

HARRY HAYWOOD
PAPERS

The New York Public Library
Schomburg Center for Research
in Black Culture
515 Malcolm X Boulevard
New York, New York 10037

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HAYWOOD, HARRY(1898-1985). PAPERS, 1948-1981.
13 boxes (9.1 lin. ft.)

Biographical Sketch

Harry Haywood was born Haywood Hall in South Omaha, Nebraska, on February 4, 1898. His parents, Haywood and Harriet Hall, were former slaves. The youngest of three boys, he changed his name by taking both his parent's first names (Harriet became Harry) when applying for a passport in 1925 to travel to the Soviet Union. He took his first job as a dining car waiter at the age of 16, and returned to this occupation numerous times over the years. In 1917, Haywood joined the Eighth Illinois, Black National Guard Regiment, a unit that was deployed in France during World War I. After fighting to make the world safe for democracy, Haywood returned home to experience the summer of race riots in 1919 and became thoroughly disillusioned with the state of race relations in the United States. Taking the advice of his brother Otto, Haywood joined the African Black Brotherhood (ABB), a secret, all-black revolutionary organization in 1922. He was a member of the ABB for six months, then joined the Young Workers Communist League, and finally became a member of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) in 1925.

Haywood was the first person of African descent to be selected by the CPUSA to study at the Lenin School, where he learned Russian and studied Marxist theory. While in the Soviet Union, he and several fellow students undertook an intense study of African-American history and helped develop a Marxist analysis of the so-called Negro Problem. Haywood became a leading architect and proponent of the theory that blacks in the South, who were oppressed by Jim Crow laws and a system of serfdom (sharecropping) constituted a separate nation and had the right of self-determination, including the right to secede and form an independent nation in the five Southern states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where they were a majority of the population. The Third Communist International (Comintern) adopted this position at its Sixth World Congress in 1928. Returning to the U.S., Haywood was appointed to the Central Committee in 1931 and made head of the Party's National Negro Department. He was active in the labor movement and helped organize the Sharecroppers Union in Alabama and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Haywood was also involved in organizing demonstrations to defend the Scottsboro Boys as well as in campaigns to protest the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. In 1937, Haywood joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and went to Spain to support the Republicans in their fight against fascism. He served in the Merchant Marine during World War II and was a

member of the National Maritime Union, the largest and most militant of all seamen's unions.

In 1948, with financial assistance from Paul Robeson, Haywood published his first book, *Negro Liberation*, a detailed analysis of the national character of African-American oppression, focusing on the South. During much of the 1950s, Haywood was embroiled in CPUSA internal conflicts. Expelled from the Party in 1959 due to his continuing battles against the abandonment of the right to self-determination for African-Americans in the Black-Belt South, Haywood continued to work with young radicals in new communist organizations. These included the October League, which was formed in 1971, and was reorganized as the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in 1977. He also worked with young revolutionaries in the Black Power movement. Haywood spent several years writing his autobiography, *Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist*, which was published in 1978. He died on January 4, 1985. To the end, he continued to expound his theory on the National Question - the right of self-determination for African Americans in the South.

Scope and Content

The collection is divided into five series: Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA); October League; Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) or CP (ML); Writings; and Clippings, Fragments and Miscellanea. The collection consists of typescripts of articles, speeches and book manuscripts, correspondence, photocopies of journal articles, and materials relating to the Communist Party USA and several of its offshoots, most frequently concerning their theoretical positions on blacks in the United States.

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, 1949-1962 (0.8 lin. ft.)

The CPUSA series contains four subseries: Correspondence, the National Question, the Provisional Organizing Committee and General. The Correspondence subseries consists of three folders, arranged chronologically. The William Z. Foster file contains one letter to Haywood, dated April 21, 1952. It is a nine-page response to Haywood's article refuting Doxey Wilkerson's article entitled, "On the Negro Question." (See the article typescript in the Writings series.) The General Correspondence folder includes miscellaneous letters to and from Haywood (1958-1983). Of interest is a letter from Theodore Draper (April 3, 1958), who states that he is writing a book on the American communist movement and is requesting an interview with Haywood to discuss

the "background and origins of the policy of self-determination." The Cyril Briggs folder contains letters dated November 3, 1958 to December 9, 1962 to and from Briggs, founder of the African Blood Brotherhood and fellow communist. There are also two letters to Haywood's wife, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, written during Haywood's illness. Numerous letters are long theoretical discussions of current issues, such as Communist Party ideology, the struggle against revisionist leanings in the Party, the passive resistance movement, the NAACP, Black Muslims and the Black Nationalist movement. Much of the correspondence was water damaged and has been photocopied (originals withdrawn).

