

# THE N.A.A.C.P. PREPARES NEW BETRAYALS OF THE NEGRO MASSES

By HARRY HAYWOOD

(Article No. 1)

THE N. A. A. C. P. Conference recently held in Washington, D. C., marks a new chapter in the long record of dastardly betrayals of the Negro masses by the leaders of this organization. At the conference, the Negro reformist leaders and their "enlightened" white imperialist friends in the leadership of the organization, indulged in the most unbridled demagogic. This in itself was a reflection of the desperate impasse into which the organization has gotten itself in the recent period. In the process of the struggle itself, the N. A. A. C. P. has been exposed as a agent of the worst enemies of the Negro people; it has been compromised before increasingly wider sections of the Negro toilers.

The conference, therefore, had a very definite aim. This aim was to overcome the complete political and moral bankruptcy of the N. A. A. C. P., to bolster up its rapidly waning influence among the Negro masses. To this conference, the N. A. A. C. P. leaders came, conscious of the long list of their crimes against the Negro masses.

The disruptive activities of these misleaders in the Scottsboro case are well known. Here they vied with the imperialists in the campaign of vicious slander against the Communists and revolutionary organizations which organized and led the revolutionary defense movement. Raising

the cry of "red menace," even louder than the lynchers themselves, they tried to make it appear that the main enemies of the Negro masses were not the ruling-class lynchers and their fascist agents, but the Communists and the revolutionary organizations, in their manner completely absolving the imperialist hangmen in their murderous attacks upon the Negro masses. Simultaneously and with the active support of the bourgeois courts and police officials, they resorted to the most foul and villainous means to wrest the authorized legal defense of the boys from the International Labor Defense. In this manner, they attempted to disorganize the revolutionary mass movement isolate the revolutionary organizations, thus furnishing a cloak for the ruling-class lynchers to carry out their bloody work. In brief, their attacks were directed not against the violence and lynch terror of the capitalists, but against the resistance of the masses. Moreover, they actually joined with the lynchers for the physical suppression of the Negro masses. In Chicago and Pittsburgh, Pickens and other N. A. A. C. P. fakers were instrumental in having white and Negro workers jailed for protesting against the Scottsboro lynch-verdicts. In Chicago, the massacre by the police of Negro unemployed workers was provoked by local N. A. A. C. P. misleaders acting in concert with Negro and white landlords and the city administration. They helped the Maryland bosses in the vile frameup of Euel Lee (Orphan Jones), their Baltimore attorney and representative declaring his "belief" that Euel Lee was guilty even before the lynch-courts tried him.

Their great white "friend" Darrow, who sits in the executive councils of the N. A. A. C. P., a member of the national board, is now fully exposed as an agent of U. S. imperialism and its most vicious and reactionary clique—a clique which carries out the most despicable provocation against the Hawaiian masses, aimed completely enslaving them for the purpose of furthering the war aims of American imperialism. The purpose of this vicious baiting of the Hawaiian people is now openly admitted in the hearings of the Senate Commission on the bill introduced by Representative Britton for the fortification of the Hawaiian Islands, and in the provocative articles by Floyd Gibbons in the Hearst gutter press against the Hawaiian masses. Characteristic of the hypocrisy of the N. A. A. C. P. leaders is the fact that while pretending to protest this introduction of lynch-law into Hawaii, they are conveniently silent about the disgusting role played by this agent of imperialism, Darrow, who still remains an honored member of their executive board.

Added to the incomplete list of infamies, is the attempt led by Pickens to betray the Negro masses into the new world slaughter being brewed by the imperialists. In a series of articles in the Negro press, Pickens has attempted to present the reactionary, feudal militarists of Japan, the murderers of Japanese workers and of the Chinese masses, as the "champions" of the darker races. Thus Pickens, to the glee of his white imperialist masters, attempts to mobilize the Negro masses behind Japanese imperialism, which is today the spearhead of world imperialism in the criminal plans for armed intervention against the Soviet Union—the fathaland of all the world's oppressed classes and peoples. Truly this was a record that required a great deal of "explaining" at their 23rd annual conference.

As a result of this open policy of betrayal, there has developed a growing opposition among the petty-bourgeois rank and file and those workingclass elements over which the N. A. A. C. P. has influence. This is reflected in the oppositions to the official policies of the leadership. This incipient rebellion has expressed itself recently, especially in connections with Scottsboro, and again in the Darrow case, where N. A. A. C. P. local branches have called upon the leadership to repudiate Darrow. Thus the Negro petty-bourgeois paper, the "Washington World," voices this sentiment in the following manner:

"We reiterate that in the handling of the situation in Alabama (Scottsboro—H. H.) the present administration of the N. A. A. C. P. has made many mistakes—mistakes that have given us

cause to question the militancy of the Association and the wisdom of its policy."

