

# The N. A. A. C. P. Prepares New Betrayals of the Negro Masses

By HARRY HAYWOOD

## Article 2 (Conclusion)

THE fact that the N. A. A. C. P. is trying to save its face could not be hidden by even the most skillful of its speakers, Dr. DuBois at its 23rd Conference held recently in Washington, D. C.

DuBois, who made the key political speech at the conference, did not even mention the word **Communism**, but preferred to speak in a vague manner about the youth, of whom, he said, "we have completely neglected and have practically discouraged their participation in our organization." He talked about the "very severe criticism of the organization both from the inside and from the outside, etc., etc."

DuBois tried to create the impression that the Conference was about to make a complete turn, but he is cautious enough not to say in what this turn consists. He also admits that "of course the new policy will alienate some of our former white friends who have been supporting our organization, but the time is here when it becomes necessary to assert some independence."

Of course it is clear that these "former" white friends are precisely the imperialist bourgeoisie, which have in the past led the organization, and are still leading it, occupying the dominating positions in the leading committee, such as Spingarn, Mary White Ovington, Capper, etc. It is clear that the "independence" about which the elegant Dr. DuBois is suddenly concerned is independence from the more open and brazen control of the imperialists over the organization. In other words, this control must in the future be in a more covered form in order to fool the masses.

### More Demagogy

The purpose of this demagogy about "independence" and DuBois' talk about the necessity of taking "more interest in the economic ills that affect the great masses of our people, is clear. The reformists betrayer understand full well that the old methods are no longer fit to serve the cause of their imperialist masters and, the imperialist bosses themselves, in the person of the white president of the N. A. A. C. P., Spingarn, are willing to cooperate in this deception of giving some "independence" to the organization. Spingarn in his own manner explains the aims of the white slave-drivers in permitting the N. A. A. C. P. to make these demagogic gestures. Spingarn stated at the conference: "The fight for equality of all races in America is a last stand against the centrifugal forces carrying us away from the American center, a plea for a spiritual home here in America for the highest hopes of all the races, white and black, that inhabit our continent."

What are these mysterious centrifugal forces of which Mr. Spingarn speaks so vaguely? These are the revolutionary forces, part of which is the liberation struggles of the Negroes. And what is this American center? This, in relation to the Negroes, is the vicious system of national oppression—denial of elementary human rights, imposition of lynch-terror, debt-slavery, chain-gangs, misery and poverty.

Spingarn in his speech also reveals the conditions under which the white imperialists permit the Negro reformists to "fight" the Southern slave-drivers and their system of lynching and Ku Klux Klannism. These conditions are: that the Negro reformist agents shall, while carrying on a sham battle against the Southern slave-drivers, at the same time try to undermine the faith of the Negro masses in Communism and in the Soviet Union. Thus Mr. Spingarn says:

"Dictatorship is absolutely opposed to the American spirit. And in this sense the dictatorship of the dominant race in the South, under the leadership of the Southern bourgeois, is just as anti-American as the proposed dictatorship of an economic group in the Russian sense of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Emphasis mine —H. H.)

Under the present conditions of feverish war preparations against the Soviet Union, it is clear what the above statement means. Spingarn's

remarks are merely part of the campaign carried on by the imperialists and their agents to undermine the growing influence of the Soviet Union upon the masses, to prevent the mobilization of the masses, and in this case the Negro masses, for the defense of the Socialist fatherland.

### Negro Masses Demand Action

But such phrases are not sufficient to cover up the dirt and filth in the arsenal of the N. A. A. C. P. betrayers. More demagogy is necessary. The conditions of the Negro masses are worsening from day to day. They are clamoring for relief from their misery. They are demanding action on the questions of their vital needs. What, then, do these fakers offer as a solution?

They come forth with the proposal for consumers' cooperatives in this period of excruciating misery. There is nothing new in this idea of cooperatives. It has been used many times in the history of all countries by bourgeois fakers to deceive the masses and to divert them from revolutionary struggles against their oppressors. The N. A. A. C. P. betrayers have eagerly seized upon this shopworn program. Most of the speakers mentioned this program. But it was most expensively elaborated in the speeches of George Schuyler and Abram Harris.

In order to understand the full treachery of such a proposal, it is necessary to realize that it is made in a period when the main cooperative movements in all capitalist countries are under the domination of capitalist trusts and monopolies, on the one kind; and on the other hand, when the Jim-Crow economic base of the Negro bourgeoisie is being shattered under the blows of the crisis with the Negro banks and other businesses being driven to the wall. The latest of these failures is the Douglass National Bank of Chicago, which closed its doors on May 20, 1932, while the Victory Life Insurance Company in Chicago is admittedly on the brink of disaster. In its report of the failure of the Douglass National Bank, the New York Amsterdam News accidentally exposes the extent of the collapse of the Jim-Crow economic base: "The closing of the Douglass left the South Side (Negro section of Chicago—H. H.) with one bank. Two years ago there were 11, including the Binga State Bank, another Negro-owned institution."

