

C. P. Birthday Marks Growth of Struggles Of the Negro Masses

One of Communist Party's Greatest Achievements Is Seen as Opening of Door of Revolutionary Movement Wide to the Negro People

By JAMES S. ALLEN

It was only recently that Negro workers in important numbers began to play an active role in the revolutionary working class movement in the United States. This does not mean that there were no Negro revolutionists, or that there was no mass revolutionary movement among the Negroes. The Negro people have a rich and full tradition of struggle against the slave-owners, both old and new, that any appreciable proletarian revolutionary movement developed among them. Thanks to the Communist Party, the long-standing struggle against plantation peonage, against insulting degradation and overwhelming oppression, is now being fought in a new way, in the closest alliance with the entire working class.

The fact that there were so few Negroes in the working class movement prior to the World War was in part due to the fact that there was as yet no very large Negro industrial proletariat. But it was also due to the inveterate opportunism of the Socialist Party which hindered a proper Marxist understanding of the Negro question. After the mass migrations of Negroes into industrial areas, particularly of the North, during and after the War, conditions were ripe for the rapid attraction of Negro workers into the revolutionary movement; but it was to take a number of years before other conditions were prepared, before the Communist Party itself should begin to overcome the harmful inheritance from the Socialist Party and turn its hand to a serious consideration of the problem.

At the present time, fifteen years after the formation of the Communist Party, we can say that undoubtedly one of its greatest contributions to the working class in this country is the fact that it has seized upon the key which has opened the doors of the revolutionary movement wide to the Negro people. It has had to overcome numerous subtle influences of the whole atmosphere of "white superiority"; it has had to overcome a deep distrust of white workers among the Negro masses, nurtured by centuries of oppression at the hands of the white ruling class and its supporters among the ranks of the Negro upper class. The Communists have established their position as the uncompromising champions of working class solidarity and of Negro rights, each inseparable from the other. Wherever one hears of white and Negro workers fighting shoulder to shoulder in a strike, for unemployment relief, for social and political rights, one may

be sure that the Communists are leading that struggle. Scottsboro has become the internationally-known symbol of this achievement of the Communist Party. The penetration of the Party into the South, its rooting and growth there—in the heavy industrial center of Birmingham, Alabama, and in the textile centers of the Carolinas as well as in the plantations of the Alabama Black Belt—have shown conclusively that at last the struggle for Negro liberation has been taken to the bosom of the American revolutionary proletariat.

This, in itself, is a historic achievement which marks the end of a whole period and the beginning of another in the development of the revolutionary movement in this country. This achievement is arraying a mass of great revolutionary power against the onslaught of capitalism, against the Roosevelt drive upon the workers, against the gathering forces of fascism, against the danger of war.

The Communist Party of the United States is able to record this achievement on its fifteenth anniversary precisely because it is not an isolated, narrow, national party, drawing merely upon its own experiences and its own abilities, repeating old mistakes again and again out of inability to escape from its past. It is a part of a World Party, the Communist International, which is the embodiment of world revolutionary experience, the central exchange through which all wires pass gathering and transmitting experiences of all revolutionary movements in the past and in the present from and to all parts of the world.

This International has to its credit the consolidation of a successful proletarian revolution, the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, as well as revolutionary movements of long standing throughout the world. It was able to help the American Party, on the basis of its long experience, in overcoming bourgeois race theories, in throwing off its back the deadening weight of opportunist heritage from the Socialist Party and to reach clarity and understanding on the Negro question.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, held in 1928, deliberated upon the Negro question in the United States. The resolution on the question passed by the Congress was the first document which marked a complete reorientation on the question, as far as the American Communists were concerned. It applied Leninism to the situation and found a clear analysis. Lenin's characterization of the American Negroes as an oppressed nation was here applied

systematically for the first time. Following upon another period of indecisive action due to the opportunist policy of the Lovestoneite leadership, there was passed, in 1930, after extensive discussion and disagreement in the American Party, still another resolution, which laid down clearly and definitely the basic characteristics of the Negro question in the United States. This document remains to-day the basic and fundamental discussion of the problem, around which all of the activities of the Party have been organized, activities which led to the Scottsboro campaign, the Herndon victory, the formation of the Share-Croppers union, etc.

Between the Sixth and the approaching Seventh World Congress of the Communist International a complete transformation has taken place in the working class movement in the United States in relation to the Negro. The International has been able to render inestimable aid in removing the false glasses of bourgeois theory through which we had been wont to gaze upon the Negro question. It has replaced these by a sharp and useful weapon, a clear and correct analysis of the nature of the question. If we wish to work correctly, we must know both the nature of the problem we are tackling and the method of working. We have learned, and are continuing to learn daily. But the principal barrier has been overcome—we are well on our way. The problems to be discussed now, in the 15th year of our Party and at the Seventh World Congress, are, as far as the Negro question is concerned, no longer a matter of fundamental principles—these have been settled—but the further development of that movement which these principles have been able to

Darcy Urges Fight Against Upton Sinclair

Calls for Sharp Exposure of "Epic" Author's Aid to Capitalism

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Oct. 5.—The task of the California workers in their fight to expose the candidacy of Upton Sinclair, and of bringing forward the program of the Communist Party is one of vital importance, Sam Darcy, Communist candidate for Governor, declared at a gathering here following his return from the East.

"The newspapers in the East and in California say that the Democratic Party has surrendered to Upton Sinclair. Actually Sinclair has surrendered to the Democratic Party and would give the workers, if elected, only what the capitalist class wants to give us," Darcy said.

"The reason for Sinclair's candidacy and his radical sounding program is that the capitalist class feels it must do something about the tremendous spread of revolutionary working-class struggles throughout the country," Darcy continued.

"The disillusionment which would inevitably follow Sinclair's election would not make the workers revolutionary. On the contrary, it would