

Centralization of Power - 9

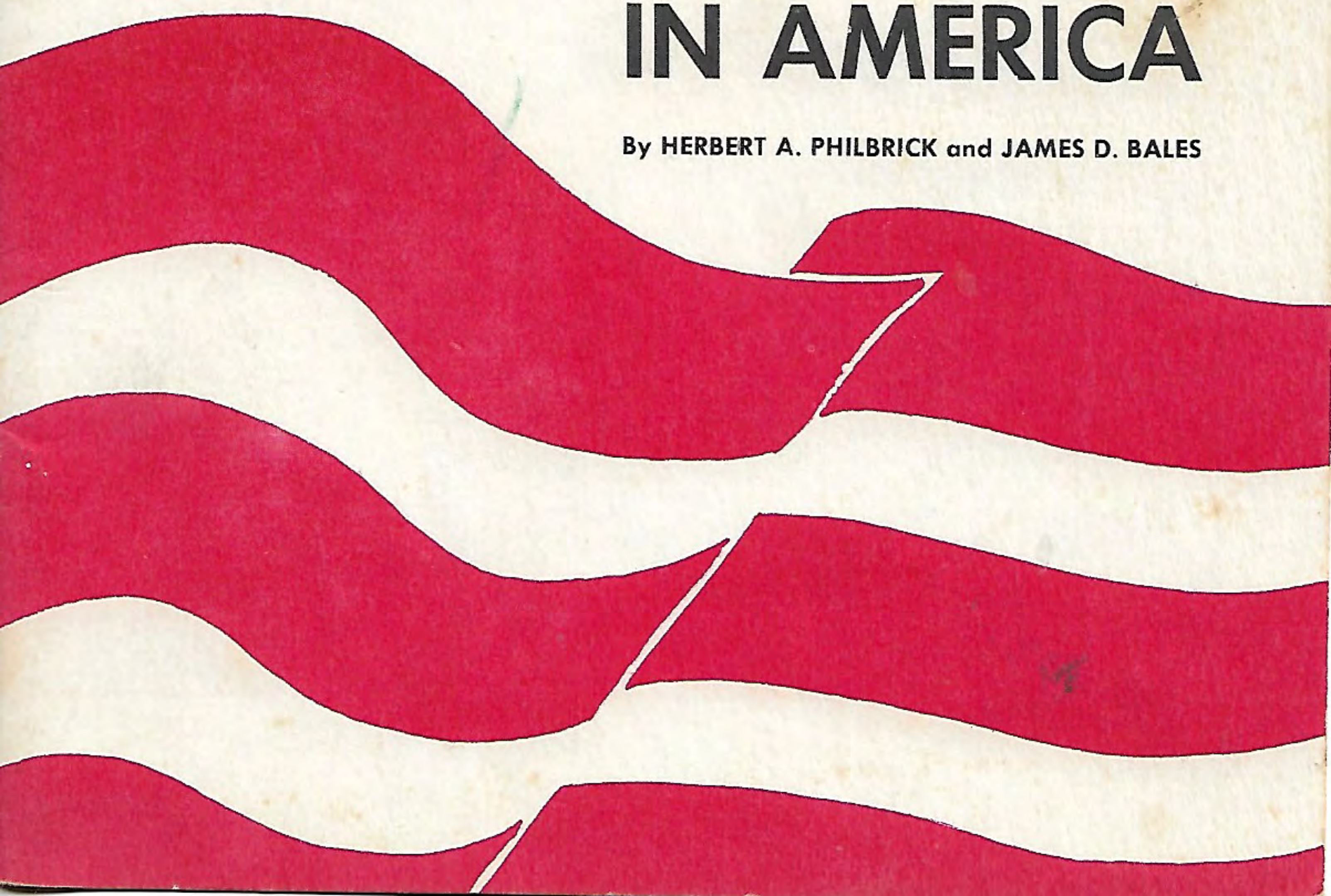
25-26 - Hayes, Pellum, Coopers
Black Caucus, Crocker
(to Rees-house) ITO BLAISE

4/5 * * *

UNITED FRONT

COMMUNISM and RACE IN AMERICA

By HERBERT A. PHILBRICK and JAMES D. BALES



COMMUNISM AND RACE IN AMERICA

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

and

JAMES D. BALES

Therefore, with revolutionary tactics under the existing bourgeois regime reforms inevitably serve as instruments that disintegrate the regime, instruments that strengthen the revolution — a stronghold for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified.—Joseph Stalin, Leninism, I. 85.

Bales Bookstore
Searcy, Arkansas

1965

DEDICATED
TO
PERRY MASON

FRIEND OF FREEDOM
and
FOE OF COMMUNISM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
Chapter I. The Setting of the Problem	1
II. Early Efforts to Influence the Negro	19
III. The Creation of Negro Rebellion and A Negro Nation	23
IV. The Satellite System	35
V. The United Front	45
VI. Infiltration of Churches	49
VII. Government Hearings	53
VIII. Concluding Observations	61

INTRODUCTION

Obviously America has problems which are not due to communism and this is true with reference to racial problems. However, communism has created additional problems and in one way or another it has agitated and complicated other problems. What have been at least some of the ways in which the Communists have endeavored to use the race question and what are some of the objectives which they hope to attain? What is the general pattern of their efforts to manipulate racial problems in America?

In considering these questions it should be clearly recognized that the Communist party line is flexible. Thus, they may take a position at one time which is contrary to a position which they take at another time and place. At the same time and in different places they may take different positions. This, in their viewpoint, is not a contradiction, but is the utilization of whatever they believe will be helpful in furthering their goals under a given set of conditions.¹ In Lenin's words: "The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to manoeuvre, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on. . ."²

This study is not designed to solve the race problem. It endeavors to present the pattern of the operation of the Communists in the field of race, and to give somewhat of a digest of some of the public record concerning the efforts of this foreign-directed conspiracy to agitate the race question in such a way as to undermine America. Unless the Communist problem is recognized, our racial problems will be intensified.

The authors are under no illusions. They realize that this study will be misrepresented. It may be due, in part, to the prejudice which was mentioned by Harold Fleischman. He said: "Unhappily, prejudice has become ingrained so deeply in all of us that only Negroes may safely criticize other Negroes; only Jews other Jews; only unionists other unionists without being charged with bias."³ In part, the misrepresentations will come from those whose own record indicates that, to say the least, they have not understood how the Communists work. Rather than renounce their record, some will denounce those who have tabulated their record. However, this study does not endeavor to tabulate anyone's record. Individuals and organizations are mentioned incidentally in connection with the illustration of certain parts of the pattern of the Communist exploitation of the race problem. In giving concrete cases we are not endeavoring to probe the motives of these individuals. We are dealing with their words and deeds. Even men of good motives may unwittingly be used by Communists, just as surely as may men of evil motives. And yet, the damage is done. One is run over by a car even if the driver did not intend to do it. In a court of law motives may need

1. V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, New York: International Publishers, 1940, pp. 52-53.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3. "Labor and the Civil Rights Revolution," *The New Leader*, April 18, 1960, p. 16.

to be taken into consideration, but in the examination of actions which we believe hurt the cause of freedom, we do not need to know anything about motives.

Communists endeavor to exploit for revolutionary purposes any and all social forces, and not just the racial conflicts. For example, Communists believe in violence. The 1960 Statement of 81 Communist Parties encouraged so-called national-liberation wars. Suslov said that it was "their sacred internationalist duty" to back the war in Vietnam.⁴ Yet they recognize the desire of man for peace; and thus they endeavor to lull us to sleep or to disarm us, by establishing contact, as Lenin instructed them, with those who tend toward pacifism, "be it even of the palest hue."⁵ "The movement for national liberation and the movement for peace are related, above all, because they face a common enemy — imperialism. They are natural allies and can win the battle if they act together."⁶ The exploitation of the desire for peace has gone on for years. Thus years ago they had the American Peace Crusade. Today they are making numerous efforts, supposedly in the name of peace, to get us to abandon South Vietnam to the Communists.

Communists hate America, and view it as the main enemy of mankind.⁷ And yet, in their efforts to destroy America, they endeavor to exploit patriotism. At least sixty Communist fronts, listed in the House Committee on Un-American Activities' *Guide to Subversive Organizations*, had the word American in their name. Thinking people realize that their use of the word American does not mean that they are dedicated to the preservation of America.

In Cuba, the people wanted to get rid of Batista. And whatever their motivation might be, the Communists appeal to the motivation of different, and even contradictory, groups. Through misleading people by appeals to their own motivations, the Communists were able to bring the entire nation into slavery.⁸

In the 1965 *Annual Report* of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover pointed out that: "There is little of social or economic significance occurring in the United States which does not interest the Communist Party as a means of furthering its objectives. . . . Nonsubversive, legitimate organizations are constant targets for infiltration. The communists aim at gaining control of the policy-making machinery of these groups for the purpose of injecting the Party line without any open identification with communism."

The authors intend, the Lord willing, at a later date to publish a book on *Communism, Race, and Revolution* which will deal with organizations and individuals in somewhat detail.

4. *Information Bulletin*, No. 49, July 23, 1965, pp. 45, 48, 49.

5. *World Marxist Review*, Jan. 1961, p. 18.

6. *World Marxist Review*, Sept. 1965, p. 84.

7. See for example, Gus Hall, *Information Bulletin*, No. 47, July 6, 1965, pp. 39-42.

8. Serafin G. Menocal, "The Lesson The United States Can Learn From Cuba," Searcy, Arkansas: National Education Program, 1965.

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting of the Problem

The problem of the relationship of communism to the race question in America should be viewed in the light of certain facts concerning communism. If we do not understand these facts, we shall not understand how and why they are using racial problems in America to help bring about the Communist conquest of our society.

World Victory Their Goal

The Communists are determined to conquer the world and to make the world over according to their view of reality. The *Communist Manifesto* closes with a call for world revolution. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"¹

This call for revolution is not out of date, since Communists consider the *Communist Manifesto* to be an up-to-date, scientific document. William Z. Foster, then Chairman of the Communist Party in the U. S., said: "Today, 107 years after the great document was written, *The Communist Manifesto* stands as firm as a rock, a clear guide for the international working class, justified by generations of revolutionary experience, and altogether impervious to the attacks of capitalist enemies."² So great was Foster's confidence in the world victory of communism he dedicated one of his books "To my great-grandson Joseph Manley Kolko who will live in a Communist United States."³

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, Soviet Union on July 14, 1963, said: "We stand fully for the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. We not only believe in the inevitable destruction of capitalism but are doing everything for this to be accomplished by class struggle, and as soon as possible."⁴

As Oesterling and Norman Freed put it: "Peaceful coexistence creates the most favorable conditions for the fight of the oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors. It is simply not true, as is maintained by the Chinese leaders, that peaceful coexistence is used by Communists as a pretext to liquidate the anti-imperialist struggle and to disclaim the international duty of supporting the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries. Peaceful coexistence means the

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957, p. 112.

2. William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals*, New York: International Publishers, 1955, p. 27.

3. *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, New York: International Publishers, 1949.

4. *Two Major Soviet Statements on China*, New York: Crosscurrents Press, 1963, p. 16.

maximum support to the oppressed nations including arms. And peaceful coexistence is strengthened by the revolutionary struggles of the people.”⁵

As Communists explain coexistence, it did not mean the cessation of so-called revolutionary wars like the one in Vietnam. Thus we read in the most important Communist document which has been written in many decades that: “Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world Socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

“The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by nonmilitary methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

“The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the United States, make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms.”⁶

On June 21, 1963 Khrushchev stated that he wanted to bury us literally. “We should know that the enemy is now sharpening his poisonous ideological weapon for more bitter clashes with us. We find here a similarity with what the Red Army men said during the Civil War: ‘We have one issue in dispute with the Whiteguards on which we cannot agree, the simple issue of land. The Whiteguards want to bury us and we want to bury them. Who will bury whom first, this is our little issue in dispute.’

“We have a similar issue with capitalism. It wants to bury the socialist system and we not only want to bury capitalism but have also dug quite a deep hole, and shall exert every effort to dig this hole deeper and bury the capitalist system for ever, the system of exploitation, wars and plunder. That capitalism will collapse, of this there is no doubt. But it will not collapse of its own accord.

“Our successes will inspire the working class of all the capitalist countries to more decisive and active revolutionary class struggle. And we have helped and will continue to help them by our example of building communism. The peoples of various countries fighting for their freedom and independence are receiving our assistance today, and tomor-

5. Kjeld Oesterling and Norman Freed, **Peace, Freedom and You**, Prague: Peace and Socialism, 1963, p. 15.

6. **Communist and Workers’ Parties’ Manifesto Adopted November-December 1960, Interpretation and Analysis**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961, pp. 65-66. This document is endorsed by Brezhnev, who took over in the U.S.S.R. after Khrushchev’s fall. He said: “Communists the world over have a clear-cut general line — the line worked out jointly at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.” **World Marxist Review**, Dec. 1964, p. 45.

row there will be even greater possibilities for rendering assistance of another kind."⁷

One of the leading, if not the leading, international Communist journals tells us that: "There is not a Communist Party in the world that has excluded the weapon of armed struggle from its arsenal."⁸ In another place we read: "The charges against the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that they make the peaceful way the sole form of socialist revolution, is an unscrupulous distortion of their point of view on this question."⁹ Of course, one must study carefully to be sure just when he should resort to armed force. "Marx, Engels and Lenin taught the Communists to regard armed struggle as an art. 'To be successful,' Lenin wrote, 'insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the *rising revolutionary spirit of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemies and in the *ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are the strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions in the attitude towards insurrection distinguish *Marxism from Blanquism*."

"'But when these conditions are operating it is a betrayal of Marxism and of the revolution to refuse to treat insurrection as an art.' (Marxism and Insurrection).

"From this standpoint the Communists consider it to be of the utmost importance to know just when to start an insurrection and how to direct it successfully.

"In those cases where the situation necessitates rejecting armed struggle we must be able in good time to withdraw the forces of the revolution from the line of fire, to reorganize our ranks and turn to new forms of struggle which will help us to consolidate the victories won in the closing stage of the revolution and to develop them in new conditions."¹⁰

Communists, it is clear, believe in the world victory of communism, and, if necessary, they are willing to use arms to ensure such victory.

They are Willing to do Anything Necessary

One grossly misunderstands the Communists unless he realizes that they are willing to do anything which they believe is necessary to world victory. They do not believe that they are bound by moral law, for to them morality is but a means of advancing their class interest, and their class interest is determined by the Party. Morality is subordinated to class interest, to the class struggle, to the task of overthrowing the non-Communist world. And, since their class interests

7. *Marxism-Leninism is our Banner, our Fighting Weapon*, London: Soviet Booklets, 1963, pp. 14-15.

8. *World Marxist Review*, February 1964, p. 12.

9. *For the Unity of the International Communist Movement*, Prague: Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1963, p. 52.

10. *World Marxist Review*, February, 1964, pp. 12-13.

are opposed to ours, they say that their moral system is not only different from ours but in opposition to ours.¹¹ As Lenin put it in a speech on October 2, 1920 to the Young Communist Leagues of Russia: "We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."¹² "That is why we say that for us there is no such thing as morality apart from human society; it is a fraud. Morality for us is subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

"What does this class struggle mean? It means overthrowing the tsar, overthrowing the capitalists, abolishing the capitalist class."¹³

Khrushchev put it this way: "We must introduce clarity into the question of humanism, into the question of what is good for whom and what is bad for whom. We approach this question, as we do all other questions, from the class standpoint, from the standpoint of defending the interests of the working people. So long as classes exist on the earth, there will be no such thing in life as something good in the absolute sense. What is good for the bourgeoisie, for the imperialists, is disastrous for the working class, and, on the contrary, what is good for the working people is not admitted by the imperialists, by the bourgeoisie.

"We should like our principles to be well understood by everyone, and especially by those who are trying to foist upon us peaceful coexistence in the sphere of ideology. There can be no joking in matters of political policy. Anyone who advocates the idea of peaceful coexistence in the sphere of ideology is, objectively speaking, sliding down to positions of anti-communism. The enemies of communism would like to see us ideologically disarmed. And they are trying to achieve this perfidious aim of theirs by propaganda for the peaceful coexistence of ideologies, with the help of this 'Trojan horse' which they would gladly smuggle in among us."¹⁴

Therefore, we should expect the Communists to use all manner of tactics; including deceit, violence, and whatever else they deem necessary to promote their cause.

