employees Union
Executive Secretary:	Charles A. Collins
Administrative Secretary:	Dorothy K. Funn, Teachers Union
Treasurer:	Arthur Garvin
Organizational Secretary:	Thomas Jasper, Assistant Manager, Fur Floor Union
Finance Committee:	James Alston, Meat Cutters Union, AFL Thomas Astwood Amy White

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