Thus at the conference, the wily DuBois, in order to give an air of authenticity to the demagogic prattle of a "change of policy," was forced to admit that "the N. A. A. C. P. has been criticized very severely in the past few years both from the inside and from the outside. Much of this criticism has been justified." And again, in his demagogic statement that the N. A. A. C. P. "must now choose whether to stand with mass or class," meaning by class the Negro bourgeoisie.

It is clear that under such conditions, of the growing exposure of these misleaders, they cannot play their treacherous role without at the same time trying to cover up their reactionary deeds in a more clever than heretofore.

The conference represented an attempt to revive old reformist illusions in a new form, wrapped in the garb of radical phrases. The fact that these misleaders find themselves forced to appear more radical at the present time before the Negro masses is due precisely to the growing influence of the Communist Party among the Negro toilers. Therefore to save their faces, they not only utilize old phrases, but add new ones, which, as we shall see later, went so far as to play with the slogan of "revolution by violence."

Although hardly any of the speakers at the conference openly mentioned Communism, it is clear to anyone who had a chance to follow the conference that the growing influence of Communism among the Negro masses and the attempt to counteract this influence by forging new weapons of deception was the main aim of the conference. The recognition of the growth of Communism among the Negro masses, and the fear of this, expressed itself, although not openly, in all of the speeches of the betrayers. In fact, we must remember that Communism and how to check it constituted an important part of the pre-conference discussions which appeared in the symposium on Communism organized by the Crisis, official organ of the N. A. A. C. P. Then again, the question of how to check the growing struggles of the Negro mass was a question of immediate urgency in view of the imminence of the election campaign.

The task of the Negro betrayers—to line up the Negro masses behind the old reactionary parties, becomes exceedingly difficult under the present circumstances of growing political consciousness of the masses. Therefore, along with the usual demagogic phrases such as "Reward your friends and punish your enemies," "Cut across the old Party lines," "Split your vote," etc., etc., there was talk of an Independent Labor Party. This was noted in the speeches of Professor Dewey, Abram Harris, LaFollette, George Schuyler, etc., etc., and has the definite aim of lining up that section of the masses before whom the old bourgeois parties stand plainly exposed.

It is clear that this new demagogoy must be understood in the light of the present devastating economic crisis, which falls with greatest force on the Negro masses of the country. Goaded to desperation by the increasing onslaughts on their already starvation conditions and meager political rights, the Negro masses are turning more and more to struggle against their oppressors. In their reason for a way out, they are turning more and more to the Communist Party and revolutionary organizations, recognizing in them the only force organizing and leading a struggle against increasing misery, starvation and terror.

This development constitutes a direct threat to the hegemony of the Negro bourgeoisie, whose hegemony over the Negro masses is being increasingly challenged by the Negro workers, which have now come forth as an independent class force within the Negro liberation movement.

It is clear that under these conditions, the Negro reformists cannot go on betraying the Negro masses in the old way. The old methods of pacifying the masses are no longer effective in the present situation. New forms of deception must be found, in order to check the rising revolutionary tide. New weapons of betrayal must be forged. Hence the feverish demagogoy of the Negro reformists

## Ford or How Ford's "Copy" Works

could be obviously seen, because it was swollen. These Ford doctors were only interested in GETTING rid of this worker as quick as they could, so they sent him home.

A worker in the buffing department, due to the faulty machine on which he was working, was hit in the left eye and was almost blinded. He was given hospital treatment and sent home. Next day, when he reported at the plant, he was questioned about his eye and was told that he did not get his eye hurt there. This worker, who had his card of admission for treatment in his pocket, signed by one of the doctors, promptly refuted their statements, calling them a liar and producing his card. He was laid off and was told to return for treatment. He had just returned to work about three weeks and is without funds. He informed them that he lived six miles away and has no money for carfare. They told him to walk back. This is Ford's system, the great "humanitarian."

The following are some of the facts of the miserable conditions of the workers in Detroit factories: "I work at Jenks and Muir Corporation, makers of auto parts. I work on one of those machines that are doing labor work. For this work I used to get 58 cents an hour, but now they are paying me 48 cents an hour; a cut of 10 cents an hour. I am now doing two men's work, as a result of the speed-up system. I am working two and three hours a day, two and three days a week. They told us that if we are not satisfied to get out, for there are others who will gladly take our jobs."

"I work at the American Rediator Company. We are doing piece-work, making fire pots and water dooms. They used to pay us 18 cents a mould and we worked 8 hours; but now they cut us to 12 cents a mould and we work 9 hours. We are also speeded up, because three men used to do this work and now two men must produce the same amount of work, or get out."

"I work at the Studebaker Corporation, makers of Rockne and Studebaker automobiles, one and two days a week. We are working twice as fast and hard as we did months ago. We start to work at 7 a.m. and quit at 5 p.m. We get 40 cents an hour. We are informed that we will be laid off soon."

At the Farm Crest P'ty Company the girls work from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. and from 1 p.m. to 1 a.m. They receive 23 cents an hour and are speeded up terribly.