

Some New Data Toward Understanding The Position of Negroes in the U.S. Today

By JAMES ALLEN

The main concern of the C.P. is to strengthen and advance the Negro rights movement, which has come forward so powerfully, and to strengthen and advance the coalition between this movement and labor in the interest of democracy, peace and socialism. These vital aims should be served by a reexamination of the theoretical position of the Party, in the light of the experiences of the past two decades and present trends.

Basically, the Communist position has changed little since 1930, when it characterized the Negro question as a national question and adopted the program of "self-determination for the Negro nation in the Black Belt." But it has been obvious for some time that a basic re-examination of this position is called for by important changes in the situation of the Negro people in this country, in the nature and form of the Negro right movement, and in its relation to the labor movement. Important world changes emerging from World War II, especially the successes of the independent movement in the colonial world, also affect the position.

The Communist position when it was adopted marked an important advance over existing approaches in the labor and progressive movements. Instead of the simple class approach, or the race approach, or the "class and caste" position—each in its time tending to obscure the real nature of the problem and hindering the coalition of the Negro people and the working class movement—the Communists recognized the national nature of the Negro question, defining the status of the Negro as that of an oppressed people striving for freedom. The question was thus raised to the very center of the fight for democratic advance along the road to socialism, with the most immediate implications for the fight for democracy in the South and for Negro-white unity in the labor movement. With the new approach, the Negro question in the United States was brought within the scope of

the world-wide national movements of oppressed peoples against imperialism in the present era, thus bringing to bear upon the question the rich experience and Marxist-Leninist theory in this field.

Despite the prevalent Leftist moods and interpretations of the time, which resulted in one-sided and distorted programmatic conclusions, the national theory led to a deeper understanding of the Negro question, making possible vital contributions to the struggle for Negro rights. The advances are lasting and durable, and continue to serve as the base for further progress in both theory and practice. These may be summarized as follows:

(1) The identification and definition of the plantation - cropping system as an economic remnant of slavery, semi-feudal in content, and as the source of the continued rule of white supremacy in the South, its continuing economic backwardness as a whole, and the oppression of the Negro people. This concept threw new light on historical development in the United States and upon struggles for Negro freedom in the entire period since the Civil War. It supplied specific, concrete meaning to the completion of the democratic revolution in the South, with its direct implications for democracy in the country as a whole. It revealed the struggle for Negro freedom throughout our history as being at the heart of the battle for democratic progress.

(2) The concept of strategic alliance between the working class and the oppressed Negro people was placed in a new and fruitful manner, which has constantly grown in importance. In the past, if this question was handled at all, it was in class terms only—as alliance between the workers, the poor and middle farmers, the urban middle classes. As a result of the national approach, the Negro people as a whole, in their fight for freedom, are seen as a permanent ally of the working class, at all stages and phases of the struggle along the road to so-

cialism. As recent developments and current events show, this concept of strategic alliance, if fully developed by labor in its battles against monopoly and reaction can become a powerful force for progress. Recognition of the national content of the Negro question, and of the powerful democratic drive imparted by the Negro freedom struggle, made possible this concept of strategic alliance.

(3) A basic, fuller, more fruitful understanding than at any previous time of the respective roles of white and Negro workers in the interests of working-class solidarity, of Negro-white unity, which proved its worth a hundred times over in growing Negro participation in the organized labor movement and in the Communist Party. The Communists, themselves setting the example, played a pioneer and vanguard role in recognizing the special problems and demands of the Negro people, and especially of the Negro worker, and by carrying on a constant fight against white chauvinist influences in their own ranks. The Communist initiative on these matters played an important role in organizing the Negro workers into the new industrial unions of the CIO, in this respect helping the labor movement overcome the great lag since World War I. The Communist approach, with its great emphasis upon Negro rights and demands and its insistence upon the white workers taking the initiative in the fight against race prejudice and Jimcrow practices, also helped the Negro worker overcome the anti-white and separatist moods and tendencies among his people, and to begin to look for working class leadership in the fight for Negro freedom. The greatest advances were made during the decade of the thirties, the years of great economic crisis and popular upheaval, when the Communists were widely recognized as pioneers and indefatigable fighters for Negro rights throughout the country. Without this leap forward in both theory and practice, the Communists could not have played the role they did,

helping open the door to the significant advances toward Negro freedom at that time and up to the present day. It is to the lasting credit of the Communist Party that it raised the Negro question to the center of attention nationally, projected it boldly into the labor movement, and made it a sensitive barometer of democratic progress in America.