Everything Ties in with Their Ultimate Objective

For tactical reasons the Communists may drastically and suddenly change their position on an issue, but only because they believe that such a change will help them toward their unchanging goal of victory. Thus Stalin quotes Lenin as follows: "'To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie,' says Lenin, 'a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most

11. Howard Selsam, *Philosophy in Revolution*, New York: International Publishers, 1957, pp. 136-137.

12. V. I. Lenin, *The Tasks of the Youth League*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953, p. 20.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

14. *The Great Strength of Soviet Literature and Art*, London: Soviet Booklets, 1963, p. 30.

stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies — is not this ridiculous in the extreme? Is it not the same as if in the difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain we were to renounce beforehand the idea that at times we might have to go in zigzags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes giving up the course once selected and trying various others?"¹⁵

Again: "The revolutionary parties,' says Lenin, 'must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they have to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented with the knowledge how to retreat properly. They have to realize — and the revolutionary class is taught to realize by its own bitter experience — that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly.'"¹⁶

Lenin drew from these considerations such conclusions as, "first, that the revolutionary class, in order to fulfill its task, must be able to master *all* forms or sides of social activity without exception (and complete after the capture of political power, sometimes at great risk and amid very great dangers, what it did not complete before the capture of power); second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.

"Everyone will agree that an army which does not train itself to wield all arms, all means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses or may possess, is behaving in an unwise, or even in a criminal manner. This applies to politics to a greater degree than it does to war. In politics it is harder to forecast what methods of warfare will be applied and be useful for us under certain future conditions. Unless we are able to master all methods of warfare, we stand the risk of suffering great, and sometimes decisive defeat if the changes in the position of the other classes, which we cannot determine, will bring to the front forms of activity in which we are particularly weak. If, however, we are able to master all methods of warfare, we shall certainly be victorious, because we represent the interests of the really advanced, of the really revolutionary class, even if circumstances do not permit us to use weapons that are most dangerous for the enemy, weapons that are most quickly death-dealing."¹⁷

This being true, it is a tragic mistake to think that communism is not being promoted by Communists when they are working on legal

15. **Foundations of Leninism**, pp. 103-104. This book by Stalin was expressly recommended in the **World Marxist Review**, February, 1962, p. 56. It was reprinted in the magazine **Revolution**, November-December 1964. Published in Paris in English, French, and Spanish.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

17. V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, Moscow: Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1935, p. 95. Lenin said they must "combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle." (p. 96). Repeated in **World Marxist Review**, March 1965, p. 44.

stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies — is not this ridiculous in the extreme? Is it not the same as if in the difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain we were to renounce beforehand the idea that at times we might have to go in zigzags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes giving up the course once selected and trying various others?"¹⁵

Again: "The revolutionary parties,' says Lenin, 'must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they have to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented with the knowledge how to retreat properly. They have to realize — and the revolutionary class is taught to realize by its own bitter experience — that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly.'¹⁶

Lenin drew from these considerations such conclusions as, "first, that the revolutionary class, in order to fulfill its task, must be able to master *all* forms or sides of social activity without exception (and complete after the capture of political power, sometimes at great risk and amid very great dangers, what it did not complete before the capture of power); second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.

"Everyone will agree that an army which does not train itself to wield all arms, all means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses or may possess, is behaving in an unwise, or even in a criminal manner. This applies to politics to a greater degree than it does to war. In politics it is harder to forecast what methods of warfare will be applied and be useful for us under certain future conditions. Unless we are able to master all methods of warfare, we stand the risk of suffering great, and sometimes decisive defeat if the changes in the position of the other classes, which we cannot determine, will bring to the front forms of activity in which we are particularly weak. If, however, we are able to master all methods of warfare, we shall certainly be victorious, because we represent the interests of the really advanced, of the really revolutionary class, even if circumstances do not permit us to use weapons that are most dangerous for the enemy, weapons that are most quickly death-dealing."¹⁷

This being true, it is a tragic mistake to think that communism is not being promoted by Communists when they are working on legal

15. **Foundations of Leninism**, pp. 103-104. This book by Stalin was expressly recommended in the **World Marxist Review**, February, 1962, p. 56. It was reprinted in the magazine **Revolution**, November-December 1964. Published in Paris in English, French, and Spanish.

16. **Ibid.**, p. 98.

17. V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, Moscow: Co-Operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1935, p. 95. Lenin said they must "combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle." (p. 96). Repeated in **World Marxist Review**, March 1965, p. 44.

levels. Again Lenin said: "But at the same time the bourgeoisie sees practically only one side of Bolshevism, viz., insurrection, violence, terror; it therefore strives to prepare itself especially for resistance and opposition on *this* field. It is possible that in single cases, in individual countries, and for more or less brief periods, it will succeed in this. We must reckon with such a possibility, and there will be absolutely nothing terrible for us if it does succeed. Communism 'springs up' from positively all sides of social life. Its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere; the 'contagion' (to use the favourite metaphor of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois police, the one that 'pleases' them most) has very thoroughly permeated its organism and completely impregnated it. If one of the outlets is 'stopped up' with special care, the 'contagion' will find another, sometimes a very unexpected, outlet."¹⁸

These considerations should make it clear that when the Communist *seems* to be doing the same thing as other people, it does not follow that he is actually doing the same thing. Thus although he may seem to be working for a reform, he is not actually working for the reform; instead, he is working toward the revolution.

Reform or Revolution?

In a book by Stalin, which is currently recommended for study by Communists,¹⁹ it is clearly pointed out that the Communist does not work for the reform of non-Communist societies. He works for reforms in order to utilize them in some way to undermine the country and to advance the cause of the revolution. "Obviously, therefore, it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use people make of reforms and compromises.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that regime, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are naturally transformed into instruments for disintegrating this regime, into instruments for strengthening the revolution, into a base for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

"*This is what making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism means.*"²⁰

Their struggle for any particular reform is used for such purposes

18. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

19. *World Marxist Review*, February, 1962, p. 56.

20. *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 104.

as: (1) The gaining of the confidence of some segment of society by posing as their champion who desires to bring about a reform which will benefit that segment of society. (2) They will work for the reform in such a way as to undermine confidence, if possible, in the non-Communist leadership which works for the reform. (3) Communists want to convince as many people as possible that the capitalist State is their enemy, and that the only way to freedom is through the overthrow of the state by legal and by illegal means. Therefore, the Communists endeavor to find those who are alienated in some degree from society and involve them in activities which will increase their alienation. Or to find those who can be drawn into activities which will lead them to become alienated from society. One of the ways in which this can be accomplished is through violations of the law which the Communists know will result in the use of police force to enforce law and order. The lawbreakers will be told that they are being unjustly attacked by the police, who represent the state; and this will intensify or create, as the case may be, alienation. Communists have said that one crack of a policeman's club will teach the "worker" more about the nature of the State and the class warfare than a hundred lectures. By emphasizing the idea that society and society alone is responsible for all their troubles, the Communists endeavor not only to alienate them from the society but also further to convince them that all that is needed to solve their problems is to overthrow the existing society. With the creation of an atmosphere of hatred, any spark can result in riots and further alienation. The Communists hope to come out on top in the confusion that would accompany the effort to destroy our society. And if they do, freedom will be lost for all men and, instead of conserving the gains which they have already made, and making increasing progress, those who were alienated from society will find themselves in slavery along with the rest of society. (4) They will work for reforms in such a way as to deepen the divisions within a society. A divided society is much easier to conquer than one which is basically united. (5) By working for the reform the Communist Party endeavors to leave the impression that it is simply an American political party which is interested in these things which will benefit the people. This polishes up their image. In this way they try to cover up the fact that they are the Party of revolution. (6) Their advocacy of reforms is simply a means of exploiting and expanding the grievances of any given section of society. As Georgi Dimitrov explained it: "We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to the proletarian revolution, proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis."²¹ The reform is used as the starting point from which they work toward other objectives. We shall discuss this in the following section.

Broadening the Base

A favorite tactic with the Communists is to take one issue and build or to encourage a movement — whether in a formal organization or

21. *The United Front*, pp. 91-92.

not — and then to try to turn the movement to other issues. Thus they take a reform, and after gaining influence in the movement for reform, they broaden the base and try to lead the movement, or portions of it, into other issues which may make a very direct contribution to the cause of communism. They endeavor thus to influence as many non-Communists as possible to go along with them. They may influence individuals so that they do it on their own in their own organizations, or in meetings sponsored by other non-Communist organizations. Or, these individuals may be so conditioned to certain positions, that unconsciously they go along when the Communists get the ball rolling. For example, the Communists have long wanted the U. S. to get out of Vietnam, so that Communists may bring South Vietnam under the dictatorship of communism, and thus into slavery. Bayard Rustin, whom we are not saying is a Communist today, was deputy organizer of the March on Washington in 1963. He participated in a vigil in Times Square in March, 1965. According to *The Worker*, Bayard Rustin “denounced the U. S. intervention in Vietnam as an effort to ‘contain all colored people’ and hinder them from determining their own destiny.”²² This inflammatory statement not only misrepresented the situation, but it would result, if acted on, in the enslavement of South Vietnam. Communism would not let them decide their own destiny. Furthermore, it is a false accusation against the United States government. We are there at the invitation of the Government in South Vietnam. We are not fighting against colored people, and we want the people there to have the right to determine their own destiny without being prevented by communism from doing this. Consciously or unconsciously Bayard Rustin has broadened the base from agitation in the civil rights movement to an undermining of the policy, of the Government of the United States, of resisting Communist aggression. Whether he did this wittingly or unwittingly is not ours to know.

The Worker for December 6, 1964 carried an article on “The ‘64 Election Mandate and the Road Ahead.” Concerning the “Negro People’s Movement” it said: “Of all social forces in our land, the Negro people are the most dissatisfied with their lot, unable and unwilling to live in the old way and determined not to sell their birthright and self-dignity for some minor advances. Yet the fulfillment of their battle cry, ‘Freedom Now,’ requires far-reaching changes in American life and not least of all in its economy. For these reasons the Negro people’s movement is the most determined and militant force in America today. Its courage,

22. *The Worker*, March 16 (9), 1965, p. 3. Communists emphasize that the Negro question in America must be tied in with the race and colonial question throughout the world. Gus Hall, *The United States in Today’s World*, New York: New Century Publishers, 1961, pp. 37-38. Mao Tse-tung, *Statement Calling On The People of The World To Unite To Oppose Racial Discrimination by U. S. Imperialism And Support The American Negroes In Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1964, p. 5. See the Statement on August 12 of a Rally in Peking on p. 56. This was also the line in 1925. See the quotation in J. Edgar Hoover, *An Analysis of the 17th National Convention The Communist Party, USA*. Statement released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Jan. 17, 1960. Reprint, p. 5.

self-sacrifice and noble ideals have attracted to it also many of the best of the white young generation who understand that by winning freedom for Negro America they will ensure freedom for all America.

"Because the root cause of Negro oppression is economic, because the great majority of Negro Americans are working people, and because the self-interest of the white workers requires their joining with their Negro brothers, there is the basis for a natural alliance between the labor and Negro people's movement. This is already in formation and could exist in complete and solid form once the labor movement takes a greater initiative in the struggle for Negro rights and in the great battle for peace and against poverty.

"When the spirit which today animates the Negro people's movement sweeps over into the ranks of labor, a great new rebirth of the labor movement will take place. It will complete the job of organizing the millions of still unorganized industrial, white collar and professional workers, including the South, squarely face the unprecedented challenge of automation, and place itself in the recognized leadership of all those working for social progress in the United States. It is toward that day that all class-conscious and militant trade unionists should work."²³

Communists are saying, in the above quotation, that the base must be broadened so that there will be a merger of the civil rights movement and the labor movement. The ultimate objective is to bring about the far-reaching changes in American life, especially in the economic life, so that men of all races and classes may be "free." By this the Communists mean that we must establish first a socialist system, and then a Communist system. Regardless of what others are working for, all Communists work for the establishment of communism regardless of what cause they may espouse at the moment for tactical reasons.

Centralization of Power

The Communists believe that socialism is an essential step to communism.²⁴ The essence of state socialism is the concentration of all power in the hands of the central government. Such a concentration of power in one place also makes it easier for Communists to infiltrate and to influence the government. For if a government is decentralized, the existence of many different power centers makes it more difficult to infiltrate. Communists, therefore, work for those measures which they believe will bring a country step by step to socialism.

Since socialism is considered by Communists to be an essential step to communism, the socialization of a country which is not yet under Communist control is viewed by them as being in their interest; for it brings them that much nearer communism, according to their theory. This does not mean that they shout "socialism," but they will work for those specific objectives which will enable them to gain favor with some

23. Reprinted in *Information Bulletin*, Number 31, January 29, 1965, pp. 11-12. This *Bulletin* is issued by the publishers of the *World Marxist Review*.

24. N. Khrushchev as quoted in *Time*, February 9, 1959, p. 19.

segment of the population and at the same time to take another step, no matter how small or how large, toward socialism.²⁵

With specific reference to the race question, Communists will encourage those activities which seem most likely to result in Federal intervention; and in the passage of additional laws which bring the lives of the people more and more under the direct control of the Federal Government. Although others sometimes do likewise, Communists and their sympathizers, as well as the misguided, will quickly demand Federal intervention even when it would be a violation of the law of the land.

Exploitation of Grievances

Communists endeavor to expand and to exploit the grievances of man — whether real or imagined grievances. Throughout history man has had grievances. When just grievances are properly dealt with progress results. But grievances may be exploited and those who have the grievances may be misled by vain promises. The Communists have made a science out of the exploitation of the grievances of man. This study is concerned with their efforts to exploit the grievances of the American Negro. By worsening race relationships in the United States they weaken the United States, take some of the pressure off of the USSR, and make additional strides toward their goal of world conquest.

There are individuals other than the Communists who both create and exploit the grievances of the American Negro. By worsening race relationships they, too, contribute to the advancement of communism as well as to the temporary attainment of their own selfish goals.

Lenin long ago urged on the Communists this tactic of divide and conquer. "It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by *necessarily*, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every opportunity, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this, do not understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific modern socialism *in general*. Those who have not proved *by deeds* over a considerable period of time and in sufficiently varied political situations their ability to apply this truth in practice have not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle for the liberation of the whole of toiling humanity from the exploiters. And this applies equally to the period before and the period after the conquest of political power by the proletariat."²⁶

This pattern of operation was carried on by the Communists in China as early as the 1920's. "The Party must utilize every conflict, however insignificant, between the workers and the capitalists in the factories, between the peasants and landlords in the villages, between

25. *World Marxist Review*, April, 1963, p. 25; June 1964, pp. 4, 6.

26. "Left-Wing" Communism, p. 68.

the soldiers and officers in the army, deepening and sharpening these class clashes in order to mobilise the widest masses of workers and peasants and to win them over to its side. The Party must utilize all occurrences of violence on the part of international imperialism against the Chinese people, which at the present time take the form of a military seizure of different regions, as well as all the bloody exploits of infuriated reaction, in order to widen the popular protest of the masses against the ruling classes."²⁷

That Communists are concerned with revolution, and not with the improvements in the opportunities of the Negro in America, is underscored by the fact that they ignore the evidence which shows that the Negro in America, on the whole, is by far more fortunate than the Negro any other place in the world. Furthermore, he has more opportunities than almost all of the rest of the world. The Negro in America has a better opportunity for a college education than any people of any race in Western Europe and England. The Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Arthur A. Chapin, pointed out in 1963 that: "Negro enrollment in higher education is higher than total enrollment in Great Britain or Italy, and nearly as high as in West Germany or France, even though the Negro population in America is less than half the total population of any of these nations."²⁸

Although America, far above other lands, has been the land of opportunity for the Negro, yet it is still true that the Negro does have some just grievances. This fact, and the efforts of the Communists to exploit and expand these grievances, was pointed out by the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities in New York State in 1920. "The most interesting as well as one of the most important features of radical and revolutionary propaganda is the appeal made to those elements of our population that have a just cause of complaint with the treatment they have received in this country.

"The skill with which such complaint is employed to stimulate an interest in and gain recruits for the various revolutionary agencies is an indication of the thoroughness with which such propaganda is carried out. In recent years opportunity for employment in industry has induced large numbers of Negroes to come to this State from the South as well as from the West Indies. While in general the Negro in New York State has been treated well, the treatment accorded him in many parts of the

27. "Theses and Resolutions of the VI World Congress of the Communist International," *International Press Correspondence*, December 12, 1928, p. 1672.

28. "The United States today has more college-educated Negroes than any other country in the world." James Daniel, "Negro Colleges: Their Product and Promise," *Reader's Digest*, August 1964, p. 33. Herbert Hoover said on his 90th birthday: "Deeply as I feel the lag in certain areas which denies equal chance to our Negro population, I cannot refrain from saying that our 19 million Negroes probably own more automobiles than all the 220 million Russians and the 200 million African Negroes put together. . . ." Quoted in *Life*, 8-21-64, p. 4. A Negro in America has a better chance of attending college than a youth of any race in Europe. *U. S. News & World Report*, Nov. 25, 1963, p. 81.

country has engendered a spirit of resentment which has been capitalized by agents and agitators of the Socialist Party of America, the I.W.W. and other radical groups.

