

the "black belt." It is the duty of the Party to study and analyze the conditions of the Negro farming masses, to work out demands to meet their situation, *to organize special Negro farmers' organizations as well as organizations of the agricultural workers.* It is necessary that the Party should establish new district organizations in the south, especially in the most important industrial centres. The Party organizations in these industrial centers of the south should be the bearers of the educational and organizing work of the Party among the Negro farmers and agricultural workers.

The fight against segregation, lynching, and political disfranchisement of the Negroes, must be organized. *It is necessary to help the Negro masses to organize themselves for active resistance and self-defense against the lynching terror of the Ku Klux Klan and similar terroristic gangs of the white bourgeoisie.* The I. L. D. which so far has almost completely neglected work amongst the Negro masses, must hereafter put in the forefront of its propaganda, agitation and activities, energetic campaigns against lynching and juridical oppression of the Negroes.

*The communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character.* The existing national organizations and movements of the Negroes are today under the domination of the Negro petit-bourgeoisie and even their bourgeoisie. *The aim of the Communist Party must be to fight for the hegemony of the working-class elements in the national liberation movement.* The basic task of the communists is to form working-class organizations for the Negro proletariat and agricultural workers, and farmers' organizations for the Negro farmers and to turn these organizations into energetic integral forces of the whole class struggle. The communists must not forget for a moment that *the struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes includes the relentless struggle against the Negro bourgeoisie and the struggle against the influence of the petit-bourgeoisie over the Negro proletariat.* 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.

The communists must bear in mind that the alliance of the Negro working class with the Negro petit-bourgeoisie can be maintained only under the following conditions:

- (a) A revolutionary fight of the petit-bourgeoisie for Negro race demands against American imperialism.
- (b) No obstacles by the petit-bourgeoisie against the special class demands and organizations of the Negro workers and exploited farmers.

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.

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activated. 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.

The Negro miners' relief committee and the Harlem Tenants League are examples of united front organizations which may be set up as a means of drawing the Negro masses into struggle. But these organizations can be considered only as a beginning. The communists working within these organizations should try to broaden them, and similar committees should be organized in other Negro centers. In every case the utmost effort must be made to combine the struggle of the Negro workers with that of white workers and to draw the white workers' organizations into such united-front campaigns.

*One of the greatest shortcomings of the work of the American Party among the Negroes is the lack of sufficient Party cadres among the Negro comrades.* The next and most important task of the Party in this respect is the selection and education of a cadre of Negro communist workers. The proletarian character of the Negro Party leadership must be brought forward more clearly than before. At the same time the proletarian Negro intellectuals must be utilized