(4) The concept of the Negro people as a nation, entitled to all the rights, dignity and status of a free people, with the right to determine their own destiny, was an inspiration to Negro and white alike, a ringing challenge to all forces of reaction that wanted to keep the "Negro in his place." No matter how sharp the differences with the Communists over their specific slogan of self-determination in the Black Belt, their great and constant emphasis upon the struggle for Negro rights, built a sense of achievement and confidence among the Negro people, and linked the attainment of full Negro freedom intimately with democratic progress in the country as a whole, and especially with the endeavors and aspirations of laboring people for a new, a socialist order of society.

These are the most important positive aspects of the Communist position as developed and maintained over the years, none of which should be deprecated and all of which should be retained and carried forward. The basic accomplishment in the theoretical approach, with its great practical contributions, was to place the Negro question in the context of the national question. This qualitative advance must be retained as the basis for the Communist position, as it is amended and adjusted in the light of experience.

What turned out to be wrong in the Communist position as previously developed? The basic weakness does not lie in the general idea of self-determination, a right which the Negro people are constantly in the process of trying to exercise. The basic weakness was in the programmatic conclusion, as summed up in the slogan of "the right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt." This proved to be erroneous because it projected only one course of self-determination, out of a number of possible ways, as the only solution of the Negro question. Actually, developments have shown that the national movement of the Negro people is not taking this course, that is, the attainment of full nationhood within the common territory of the old Black Belt, which was formed during the period of slavery. Objective, material conditions, as well as the course taken by the Negro freedom movement itself, project a solution along the lines of full and equal rights in all spheres, without first going through an intervening stage of full nationhood within a given common territory.

At this point it should be made clear that the Leninist approach to the national question never set up a contradiction between integration and the right of self-determination. The ultimate aim is integration. Due to historic circumstances which have led to the oppression of one people by another, to national enmities, to big-nation chauvinism, to distrust of the oppressing people by the oppressed people, the stage of national freedom—that is, the full right of a nation to choose integration or separation by exercising the political right of self-determination—has been recognized by Marxists as a historical necessity. The real problem we

AUTHOR'S NOTE

(Author's Note: The following remarks are directed toward a re-examination of our theoretical position on the Negro question. They do not pretend to present a complete discussion of the question. They center on what I think is pertinent to both a critique of our previous position and the attempt to redefine our position today. The conclusions contained here about changes in the Black Belt and the South are based upon results of a new study which I summarized and submitted in a memorandum dated September 10, 1954, urging a complete re-examination of our position in the light of historic trends and current developments. The last section of the following comments is not an attempt to define a complete position, but only presents the points that seem to me most important, that need to be emphasized, in formulating our position today.)

face in this respect is whether the circumstances are such in this country as to warrant the perspective of a Negro nation in the Black Belt seeking to exercise this right politically, that is, through first attaining some form of state entity, on the basis of which the right of self-determination can be exercised. While certain elements of this type of development have always been present, and still persist, the main long-range historic tendency has been and is toward a direct process of integration. This does not mean that integration has been won or assured anywhere in the U.S.; the battle for equal rights, which has become so intensive and widespread, characterizes the present stage of the struggle, which has integration as its aim, that is, the attainment of a completely unsegregated status everywhere, a status in which the enjoyment of all economic, social and political rights in no longer placed in question in any way. The struggle for democracy in the South, and especially for the super-oppressed Negro people in the South, remains decisive for the attainment of this goal. And the attainment of political rights by the Negroes in the Black Belt majority areas will create new pivots of political power for the Negro people nationally; moreover, certain political autonomies for the Negro people may emerge within the Southern states where such majority areas exist. However, the overall development indicates that the Black Belt will not serve as a base for national self-determination in the sense in which our previous program envisioned.

The most important material, objective factors which affect this course of development are: (1) Periodic mass migrations out of the Black Belt, since the era of World War I, into the industrial areas mostly in non-southern regions but also in the non-Black Belt South, have brought about a significant change in the geographical distribution and class composition of the Negro people. Today, almost 40 percent of the Negro people live in non-southern areas (outside the 12 states through which the old Black Belt runs), as compared with 15 percent 50 years ago, while less than one-third live in the old Black Belt area as compared with more than half at the beginning of the century. (2) This shift of population geographically has at the same time been a shift from rural into urban centers, from agriculture into industry. In 1900 only one-fourth of the Negro people lived in urban centers, but by 1950 the proportion had grown to 61 percent, which approached the same level as for the white population (64 percent). Today there are per-

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segregation and discrimination of Negroes and for the democratic demands for equal rights and freedom of the Negro people.