"It has also been encouraged by well-to-do liberals who have taken active part in social uplift organizations, working among the Negroes in this State. The marked increase of the activities of radicals in trying to recruit Negro followers, makes it necessary for the Committee to devote its attention to the various agencies at work to stimulate race hatred in our colored population, and to engender so-called class consciousness in their ranks.

"The very fact that the Negro has many just causes of complaint adds to the seriousness of the propaganda, and should encourage all loyal and thoughtful Negroes in this State to organize to oppose the activities of such radicals, which cannot but lead to serious trouble if they are permitted to continue the propaganda which they now disseminate in such large volume."²⁹

"Instead of seeking to remedy these conditions in lawful manner, as we firmly believe they should be remedied, they are made the basis for an appeal to class consciousness. This propaganda seeks to make the Negro believe that the only way in which his lot can be bettered is by the abolition of our form of government and the substitution therefore of a system of government similar to that of Soviet Russia and by the institution of the co-operative Socialist Commonwealth."³⁰

Getting Others To Work For Them

In one way or another the Communists try to get others to work for them. One way in which they do it is to help create troubled waters in which many different kinds of people may fish and contribute to the further disturbance of society. These individuals may not be related ideologically or organizationally to the Communists but for one reason or another they are willing, for a temporary advantage, to rock the boat.

The Communists try in other ways also to stimulate others to do those things which may fall out to the advancement of communism, either directly or indirectly, through weakening society. They will use, when possible, individuals who, although they are not Party members, are sympathetic to communism. These may even be people who are not known by non-Communists to be Communist sympathizers. These are individuals who although not Communists, yet who are ideologically conditioned to react to certain slogans and ideas. Thus when the Communists broadcast these, the individuals who are on the same wave length, so to speak, in these matters are motivated to work which may help communism.

Lenin emphasized that non-Communists must be used when possible. "One of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes of Communists

29. Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, Filed April 24, 1920 in the Senate of the State of New York. "Propaganda Among Negroes," **Revolutionary Radicalism**, Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1920, Vol. II, p. 1476.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 1520. This is the Communist line today. Gus Hall, **The United States in Today's World**, p. 42. Mao Tse-tung, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

(and generally of the revolutionaries who have successfully carried through the initial stages of the great revolution) is the idea that a revolution can be made with the hands of revolutionaries alone. . . . There can be no successful work of communist construction unless there is an alliance with non-Communists in the various spheres of activity."³¹ Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Communist International, put it this way: "As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist Parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground: let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with Party cards. . . The writer who, without being a Party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand Party members. . . ."³²

The Party also endeavors to exploit the ambitions of non-Communists. As Li Li Siang told Ravines: "We can play on the ambition of thousands of politicians of all sizes, who have come from the *petite bourgeoisie*, both urban and rural; men who are unable to reach high positions, not so much suited to their abilities as in accord with their ambitions. If we, the communists, with the large or small forces at our disposal, offer our support to these politicians, they will come to our camp — not as registered members of our party, which would not suit them or us either, but as servants. Servants of expediency. It will be to their advantage to serve us."³³

Such individuals, regardless of their motives, advance communism. And even while allied with them the Communists carry out the tactic of "alliance with struggle." Thus while individuals work with them in a United Front for a common objective, the Communists carry on an underground struggle with this temporary ally. "The dialectical formula of 'alliance and struggle' expresses the essence of the relationship between the Chinese working people and the national bourgeoisie and discloses the latter's dual character. Notwithstanding its vacillations, the national bourgeoisie can be an ally in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. Yet, by virtue of its class nature it cannot but resist development along socialist lines. However, the very form of the alliance determines the conditions and the methods of struggle which pave the

31. V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels Marxism*, New York: International Publishers, 1935, p. 213.

32. Eudocio Ravines, *The Yenan Way*, New York: Scribner's, 1951. As quoted in Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, *Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 83. In this book Ravines records some of the conversations which he had with top Communists, and also parts of speeches. Lenin said they must "learn to penetrate into prohibited premises where the representatives of the bourgeoisie exercise influence over the workers. . . ." (Quoted by Gus Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 57.)

33. As quoted in *Report on Venezuela*, New York: John A. Clements Associates, p. 48.

way to the gradual re-education of the former exploiters into workers, members of socialist society."³⁴

It should be borne in mind that the dialectical philosophy teaches that problems are resolved on a so-called higher level. In plain English this means that the solutions and promises which they propose to the American Negro are not the solutions which they will actually bring about. Instead of any enlargement of freedom, the problems will be solved in the slave state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was because of such things as the above that J. Edgar Hoover warned that: "The Communist Party is attempting to use the Negro movement, as it does everything else, to promote its own interest rather than the welfare of those to whom it directs its agitation and propaganda. It may collect funds ostensibly in behalf of Negro activities, hold discussions on civil rights at all levels, and increase its coverage of Negro affairs in its publications, but behind all of this is its clear-cut primary interest in promoting Communism.

"The party is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among the Negroes. In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil-rights movement.

"The number of Communist Party recruits which may be attracted from the large Negro racial group in this nation is not the important thing. The old Communist principle still holds: 'Communism must be built with non-Communist hands.'

"We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures."³⁵

Dialectical Approach to Subversion

Communists are materialists. They believe that matter in motion is the sole reality. They are dialectical materialists. They believe that there are contradictions in everything and that progress comes out of the clash between contradictions. The greater the tension between two opposites, the more energetic the struggle, the more certain is the progress. This tension is basically manifested in society, according to their view, in antagonism between classes. The two decisive classes are the owners of the means of production and distribution (the capitalists), and the working men in industrial society (the proletariat). The Communist Party is the organized group of dedicated individuals who understand how progress is made, and who guide and manipulate the proletariat to victory; that is, to the dictatorship of the proletariat — which in reality is the dictatorship of the Party over the proletariat, and over the rest of society. Anything which can weaken the capitalist class,

34. Yevgeni Zhukov, "Impact of the Chinese Revolution on the National Liberation Struggle," *World Marxist Review*, November, 1958, p. 20.

35. *F.B.I. Appropriations 1965*, p. 41. *U. S. News and World Report*, May 4, 1964, p. 33.

which is in opposition to the proletariat, helps pave the way to victory.

According to communism, the Negro in American society is an exploited class and race whose emancipation can come only through the destruction of capitalism and the victory of communism. Therefore, anything which increases tension, which intensifies antagonisms between races, is a part of the path of progress. Thus Communists endeavor to intensify tensions. As Chiang Kai-shek pointed out, and his observation was based on decades of experiences with the Communists, "To create class contradictions, the Communists always analyze a country's social structure before infiltrating it. They not only explore and exploit, but also create professional, regional, and religious contradictions. Then in the midst of confusion, they win the masses over by disseminating propaganda about class struggle and establishing party cells among them."³⁶

"The Chinese Communists have also tried to incite racial minorities to rebellion."³⁷

In order to intensify these antagonisms the Communists, when possible, are willing to agitate on all sides of all questions. In other words, when it is possible hidden Communists will try to encourage extremism on the part of people in both races. They are not interested in solving the problem in the context of our society. They are interested in destroying our society and in using the racial tensions to help achieve this objective. Of course, they call it solving the problem, since they believe that the problem can be solved only in the destruction of capitalism and the enthronement of the dictatorship.

Importance of the Race Question to the Communists

The importance of the race question to the Communist Party and its purposes is indicated by the fact that it has devoted more printed matter to the American Negro than it has published concerning any other segment of the American population. *The Worker* is edited by a Negro Communist, James E. Jackson, Jr. The recruitment of Negroes is a major aim of the Party today. Hoover pointed out: "Another of the major aims of the 17th National Convention was to re-emphasize the recruitment of Negroes into the Communist Party by reemphasizing the same old hackneyed phrases alleging that the Communist Party is the savior of the Negro."³⁸

In a report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, the General Secretary Gus Hall said: "It is essential, however, to lift the level of our work to greater heights. We must *concentrate* on this task which means that *all* the main forces of the Party must regard the fight for Negro rights as of crucial importance. It is not a subsidiary task, it is not 'another' task; it is a primary, fundamental, front-rank Party task of the highest order."

36. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957, p. 361.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 362 *U. S. News & World Report*, August 9, 1965, p. 49.

38. J. Edgar Hoover, *An Analysis of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA*. Statement released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Jan. 17, 1960. Reprint, p. 5.

"Communists seek to educate the Negro working class on the necessity for socialism, to bring to the Negro workers the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which have emancipated millions. The more such class conscious workers there are, the better for the struggle."³⁹

If Communism Wins

The Communists have made tremendous strides toward their goal of world domination in the last forty-eight years. When they took over Russia in 1917 they had only a small party in contrast with the total population of Russia. Estimates vary from 40,000 to 240,000 but even this represented a tremendous increase of membership within less than a year before the takeover of Russia. Today Communist parties throughout the world number around 45,000,000 in membership, and these Communists control around 1,000,000,000 people. Communists are creating trouble in those portions of the world which they do not control. This makes it clear that they have been for decades in the process of conquering the world, and that they have proceeded quite rapidly in spite of some setbacks. They have a beachhead in Cuba and they claim around 10,000 party members in the United States. There is another 100,000 who are viewed as state-of-mind members who will do the bidding of the Party although they are not Party members.⁴⁰ These Communists are not harmless representatives of an isolated political sect in America. They are representatives of a foreign ideology and an international revolutionary movement.⁴¹ They consider themselves as revolutionary troops in the war for world domination. They are, in effect, foreign troops stationed on our soil although they are not in uniform; and thus most Americans do not know who and where they are, and it may be that no American officials know who and where all of them are.

What if the Communists win? It will mean that the Negro will lose all of the gains which have been made in America. He along with the white man will lose his freedom and in millions of cases they will lose their lives. And yet, so many Americans seem unaware of the danger. As Senator Fulbright, one of the outstanding liberals in the United States, put it: "The greatest crisis confronting the West is not Berlin. It is the apathy of the free world and its incomprehensible unwillingness to look facts in the face. Evolution and the survival of the fittest are concepts we understand when applied to plants and animals — but we seem not to realize that these concepts apply to us."⁴²

"The American people ought to be told the bleak truth about their world, the character of the forces arrayed against them, and what they must do, at whatever cost, to survive or even to bring about a state of high security. They must be told that, however humane their society,

39. *The United States in Today's World*, pp. 41, 42. See also Gus Hall, *Which Way U.S.A. 1964?*, p. 31.

40. J. Edgar Hoover, *FBI Annual Report Fiscal Year 1963*, p. 25.

41. Compare the publication, by the Anti-Defamation League, entitled, *The Profile of Communism*, edited and revised by Moshe Decter, New York: Collier Books, 1961, pp. 53-54.

42. Senator Fulbright, *Congressional Record*, Feb. 16, 1961, p. A925.

whatever its ideals, this alone will not save them from destruction by a society armed with the prodigious mechanisms of our times and an implacable determination to dominate all men."⁴³

Furthermore, no matter how many improvements are made in America, the Communists will use lies to misrepresent us throughout the world. This is not a justification for furnishing them with any ammunition, but it does indicate that the Communist problem is still with us no matter how successful we may be with reference to race problems.

It also needs to be understood that the exploitation of racial problems by Communists is not limited to America, since racial problems are not limited to America. There is some friction between races within every country where large blocs of people of different races live in close proximity. In British Guiana conflicts arise between Indians and Negroes. The *Information Bulletin* for September 2, 1965 emphasized conflicts between the Kurds and the Arabs in Iraq.

It is true that improvements, by lawful means and in accordance with the basic principles on which this country was founded, need to be made in our society. And improvements have been underway for decades with reference to the racial problem. And yet, reforms alone will not stop communism. To deal with counterfeiters one must do more than print more good money, as important as is good money. The counterfeiter, and the counterfeit money, must be searched out, exposed and dealt with in such a way as to stop counterfeiting. Just so, although all of us need to be better people we need also to recognize that this will not automatically solve the problem of communism. And if we do not solve the problem of communism we shall not only be unable to solve our other problems under Communist slavery, but we also shall lose the tremendous improvements which have been made with reference to this and other problems. It is in this total setting, as briefly presented in this chapter, that the Communist use of the race problem must be considered.

43. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1960, p. A2709.

CHAPTER TWO

Early Efforts to Influence The Negro

In 1921, the Communist International laid down the following line for Communist Parties throughout the world: "In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities."¹

About 1921 Lenin wrote to the Communist Party in America to learn why there was no mention of activities amongst Negroes in the reports which were sent to Moscow. Joe Zack (Joseph Kornfeder) was assigned the job of bringing Negroes into the Party. So far as he knew at the time, there were no Negroes in the Party. He cultivated Cyril Briggs, editor of *The Crusader*, the official organ of the African Blood Brotherhood. "Whenever he ran into some trouble about paying the printer, well, I always obliged with a few hundred dollars. This way I became friends with this Briggs and I worked him over ideologically, and the cant of the journal changed. And, of course, in due time I got at some of his friends who were on the Board of Directors, and, well, it took only about a year before the controlling influence in that organization upon top was exerted through me, and they pretty nearly would do, although they weren't yet in the party, what I wanted them to do. Well, and later on I signed him up into the Communist Party as a member. So that was the first Negro organization that the Party got hold of ideologically, at least — later on organizationally. That's how the thing started."²

A document dealing with the Negro question was seized in the Bridgman, Michigan raid of a secret convention of the Communist Party. It made certain recommendations concerning activities amongst the Negroes: "In order that the negro may be reached with education and propaganda and that he may be organized for activity, the following methods are recommended:

"1.—Nuclei shall be established in all existing negro organizations, such as fraternal, religious and labor organizations, cooperatives, tenant farmers' leagues, etc.

"2.—Colored organizers and speakers shall be sent among negroes in order to inform them and win their confidence.

"3.—Newspapers and publications shall be established or, when this is not feasible, news service shall be established by friendly cooperation with colored newspapers of liberal tenets.

"4.—Friendship of liberal-minded negro ministers shall be sought, as these men are at the present time the leaders of the negro masses and many of them are earnest but lack scientific knowledge.

1. Quoted by J. Edgar Hoover, *Concerning the 17th National Convention Communist Party, U.S.A.*, December 10-13, 1959, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 7.

2. Testimony of Joseph Kornfeder, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Joint Legislative Committee, 1957, Vol. I, p. 37.

"5.—Conferences on the economic conditions among negroes shall be held from time to time with these ministers, educators and other liberal elements, and through their influence the party shall aim to secure a more favorable hearing before the negro masses.

"6.—By means of its membership the party shall penetrate the existing forums, literary societies, lyceums, schools, colleges, teachers' institutes, etc., of the colored people, and establish forums of its own for the enlightenment of the negro population.

"7.—Where other forms of activity are impossible or impracticable, as in certain Southern districts, cooperatives may be formed.

"8.—The party shall penetrate existing anti-Ku Klux Klan organizations and shall form organizations wherever none exist. As this is one of the most violent forms of suppression of the negro at the present time, the formation of such anti-Ku Klux Klan organizations shall be fostered with all energy."³

In 1922 the Communist International gave \$300,000 for agitation and propaganda work amongst the Negroes in America.⁴

In 1924 the Communist Party spoke of the *self-determination* of the Negro in Africa but of their *rights* in America. "The Communist Party, which opposed the Back-to-Africa slogan, sent a letter to the 1924 convention of the U.N.I.A., criticizing mistakes of the organization and pledging support to the general liberation fight of the Negro people. The letter, signed by Charles E. Ruthenberg and William Z. Foster, thus stated the Party line: 'We stand for driving the imperialist powers out of Africa and for the right of self-determination of the peoples of Africa. In taking this stand, we point out that it need not and must not involve a surrender of the Negroes' rights and equality in America or any other land.'"⁵

In 1925 the Communist Party instructed its members as follows: "The aim of our party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression in every form and which will be a militant part of the revolutionary movement of the whole American working class, to strengthen the American revolutionary movement by bringing into it the . . . Negro workers and farmers in the United States to broaden the struggles of the American Negro workers and farmers, connect them with the struggles of the national minorities and colonial peoples of all the world and thereby further the cause of the world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁶

In 1925 twelve Negroes were sent to Russia for training. One of these returned in 1928 with \$75,000 for propaganda amongst Negroes.⁷

It was also in 1925 that the Communists created their first Negro front, the American Negro Labor Congress which was aimed at the

3. As quoted in R. M. Whitney, *Reds in America*, New York: the Berkwith Press, Inc., 1924, p. 193.

4. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958, p. 250.

5. *The Daily Worker*, August 5, 1924. Quoted by William Z. Foster, "The Garvey Movement," *Political Affairs*, February, 1954, p. 22.

6. As quoted by J. Edgar Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

7. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, p. 250.