It is quite clear, therefore, that the idea of consumers' cooperatives is advanced with a two-fold aim; to divert the growing fight of the Negro toilers for unemployment and social insurance, against wage-cuts, etc., into channels that will not endanger the existing capitalist order, on the one hand; and on the other, to strengthen the crumbling Jim-Crow economic base of the Negro bourgeoisie.

### So-called Cooperatives

In the same breath in which he advances his reactionary schemes, Schuyler says: "I personally advocate the violent overthrow of the system. But the time is not propitious." Therefore, argued Schuyler, the Negro cannot wait; they must proceed to alleviate their conditions by building up consumers' cooperatives, which, according to Schuyler, would "lay the basis for the building up of the new society in the framework of the old."

What does it mean to play with the slogan of "violent revolution" in an organization that invites the police to crush the growing resistance of the Negro toilers? In an organization that supports lynch terror? To come out with phrases about "violent revolution" in such an organization is the worst form of provocation against the Negro masses. It is to prepare a blood-bath for the Negro masses. The masses, as Schuyler well knows, can fight only when they are organized and led by the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working-class.

The mouthing of such phrases by these fakers shows that they understand the desperation of the Negro masses in this period and are even now preparing the basis for the drowning of the growing revolutionary movement in blood. They are attempting to head the struggles of the Negro masses in order to behead them. This is a new

present resistance of sections of our membership to any active participation in the strike whatsoever. On the contrary the NMU and its membership and sympathizers must become the most active, the most militant, the leading fighters in the strike

Our comrades must take the initiative in the organization of mass picket lines over the heads of the UMWA officials.

Our comrades must lead such picket lines and the mass demonstrations against terror, for relief for the unemployed, etc. In all phases of strike activity our comrades must prove to the masses of strikers that the NMU by no means held aloof from the strike, that on the contrary the NMU and its members are the most faithful and the best fighters in the interest of winning the demands of the strikers.

Second, it is necessary to convince the mass of the strikes that the first prerequisite for a successful struggle is the formation of a **united fighting front of all those who are ready to conduct an honest struggle for the demands.** The National Miners Union must take the initiative in proposing the means whereby unity in the ranks of the strikers can be achieved.

Third, we must explain to the strikers in the most simple and understandable terms the only possible basis for unity. We must expose the record of the UMWA leadership in the past, we must expose every concrete action of betrayal of the UMWA in the present struggle and then we must explain to the strikers that we will never unite with the UMWA officialdom for to do so means to unite on the basis of **united strike-breaking.**

We must explain that we are opposed to unity on the basis of a wage cut. That we will fight to the last against unity on the basis of a scale of 22½ cents a ton such as Van Bittner signed for in Scotts Run. We must make plain to every striker that we propose unity on the basis of a **united fighting front of all strikers for the demands of the strike and against the operators and their tools, the UMWA leadership.**

Fourth, we must show that all elements who wish to conduct an honest militant struggle for the demands of the strike can only be welded into one united fighting front by the setting up of a broad rank and file leadership representative of all such elements. We must show how the policy of leadership by committee appointed by Lee Hall, Cinque and Co. gives no representation to the vast majority of the strikers who are unorganized, gives no representation to the hundreds of NMU members we are involved in the strike and gives little if any representation to the rank and file members of the UMWA itself who have nothing to say in these appointments from above.

We must explain that it is impossible for those who have no voice in the selection of such committees to give them support. We must explain the opportunities for complete betrayal of the strike, for manipulation and secret agreements behind the scenes provided by the existence of

form of helping the imperialist bourgeoisie.

### Program Reactionary

Yet all the pseudo revolutionary phraseology cannot hide the reactionary content of the program and actions of the N. A. A. C. P. The proposed program of the conference—the "war on Jim-Crowism," "program for legal defense for the Negroes," "safeguarding prisoners against quick-trial injustice," etc., etc., reveals a continuation of the old reformist policies.

The entire program is aimed confusing and demoralizing the Negro masses. Its deliberate, cold-blooded purpose is to wreck the rising struggle upon the shallows of futile bourgeois reformism.

To sum up: The conference represents a desperate attempt upon the part of Negro reformists to revive bourgeois Nationalism among the Negro masses, on an extensive scale, as a counterpoise against the rising revolutionary national liberation movement of the Negro toilers.

This confronts the revolutionary workers, and especially the class conscious Negro workers, with the task of increasing, sharpening and improving their fight against Negro/bourgeois reformism, as the main social bulwark of imperialist Jim Crow reaction among the Negro masses.