7. The Communist Party sets for itself the highest standards of brotherly relations between its Negro and white members. Within its organization there can exist no toleration of race prejudice and no quota barriers to the fullest participation and integration of Negro Communists in all levels of Party leadership and in all aspects of its work. The deliberate manifestation of anti-Negro bias or racial prejudice is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party.

8. The Communists bring to the Negro people's freedom struggle their dedicated devotion to the cause of the happiness and liberation of mankind from all exploitation and oppression; their socialist ideals and objectives; their knowledge of the generalized experiences of mankind's historic freedom struggle, the methodology and compass of Marxist social science.

9. There is no greater immediate task for the Communists and advanced workers to fulfill in connection with the working class than that of furthering the bonds of class unity and brotherhood between Negro and white workers. At all times Commu-

nists must stand in the forefront of the struggle to smash every remaining color bar and anti-Negro prejudice, practice, or manifestation of racial prejudice in the trade union and other working class organizations. Communists must always stand forth as tireless fighters for the integration of Negro workers on the basis of full equality in the life and affairs of the trade unions. Communists must ceaselessly work to influence the trade unions to struggle for full equality in job rights in all branches of industry for the Negro workers—in terms of employment, equal pay for equal work, job classification, upgrading, training, and promotion; to put an end to all racial exclusiveness in the employment and job classification practices in the industries and enterprises. Communists must be outstanding in influencing and sharing in the completion of the urgent work of the labor movement to organize the millions of unorganized Negro and white workers—particularly in the South—into the trade unions.

Communists must be tireless in organizing and stimulating the labor movement and the popular organizations of dominantly white membership, to champion the freedom demands of the Negro people and to render every material and moral sup-

port to the concrete struggles of the Negro people for political, economic and social equality and freedom from national oppression, segregation, disfranchisement and discrimination.

The struggle of the Negro people for equality is an organic part of the democratic struggle of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples on a national and world-wide scale. It is a separate sector but an indivisible part of the struggle of the working people of our country and the world for security, peace, democracy and freedom. Whatever affects the fortunes of one sector, has its consequences upon the whole front. Correspondingly in so far as progress is achieved in the general cause of the struggle for democracy, peace and economic well-being in the country as a whole (as well as on a world scale) to just such an extent will more opportune conditions be created for favoring the triumph of the struggle of the Negro people for equality of rights and people's freedom. The opposite is no less true, therefore, Communists in the Negro freedom movement strive to strengthen the conscious participation of that movement with the nationwide and world struggle for peace, economic well-being and freedom, and against war, fascism, poverty and colonial bondage.

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haps 2,000,000 Negro workers in the trade unions. (3) Economic changes in the South (especially the shift of the cotton crop westward, the growth of capitalist farming, the growth of mechanization in agriculture, and industrialization) have weakened and reduced the role of the plantation-cropping system, the chief retarding force with respect to Negro advance and also with respect to progress and democracy in the South as a whole. The sharp drop of Negro tenant and cropper families in the Black Belt by almost half (from 500,000 to 280,000) between 1930 and 1950 indicates a corresponding decline in the old-style plantation, while crops other than cotton and tobacco grown on non-plantation type farms have become more important. Cotton has ceased to be king in the old South.

These shifts and changes must also be seen in their various aspects. The mass migrations out of the Black Belt and the shift from agriculture into industry greatly increased the size of the Negro working class and brought large masses of Negro workers into the labor movement, thus broadening the ground for Negro-white unity and working class solidarity. This is the most powerful factor making for integration, and is at the base of the great upsurge of the movement for Negro rights. But the Negro workers, as well as the growing Negro middle classes in the urban centers, despite significant progress in these respects, are victimized and discriminated against, economically, socially and politically. The continuing ideology and practices of white supremacy, although tending to assume less direct and obnoxious forms in the North, still permeate many sectors of the population, including the labor movement itself, not only as a hangover from the past, but as a product of imperialism in general and more specifically as an outgrowth of the special oppression of the Negro in the South.