Northern Negro. “. . . they hadn't invented the theory of racial nationalism (yet J.D.B.). They wanted to get at the Northern Negro — the Negro factory worker. So they named the organization accordingly, and they called it American Negro Labor Congress. Up to 1930, much of the literature that they published addressed to the Negro was issued under the auspices of the American Negro Labor Congress. If they had issued it in the name of the Communist Party, it wouldn't have been read — or if it had been read, would have been read by a very few. But if they issued it under the auspices of a Negro organization, well, that, of course, had a better reception.”⁸

November 1925 thus marks the origin of the first organization which the Communists set up specifically for Negroes. It was designed 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 was also their hope that it might become a force to stir up Negroes throughout the world against “World Imperialism.”⁹

At this time Communists in America thought of the Negro problem as one of *race* and of *class* and not as a question of self-determination as a nation.¹⁰ As late as May, 1928, William Z. Foster, in his acceptance speech as the candidate of the Communist Party for President, said: “But we must make this campaign the beginning of fresh efforts to unite the Negroes in behalf of their race and class interests, so that the world can recognize that the Workers (Communist) Party is really the defender and leader of the oppressed Negroes in this country.”¹¹

This was before Moscow had decreed that the Party in America must follow an entirely different line and view the Negroes as a colonial people with the right of forming their own nation. When this was done, their approach to the Negro underwent whatever changes were necessary to bring the Party's work in America into harmony with the dictates of the Kremlin.

8. Joseph Kornfeder, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

9. Lovett Fort-Whitemann, “The Negro Movement — American Negro Labor Congress.” *Inprecorr*, August 27, 1925, p. 983. Reproduced in House Committee on Un-American Activities, **The Communist Conspiracy**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956, Vol. I, pp. 265-266.

10. “1919 Platform of the Communist Party,” *The Communist* (first series), September 27, 1919, p. 9. John Bruce and J. P. Collins, “The Party and the Negro Struggle,” *The Communist*, (second series), October 1921, pp. 18-20. As cited by William A. Nolan, **Communism versus the Negro**, Chicago: Henry Regnery, Co., 1951, p. 224.

11. As reprinted in House Committee on Un-American Activities, **Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, Vol. 9, p. 5401.

CHAPTER THREE

The Creation of Negro Rebellion and A Negro Nation

Under Stalin the official definition of a nation was: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."¹ Who decided that the Negro in America was to be treated as a nation? Kornfeder testified: "Well, the doctrine originated with Joseph Stalin himself, while I was in Moscow, that's how I happened to know about it, and it was tried out on me since I represented the Foster Faction, to see what reactions there would be to it. I, of course, considered it entirely impractical. When I was then told that this proposition comes from Stalin himself, I was very much astounded, because, with all the deviltries that Stalin was capable of, his proposals usually had practicability to them. Now this thing seemed to me entirely impractical, and I — well, I — it stumped me so much that I just let go at it and considered it absolutely absurd."²

Losowsky, through whom as a translator Kornfeder communicated with Stalin, said that it was not important whether it could be done actually, but that "What is important is to have a unifying slogan around which one could ideologically rally all the Negroes."³ In other words, this was bait to hide the hook.

The Communists, thereafter, regarded the Negroes in the South as constituting a colony, and discussed them under the colonial question. As John Pepper wrote, they constitute "virtually a colony within the body of the United States of America."⁴ An interesting sidelight to this is brought out in the following:

"Q. Were there any Negroes among these people that you knew?

"A. Oh, yes. This Harry Haywood was a Negro, and Lightfoot was a Negro. But most of the Negroes were not in the Lenin School. They were in the Eastern University.

"Q. Why was that, Mr. Kornfeder?

"A. Well, the reason they put most of the Negroes in the Eastern University is that there was — somehow the idea prevailed amongst the Russian leaders that the Negroes in the United States are colonials. That is, they are, well, an oppressed group, and therefore, the purposes of the Communist Party would be best served if they were taught the methods that are taught in the Eastern University. Eastern University, of course, taught the methods of — customary for the Communists in colonial nations. They had trouble with that. That is, the Russian leaders had trouble with that because the American Negroes, although Communists, were used to a standard of living far above the one prevailing in the

1. Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, New York: International Publishers, 1934, p. 8.

2. Testimony of Joseph Kornfeder, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, 1957, Vol. I, p. 34.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4. *American Negro Problems*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1928, p. 7.

Eastern University. What was fed there, and the treatment received, was all right for Chinese who were used to a very low standard of living. So, the American Negroes who were assigned to the Eastern University—well, they rebelled against the conditions there. When I say food, well, that's not the only thing, you know. There is another species of inhabitant in Russia, known as the louse. They are there by the billions. It's very hard to keep them out of anything. So the Negroes who were assigned there, they were plagued by these little animals also — all of which created a condition of intense dissatisfaction, as a result of which they had to transfer some of them to either the Lenin School, or to the Western University where conditions were better.”⁵

In submission to the dictates of Stalin, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International set forth the line of self-determination, the right of the creation of a nation, for the Negroes in the south. “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 question of the Southern United States in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Negro population of the country.”⁶

On October 26, 1928, the “Communist International Resolution on Negro Question in the United States” said: “The Party must seriously take up the task of training a cadre of Negro comrades as leaders, bring them into the Party schools in the United States of America and abroad, and make every effort to draw Negro proletarians into active and leading work in the Party, not confining the activities of the Negro comrades exclusively to the work among Negroes. Simultaneously, white workers must specially be trained for work among the Negroes.”⁷

Despite the protest of some Communists in America that the new line would not work, the Party in America had to submit to the dictates of the Kremlin and propagate the new line.⁸ Thus the October 26, 1928, resolution of the Communist International was adopted by the Party in America. It was reprinted, for example, in *The Communist Position on the Negro Question*.⁹ As Browder put it: “It was the assistance of the Comintern which enabled us to overcome these fatal weaknesses on the Negro question. The Bolshevik program on the Negro question was not simply a generalization of our own experiences in America. It was an

5. Kornfeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

6. *International Press Correspondence*, December 12, 1928, p. 1674.

7. As reproduced in the Fish Committee, *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, Part 5, Vol. No. 4, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 515.

8. Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1939, pp. 481-482.

9. New York: Workers Library Publishers, n.d., pp. 56-63.

application of Lenin's program on the national question which summarized the world experience of generations of revolutionary struggle and especially the experiences of the revolutionary solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. We could not have arrived at our program only upon the basis of our own American experience. It was the existence of the World Party of Communism which made possible for us the elaboration of a correct Leninist program on the Negro question."¹⁰

One of the first official statements in the United States implementing the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress was by John Pepper in *American Negro Problems*. "The Workers (Communist) Party of America puts forward correctly as its central slogan: *Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, social and political equality for the Negro people*. But it is necessary to supplement the struggle for the full racial, social and political equality of the Negroes with a struggle for their right of national self-determination. Self-determination means the right to establish their own state, to erect their own government, if they choose to do so."¹¹

"The Communist Party of America must recognize the right of national self-determination for the Negroes and must respect their own decision about the form of the realization of this self-determination. The Negro Communists should emphasize in their propaganda *the establishment of a Negro Soviet Republic*."¹²

The duplicity of the Communists, however, is indicated in the very pages which spoke of a Negro nation. Pepper wrote: "In the ranks of the Communist Party there can be no place for nationalism. The Communist Party must be the Party of internationalism."¹³

The objective of the Communists was not so much a Negro Republic, but the use of the Negro as a means of achieving their plans of world conquest. Thus John Pepper wrote: "The Negro question in America must be treated in its relation to the liberation struggle of the proletariat against American imperialism. *The struggle against white oppression of the Negro masses is a part of the proletarian revolution in America against capitalism*."¹⁴

"It is the basic duty of the Communist Party to develop all revolutionary possibilities of the Negro race, to transform the 'solid south' and the 'black belt' from 'reserves of forces for the bourgeoisie into reserves of forces for the proletariat' (Stalin)."¹⁵

Furthermore, the Party planned to use the Negro to further revolution throughout Africa and South America. "At the same time the Negro question in the United States of America must be treated in its relations to the huge Negro masses of farmers and workers oppressed and exploited by white imperialism in Africa and South America. The Negroes

10. Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, New York: International Publishers, 1935, p. 292.

11. Pepper, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

of the United States are the most advanced section of the Negro population of the world and can play a decisive role in helping and leading the liberation movement of the Negro colonies. Within the Negro population of the United States, the *Negro working class* is destined to be the vanguard of all liberation movements and may become the vanguard of the liberation movement of the Negro peasant masses on an international scale."¹⁶

"The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the general international Negro problem. The question of a Negro World Congress should be considered but it can be realized only if a Negro working-class leadership in the Congress can be secured. One aim and purpose of the work among the Negroes in the U.S.A. should be to organize them as the champions of the Negroes all over the world, against imperialism. A strong Negro movement in the U.S.A. will be able to influence and direct the Negro movement in all those backward parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by the various imperialist powers."¹⁷

Earl Browder also made clear their revolutionary aim: "The purpose of our work on the Negro question is to establish unity of white and black proletariat in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the leadership of the proletariat over the Negro masses in the struggle for their national liberation. The purpose of the ruling bourgeoisie is to destroy this unification, and to establish the leadership of the bourgeoisie over the Negro masses. The main ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie is that of white chauvinism; secondarily, it makes use of Negro nationalist tendencies. Therefore white chauvinism is the main enemy, against which we must conduct an intolerant war of extermination, against all its forms, open and concealed, a war of political fire and sword. That was the meaning of the Yokinien trial."¹⁸

The Communists were endeavoring to get the Negro to have ambitions beyond the system of government which exists in the United States. As Kornfeder pointed out: "Well, it's a serious danger this way, that the Negro begins to think of himself as a group that has ambitions beyond the social system of the United States. See, until this thing occurred, the Negro considered himself a person who has grievances, but he did not consider himself as someone who has ambitions beyond the United States. Every one of them thought that those things could be settled sooner or later, or hoped for settlement within the pattern of the social set-up in the United States. Now, the moment he becomes a nationalist, even though he considers a Negro republic in the South impractical, he has ambitions beyond that. He is not any more an American nationalist; he is a Negro nationalist. That's the impact of this thing, and it's the driving force behind lots of the hostility that is now being spread and is manifest in the racial relations between Negroes and whites. The Negroes — lots of them, are beginning to accept ideas that

16. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

18. Browder, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

either directly or by implication lead to disloyalty to the United States."¹⁹

The doctrine of self-determination was also emphasized in the *Resolution of The Communist International*, October, 1930, which was adopted by the Party in America as its official position on "the Negro Question." "The struggle for the equal rights of Negroes does not in any way exclude recognition and support for the Negro's rights to their own special schools, government organizations, etc., wherever the Negro masses put forward such national demands of their own accord. This will, however, in all probability occur to any great extent only in the Black Belt."²⁰

"*Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt.* At the present time this Negro zone — precisely for the purpose of the facilitating national oppression — is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. 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 majority. There is no other possible way of carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self-determination of the Negroes. Every 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, and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests. Above all, it would violate the right of Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences, their land, but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labor."²¹

Leonard Patterson, who was a Communist at the time, said that he fought the doctrine of self-determination. Every Negro at the 1930 convention except two fought it. Clarence Hathaway, according to Patterson, said "that in Moscow in 1928, at the 6th World Congress of the Communist International, all of the Negroes fought against the question of Right of Self-Determination. But the Communist International said it had to be. It must be. The American Communist Party said it will be."²²

19. Kornfeder, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

20. *The Communist Position on the Negro Question*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, n.d., p. 44.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

22. Leonard Patterson, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. I, p. 112. See also the testimony of Mr. Louis Rosser in House Committee on Un-American Activities, *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 4-5.

B. D. Amis spoke of some Negro comrades who had "expressed tendencies of distrust in the application of the line of the Party."²³

The self-determination line was dutifully set forth in the writings of various Communists. Thus William Z. Foster wrote: "Accordingly, the right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also such white minorities as may live in this section."²⁴

". . . . In a Soviet system, the Negro will have the most complete equality — economically, politically, socially. The doors to every occupation, to every social activity, will be wide open for him. He will have ample land, confiscated from the great white landlords."²⁵

Racial amalgamation was also set forth as a goal. "The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage. The arguments of Ku Klux Klanners and the like that Negroes are an inferior race and that 'mongrel' peoples are less capable, have no justification in science and social experience. Those 'scientists' who endorse such 'white supremacy' theories are only so many bought-and-paid-for upholders of the prevailing mode of exploitation. The facts are that all the big peoples of today are already hopelessly 'mongrel' and that wherever Negroes have half a chance they demonstrate their intellectual equality with the whites. Geographic isolation of the early human stock into widely separated groups brought about its differentiation into individual races; contact between these various races, bred of modern industrialization, is just as irresistibly breaking down these racial differences and bringing about racial amalgamation. The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo."²⁶

The doctrine of self-determination was more or less shelved during the years that the U.S.S.R. was involved in World War II. The Communists did not want anything to hinder the protection of the Soviet Union, so they temporarily soft-peddled this call for rebellion.

After World War II, the doctrine of self-determination was revived. Thus in 1946 and in 1949 the Party re-affirmed the doctrine. "In fighting for their equal rights, the Negro people are becoming more unified as a people. Their fight for liberation from oppression in the Black Belt — the area of Negro majority population — is a struggle for

23. "How We Carried Out the Decision of the 1930 C. I. Resolution on the Negro Question in the U. S.," *The Communist International*, May 5, 1935. As reproduced in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *The Communist Conspiracy*, Part I, Sec. E, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956, p. 273.

24. William Z. Foster, *Toward Soviet America*, New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1932, p. 304. For other examples, see Subversive Activities Control Board, *Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner, v. California Labor School, Inc., Respondent*, Recommended Decision by Francis A. Cherry, March 26, 1957, pp. 37-40. *Jefferson School of Social Science*, Recommended Decision by Thomas J. Herbert, Chairman, December 29, 1954, pp. 97, 157-165.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306.

full nationhood, for their rightful position of full equality as a nation. In recognizing the struggle for equal rights in the South as a movement toward full nationhood, the Communist Party supplies new power to the Negro liberation movement and also advances the perspective of full freedom for the Negro people."²⁷

Herbert Aptheker tried to prove that the doctrine of self-determination "arises out of the basic aspirations of the Negro people themselves"²⁸ and that it was not an arbitrary blueprint imported from Moscow.²⁹ In 1951 Gus Hall, then National Secretary of the Communist Party, spoke of "national oppression" and the "right of national self-determination."³⁰ Reference was not made to all of the Negroes in America. "We are speaking about the subjugated Negro nation (where some six million Negroes are a majority in an area inhabited also by four to five million whites) in the Black Belt area of the South. Here the young, growing Negro nation has all the characteristics of nationhood and is kept in subjection by the Wall Street-Bourbon Capitalists and landowners."³¹ William Z. Foster reaffirmed the doctrine in 1952³² as did other Communist leaders in 1954.³³

However, in 1956 the doctrine of self-determination was modified for tactical reasons.³⁴ The Party called for a re-appraisal.³⁵ In 1957 Benjamin J. Davis spoke of the "danger of liquidating the national character of the Negro question altogether, that is, to the opposite danger of revisionism and Right-opportunism. It is one thing to liquidate deviations, and another, to liquidate facts."³⁶

"The primary weakness of the American Communist Party in its theoretical approach to the Negro question was not in its promulgation of the concept of the nationality of the Negro people in the Black Belt. In fact, this approach enabled it to make many new, profound and unique contributions to the whole struggle for Negro rights. It was

27. Resolution adopted by the Special Plenum of the National Committee in December 1946, and re-affirmed in 1949, Communist Party, U.S.A., "Resolution on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination," *Political Affairs*, September 1949, pp. 51-52. See also *Theory and Practice of the Communist Party*, New York: New Century Publishers, September, 1948, p. 31. Prepared by the National Education Department of the Communist Party.

28. "Consciousness of Negro Nationality: An Historical Survey," *Political Affairs*, June 1949, p. 95.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

30. *Marxism and Negro Liberation*, New York: New Century Publishers, May 1951, p. 13.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

32. *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York: International Publishers, 1952 pp. 477-478.

33. Pettis Perry, "The Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council," *Political Affairs*, February 1954, p. 2. Abner W. Berry, "On the Slogan 'Free by '63,'" *Political Affairs*, February 1954, p. 10.

34. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958, p. 245.

35. Draft Resolution for the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Adopted September 13, 1956. A *Political Affairs* pamphlet, New York: New Century Publishers, 1956, p. 50.