The National Question subseries, which refers to the CPUSA's position on the right of self-determination for African-Americans, is a wide-ranging subgroup that contains copies of journal articles from the 1930s-1960s; two pieces by James E. Jackson: "Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of the Negro Question" (1953) and "Features of the Negro Question in the U.S." (1958); typescript of an article by Cyril Briggs refuting Jackson's theories as well as resolutions in response to Jackson's theories; and several articles written by other people on white chauvinism, including one by Herbert Aptheker (1950).

The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Communist Party (POC) was a largely black and Puerto Rican group of dissatisfied Party members, who hoped to build a new Marxist-oriented party. Haywood was elected co-chair. The subseries consists of five folders: Correspondence (July 26, 1958-November 14, 1958); Haywood's Report to the New York Steering Committee and the National Executive Committee (September 1958); New York Steering Committee Meetings (1958); Discussion Circle (n.d.); and Haywood's Resignation in November 1958. A large portion of the subseries is concerned with Haywood's internal party battles with the general secretary of the POC, Armando Roman. Haywood's Report to the Steering Committee (September 22, 1958) is an 11-page document laying out the "slandorous charges" that have been made against him, with a recommendation that a New York Steering Committee be set up to investigate the attacks on Haywood and the Harlem caucus that were causing a split among "Marxist-Leninist forces." The folder also contains a partial typescript of Haywood's "A Self-Criticism" and his handwritten notes. The Resignation folder contains Haywood's letter of resignation from the POC, dated October 25, 1958, in which he states, "the guiding political line of the Provisional Committee has crystallized into a left-sectarian, dogmatist position which represents a fundamental revision from the left of Marxist-Leninist political and organization principles." The folder also contains an 11-page

open letter (December 9, 1958) that gives a detailed analysis of the CPUSA's 16th National Convention, which Haywood felt was necessary to contextualize the left deviation of the POC. This document is mimeographed and difficult to read.

The General files/subseries includes a draft resolution and clippings on the 16th National Convention (1958); *Political Affairs* articles, 1952-1962.

OCTOBER LEAGUE, 1975 (7 folders)

The October League series, arranged alphabetically, contains Central Committee and Executive Committee meeting reports and minutes, status reports on student work and Marxist Education campaigns and preparations for a Third Congress in 1975.

COMMUNIST PARTY (MARXIST-LENINIST), 1977-1981 (0.8 lin ft.)

The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) or CP (ML), was a "revolutionary party of the working class and the oppressed" that believed that the "theory of Marxism-Leninism must be applied to the complex conditions we face today in the fight for liberation here in the U.S." (Draft Constitution) There are several files dealing with the internal struggles over organization and party leadership, and issues leading up to the Second Congress in May 1981. In Haywood's "Remarks to the National Emergency Convention of the CP (ML)" on January 24, 1981, he states that "there have been some striking similarities I have been noticing between the political turmoil among communists today and that in the 50s when right revisionism took over the old party." There are also internal party debates on the viability of the party organ, "The Call," international issues and possible mergers with other Marxist Leninist groups. Also included are two folders on Afro-American Work, one containing typescripts of other people's writings and handwritten notes by Haywood; the other consisting of agendas, minutes and resolutions from the Afro-American Commission. The Southern Region folder contains remarks by Haywood on the National Question (March 1981) and reports on the party's work in the South. The Marxism and the Black Liberation Movement folder contains various writings, some identified and some not, on labor and the League of Black Revolutionary Workers, the Greensboro Collective and the Harlem Unemployment Center. The series consists of 21 folders (arranged alphabetically).

WRITINGS, 1948-1981 (6.5 lin. Ft.)