The declining role of the plantation-cropping system, and other economic changes in the South, have resulted in the further disintegration of the old Black Belt as the area of Negro majority, therefore weakening the forces retarding Negro advance and southern progress. But five million Negroes still live in the old Black Belt majority area, about 45 percent of the population there, half of all farm operators, and 70 percent of all tenants and croppers. Despite both the absolute and relative decline of the old-style plantation, and despite certain adjustments of the system, it remains as a putrid, decadent force, still essentially accounting for the Negro concentrations in the old Black Belt areas, which remain predominantly rural and are still characterized by semi-feudal, oppressive relations, at the lowest economic level in the nation.

It would therefore be erroneous to come to the conclusion that the processes of economic and social change have in fact altered the nature of the Negro question by removing the basis of the American economic and social order for the oppression of the Negro people. If this were the case, there would be no necessity for the struggle against the oppression of the Negro people, as a pressing and special problem of the fight for democratic progress and socialism. That was the basic mistake made during the period when Browderism was dominant in the Communist Party, when it was said that the right of self-determination had already been

won and exercised along the road of integration into American life. This is the battle that still has to be won, by constant struggle against the innumerable discriminations which actually exist in all phases of life, and in the South by uprooting feudal remnants embodied in the plantation-cropping system and all its ideological, social and political offshoots, as the indispensable core of the fight for democracy. Thus, the Negro question remains national in content, since it involves the oppression of an entire people by a dominant nation, an oppression which is characteristically imperialist and from which the monopoly-planter ruling classes are able to garnish profits over and above those resulting from the exploitation of the white working people. The fight against this national oppression involves basic social changes in the South which will lead to the completion of the democratic revolution, started by the Civil War and carried forward by Reconstruction, until its defeat in 1877. Specifically, this means the elimination of plantation-cropping as a semi-feudal left-over from slavery, which today continues to serve as the base for the planter-Dixiecrat political power, allied with monopoly capital. It means the attainment for the Negro in the South of all the democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution for all American citizens, and of equal rights everywhere, on a non-segregated basis, for jobs, economic advancement, education, and all social and political privileges.

The mistake made by the Communists in the 1930's was to assume that the struggle for full equal rights, that the fight against national oppression of the Negro, would take the classic road of the formation of a nation in the area of Negro majority. This position was modified somewhat in the Resolution on the Negro Question in 1946, after the reconstitution of the Communist Party. The Resolution (a) rejected the previous perspective of a Negro Black Belt state; (b) recognizing what

had long been true in practice, it placed the question of self-determination in the Black Belt as an ultimate program as distinguished from the immediate program, and also left open the form in which self-determination in the Black Belt would be realized, to be determined on the basis of future development; and (c) placed major emphasis, in the immediate stage, upon the fight for equal rights and for fully representative government. These modifications were important, in the sense that they discarded or subordinated some of the most incongruous and "Leftist" aspects of the program, although retaining the same central programmatic approach. Thus, as the Communist position stood in 1946, it was still based upon the perspective of the Negro people in the Black Belt developing in the direction of full nationhood, with the solution to be found in the realization of the right of self-determination of the Negro nation in this area. No official change has been made in this position since 1946.

Why did the Communist Party fail to re-examine this position and change it, in the face of important developments which moved in another direction, although there were strong pressures within its own ranks to make such a change? In part, this may be explained by the fact that Browder revisionism, with its repudiation of the national content of the Negro question, and the resulting "downgrading" of the question, aroused a strong opposition in the ranks of the Communists to any basic change from the pre-Browder position, and resulted in the 1946 Resolution making changes only of a partial and transitory character. But it is necessary to examine more deeply the roots of this inflexibility in the face of real developments which brought into question the correctness of the position.

The most important weaknesses may be summarized as follows:

(1) A mechanical, inflexible and unhistoric approach to both

the theory of the nation and to the national program. Stalin's definition of a nation, in itself a good one with general validity, was accepted without a full appreciation of the specific characteristics of the development of the Negro people in the United States. This was felt in the failure to recognize that the elements of nationhood vary greatly in relative importance from one people to another, depending upon the specific circumstances of their history. Thus, with respect to the Negro people in the United States certain factors favor the process of direct integration rather than a line of development toward Negro nationhood, distinct from the American nation as a whole. The contradictory nature of this phenomenon can be seen especially with respect to the element of common territory, the Black Belt of the South, which the Communists considered the "homeland" of the Negro nation, and the guarantee of an indispensable base upon which all the other elements of nationhood would mature, and in their sum lead to the emergence of a free Negro nation within the United States. But since the Black Belt, the historic area of plantation-sharecropping and Negro majority, existed within the United States rather than as a colonial possession, it was directly subjected to the forces of capitalist development of great expansionist power, which has lasted well into the era of monopoly and imperialism. The remnants of slavery were powerful enough to keep this semi-feudal area almost intact for a half century after the overthrow of slavery, against all kinds of opposing pressures, because capitalism found sufficient resources of wealth and manpower outside the Old South to assure its rapid development. Subsequently, however, the Negro land worker in the South became an important source of manpower for industry, and industrial expansion began to affect the South itself more directly. The importance of these factors, at work over an historic period, can be now seen more clearly.