36. "Toward Negro Freedom," *Political Affairs*, April 1957, p. 20.

rather the mechanical, doctrinaire and self-righteous manner in which it applied this concept to the solution of this question, investing it with a certain rigidity and sterility which ruled out subsequent turns in events and other dynamic factors which were bound to effect the course of struggle in the deep South. The arrival at sound, and at the same time more flexible and up-to-date approaches, is at the core of the creative theoretical inquiry now being pursued in the Party."³⁷

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, December, 1959, abandoned at least for the time being the slogan — if not the doctrine — of self-determination. "The reappraisal of the self-determination concept and slogan requires its replacement by a strategic concept and slogan which expresses a more accurate, workable solution to the Negro national question in the United States. Such a strategic objective and slogan must answer (as the self-determination slogan attempted to do) the very real problem of governmental power for the oppressed Negro majority population, coupled with radical agrarian reform, in what remains of the traditional areas of most backward agrarian relations, intense poverty, and brutal landlord rule, in what is referred to as the 'black belt' in the South.

"The Communist Party program for the revitalization of southern agriculture and radical alterations of production relations in the 'black belt' remains sound."³⁸

Gus Hall, the present General Secretary of the Party, refused to answer questions as to whether this 17th Convention made an important shift in the policy of the Party on the Negro Question. He also refused to answer questions as to whether or not the revised position was submitted for approval in Moscow, by James E. Jackson, Jr., before it was presented to the Convention in America.³⁹

As J. Edgar Hoover observed: "The 1959 convention resolution hence represents a party admission that its position concerning Negroes is bankrupt. Time itself has shown that the Party is not interested in the welfare of the Negro, but only in using him as a tool to advance Party interests."⁴⁰

37. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

38. "Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question (Draft Resolution)" by the National Committee of the CPUSA. Reprinted in Sub-Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, *Communist Leadership*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 76.

39. *Communist Leadership*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, pp. 74, 78. (Testimony by and about Gus Hall.)

40. *An Analysis of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, p. 5. Claude Lightfoot unconsciously confessed that their primary interest was in the U.S.S.R. After the U.S.S.R. became involved, they "subordinated the struggle for Negro rights." As he put it: "But because of our failure to understand that there was no contradiction between winning the war and winning the struggle for Negro rights at home, we subordinated the struggle for Negro rights to the winning of the war, and in so doing, comrades, we lost good will in the Negro community — a loss from which we have not yet recuperated." "The Negro Question Today," *Political Affairs*, February 1960, p. 89.

Thus, the 17th National Convention saw that the self-determination "slogan itself was false."⁴¹ "In voting to drop the slogan of self-determination, after lengthy and serious debate, the committee was unanimous in its determination that this action in no way be interpreted as a detraction from the central nature of the Negro question in America. In this regard, the Negro question is more central today than ever before, because the objective conditions are maturing for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South as a pre-requisite for any further advances of the American people as a whole."⁴²

In other words, in an effort to try to gain leadership amongst Negroes, as well as try to create as much agitation as possible, the Communists, as they went on to say, are for total integration. The *Slogan* was dropped, for the time being at least. It should be observed that they are still endeavoring to use the Negro as a means of subverting America and turning it into a Soviet Satellite. This is what is meant by "the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South as a pre-requisite for any further advances of the American people as a whole."

The dropping of the doctrine of segregation through "self-determination," and the adoption of the line of integration, does not mean that they have dropped all that was implied in self-determination. As the committee put it: "In this regard, in areas of Negro majority the holding of police and governmental power by the Negro people is essential if any guarantee of political advance is to be maintained."⁴³

"Thus it is not correct, as some of the proponents of the thesis of self-determination claim, that in removing this slogan we are denying the revolutionary import of this question and are reducing it to a mere reform."⁴⁴

The Communists, of course, were interested in agitating to create rebellion with the promise of a Negro Soviet Nation; but it was only for the purpose of undermining America. When the Communists take over a country the people find that their promises are not fulfilled — except their promises to establish a dictatorship and to liquidate those who oppose them. The peasants in China were promised land and independence and then they were herded into Communes. They have exterminated more of their own people than there are Negroes in America. This is not what they have done to a foreign land, but to their own people.

The people in Cuba were promised free elections but after Castro

41. Claude Lightfoot, "The Negro Question Today," *Political Affairs*, February 1960, p. 87.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 88. Claude Lightfoot's report to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party more than once announced that what they were dropping was the "slogan of self-determination." (*Ibid.*, pp. 85-88). He also stated that they must be patient and explain to the Negro that the dropping of the slogan did not mean that they were downgrading the Negro question. He said: "You cannot march people up the hill today with one set of arguments and then ask them to march down that same hill tomorrow without explaining some of these questions." (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

was in power he first postponed them and then sneered at free elections. Now people vote with their feet, when possible, by fleeing.

It should also be observed that during the time that the doctrine of self-determination was being advocated, the Communists were agitating the sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Ford speaks of: "The heroic struggles of the sharecroppers' union organized by Communists in Alabama in the early 'thirties electrified the South and had its repercussions throughout the land."⁴⁵

The Communist objective in agitating for self-determination was twofold. First, to try to weaken and to destroy America. Second, to take off Communist Russia any pressure which might otherwise be applied. Thus B. D. Amis spoke of "mobilizing the broad Negro masses for the defense of the Soviet Union."⁴⁶

"In 1930 the Party stated: '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.'"⁴⁷ In an article on "Some Experiences in Organizing Negro Workers," Earl Browder closed with the call: "We must defend the Soviet Union."⁴⁸

Revival of the Tactic?

Communism teaches that progress comes through the struggle of opposites. They apply this in many different ways.⁴⁹ One of the applications is found in the utilization by Communists of opposing positions. Thus while on the one hand they call for total integration in order to have favor with integrationists, and to cause dissension with those who are not for total integration, on the other hand they are also using their influence with reference to any movements which are for Negro nationalism. They thus make an additional contribution to dissension within the nation.⁵⁰ Basing his argument on an article by Lightfoot, Ben Gitlow, a

45. James W. Ford, "The Communist Party: Champion Fighter for Negro Rights," *Political Affairs*, June 1949, p. 45.

46. "How We Carried Out the Decision of the 1930 C.I. Resolution On the Negro Question in the U. S.," *The Communist International*, May 5, 1935, p. 500. As reproduced in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *The Communist Conspiracy*, Part I, Sec. E., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956, p. 272. Compare Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

47. "Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." By the Central Committee Plenum, March 31-April 4, 1930, p. 62.

48. *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, Part 5, Vol. No. 4, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 512.

49. See James D. Bales, *Communism: Its Faith and Fallacies*, Grand Rapids 6, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1962. See also the forthcoming book by James D. Bales on *The Red Hot Line*.

50. Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, *Activities of 'The Nation of Islam' or the Muslim Cult of Islam, in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Jan. 9, 1963, pp. 32, 37, etc. Communists move from non-endorsement to encouraging the movement of the Black Muslims. *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1960, p. 90. *National Review*, Feb. 12, 1963, pp. 99, 101.

former Communist who helped found the party in America, maintained that the Communists were encouraging the Negro nationalism of the Black Muslims.⁵¹

51. Benjamin Gitlow, "The Negro Question — Communist Civil War Policy," Tulsa 2, Oklahoma: Christian Crusade, n. d., pp. 7-10. **Political Affairs**, July 1962; **Political Affairs**, Feb. 1960, pp. 86-89.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Satellite System

Otto Kuusinen in *The Communist*, May 1931, said that the Party must build up a solar system of non-Communist organizations which would be manipulated by the Party. "The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes."¹

African Blood Brotherhood

Before Kuusinen made the above statement, the Communists had already started to work on a system of satellites. They did not create the African Blood Brotherhood, but they did infiltrate it. Joseph Kornfeder, who was the chief representative of the Party in this particular job, has related how this was done.²

American Negro Labor Congress

This satellite was launched by the Communists in 1925.³ In 1928 they endeavored to make it a more effective mass organization. "The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activized. The communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an *intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership. After careful preparatory work which must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held. For this convention a carefully worked-out program should be prepared. It should contain not only demands of the Negro workers, but also the agrarian demands of the farmers and agricultural workers.*"⁴

League of Struggle for Negro Rights

This satellite was the successor to the American Negro Labor Congress.⁵ It was hoped that it would be a means of reaching the Negro masses.⁶ Its aims are expressed in such statements as the following: "We call upon all interested individuals to introduce these drafts for discus-

1. *The Communist*, May, 1931, pp. 409-423.

2. *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, 1957, Vol. I, p. 37.

3. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958, p. 251.

4. John Pepper, *American Negro Problems*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1928, p. 15.

5. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Kornfeder, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 40.

6. Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, New York: International Publishers, 1935, pp. 49, 137.

sion at a meeting of their union, fraternal organization, club, church congregation, etc.”⁷

“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.”⁸

“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.”⁹

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare “was one of the most important strategic Communist operations intended to get at the South.”¹⁰ Paul Crouch, a Party member from 1925 to 1942, started organizing in 1928 the Communist Party in the South.¹¹ He testified that: “My connection with the Southern Conference goes back before it was even formed. I was one of the three people who planned it in the first place, Robert F. Hall, Joseph S. Gelders and myself.” Crouch identified Hall and Gelders as Party members.¹²

“The purpose of the Communist Party in setting up the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was to have a mass organization through which the Communist line could extend all over the South, through which intellectuals, professionals, even ministers, could be brought within the scope of the Communist Party influence to enable the Communists to gain entry into the Government.”

“It was intended to lead to class hatred, to race hatred, dividing class against class and race against race as its real objectives in spite of the words that were put on paper, some of them by myself.”¹³

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

“The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued. The official paper, the *Southern Patriot*, which was published by the Southern Con-

-
7. **Equality, Land and Freedom**, A Program for Negro liberation published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, New York: Workers Library Publishers, November 1933, p. 5.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 10. **Subversion in Racial Unrest**, Vol. I, p. 42.
 11. Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, **Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 11.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 13. See also p. 93.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 15. See also the House Committee on Un-American Activities, **Hearings**, March 29, 1944, and June 12, 1947. May 6, 1949, p. 189. Also Appendix IX, pp. 1580-1599.

ference for Human Welfare, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which professes the same ostensible purpose."¹⁴

"It was for all purposes a continuation of the same organization under a new name."¹⁵ James A. Dombrowski, who was administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.¹⁶ testified as to the connection between the two.

In January of 1946, it was decided to reorganize the Conference so as to make possible participation in political action. "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Inc., operating under a charter issued in Tennessee —the charter was amended to the name Southern Conference Educational Fund. A new organization was set up under the name of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an unincorporated agency, to do legislative and political action work, and many people were and are now confused about the two organizations.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, unincorporated, continued the function for about a year when it began to wither and it was finally dissolved in 1948, but the Educational Fund continued to carry on the educational work of the Conference, but the program was narrowed to a very concise and brief program having to do with the improvement of the race relations and, that has continued to be the prime purpose of the fund."

"Abolition, discrimination and segregation."¹⁷

Some of the outstanding leaders in racial agitation in the South have been connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. and some of them were members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Aubrey Williams was a Board member of the Conference for Human Welfare. He became President of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. He was also on the Board of Directors. James A. Dombrowski was an administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and he is Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. L. C. Bates is a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. Anne Braden and Carl Braden are Field Secretaries of the Fund. Mrs. Anne Braden is on the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.¹⁸ This Committee has been cited as a Communist front.¹⁹ Carl Braden "was cited in 1958 for contempt of Congress growing out of his refusal to answer questions as to his Communist activities. He

14. Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, **Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, p. v.

15. Paul Crouch in *Ibid.*, p. 15.

16. *Ibid.*, p. v.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

18. Letterhead, June 15, 1960.

19. **Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications**, revised January 2, 1957, p. 38. Quoted in House Committee on Un-American Activities, **Operation Abolition**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 1.

was convicted and his most recent appeal was rejected by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in December of 1959.”²⁰

“Braden appeared as a witness and refused to state whether he was a Party member, and also refused to state whether he had any connection with the Southern Newsletter and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Braden has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to a year in jail as a result of his testimony.”²¹ Alberta Ahearn testified that Carl and Anne Braden recruited her into the Communist Party and were members of some of the same cells which she was in.²² Mr. Braden turns up at such places as sit-in demonstrations in Louisville, Kentucky.²³

Highlander Folk School

August 13, 1938 the President of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, John P. Frey testified concerning the radical background of Alton Lawrence who was a member of the faculty of the Highlander Folk School. “Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, Myles Horton. . . . They have been active in radical work in the South and a few years ago attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South.

“In connection with this we might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., was mixed up in this secret convention in which these three C.I.O. organizers took a very prominent part.”²⁴ John Butler testified that Alton Lawrence recruited him into the Communist Party.²⁵

Myles Horton was a founder of the Highlander Folk School.²⁶ Paul Crouch testified concerning a Conference at the Highlander Folk School: “The purpose of the Conference was to work out a plan by which the *Daily Worker* would be purchased by the school. They would be made accessible to the students, that everywhere possible the instructors should refer to the *Daily Worker*, to news that had come in it, to encourage the students to read it, and it was agreed that the Communist Party should have a student, a leader, sent there as a student whose job it would be to look around for prospective recruits. . . .”

“Mr. Arens. You said it was agreed? Who agreed?”

“Mr. Crouch. Mr. Horton and Mr. Dombrowski.”²⁷

He further testified that Horton was pro-Communist. “Mr. Crouch.

20. Donald L. Jackson, “Uncertain Trumpets,” **Congressional Record**, March 3, 1960.

21. House Committee on Un-American Activities, **Annual Report for the Year 1958**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959, p. 34. See also p. 83.

22. Sub-Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, **Communism in the Mid-South**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 37.

23. **News from Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**, May 5, 1960.

24. House Committee on Un-American Activities, **Hearings**, 1938, Vol. I, p. 126.

25. Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, **Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 45.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

At that meeting, after we discussed the school I asked Mr. Horton to become a formal member of the Communist Party and his reply was, as near as I can recall his words, 'I'm doing you just as much good now as I would if I were a member of the Communist Party. I am often asked if I am a Communist Party member and I always say no. I feel much safer in having no fear that evidence might be uncovered to link me with the Communist Party, and therefore I prefer not to become a member of the Communist Party.'"²⁸

According to Crouch, Rev. Don West was one of the original founders of the Highlander Folk School. He identified Don West as a worker and organizer for the Communist Party.²⁹

A Joint Committee, appointed "pursuant to House Joint Resolution Number 30," included the following in their March 6, 1959 Committee Report to the 81st Session of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee: "The attention of the 'School' was shifted from this (union, J.D.B.) field of social unrest to another sometime in the 1940's, that being the problems concerned with segregation and integration and has continued along this line until the present day. The 'School' seems to be more interested in the questions that bring about community unrest and chaos rather than in the advancement of the science and arts of education."³⁰

In connection with racial unrest, it is not without significance that on Labor Day weekend (August 30-September 2, 1957), a seminar was conducted on integration at the Highlander Folk School. Among those in attendance were Communists, fellow-travelers, and some Negroes who have been leaders in the major incidents of agitation in connection with integration in the South.

Abner W. Berry, who had been a member of the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and for twenty years a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, was there. Berry is one of the most important Negro Communists. At the time he was writing a regular column for the *Daily Worker*. This seminar gave him personal contact with those who had been involved in some of the major incidents, up to that time, in connection with integration. Obviously, as a disciplined Communist, the Party had sent him there to do what he could to contribute to racial unrest. Pictures indicate that he was not shunned at the seminar, but was well integrated with other members of the seminar. Of the seminar he wrote: "Here for four days Negro and white leaders of the South, representing millions of Southerners, had the precious communications established with each other that had been disconnected during the past few years."³¹ Since there had been no lack of communication between non-Communists, is Berry saying that this was a restoration of *open* communication between Communists and certain liberals?

28. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

30. pp. 5-6.

31. "On the Way," *Daily Worker*, September 10, 1957, p. 5.

Berry also said that "two southern NAACP branch presidents" were there.³²

Peter Seeger was also there. He has been on many Communist fronts, and has refused to answer questions about present or past membership in the Communist Party when before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.³³

John B. Thompson was a seminar director. He is a clergyman who has belonged to many Communist fronts. He was a sponsor of the Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion.³⁴ He was chairman from 1940-1942 of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.³⁵ He was national chairman of the American Peace Mobilization which had a twenty-four hour picket line in front of the White House from May 6, 1941 until midnight June 21, 1941. Russia was attacked by Germany on June the 22nd.³⁶ Before this, the war was regarded as an imperialist war, but between June 21 and June 23 a complete transformation of attitude took place.³⁷ And the name of the organization was changed to American People's Mobilization. Thompson was still its head.³⁸ Concerning this organization the House Committee on Un-American Activities reported as follows: "On May 21, 1941, a subcommittee of the committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Joe Starnes began public hearings on the American Peace Mobilization. In our investigations and hearings on this organization, the following facts were established: (a) The American Peace Mobilization was the direct successor of the American League for Peace and Democracy and was, like the latter organization, completely under the control of the Communist Party.