The Writings series consists of three subseries: Articles and Essays; Speeches; Haywood's autobiography. The Articles and Essays subseries, arranged alphabetically, contain manuscripts and typescripts of articles, both published and unpublished, and

two interview drafts. It contains a partial manuscript from Haywood's first book, *Negro Liberation* (1948); his introduction for *A House Divided: Labor and White Supremacy* by Roxanne Mitchell and Frank Weiss (United Labor Press, New York, 1981); and a draft of his *For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question* (1958, published 1975). In a June 1950 interview, Haywood and Gabriel d'Arboussier, secretary-general of Rassemblement Democratique Africain, discuss the similarities and differences between the struggles of Africans and blacks in the United States. An April 6, 1975 discussion between Haywood and Jesse Gray covers the National Maritime Union during the 1940s.

The Speeches subseries, arranged chronologically, consists of outlines, drafts and handwritten notes for 15 speeches from the 1970s through the early 80s. They range from a speech at a 1975 national Fight Back Conference (typed on the back of Fight Back flyers) to the founding congress of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) to remarks at the *Boston Globe* celebrating the publication of *Black Bolshevik* to a speech commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre (1980). Many contain accounts of the history of the CPUSA and Haywood's involvement with the Party (78th Birthday, 1976) and the development of the Black liberation movement (Binghamton, 1976 and Atlanta, 1978).

The manuscript for *Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist* (Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978) consists of 22 chapters, an introduction and an epilogue. The manuscript's reverse chronological organization has been retained. Part of the original manuscript for Chapter 5 became a new chapter (Chapter 6); hence the typed chapter headings on most chapters are incorrect according to the published version. It is generally not possible to determine the original, first, second or final drafts. Some chapters have handwritten notes and transcriptions, which have been placed in separate folders. There are a number of folders labeled Unidentified with material whose chapter cannot be identified.

CLIPPINGS, FRAGMENTS AND MISCELLANEA (0. 5 lin. Ft.)

The Clippings, Fragments and Miscellanea series contains typescripts and drafts of articles written by people other than Haywood, both identified and unidentified; miscellaneous pages and notes by Haywood; Stalinist Workers Group Bulletins; journals; miscellaneous correspondence; and clippings from various newspapers, including a January 1953 issue of Paul Robeson's *Freedom*.

Harry Haywood Materials in other Repositories:
Harry Haywood Papers, 1928-1985, Bentley Historical Library,
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

Provenance

Gift of Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, 19
SCM 90-43

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August 11, 2004

Container List

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>
1	COMMUNIST PARTY of the USA
	Correspondence
	1 William Z. Foster, April 21, 1952
	2 Miscellaneous, April 3, 1958-May 23, 1983
	3 Cyril Briggs, November 3, 1958- December 9, 1962
	The National Question
	James E. Jackson
	4 "A Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of Negro Question," 1953
	5 "A Theoretical Aspects of Negro Question," 1958
	6 Refuting James Jackson's Theories
	7 Haywood on the Negro Question
	8 Cyril Briggs - Discussion Article on the Negro Question, November, 1959
	9 On White Chauvinism
	10 Cyril Briggs -Letter to the Editor, 1959
	11 Negro Recruitment Articles, 1930's Journal Articles
	12 1940's
	13 1950's-1960's
	14 Negro History Week, 1950s
2	Provisional Organizing Committee
	1 Correspondence, July 26, 1958- November, 1958
	2 New York Steering Committee Meeting, 1958
	3 Haywood's Report to New York Steering Committee, September, 1958
	4 Haywood's Resignation, Oct/Dec, 1958
	5 Discussion Circle, n.d.
	General
	6 "A Political Affairs Journal," 1952-1962
	7 Draft Resolution 16 th Convention, 1958
	8 Miscellaneous
3	OCTOBER LEAGUE
	1 Executive Committee, 1974-1975
	2 Central Committee, 1974-1975
	3 Chicano Commission
	4 Inner Party Debate in Student Work
	5 Marxist Education Campaign