In other countries of a colonial or dependent kind, internal capitalist development and imperialist oppression from the outside resulted in the emergence of national movements leading to independence. But in this country the expansion of capitalism, continuing well into the present era of monopoly, has had the effect of partially disintegrating the Black Belt and its semi-feudal economy, preventing the development toward a common economic life for the area, and drawing ever larger numbers of Negroes out of the potential national territory. The result is that the Negro national movement has developed along other lines, predominantly in the direction of seeking a direct integrationist solution.

Other elements of Negro nationality have also favored this development. No differences of language set the white and Negro apart; and both share common traits of history and culture, although distinct qualities also exist. On the other hand, the principal obstacles to integration are the still persistent feudal remnants in the South, and the white supremacy ideology, fed by the unmodulated plantation system and by imperialism.

Separatism has also been nourished by the race factor, which has served to identify the Negro as an oppressed people. Among whites, racial prejudice has hindered and obstructed working class solidarity and unity between white and Negro in all phases of community life. Among Negroes, the race factor has strengthened the sense of identity as a people and their solidarity as a people against all forms of discrimination. While also participating in common endeavors with whites, the Negro people have tended more and more to strengthen their own organizations, and to build up their own forces in the struggle for freedom. The struggle for full rights and equality has therefore taken on a national form, in the sense that the Negro fights as a people, seeking special guarantees inside and outside of government that his rights, once granted, are fully respected and protected. Essentially, the Negro freedom struggle has not been based upon seeking these guarantees in nationhood within the Black Belt, although the struggle for democracy in the South has always been basic. These guarantees have been sought within the framework of present constitutional rights and state structures.

The failure to give due weight to these specific features led the Communists to apply the principle of self-determination mechanically, and therefore incorrectly, to a situation that did not warrant it.

(2) An incorrect approach toward the possibility of continuing capitalist expansion within the United States under conditions of the general crisis of capitalism played a very important role in the formulation of the Communist position on the Negro question. This position was established and developed during the great economic crisis of the 1930's. At that time Marxists generally shared the view that capitalism would never again go through a significant period of expansion, that the recovery from the economic crisis was of a "special kind" which precluded a return to the level of 1929. In this view, American capitalism had entered upon a period of more or less continuous long-range decline. Therefore it was assumed that existing economic relations as they affected the Negro people would remain more or less the same. From this is was concluded that the relative position of the Black Belt as of that time would continue indefinitely, with little change in its internal structure, with no further mass migration out of it into industry, with the prospect that this would lead to the deepening of

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all contradictions within it. The theoretical conclusion from this was that the Negro nationhood would mature in the Black Belt, and would result in a national movement along the classic model. Despite the war-inspired expansion, which accentuates all the trends toward disintegration of the Black Belt, the old view persisted even after the war, when the decline in production due to reconversion from a war to a peacetime economy was erroneously interpreted by many as the resumption of long-range economic decline, and therefore affected the 1945 Resolution.

This, of course, does not mean that economic crises of severity will not recur, with the effect of retarding and even reversing for a time the trends which are altering the relative position of the Black Belt. But the actual changes that have taken place in the status of the Negro people as a result of the economic development in the South and in the country as a whole have shown that the perspective of a maturing Negro nation in the Black Belt was incorrect.

As a result of these mistaken approaches the Communist Party

got fixed into immutable positions, not in accordance with reality. This is a basic reason, together with generally prevailing Left sectarianism, that the Party was unable to adjust to the new upsurge in the Negro freedom movement in the postwar period, and played a relatively unimportant role in it.