"(b) The American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House for many weeks prior to Hitler's invasion of Russia, and in fact, maintained that picket line right down to the very day of Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union.

"(c) The avowed objects of the American Peace Mobilization's White House picket line were vicious by every test of American patriotism.

"(d) The American Peace Mobilization attempted to penetrate and influence the armed forces of the United States for clearly treasonable purposes.

"(e) The American Peace Mobilization openly aided and abetted widespread sabotage strikes in the most important American defense industries, thereby seriously hampering our Nation's preparedness to meet just such military crises as that of Pearl Harbor.

"(f) The American Peace Mobilization denounced the President as a warmongering tool of Wall Street bankers and the whole American defense program as a Wall Street plot to aid British imperialism.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

33. *Hearings*, 1955, pp. 2448-2460. August 18, 1955.

34. Seditious Activities Investigation Commission of the State of Illinois, *Report of Proceedings*, 1949, p. 97.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 110.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

38. Florida Hearings, *Communism and the NAACP*, Vol. I, p. 20.

“(g) The American Peace Mobilization echoed the Communist Party’s line that Great Britain was engaged in an imperialistic war for her own imperialistic ends.

“(h) The American Peace Mobilization did all within its power to oppose our lend-lease aid to the nations which were embattled against the Axis Powers.

“(i) The American Peace Mobilization denounced the conscription of American manpower as an invasion of civil liberties.

“(j) The published propaganda of the American Peace Mobilization was replete with statements which were deliberately calculated to sabotage the American defense program, the following being a typical example of statements issued over the names of the organization’s leaders: ‘But even if we don’t approve of England’s war, isn’t her side still preferable to Hitler’s; and isn’t it better to fight and beat Hitler with England than without her? No. An English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory.’

“(k) Immediately after Hitler’s invasion of Russia, the American Peace Mobilization changed its name to the American People’s Mobilization, and reversed all of its former positions in exact accordance with the changes which Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union occasioned in the line of the Communist Party.”³⁹

As strange as it may seem, the former chairman of such an organization was not only welcomed at the Highlander Folk School Seminar, but was one of its leaders. This is the type of person with whom some of the most widely known Negro leaders in the South worked in the Seminar.

Aubrey Williams was there. He was President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. He was also Editor and Publisher of the *Southern Farm and Home* which is published in Montgomery, Alabama and has a circulation of 800,000. In 1945 “the U. S. Senate rejected his appointment as administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record.”⁴⁰

John Butler testified that Alton Lawrence introduced Williams to him as a Comrade and Party member.⁴¹ Butler was also in a meeting, which included Williams, where Party affairs were discussed.⁴²

Paul Crouch testified: “I’ll have to answer that in two ways. In the first place Williams’ record, which I knew well throughout my membership and his activities always coincided with the work and the interests of the Communist Party.

“In the second place, I would not have made the statements I made to him, to anyone, unless I had been privately informed, as I had been

39. **Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government**, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 2748, January 2, 1943, pp. 8, 9.

40. Florida Hearings, **Communism and the NAACP**, Vol. I, p. 21.

41. **Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**, p. 117.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

by Rob Hall, that he was a secret member of the Communist Party."⁴³

Williams' attitude toward Communists in government is expressed in a statement, which he admitted making, as follows: "What they demand is that any man who admits to being a member of the Communist Party be fired immediately on the grounds that no man can be loyal to the United States and be a Communist. It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the right of any Communist to maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the United States. To take any less position than this is to throw overboard such primary rights as the freedom to think and to hold whatever beliefs one chooses."⁴⁴

With such an attitude one can see why he was willing to engage in a Seminar in which there was a representative who was openly a Communist. His name was also on a brief *amici curiae* on behalf of the Communist Party which was presented to the U. S. Supreme Court in 1955.⁴⁵ He was on the executive committee of the Highlander Folk School. If Abner W. Berry quoted him correctly, Williams "prophetically" declared that the situation in the South was such that the opposition of public officials in the South to integration was planting the "stuff out of which rebellions are made" and that "it is only a short step to general violence."⁴⁶ Communists, of course, interpret this as an invitation to step up agitation in order to create as much violence and unrest as possible.

Williams was an admirer of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a well known Communist.⁴⁷ Aubrey Williams defended Don West.⁴⁸ Williams was Contributing Editor to *The Southerner*.⁴⁹ According to the *Christian Century*, Don West was expelled from the Church of God of Union Assembly in January, 1956 because of his use of the Fifth Amendment when asked certain questions by a Whitfield grand jury which was investigating communism.⁵⁰ Aubrey Williams, however, continued his associations with West as a Contributing Editor to the *New Southerner*.⁵¹ Donald L. West was identified as a Communist by Manning Johnson⁵² and Martha Nichols Edmiston.⁵³ West has a front record.⁵⁴

Leaders in the major racial incidents in the South up to the time of the Seminar were also there. Among them were: "Reverend Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Charles C. Gomillion, Reverend David Brooks, Allen McSwain, Conrad Browne and others who attended this session at Highlander Folk School provided major leadership in the following

43. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

45. Florida Hearings, *Communism and the NAACP*, Vol. I, p. 22.

46. *Daily Worker*, September 10, 1957, p. 5.

47. *Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.*, p. 111.

48. *The Southerner*, October 1955, p. 4.

49. October 1955, p. 2.

50. *Christian Century*, March 14, 1956, p. 344.

51. April 1956, p. 1.

52. *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. II, p. 201.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

incidents of interracial strife: (1) the Montgomery Bus Boycott; (2) the Tuskegee Boycott; (3) the Tallahassee Bus Boycott; (4) the Clinton School Incident; (5) Kononia Farms Inter-racial Violence and the March on Washington.”⁵⁵

At least four of the participants in the Highlander Folk School Seminar telegraphed President Eisenhower and said among other things: “Africans are turning to the UN for moral support and encouragements: must we?” Among others this was signed by Rev. R. O. Abernathy, Dr. Charles C. Gosmillion, Reverend Martin Luther King and Aubrey W. Williams.⁵⁶ The telegram was inserted in an advertisement, and was distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Thus it is seen that the Communists, regardless of the motives of those who work with them, are endeavoring to use racial agitation as a means of undermining the country. They have established personal contact with some of the leading non-Communists who use boycotts, sit-ins, and other methods of accomplishing their purposes in the field of race relationships.

Why did these men openly associate with Communists and fellow-travellers? Why did they engage in a seminar discussion with them on the race question, and ways to deal with it, when it is obvious that the Communists want to use the race question only as a means of destroying America? What would they say if someone conducted such discussions with anti-Semites? And yet, the Communists in Russia have manifested much anti-Semitism.

55. Georgia Commission on Education, **Highlander Folk School**, p. 4.

56. **New York Times**, March 30, 1960.

CHAPTER FIVE

The United Front

The Communists have used the united front in order to penetrate and to influence Negro organizations. In the united front, non-Communists consciously collaborated with Communists in the pursuit of some supposed common objective. What did the Communists have in mind? They stated: "It is permissible to form a united front (for example, in the form of a Negro Race Congress) of the working-class elements with the petit-bourgeois elements. The policy of the Communists within this united front must be:

"(a) To free the working class from the ideological and organizational influence of the petit-bourgeois elements.

"(b) To begin the struggle for the leadership of the working class."¹

"The Communists must under no circumstances merge their organization with the petit-bourgeois organizations and must reserve for themselves fullest rights of criticism and propaganda."²

A united front organization, like a Communist front organization, became a means of penetrating other organizations. For example, the American Negro Labor Congress "was used to penetrate existing Negro organizations, like the U.N.I.A. (this was the Universal Negro Improvement Association), the Garvey movement, N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Negro churches, the Masonic Orders, and to get favorable write-ups from the Negro press and even get support from some liberal white people."³

In some cases a united front was built up by taking one issue and then branching out.

"Our leaders in military science over there (Moscow, J.D.B.) taught that the smallest incident, the smallest grievance, could be politicalized and become a mass popular Communist movement until it would involve millions or a hundred million people led by the Communist Party."⁴ The Communists in America followed this pattern which was mentioned in a report of the 1935 Plenum of the Party. "These experiences have shown us that it was possible to get this united front by simply taking up one section, one issue, one grievance of the Negro people and developing a struggle around it. In this case we can see that if we properly approach these organizations there is a possibility of getting into the Negro organizations for a united front. We have had in Harlem in the preparations for the unemployed conference at Washington, a conference of 29 organizations, different organizations than we have had heretofore, into a conference at Abyssinia Baptist Church, the N.A.A.C.P., church organizations, etc. Comrade (Herbert) Benjamin spoke there,

1. John Pepper, *American Negro Problems*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1928, p. 14.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

3. Leonard Patterson, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, 1957, Vol. I, p. 124.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

and we elected delegates to the congress at Washington. We had also the followers of Father Divine, the Negro 'God'."5

"We have nothing in common with the religious beliefs of Father Divine, in whose fantastic features we see the fundamental characteristics of all religions. But we have much in common with the masses of Negroes who follow Father Divine. They are our people. We will fight for them and for their interests. We will do everything possible to draw them into the common struggle against a common foe — the capitalist system."6

National Negro Congress

Perhaps the most ambitious united front organization which was originated by the Communists was the National Negro Congress. In the *Party Organizer* in 1935 they wrote: "In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question — if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations, there is a possibility of setting up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the New York District in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest congress of Negro people ever held."7 This Congress was founded in 1936. The Communist domination of the National Negro Congress became so obvious and obnoxious by 1940, that the socialist A. Philip Randolph resigned as President.8

Joseph Z. Kornfeder described something of the success of this Congress and the reasons for it. ". . . So, in order to carry out the new policy of courting the democracies against Hitler, they created amongst the Negroes a type of front patterned to this new policy. They called that the National Negro Congress. Now to the National Negro Congress there were invited all other Negro organizations — the N.A.A.C.P., the Socialists, the Negro organization led by one Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters Brotherhood, and others — and they came together all in one convention and agreed to form a new type of Negro organization, which united all the existing Negro organizations in one combination without, however, each of the separate organizations dissolving themselves. But they came together into one coordinating body known as the National Negro Congress. Well, at that time, the administration in Washington was favorable to all this. It was a period where the Trojan Horse didn't have to be a Trojan any more. It had

5. "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations," *Party Organizer*, March 1935, p. 20. Quoted in the *Florida Hearing*, Vol. I, p. 10.

6. Earl Browder, *What Is Communism?* New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1936, p. 150.

7. Vol. VIII, March 1935, p. 21. Wm. A. Nolan, *Communism Versus the Negro*, Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951, p. 132. For testimony by a former Communist that the Communists were the initiators of the National Negro Congress, see Manning Johnson, House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 14, 1949. Also Manning Johnson, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 147. Leonard Patterson said he had a part in setting it up. *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. I, p. 126.

8. Morris Milgram, "Beware the Common Front!" *F.O.R.*, September 1948, pp. 11-12.

become a partner. it could move in, as it were, in full uniform — didn't have to do it at night any more.

"So, the administration collaborated with all this idea of uniting against the Nazis with the Kremlin and its subsidiary organizations in the United States, and the various organizations in the United States were refashioned, remoulded to suit this new policy. Well, that's the time when the Communists made their biggest headway amongst the Negroes. It was the same time when the C.I.O. was created and, of course, the Communists moved into the C.I.O. in great style. I mean the newly created labor federation, the C.I.O., issued charters to Communist labor union groups that they knew were composed and led by Communists. Well, in the name of these newly chartered — newly issued national charters they, then, of course, got at the Negro in Northern industry, and through the National Negro Congress they made some headway amongst Negroes also in the South. . . . The slogan of the Black Republic they just temporarily retired to the background. For the time being it wasn't mentioned. They concentrated on the other things of a tactical nature for the time being."⁹

Did the Communists also organize a united front to operate on an international scale? "A. 'Yes, there is one important front still in existence. Well, it's not near as important as it used to be — that's the Council on African Affairs. The Council on African Affairs was another one of these Communist Negro fronts in which there was cooperation between the N.A.A.C.P. and — the Communist Negro fronts and other Negro organizations. Some of the directors of the N.A.A.C.P. were members of it up until about, I think 3 or 4 years ago. The Council on African Affairs is different in some respects from the other Negro fronts that the Commies set up, because it's a coordinating center whose main objective is, together with the French Communist Party and the British Communist Party, to foster nationalism in Africa and to win the American Negro over to the idea of Negro nationalism for Africa. They are sort of coordinating these types of activities and, of course, at the same time, issuing lots of literature under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs.'"¹⁰

During the united front period the self-determination slogan was "temporarily retired to the background."¹¹

During World War II the Communists soft-pedaled Negro rights. Even Communists have admitted, by implication, that they were willing to sacrifice the Negro when it came to the question of winning the war in which the U.S.S.R. was involved. As Claude Lightfoot put it in his report to the 17th National Convention: "I recall during the war years our Party was probably one of the most influential factors in every Negro community over the length and breadth of the land. But because

9. *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. I, p. 41. For a discussion of what the CIO finally did about Communist unions, and for a discussion of communism and labor in general, see William C. Sullivan, Assistant Director of the FBI, "**... Freedom Is The Exception**," Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business, 1965, pp. 25-39.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of our failure to understand that there was no contradiction between winning the war and winning the struggle for Negro rights at home, we subordinated the struggle for Negro rights to the winning of the war, and in so doing, comrades, we lost good will in the Negro community — a loss from which we have not yet recuperated.”¹²

It is well for all to realize that the Communists today are trying to use the united front approach, whether formally or informally. Thus a top Negro Communist wrote: “It is necessary to equip ourselves with full knowledge of the actual situation in our respective States, counties, cities and wards, to utilize the united front style of work at all times, and to develop greater ideological clarity and organizational order and discipline within our Party. We may then confidently expect to contribute much that would help develop a needed new quality in the political actions and struggles of Negro and white working people in the South. This, in turn, would promote the causes of peace, economic progress, Negro freedom and genuine democratic government.”¹³

The Communist *Daily Worker*, in its commendation of James Jackson, a Negro Communist, indicated how they operate in the united front; whether it is a formally organized one or an informal one. “For Communists, Jim Jackson’s mastery — through practice — of the united front tactic provides a model of great importance in carrying into life the objectives of the Party program. A primary characteristic of his style of work has been his persistent skill in developing mass struggles around the issues and through the organizational forms and methods closest and most congenial to the masses — all the while striving to raise a given campaign, project, or movement to higher levels of social consciousness and fighting capacity, all the while furthering the unity and initiative of Negro and white workers and the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement.”¹⁴

Today, we should keep in mind, is the day of the informal united front in many cases and in some cases of a formal united front. Americans must exercise care lest through a zeal not according to knowledge they hurt freedom.

12. “The Negro Question Today,” *Political Affairs*, February 1960, p. 89.

13. James E. Jackson, “The South’s New Challenge,” *Political Affairs*, December 1957, p. 18.

14. *Daily Worker*, December 1, 1954, p. 6. Reproduced in Manning Johnson, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. II, p. 150.

CHAPTER SIX

Infiltration of Churches

Negro ministers are a powerful influence in the life of the American Negro. At first, however, the Communists ignored this fact, or were unaware of it, and launched an attack on them. "The Party must conduct a continuous and carefully worked out campaign among the Negro masses, sharpened primarily against the preachers and the churchmen, who are the agents of the oppressors of the Negro race."¹

"We must combat the influence of the church, of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and movements. The church, by offering to the Negro worker and peasant for the miseries they are enduring in this world compensation in heaven, are befogging the minds of the Negro workers and peasants, making them a helpless prey to capitalism and imperialism."²

This did not mean, however, that the Communists were not trying to penetrate the Churches while attacking their leaders. Leonard Patterson testified that since 1929 the Communists had been penetrating Negro religious organizations. "The Communist Party has been able to exercise its influence in Negro churches in the south, Negro churches in the north and throughout the United States."³

The Communists learned, however, in the 1930's that a frontal attack on religion was not the best approach. As Earl Browder said: "It is true that we have learned to be much more careful about the quality of our mass work in this field. We take pains not to offend any religious belief. We don't want to close the minds of religious people to what we have to tell them about capitalism, because of some remark or action offensive to their religion. We can well say that the cessation of ineffective, rude and vulgar attacks upon religion is a positive improvement in our work.

"Our aim is to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of mobilizing the religious masses of this country into a movement against fascism and war."⁴

"We will fight for them and for their interests. We will do everything possible to draw them into the common struggle against a common foe — the capitalist system."⁵

Communists used the united front and Communist fronts to penetrate other organizations including Churches. In the Lenin School in Moscow, Joseph Kornfeder was taught that the purpose of Communists

1. *Daily Worker*, February 12, 1929, p. 3. Par. 22. As cited by William A. Nolan, *Communism Versus the Negro*, Chicago: Henry Regnery, Co., 1951, p. 99.

