

# N.A.A.C.P. Leadership in Lynchers' Camp

## Policy of Organization Has Not Changed, Its Role More Obvious

By HARRY HAYWOOD

### ARTICLE III.

THE N.A.A.C.P. could do no other than it did in the case of George Crawford. From its noble phrases and high promises, it arrived at this shameful treachery as surely and inevitably as a man sliding steadily downhill will arrive at the bottom.

There were years when the treachery of the N.A.A.C.P. was not so obvious. But the policy of the organization has not changed. It is the situation in which it functions that has changed. The capitalist world is in upheaval. On the one hand there are the revolutionary workers, and their allies, the oppressed peoples and nations, fighting with every weapon for their freedom, for full equality, for land, for the right to self-determination. On the other hand stand the oppressors—the landlords, factory-owners, bankers



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seeing their system crumbling, using more terror, more oppression, more cruelty than ever before against the people they must keep under control in order to retain mastery of the earth. The struggle grows fiercer, the light grows clearer, and we see the combatants for what they are. Twenty-five years ago, the mingling words, the half-measures, the compromises of an organization like the N.A.A.C.P. were not so easily seen in their true light. Today every hesitation, every treachery, stands out in bold relief. The struggle draws closer to its climax.

### Two Roads

The old world of wage-slavery and national oppression is fighting for its very life. There are but two roads and the Negro masses must choose between them. There is no middle path. Every organization must stand forth clearly and proclaim whether they would help to deliver the death-blow to the old way of life, and bring about a new way, or whether they will pit their forces with the present masters and help them live a while longer.

The N.A.A.C.P. has answered this question. It has answered it most clearly in the case of Crawford. It is on the side of the old order, the capitalist system. It would not disturb the relations of the present.

The N.A.A.C.P. is the agent of the white rulers. It is dependent on the white rulers—witness Houston's

statement that "the very existence of the N.A.A.C.P." depends upon the "good-will of the dominant majority"—that is, of the American ruling class. The N.A.A.C.P. acted as it did in the case of George Crawford, because it could act in no other way.

### The Way Out

Against the treachery of the N.A.A.C.P., the revolutionary working-class organizations of white and Negro people come forward with a policy of struggle. The Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights — and others — say plainly: The oppression of the Negro people is part and parcel of the whole system of capitalism. The capitalists will not give up their profits without a bitter fight. There is but one way out for the Negro people—the way of militant, uncompromising struggle, in alliance with the revolutionary white working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The treachery of the N.A.A.C.P. in Virginia is not the backsliding of an honest but confused group. The Crawford treachery is the inevitable outcome of the class position of the N.A.A.C.P. leadership. This treachery will repeat itself, over and over, in yet sharper forms, as the struggle becomes fiercer.

The Negro people must choose. On the one hand there is the fight that will bring us to ultimate vic-

## Negroes Must Choose: Old Order of Slavery or Fight for Freedom

tory and freedom. On the other hand there is the road of passivity, of agreement with the policies and systems of the lynchers. This road will help keep the old world of oppression and slavery in the saddle a while longer.

To the Negro people, to the white workers willing to fight for Negro freedom, we say: Join the organizations that struggle uncompromisingly for the rights of the Negro workers. Join the Communist Party, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the International Labor Defense, the revolutionary trade unions. Build a broad united front mass defense movement for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon, and for the elementary rights of the Negro people.

To the honest workers and intellectuals in the N.A.A.C.P. we say: Denounce the treachery of your misleaders, the Houstons, the Walter Whites, the DuBoises. Organize oppositions within the N.A.A.C.P. branches to fight this treachery. On the basis of concrete struggles for the immediate needs of the masses, the masses join with the workers in the militant fighting organizations in a common fight against the ruling class oppressors.