

# Negro Work Must Be Closely Examined in Pre-Convention Discussion

## Overcome Lagging in Negro Work, Smash Remnants of White-Chauvinism

### For Sharper Fight for Day-to-Day Demands of Negro Workers

By HARRY HAYWOOD

There can be no doubt that the Party has become a real factor in the national liberation struggles of the Negro masses. Its influence is steadily increasing among the ever larger sections of the Negro population. It is clear, however, that the successes of our Party in this work is not commensurate with the objective possibilities presented in the growing radicalization of the Negro toilers. Our Party is still lagging behind the rapidly rising upsurge of the Negro masses.

What is the outstanding weakness in our work among Negroes? It consists in the fact that we still lack a solid organizational base among the decisive sections of the Negro workers in the most important industries and factories. An examination of our work will show the following: that we have carried through energetic campaigns of mass agitation and exposure around general issues of the Negro liberation movement (Scottsboro, campaign against lynching). But these have not been sufficiently utilized to build up struggles around specific and local issues and for the strengthening of our organized base among the Negro workers in the shops. Directly from this follows the weak recruitment of Negro workers into the Party and revolutionary trade unions, high turn-over of Party and trade union membership

among Negroes and the slowness in bringing forth proletarian Negro cadres in our work.

#### Must Overcome Sporadic Nature of Work

At the same time, this weakness in our work also accounts, to a certain extent, for the sporadic nature of our campaigns around Scottsboro and the issue of lynching. These campaigns have not been sufficiently connected up with local issues, with the struggle for the day-to-day needs of Negroes in shops, factories and in the neighborhoods. This weakness in our work in a period of growing Fascism and spread of white chauvinist influences among the masses of white workers, in a period of increased activities of Negro reformists and petty-bourgeois nationalists among Negroes, presents a serious danger if not speedily overcome.

Concretely, this situation raises the danger of the weakening of Party leadership in the liberation movement of the Negro masses. This is particularly noticeable in the South (Dist. 17—Birmingham). In this district, we witness a great surge forward in the revolutionary nationalist and agrarian movements, reflected in the phenomenal growth of organization among the poor farmer share-croppers—the Share-croppers Union—and the considerable development of national liberation struggles in campaigns around Scottsboro and the fight against lynching. But at the same time developments are not sufficiently accompanied by the organization of the Negro proletarians on the shop basis—shop nuclei, and the build-

ing up of the revolutionary trade unions. Unless a definite turn is made in the direction of consolidating our work among the Negro and white industrial proletariat, in the factories, steel centers, etc., our Party runs the danger of becoming merely an adjunct of the rapidly rising revolutionary peasant and nationalist movement.

#### Fight for Day-to-Day Demands of Negro Workers

From this brief analysis flows the main task of our Party in the work among Negroes in the present period. This task is the strengthening of the leadership of the working class and the Party in the liberation struggles of the Negro masses on the basis of consolidating our movement among the Negro workers in the shops and in the factories, the drawing of Negroes into our shop nuclei, revolutionary trade unions, unemployed councils. This implies the development of energetic and sustained struggles for the day-to-day needs of the Negro workers in these fields, in connection with the carrying thru of the concentration policy laid down in the resolutions of the XIV Plenum of the C.C., and the Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference. It means a ruthless fight against all white chauvinistic slurring over of the demands of the Negro toilers. Chauvinistic influences are most clearly expressed in tendencies to resist the putting forward of the specific demands of the Negro masses in our factory and trade union work.

Behind this underestimation of

the struggle for the demands of the Negro masses, lies a deep-seated social-democratic concept which regards the struggle of the Negro toilers against Jim-Crowism and special persecution not as part of the general struggles of the working class against capitalism, but as something separate and apart from that struggle—as a struggle which does not strengthen but detracts from the general class struggle.

In the fight against these tendencies, it is necessary to bring forward and emphasize the formulation of the Open Letter placing the Negro peoples in their fight for national liberation as "allies of the American proletariat," in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism. In connection with the building up of our work among the Negro working class, the draft resolution for the 8th Party Convention, stresses the necessity of a determined fight for the demands of the Negro toilers in the factories, and in the field of unemployment, the necessity of "concentrating on winning the Negro workers in the basic industries (steel, coal, packing houses, marine), organizing them into revolutionary trade unions and oppositions, fighting all forms of discrimination, formulating the demands of the Negroes in strikes, and struggling for these demands in strike settlements and in unemployed struggles."

#### Bring Forward Our Full Negro Program

The emphasis upon the development of the economic struggles among the Negro toilers does not mean to slacken, but on the con-

trary, to increase in every way the struggle around the general demands of Negro liberation, such as Scottsboro and the fight against lynching. It is necessary to broaden out and deepen these struggles, bring forward our full program of social equality and the right of self-determination, building up the broadest united front around these issues. Our chief task is to bring these campaigns around general issues into the shops and factories and among the Negro semi-proletarian and farming masses on the land, connecting them up with the everyday demands of the Negro toilers, making the factories the main base in the struggle for Negro liberation and our revolutionary trade unions and oppositions "the main lever for the Negro toilers." (Resolution of XIV Plenum). The revolutionary mass organizations and particularly the trade unions must come forward more energetically for the political rights of the Negroes. They must participate more intensively in all political campaigns around issues of Negro rights.

#### Build L.S.N.R. and the Liberator

At the same time, to meet the needs of the rapidly developing national liberation movement of the Negro masses, and to provide adequate organizational forms for the maximum development of this movement, it becomes necessary to speed up the work of building the Negro struggles for Negro rights. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights must become a powerful independent mass organization around the Party's program on the Negro

### Push Fight on 2 Fronts Against White Chauvinism, Negro Reformism

question, with its chief organ, the Liberator, a popular mass paper, an organizer and leader of the Negro liberation struggles and a real weapon against the Negro reformists.

The growing fascist reaction and increased activities of the Negro bourgeois reformists and petty-bourgeois nationalists, demands an improvement in our fight on two fronts on the Negro question. This fight must be conducted in the first place against white chauvinism among the broad masses of white toilers. A prerequisite for this is the development of a ruthless and sustained fight against all influences of this poisonous ideology within the ranks of the Party and the revolutionary movement. At the same time, it becomes necessary to sharpen the fight against Negro reformism and petty-bourgeois nationalism on the basis of more concrete and popular exposures of their disruptive activities in the ranks of the Negro people. In connection with this, we must combat more energetically all influences of petty-bourgeois nationalism within the Party. Only on the basis of a relentless fight on two fronts in connection with the development of our work among Negroes can we forge the unbreakable unity of Negro and white toilers in the fight against growing fascist reaction and the war danger.