2. "Some Experiences in Organizing Negro Workers." Reproduced in *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, Part 5, Vol. No. 4, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 512.

3. Leonard Patterson, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, Vol. I, p. 125.

4. *What is Communism?*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1936, p. 148.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

and pro-Communists in the Churches was to turn the Churches into instruments of social strife. "The general idea is to move from the spiritual concept to the materialistic one and to make the church an instrument of social strife. That is the psychological approach in this kind of an operation of working from inside of the church, and I may say that it was rather effective."

"It does not combat or openly challenge the spiritualism of the church or the concept of the fatherhood of God. It does not challenge it. It even, when necessary, pays lip service to it, but it concentrates on the so-called social problems, all the problems that naturally could be exploited to create social strife between classes, races, competing church groups, and so on."

"Mr. Scherer. They advocated that course of conduct by the Communist Party for combating religion then in the United States. Do I understand that is your testimony?"

"Mr. Kornfeder. That is right; yes."

"Mr. Scherer. And that was taught to you in the Lenin School?"

"Mr. Kornfeder. Yes; that was taught in the Lenin School."⁶

This is in line with Lenin's instruction that creating class strife was even more important in combating religion than was atheistic propaganda.⁷

It is of interest that as early as 1919 some radical papers amongst the Negroes such as the *Messenger*, (which advocated the abolition of capitalism, lauded the Russian revolution, and advocated socialism for America) stated that: "The church must be converted into an educational forum."⁸ Education, of course, for Collectivism and against Capitalism.

In 1935 the Communists were still discussing how to penetrate Negro organizations, including the Churches.⁹ In 1935 they claimed to have penetrated Negro churches in the South. Thus Gil Green reported to the National Executive Committee in New York in 1935 as follows: "While in most districts the major problem is to send the bulk of our members into these organizations of the youth, in some places the problem is to reorganize the work of our present League so as to give leadership to our Comrades already in these organizations. For example, in the South we have more than 300 members who are also members of church youth organizations — especially the Baptist Young Peoples Union. In this district (Alabama) the problem confronting the leadership is to completely change the organization structure of the League. Where possible we should build shop units and everywhere else units in the church youth organizations. Why? Because in the South, especially for

6. House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area* — Part 6 1953, pp. 2046-2047.

7. *Religion*, pp. 14-15. V. I. Lenin, *On Socialist Ideology and Culture*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, pp. 82-128.

8. As reproduced in Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York, *Revolutionary Radicalism*, Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, 1920, Vol. II, p. 1478.

9. *Party Organizer*, March 1935, p. 16.

the Negro youth, the church is the center of all cultural and social activity. It is here that we must work. By building our units in the church organizations we can also improve our work under the illegal conditions, as it will be easier to work in the church organizations. In Alabama there are certain places in which we can in a short while take over the church organizations of youth, under our leadership, and these can become legal covers for our work in the South."¹⁰

In 1938 Francis Franklin wrote: "The South has been widely known as the 'Bible Belt,' and no mass movement in that region can ignore the *churches* and other religious organizations. The majority of Southerners, both Negro and white, are Baptist and Methodist. It is important to recognize that both denominations arose historically from exploited groups and are still regarded as churches of the 'common people.' We should utilize the role played by Anabaptists in the Peasant Wars in Europe and by such Baptists as Roger Williams in America."¹¹

Wherever the Communists have penetrated Churches, either ideologically or by infiltration, they seek to turn Churches into instruments of class warfare and strife and to direct attention away from spiritual values and the salvation of souls.

10. Gil Green, "Full Speed Ahead," *International of Youth*, March 1935, pp. 25-26.

11. Francis Franklin, "For a Free, Happy and Prosperous South," *The Communist*, January 1938, p. 73.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Government Hearings

Having sketched the general pattern of the Communist operations in the field of race relations, let us now briefly mention some of the hearings in this area which have been conducted by governmental agencies.

New York Investigation

The first official governmental investigation, known to the author, of communism and its subversive activities amongst the Negroes was carried on in New York State. Its conclusions were issued as the Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York. It was entitled *Revolutionary Radicalism: Its History, Purpose and Tactics With an Exposition and Discussion of the Steps Being Taken and Required to Curb It*. Volume Two devotes around fifty pages to "Propaganda Among Negroes."¹ Communists and other radicals were exploiting the just complaints of Negroes. The Communists were endeavoring to stimulate race hatred and to "engender so-called class consciousness in their ranks."²

"Instead of seeking to remedy these conditions in lawful manner, as we firmly believe they should be remedied, they are made the basis for an appeal to class consciousness. This propaganda seeks to make the Negro believe that the only way in which his lot can be bettered is by the abolition of our form of government and the substitution therefore of a system of government similar to that of Soviet Russia and by the institution of the co-operative Socialist Commonwealth."³

Since the Communists had not yet conceived the idea of a Negro Soviet State in the South, this propaganda line was not mentioned in the New York report.

House Committee Report in 1930

House Res. 220, of the Seventy-First Congress, Second Session provided for "An Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States." Its report was entitled *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*.⁴ Part 5, Vol. No. 4 deals with the Los Angeles area and contains on pp. 490-594 samples of propaganda which the Communists circulated amongst Negroes. Documents in this report indicate that the Communist line at this time included at least the following:

(1) The Negroes were an oppressed race suffering under American white imperialism.

(2) "The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color against the common enemy, against the master class. The Negro race must understand that capitalism means

1. Vol. II, pp. 1476-1520.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1476.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1520.

4. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930.

racial oppression and communism means social and racial equality.”⁵

(3) United front. “A united front national committee for the American Negro Labor Congress has been organized.”⁶ “The party must apply united front tactics for specific demands to the existing Negro petty bourgeois organizations. The purpose of these united front tactics should be the mobilizing of the negro masses under the leadership of the party, and to expose the treacherous petty bourgeois leadership of those organizations.”⁷

(4) “All slogans of equality which are current among the Negro masses or which can be awakened among them, which express the aspirations for equal rights and equal treatment of Negroes in political and economic life and in public customs, are placed among the demands of the Workers (Communist) Party.”⁸

(5) The struggles of the American Negroes must be connected with those of the African masses, and of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples. “The congress should strive to develop a leadership for the Negro movement of the world for which the American Negroes, by their superior industrial and political training, are the best fitted.”⁹

(6) Penetration of Negro organizations. “To accomplish this we should organize Communist fractions within the Universal Negro Improvement Association which shall strive to surround themselves with the working class and poor farmer elements for the purpose of carrying on the struggle to transform the organization into an organization fighting for the class interests of the Negro workers in the United States.”¹⁰

(7) Revolution. “In the Negro race movements and organizations it is necessary constantly to emphasize the colonial program of the Communist International, pointing out that only with a united world front of all the exploited—only with the conjunction of the proletarian revolution with the revolt of the colonial peoples, that victory can be attained.”¹¹

(8) United front from below. Concerning the African Blood Brotherhood they said: “Our policy in relation to this organization is to have the local organizations merge with the units of the American Negro Labor Congress.”¹²

(9) In its Fourth National Convention the Workers’ (Communist) Party of America in 1925 stated its objective with reference to the NAACP. “In the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the negro petty bourgeoisie, together with middle-class white reformists and under the partial leadership of the big bourgeoisie (such as represented by Senator Burton, chairman of the last Republican National Convention) finds the chief medium for its reformist operations.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 491.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 492.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 516.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 496.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 497-498.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

Yet it is a singular paradox and a reflection of the now passing period of the patronizing of the negro's cause by the capitalist class, that this organization at its last convention appeared in the role of championing, though in a timid and 'respectable' way, negro workers' right to admittance in the trade unions. Even in this organization, under present circumstances, it is permissible and necessary for selected communists (not the party membership as a whole) to enter its conventions and to make proposals calculated to enlighten the negro masses under its influence as to the nature and necessity of the class struggle, the identity of their exploiters, and their leaders in the same persons and the treacherous nature of the reformist measures proposed.

"However, it is only when the communist work is so broadened and extended in the field of negro movements as to make our party stand out as the only real champion of the negro against lynching, all discriminating and all oppression and exploitation that we can successfully combat the influence of such bourgeois movements."¹³

(10) The right of self-determination.¹⁴

(11) Agitation, connected with and starting with grievances, must be carried out. "Agitation should be carried on among them against capitalism and racial oppression connecting this agitation with the economic demands of the Negro farmers."¹⁵

(12) Attack on Churches: "*Fighting the influence of the church and of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and movements.* — We must combat the influence of the church, of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and movements. The church, by offering to the negro worker and peasant for the miseries they are enduring in this world compensation in heaven, are befogging the minds of the negro workers and peasants, making them a helpless prey to capitalism and imperialism. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and movements, such as Garveyism, etc., detract the negro workers from their fight hand in hand with the international working class for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism."¹⁶

(13) Negro workers "must defend the Soviet Union."¹⁷

(14) Training Negro leaders in schools in America and Russia: "The Party must seriously take up the task of training a cadre of negro comrades as leaders, bring them into the party schools in the United States of America and abroad, and make every effort to draw negro proletarians into active and leading work in the party, not confining the activities of the negro comrades exclusively to the work among negroes. Simultaneously, white workers must specially be trained for work among the negroes."¹⁸

(15) Not only the Negro proletariat but also the tenant farmer must be utilized.¹⁹

13. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 512.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 512. See also page 521.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 515.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 515.

House Committee on Un-American Activities

In 1954 the House Committee summarized its findings in *The American Negro in the Communist Party*.²⁰

(1) The Communists endeavor to come to power through capturing and organizing minority groups. "One of the principal goals of the Communist Party in the United States is the infiltration and control of the Negro population in this country."²¹

(2) "In furtherance of its traitorous design the Communist Party of the United States has exploited issues of genuine concern to the American Negro and all Americans."²²

(3) "Testimony and records of this committee established beyond any doubt that the work of the Communist Party has been one of the greatest deterrents to recognition and realization of the legitimate aspirations of the American Negro."²³

(4) The testimony of William Odell Nowell, November 30, 1939, showed that in 1920 the Negro had been discussed as a national minority rather than a racial minority.²⁴

(5) Beginning in 1928 the doctrine of self-determination was bound by Moscow on the Communist Party in America.

(6) Loyalty to the Soviet Union was required, and in event of a war with the United States, the Communists were taught to create a revolution in America.²⁵

The Communist influence in the inception and work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was exposed by the House Committee in a "Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare."²⁶ This was included in Hearings and Reports, Vol. I, 80th Congress, 1st Session, 1947.

Mr. Louis Rosser testified that the Communists wanted to create Negro rebellion. In the event of a war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. they planned to use the Negro to start civil war, and thus to defend the Soviet Union. Rosser also observed that the Negro Communists objected to the Communist line of a segregated Negro Soviet in the South and of rebellion; but, of course, they had to walk the Party line handed down by Moscow.²⁷

The House Committee also traced the shift in the line during World War II when from 1943-45 Communists were for a united front. After World War II they revived their policy of a Negro Soviet.²⁸ As they had done earlier, they maintained that "land reform" must be carried out

20. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

25. Nowell's testimony in Executive Hearings, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 467.

26. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947.

27. *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 4-5.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

in the South. This reminds us, of course, of the promises of land reforms in Red China.²⁹ However, by 1954 the Communists were playing down the idea of the Negro Republic, because the Negroes were not interested in it, although Communists still thought that it was correct theory.³⁰

Evidence given before the House Committee underscores the fact that the Communists are interested only in exploiting the Negro. After Hitler attacked Russia the Communists ceased to dissuade Negroes from going into the army, and opposed any Negro who in any way interfered with the Communist's determination to have a second front opened immediately. They were now for victory, and sought to muzzle any Negro who pressed for civil rights because it might hinder the war effort.³¹

The Arkansas Hearings

The Arkansas Hearings revealed that the Communists many years ago had designated Little Rock and Pine Bluff as areas to be colonized and within which to create racial incidents. "... A group of cities in the South were designated by the Communist Party in 1932 as critical areas where the Party could more effectively create racial tension and strife. Among these cities were Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas."³²

The early efforts of the Communists to gain a foothold in Arkansas were centered in Commonwealth College. "In 1925, Commonwealth College settled west of Mena, Arkansas. This school had no particular academic requirements, tuition or qualifications for students or faculty. No attempt was made to belie the fact that it was communistic in nature, and to a large extent was supported by organizations with subversive backgrounds. In about 1932, Lucien Koch became the director (president) of the school. He subsequently engaged in creating racial tension in connection with the formation of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union, and the Workingmen's Union of the World in and about Fort Smith and Russellville. Koch, Bob Reed and Autry Delaney went into East Arkansas, especially in Cross and Poinsett Counties, and made inflammatory speeches denouncing the landowners, the Federal Government and the administration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In this connection, one Claude Williams wrote Koch a letter while the latter was in the Tyronza jail, wherein he talked of the 'united front' that had been promulgated by the communist and Socialist Parties. Claude Williams at that time was actively engaged in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World at Paris, Arkansas. The representatives of Commonwealth College who went into East Arkansas promised prospective members of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union 40 acres, a mule and a plow, and advanced a plan similar to the agrarian reform plan of China which has resulted in the death of over 20 million Chinese during the past two decades.

"Thus we find a subversive organization operated in Arkansas,

29. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

32. Hearings Before the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, December 16, 17, 18, 1958, pp. 23-24.

creating racial unrest, from at least 1925 through 1941, when Commonwealth was closed as the result of a State court order."³³ The Arkansas Hearing also discussed some specific individuals who were involved in racial difficulties in Arkansas. Dr. J. B. Matthews and Manning Johnson were two of the expert witnesses.

The Florida Hearings

The Florida Hearings presented evidence which supported the following propositions set forth in the Introduction to Volume One. Dr. J. B. Matthews, the expert witness, testified under oath.

"In the pages which follow, certain propositions will emerge from the evidence submitted. For the most part, original Communist sources have been cited in order to let the Communists speak for themselves. It should be clear that —

"1) The Communists are at work, with their customary fanatical dedication, in stirring up trouble in the field of public school integration in the South;

"2) The Communists have been at work for some thirty years in the field of agitation among Negroes;

"3) The Communists have organized and promoted a succession of united fronts and fronts designed especially for winning Negroes to Communism;

"4) The tactics of Communist agitation among Negroes are greatly altered from time to time, but the basic objective of violent revolution remains unchanged;

"5) Whatever the line of the Communist Party on the Negro question may be at a given moment, it is based upon the so-called Marxist-Leninist analysis and is dictated by Moscow in the special interests of the Soviet Union;

"6) There is a vast Communist literature on the subject of Communism and the American Negro;

"7) One of the announced goals of the Communist program is the confiscation without compensation of the property of the white capitalists and landowners in the South;

"8) The Communists favor racial amalgamation and assert that a Communist revolution would speed up the process;

"9) The Communists have established friendly contacts with the Negro leaders of most of the recent integration incidents in the South;

"10) The Communists rely chiefly upon the support which they are able to command from misguided Southern liberals;

"11) This is an era in Communist strategy when the Party has reverted to the united front policy which prevailed immediately prior to and during World War II;

"12) Communist leaders have asserted that 'Negro liberation' is their Number One issue on the domestic front."³⁴

This hearing also dealt with the efforts of Communists to influence the NAACP.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

34. *Communism and the NAACP*, p. 5.

Louisiana Hearings

The significance of the Louisiana Hearings can be seen from some of the witnesses. Joseph Z. Kornfeder, a former Communist, was the first one in the Communist Party to be "put in charge of the Communist Party activities among Negroes." He traced its first efforts amongst the Negroes and the development of their strategy and tactics through the years. He also set forth various aspects of Communist psychological warfare, agitation and propaganda.

Leonard Patterson, a Negro who had been a member of the National Executive Committee of the Party, showed among other things that: "The Communist Party has been able to exercise its influence in Negro churches in the South, Negro churches in the North and throughout the United States."

Manning Johnson, a Negro, was also a witness. He had been on the National Negro Commission, and also the National Committee of the Communist Party.

These Hearings established that the first serious approach to the American Negro by the Communist Party was due to Lenin's instructions. At first the Negro was not viewed as an oppressed nation, but in 1928 Moscow's official line of the Party maintained that they were an oppressed colonial nation with the right of self-determination. This line was adopted over the protest of both white and Negro Communists in America, but they all submitted to the dictates of Moscow.³⁵ An interesting sidelight of this approach is that at first the Negroes, who had been sent to Moscow to be trained, were not in the Lenin School but in the Eastern University with the Chinese, since the Russians thought that the Negroes in the United States were colonials.³⁶

The Hearing emphasized that a basic strategy in the Communist approach to power is to exploit the grievances of man. For example: "Communism exploits every complaint of the people made against the government or governing officials — not for the purpose of securing relief for the people, but as a move to power, which they plan to seize as the government falls."³⁷ The Communists have applied this approach to racial grievances and have endeavored to exploit these in such a way as to undermine the country.³⁸

The testimony of Manning Johnson showed how Communist fronts function as transmission belts for Communist objectives, ideology and influence. A considerable amount of his testimony dealt with the efforts of the Communists to penetrate the NAACP.