Container List

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>		
3	6	Third Congress Preparations, 1975	
	7	Miscellaneous	
		THE COMMUNIST PARTY(MARXIST-LENINIST)	
	8	Afro-American Work	
	9	Afro-American Commission	
	10	Chicano Movement	
	11	Constitution	
	12	Fight Back, 1978-1979	
	13	Internal party Debate on "A The Call," 1980	
	14-15	Internal party Debate on Organization and Party Leadership	
	4	1	Internal party Debate, Pre-Congress, Regional Districts, 1980-1981
		2	International Issues, 1978-1980
		3	Labor Issues, 1981
		4	Marxist and Black Liberation Movement, 1970-1980
5		Mergers, 1979-1981	
6		Nuclear Power, 1979	
7		Puerto Rican Independence	
8		Second Congress, May 1981	
9		Southern Region, 1979-1981	
10		United States Election, 1980	
11		White Chauvinism	
12		Women and Communist Youth Organization, 1980	
13		Miscellaneous	
5		WRITINGS	
		Articles and Essays	
	1	Black Political Power, 1964	
	2	Communism in Africa, ca. 1950	
	3	CPUSA & Black Liberation Movement, ca. 1980	
	4	For a Full and Unconditional Support to Negro People's Freedom Struggle, 1959	
	5	For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question	
6	"A House Divided" -Introduction and Manuscripts by		

Container List

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
6	1	Harold Cruse Exaggerates the Role of the Negro Bourgeoisie in the Liberation Struggle, 1963
	2	Interview with Gabriel D'Arboussier, 1950
	3	Interview with Jesse Gray on the National Maritime Union, 1975
	4	Negro Liberation, Partial manuscript, 1948
	5	Introduction for Reprint of "A Negro Liberation," 1976
	6	On Race, 1940
	7	Response to Doxey Wilkerson's "A On the Concept of Negro," ca 1951-1952
	8	Struggle for the Leninist Position on the Negro Question in the U.S.A, ca. 1933
		Speeches
	9	Partial Speech - Supreme Court Decision, 1970
	10	Newark - Outline, 1970s
	11	Unidentified Speech, 1970s
	12	Unity Conference of P.O.C., 1970S
	13	Notes for Speech on 75 th Birthday, 1973
	14	Fight Back Conference, 1975
	15	Binghamton (on the '60's revolt), 1976
	16	Outline for Testimonial, 1976
	17	78 th Birthday, March 1976
	18	Speech on the Chinese Revolution, 1978
	19	Atlanta, ca. 1978
	20	University of Massachusetts and Boston State for Communist Youth Organization, ca. 1978
	21	<u>Boston Globe</u> , ca. 1978
	22	Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)- Founding Congress, ca. 1978
	24	Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) - Remarks on Chicano Question, 1981
	23	Commemorate Sharpeville Massacre, 1980
7		Autobiography - <u>Black Bolshevik</u>
	1	Acknowledgments
	2	Prologue

Container List

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>		
7		Chapter 1	
	3	Prologue and Title page	
	4	Handwritten Notes	
	5-6	Transcription	
	7	Drafts	
		Chapter 2	
	8	Handwritten Notes	
	9	Transcription	
	10-13	Drafts	
		Chapter 3	
	14	Very Early Notes	
	15-18	Handwritten Notes	
	19	Transcription	
	20-22	Drafts	
		Chapter 4	
	23	Handwritten Notes	
	24	Transcription	
	25-26	Draft	
	8		Chapter 5
		1	Handwritten Notes
		2	Working Drafts
		3	Draft
		4	Copy Edited Manuscripts
			Chapter 6
		5	Handwritten Notes
6		Notes	
7		Draft	
		Chapter 7	
8		Outline and Notes	
9-10		Drafts	
		Chapter 8	
11		Notes	
12		Draft	
		Chapter 9	
13-14		Notes	
15-16		Drafts	
		Chapter 10	
17		Notes	
18-19		Drafts	
		Chapter 11	
20	Outline		
21	Notes and Inserts		
22-23	Drafts		

Container List

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
9		Chapter 12
	1	Notes
	2-3	Drafts
		Chapter 13
	4	Notes
	5	Draft
		Chapter 14
	6	Draft
		Chapter 15
	7	Notes
	8	Draft
	9	Chapter 16
		Epilogue
	10	Handwritten Notes
	11	Epilogue
	12	Press
10-13		Unprocessed
14		CLIPPINGS FRAGMENTS MISCELLANEOUS
	1	Journals
	2	National Black Economic Conference
	3	Notes, 1960s or 1970s
	4	Notes, Clippings on Slavery
	5	Noel Ignatin Typescript
	6	Elizabeth Lawson
	7	National Oppression Intensifies
	8	Negro Question and Right to Revolution, 1960s
	9	Ann Orloff, 1980
	10	Unidentified
	11	Struggle Against Revisionism
	12	Response Bettelheim, 1980?
	13	Stalinist Workers Group Bulletin
15		Duplicated Originals with Restricted Access