NOTES FOR THE DEFINITION OF THE PRESENT POSITION

The position of the Negro people can be defined as that of an oppressed racial-national minority, or, as Comrade Jackson puts it, as a racially distinct oppressed nationality. This recognizes the national content of the question, which has been established during the course of historic development in this country (slavery, the remnants of slavery, the incompleteness of the democratic revolution in the South, the persistence of the retarding semi-feudal and oppressive factors during the entire period of inner capitalist expansion in the period of imperialism). It also recognizes the special racial factor. As expressed in white chauvinism, this has sharpened the oppressive discrimination against the

Negro people, and prolonged it even as the objective factors giving rise to it have weakened. On the part of the Negro people, the racial factor has deepened and prolonged their sense of identification as a people, subject to the same discriminations on account of color.

The characterization of the Negro people as an oppressed racial-national minority (or nationality) also distinguishes their position from that of other minorities within the country, such as the foreign-born and Jewish people, historically as well as in the present, for the evolution of the latter groups has always been along the lines of integration into the American nation as a whole, although certain chauvinistic attitudes, on the one hand, and nationality-type characteristics, on the other, persist.

The obstacles which have stood in the way of the integration of the Negro into the American nation are precisely those associated with national oppression, and with the white chauvinism arising primarily from the specific conditions of national oppression are not merely ideological remnants of the past but are

the concrete, persisting remnants of slavery in the form of the plantation-cropping system in the South, which, together with all its offshoots, has been the chief barrier to Negro integration into the American nation as a whole as well as to the progress of the South.

The battle for democracy in the South, the completion of the tasks of the democratic revolution left unfinished by Civil War and Reconstruction, therefore play a pivotal role in the freedom struggle of the Negro people.

With respect to long-term trends, the most important is the movement of the Negro people towards full equality on the basis of integration into all aspects of American life. This is sustained by material, objective factors of change in the South as well as by the various subjective factors, which are expressed primarily in the greatly expanded base for Negro-white working class solidarity and in the integrationist programs put forth by the Negro freedom movement itself.

Because of the specific features of the national oppression of the Negro people the development toward integration is not taking place along the same lines as for the other nationality groups within the country. The

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pernicious influences and practices of white chauvinism, in the first place, and the growing tendency of the Negro people to retain and strengthen their own institutions and organizations devoted to their interests as a people, sustain and prolong a bi-national situation. Because of the historical factors and the continuing oppressive forces, the process of integration is protracted, and is going through the phase in which the Negro people increasingly pursue their aim of freedom by united action as a people. The special situation in the Black Belt, especially in relation to the battle for democracy in the South and the need to remove the obstacles to Negro advance, continues to play a basic role. The continuing advance of the struggle for Negro rights in this region imparts new strength to the Negro people's freedom struggle nationally, and raises the level of that struggle. This moves in the direction of enhancing the role of the Negro people as an increasingly important force in the political life of the South and of the country as a whole.

As trends and potentials in the present situation indicate, and

taking into account the specific feature of the position of the Negro people, it is likely that the Negro freedom movement for some time to come will take national form, although its aims will remain integrationist. By this is meant that, even under conditions of democratic advance, the Negro people will continue to seek assurances and special guarantees that their rights will be respected and defended. Complete representation at all levels of government, from township and county to state capital and Washington, will help attain these guarantees and assurances. But the Negro people will necessarily also seek additional safeguards, both inside and outside the structure of the political system and of government, and not only through their people's organizations as they now exist. Certain current developments (like the evolution of the NAACP, the boycott movements, the national conference, etc.) may lead in the direction of a kind of congress of the Negro people, expressing their aspirations and programs as a people. Although working in coalition with labor and other forces, the Negro is more and more relying primarily on his own efforts as a people, and

seeks adequate national expression for this.

In recognizing this situation, and in supporting the aims and struggles of the Negro freedom movement, the Communist Party seeks to strengthen and advance the coalition between the Negro people and the working class. It sees in working class solidarity between Negro and white, the base for which has been greatly extended, the greatest force favoring integration. It sees white chauvinism wherever it operates within the labor and working class movement as the main obstacle to cementing Negro-white workers' unity and to the strengthening of the coalition between the Negro people as a whole and labor as a class. It puts forth as a pressing task for the labor movement the unionization of the South, which can become the driving force of the battle for democracy in the South and which can muster the forces for the decisive defeat of Dixiecratism. It seeks to develop the coalition of the Negro people with labor, and its other allies, along long-term durable lines, which will assure Negro freedom and strengthen all the forces working for the fruition of democracy and the attainment of socialism.