Martha Nichols Edmiston's testimony showed that Negroes were used to create incidents in the North.³⁹ Her testimony presented the front record of Donald L. West, Lee Lorch and others.⁴⁰

The testimony of Sgt. Hubert Badeaux dealt with Communism and

35. See *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. 1, pp. 34-35, 112, 125.

36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 22.

37. W. Guy Banister, *Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Vol. I, p. 12.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

39. For an example see *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 224.

Ibid., Vol II, pp. 232-233, 246-247.

the NAACP. He went into detail concerning some documents which had been seized in the raid on the dwelling place of a Communist organizer, a Negro by the name of O'Dell.

The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Louisiana (Old State Capitol, Baton Rouge, La.) has also issued three volumes on the "Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., in Louisiana." Based on documents from the files of S.C.E.F., Inc. it was established that some prominent persons in the civil rights agitations have been associated in various ways with Communists and pro-Communists.

Mississippi Hearings

The General Legislative Investigating Committee in Mississippi held public hearings on November 18 and 19, 1959. These hearings with documentation were printed in *A Report to the 1962 Regular Session Mississippi State Legislature by the General Legislative Investigating Committee*. J. B. Matthews testified. It was shown that a State which had had almost no public demonstrations regarding race was being agitated by persons from without the State. Among other things, this hearing dealt with the public record of many persons who were officers or public supporters of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. These individuals had supported such Communist causes as contributing their influence to stopping the deportation of Harry Bridges, an identified Communist; keeping the Communist Party on election day ballots as a legitimate political Party; supporting the right of the Jefferson School of Social Science to continue as a Communist training school, a school where revolution was taught; and the petitioning of the Federal Government to release Earl Browder from jail.

The Southern Regional Council was also dealt with in the Mississippi Hearing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Concluding Observations

The Communists are not interested in the welfare of minority or majority groups in America. More than one Negro Communist has become disillusioned and left the Party when he learned that the Communists were using the Negroes only as a tool.

How the Communists, when in control, have treated minority and national groups is set forth in a statement by Khrushchev in his secret speech on the crimes of Stalin. "All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet state. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations. . . . The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also."¹

This underscores the warning of J. Edgar Hoover: "Naive, indeed, is the minority, class or dissatisfied group which lets its banner pass into the hands of the Communists, for this banner will be held aloft by the Reds only so long as it serves the purpose of expediting the Communist objective of domination over all classes."²

The Communists have not been very successful in getting Negroes to join the Communist Party. "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of Communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the Party's saccharine promises of a Communist 'Utopia.' This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of Communism."³

"The fact that the Communist conspiracy has experienced so little success in attracting the American Negro to its cause reflects favorably on the loyalty and integrity of the vast majority of the 15,000,000 Negro citizens. To attest to this fact we restate the words of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which appeared in the Congressional Record of January 26, 1953:

"We recently reviewed the origins of 5,395 of the leading members of the Communist Party. The results were most interesting. Only 411 were Negroes but of the remaining 4,984, we found that 4,555 or 91½ percent were either of foreign birth or born of foreign parents....

1. As quoted in *Congressional Record*, June 4, 1956, pp. 8473-8474. Stalin is still viewed as a good Communist, *World Marxist Review*, February 1962, p. 56.
2. Subcommittee of the Judiciary on Internal Security, *Statement of J. Edgar Hoover Concerning the 17th National Convention, Communist Party, U.S.A., December 10-13, 1959*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The fact that only 411 Negroes were found in this select group is strong evidence that the American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs.'

"In furtherance of its traitorous design the Communist Party of the United States has exploited issues of genuine concern to the American Negro and all Americans. But as this report will show, the Communist has always been guided by the directives from the leadership of the international conspiracy and has betrayed the Negro's cause whenever it was expedient to further the policies of turmoil, dissention, and rebellion."⁴

Some Negroes have been recruited into the Communist Party. The Party has given more attention to the Negro than to any other minority group in America. At the 17th National Convention they re-emphasized the need for "the recruitment of Negroes into the Communist Party."⁵

The Communists have been far more successful in getting Negroes to work with them in a united front, or in getting them into Communist fronts, than they have been getting Negroes into the Party. The top leadership of some organizations which have been in the forefront of civil rights agitation have not shown an awareness of the ways in which the Communists operate. This is demonstrated by their front record, and by some of them attending the seminar at Highlander Folk School, as well as by cooperating with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Communists, fellow-travellers, and their dupes will not further good race relationships in America. Instead, anything which contributes to the further division of the country and the advancement of communism puts us that much farther away from solving race problems. And yet, there are leaders who do not seem to be aware of the Communist influence in the race issue and some who actually cooperate with identified Communists.

When individuals allow themselves to be deceived time and time again by the Communists, they show themselves to be the type of person whose judgment ought not to be trusted in such serious matters as solving the tension between Negroes and Whites in any part of America.

It is also striking that some of these individuals who have worked with the Communists, and who now work with identified Communists or with organizations which have identified Communists in them, have also attacked government Committees which investigate communism.

Joseph Z. Kornfeder testified that one of the purposes of the Communists was to try to turn Churches into agitational centers. In the author's judgment it is a matter of deep concern that some Negro ministers in the South have turned their churches into civil rights agitational centers. They are neglecting the spiritual aspects of man's life. And yet it is these aspects which enable us to make real progress in good race relationships. Especially during the last fifty years there has been an emphasis in much theological training on the material rather than on

4. House Committee on Un-American Activities, *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, Washington: Government Printing Office, December 22, 1954, p. 1.

5. J. Edgar Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

the spiritual. Those wanting to help their fellowman, but who do not have a good spiritual grounding, may fall for many false solutions and shortcuts which may short-circuit the solution.

There are some who do not place much stress on morals and character, except to demand this or that political solution to some problem. If a law gets in their way some religious leaders urge that the law be broken. They also defy orders of Federal judges. The creation and the support of lawlessness will hardly improve American society. Charles E. Whittaker, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (retired) in a speech on June 17, 1965, said: "While I do not claim that all of our crime is due to any one cause, it seems rather clear that a large part of the current rash and rapid spread of lawlessness in our land has been, at least, fostered and inflamed by the preachments of self-appointed leaders of minority groups to 'obey the good laws, but to violate the bad ones' — which, of course, simply advocates violation of the laws they do not like, or, in other words, the taking of the law into their own hands.

"And this is precisely what their followers have done and are doing — all under the banner of 'peaceable civil disobedience,' which they have claimed to be protected by the peaceable-assembly-and-petition provision of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

"Although such preachments and practices have become far more vocal and widespread in our recent racial strife, they did not have their origin in that strife, but, rather, in the labor strife, sit-ins and lie-downs of an earlier era.

"More recently, certain self-appointed racial leaders, doubtless recalling the appeasements and, hence, successes of that earlier conduct, have simply adopted and used those techniques in fomenting and waging their lawless campaigns which they have called 'demonstrations.'

"They have recently used these techniques to incite their followers to assemble, from far and wide — often, unfortunately, with the encouragement and at the expense of well-meaning but misguided church organizations — into large and loosely assembled groups, which many have regarded as mobs, to wage what they have called 'demonstrations' to force the grant of 'rights' in defiance of the law, the courts and all constituted authority.

"At the beginning, those 'demonstrations' consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriation of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and, eventually, by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies.

"Seeing that those trespasses were often applauded in high places, were generally not punished, but, rather, were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, those racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activities by massing and marching their followers on the sidewalks, streets and highways — frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses."⁶

"The philosophy of 'obeying only the laws you like,' and of openly

6. Charles E. Whittaker, "Law and Order," **Highlights of Truth**, Denver: Homemakers Guild of America Corp., pp. 1-2.

defying and breaking the ones you do not like, has given rise to mobs and mob actions that have proven — as certainly we should have expected — to be tailor-made for infiltration, take-over and use by rabble-rousers and Communists who are avowedly bent on the breakdown of law, order and morality in our society and, hence, in its destruction.

“And even though those results may not have been contemplated, and surely weren’t wished by those Americans who so advocated disobedience of our laws, nevertheless, they did advocate that philosophy and they did put its process into action, and cannot now escape responsibility for its results.

“The process has now spread even into the campuses of many, indeed most, of our great universities.”⁷

“Probably because of a rather widespread recognition that, at times and in certain sectors, some of our colored brethren have suffered unconstitutional discriminations, and because many of us have been sympathetic to the ends they seek — and have not, therefore, thought very much about the destructive means they have embarked upon to attain those ends — there has been a rather general public apathy toward their preachments to violate, and their practices in violating, our laws.

“Indeed, one of those who first advised, and was most successful in inducing, his followers to take the law into their own hands — and who, now that their conduct has led to widespread disorder, attempts to excuse his responsibility for it with the doubtless-true statement: ‘I cannot control them’ — paranthetically, an excuse quite reminiscent of the one given by the man who lighted the squib and threw it into the crowd — was rather recently twice honored. Once by an old and respected American university by conferring upon him an honorary degree — not in some new political science — but in law, and, second, by an honored foreign cultural group by awarding him a prize for, of all things, his contributions to peace.

“What, I would like to ask, has happened to our sense of values?”⁸

“The remedy is equally plain. It is simply to insist that our governments, State and federal, reassume and discharge their first duty of protecting the people against lawless invasions of their persons and property and from assaults upon their liberties by demanding and commanding respect for law and legal processes through the impartial, even handed, vigorous, swift and certain enforcement of our criminal laws and the real and substantial punishment thereunder of all conduct that violates those laws.

“These are not platitudes, but are fundamentals and vital, as every thinking man should see, to the survival of our nation.”⁹

On January 27, 1837 Abraham Lincoln pointed to the results of the spirit of lawlessness and also to its remedy. “And not only so; the innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty fall victims to the ravages of mob law; and thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the

7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

defense of the persons and property of individuals are trodden down and disregarded. But all this, even, is not the full extent of the evil. By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit are encouraged to become lawless in practice; and having been used to no restraint but dread of punishment, they thus become absolutely unrestrained. Having ever regarded government as their deadliest bane, they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations, and pray for nothing so much as its total annihilation. While, on the other hand, good men, men who love tranquility, who desire to abide by the laws and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country, seeing their property destroyed, their families insulted, and their lives endangered, their persons injured, and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better, become tired of and disgusted with a government that offers them no protection, and are not much averse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose. Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed — I mean the attachment of the people.”¹⁰

“The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor — let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children’s liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

“While ever a state of feeling such as this shall universally or even very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom.

“When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal

10. *Abraham Lincoln Complete Works*, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Editors, New York: The Century Company, 1894, Vol. I, p. 11.

provisions be made for them with the least possible delay, but till then let them, if not too intolerable, be borne with.

"There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that may arise, as, for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true — that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens, or it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case is the interposition of mob law either necessary, justifiable, or excusable."¹¹

It appears that religious leaders with an economic and social emphasis, rather than the spiritual emphasis, have taken the lead in the racial problems in America. If spiritual leaders take the leadership there will be far less disturbance and more progress.

Certainly spiritual emphasis has not contributed to the situation which is noted in the following statement: "When George Meany, AFL-CIO President, was quizzed by reporters on Adam Clayton Powell's prospective assumption of the chairmanship of the House Labor Committee, his characteristically blunt reply: 'I think it's terrible' exploded on the front pages of the nation's Negro newspapers. Meany's criticism of Powell's alleged 'racism' and record of absenteeism in Congress was brushed off as 'irrelevant.'

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which a year or two ago said: 'We deplore and disassociate ourselves from the banner of extreme racialism raised by Mr. Powell,' this time joined other Negro groups to defend Powell and hit Meany. . . Unhappily, prejudice has become ingrained so deeply in all of us that only Negroes may safely criticize other Negroes; only Jews other Jews; only unionists other unionists without being charged with bias."¹²

It is the judgment of some that several years of agitation, turmoil and misunderstanding are creating an atmosphere which is not conducive to solving the problems. Weigh the words of a great American Negro, George S. Schuyler: "In my opinion, an extremely dangerous trend is developing in U. S. Negro thinking. It concerns itself with the tactics and strategy which should be adopted and carried forth in dealing with the peculiar problems with which we are confronted. The trend is dangerous because, due to pressure, we are reaching a point where the people most concerned are hearing only one side, as if there were no other; and when another side is presented it is met with intolerant denunciation, and those who express it are treated as if they were enemies."

"The fact of the matter is that the only sound and intelligent way to deal with the American color problem is the moderate and gradual way. The alternative to step-by-step approach is a drastic and revolutionary one."

"There are some Negroes, young and old, who are making a fetish out of mass pressure as a panacea for all ills, assuming that this will be

11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

12. Harry Fleischman, "Labor and the Civil Rights Revolution," *The New Leader*, April 18, 1960, p. 16.

a one-way deal. I think they are wrong, and a whole lot of Negroes who know the score, are of the same opinion.

“The latter should be heard and what they say pondered. The difficulty is that they are not being heard, and there is reluctance to listen to them, and they are being denounced as ‘Uncle Toms,’ ‘reactionaries’ and ‘defeatist’ — terms which are largely meaningless.

“It is unfortunate that only the enemies of Negro rights are willing to give this Negro viewpoint a hearing, whereas every medium of expression serving Negroes should accord the dissidents as much space and time as the proponents of extremism. There is absolutely no position on any question that should not have a hearing, and a respectful one.

“When we learn that fact, we shall have matured. In my opinion, without an open forum the people perish.”¹³

Not merely mass pressure, but illegal mass pressure is being used. J. Edgar Hoover well said in a speech on October 19, 1965: “I am greatly concerned that certain racial leaders are doing the civil rights movement a great disservice by suggesting that citizens need only obey the laws with which they agree. Such an attitude breeds disrespect for the law and even civil disorder and rioting. The citizen has no latitude as to what laws he must obey. If he feels a law is wrong or unjust, he has recourse to established constitutional procedures to have it changed through his legally elected representatives.

“It is reprehensible for any person to select those laws he will obey and those he will ignore. Such defiance is a form of anarchy. It is shameful and disgraceful for persons in high authority to condone or urge the breaking of established laws.”

The authors believe that individuals who have a record of affiliation with Communist fronts, who have not renounced and repudiated both these fronts and those that duped them into joining the fronts, are not qualified to serve as leaders in the Civil Rights movement. No person can hope to solve the race problems of America if he allows himself to be used, willingly or unwillingly, by an organized conspiracy whose real aim and purpose is not to solve but to exploit social strife. No man can serve two masters. Surely there are enough leaders among both races who are sufficiently dedicated to seek peaceful, fair, and harmonious solutions, and at the same time wise enough to know that collaboration with communism can only bring about further disunity and disaster.

We believe that the current emphasis on Civil Rights, rather than civil responsibility, tends to put the cart before the horse. We believe that rights follow responsibility as day follows night and that the ultimate answer is not to be found in social, economic, or political reform, but in a moral and spiritual reformation among all of the people of our country. We believe that the solution to racial strife in America is not going to be found merely by materialist methods — i. e., by building better houses or better roads or better wages; but by building better people. The rules of conduct laid down in the sermon on the mount were not given to apply only to white or to black people, but to all

13. Manchester, New Hampshire Union Leader, May 12, 1960, pp. 1, 6.

people. We receive by first giving; we cannot draw water from a pail that has not yet been filled. We cannot expect to see any real progress merely by changing a person's address or his school; the solution will be found when a person is changed within himself. A person's demand for rights must be matched by his dedication to duty. It was a socialist, Frederick Harrison, who said: "Duty is always plain; right is a verbal mystification. A man can always and everywhere do his duty. He seldom can get his supposed rights without trampling on the rights of others. Men wrangle incessantly as to rights. They easily agree as to duties. The performance of duty is always ennobling, a moral, a religious act. The struggle for rights calls out all the passions of self and of combat."¹⁴

The authors do not in any way oppose or protest lawful struggle for Civil Rights; we do say, however, that the concentration on "Rights," to the exclusion of all else, — which says that while others have duties toward us, and that they ought to perform these duties, even though we ignore our duties — is a philosophy which has within it the seeds of its own destruction; and is inherently doomed to failure in a democracy.

14. Frederick Harrison, **National and Social Problems**, as quoted by Charles Richmond Henderson, **Social Duties**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909, p. vii.

10

Reforms 7

56

57 Little Rock

O'Dell - 60

Hayes - 26

Paul Crowe - 41

Jackson 67

65

62

61

Churches - 62

59

49-51

P. 10

Reforms P 7

56, 57 Little Rock

60 - Odell

5-26 - Hall

61, 62, 66, 67 - Jackson

59