



Smithsonian Institution

National Museum of African American History and Culture

Pamphlet: The Road to Negro Liberation

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influence among the Negro masses. We see that wherever we begin serious work among the Negroes, wherever our influence is extended among them, we find ourselves confronted sharply with the problem of the struggle against Negro reformism as an immediate obstacle in the revolutionization of the Negro masses, as for example, in Chicago, in St. Louis, the South, in connection with the Scottsboro campaign and the struggle against lynching. Everywhere, Negro reformists and petty bourgeois nationalist leaders of all shades, under the cover of the most cunning demagoguery, are feverishly working.

What is the object of these activities? It is clear that their object is to halt the growing revolutionary drift of the Negro masses, to hinder the growing unity of Negro and white toilers in the struggle against rising fascist reaction, to hold the masses under the influence of bourgeois reformism, petty bourgeois nationalism, which means objectively, to hold them to the shackles of imperialism. It is now becoming clearer than ever that Negro reformism is the main enemy within the ranks of the Negro people, the chief social support of the imperialist Jim-Crow reaction among the Negro masses. Therefore, the struggle against and exposure of the Negro reformists and the petty bourgeois nationalist leaders, their isolation from the masses, is a central, most urgent task of our Party and the revolutionary movement at the present time. Involved in this fight for the liberation of the masses from the treacherous influences of the Negro reformists and their organization, is the whole question of proletarian hegemony and Party leadership in the rising national revolutionary movement of the Negro people. It is a question of who will beat whom. What policy shall prevail? Our proletarian class policy of a revolutionary alliance between the Negro masses and the white working class for the overthrow of American imperialism and the

4

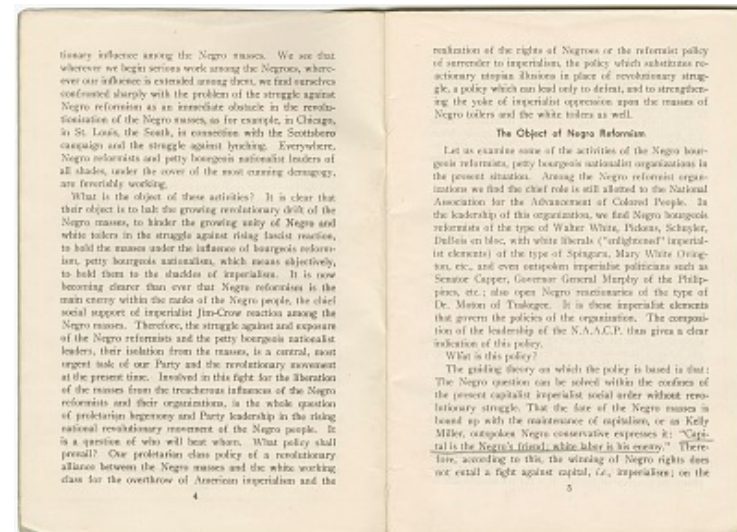
realization of the rights of Negroes or the reformist policy of surrender to imperialism, the policy which substitutes reactionary utopian illusions in place of revolutionary struggle, a policy which can lead only to defeat, and to strengthening the yoke of imperialist oppression upon the masses of Negro toilers and the white toilers as well.

The Object of Negro Reformism

Let us examine some of the activities of the Negro bourgeois reformists, petty bourgeois nationalist organization in the present situation. Among the Negro reformist organizations we find the chief role is still allotted to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the leadership of this organization, we find Negro bourgeois reformists of the type of Walter White, Pickens, Schuyler, DuBois en bloc, with white liberals ("enlightened" imperialist elements) of the type of Spingarn, Mary White Ovington, etc., and even outspoken imperialist politicians such as Senator Capper, Governor General Murphy of the Philippines, etc.; also open Negro reactionaries of the type of Dr. Moton of Tuskegee. It is these imperialist elements that govern the policies of the organization. The composition of the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. thus gives a clear indication of this policy.

What is this policy?

The guiding theory on which the policy is based is that: The Negro question can be solved within the confines of the present capitalist



imperialist social order without revolutionary struggle. That the fate of the Negro masses is bound up with the maintenance of capitalism, or as Kelly Miller, outspoken Negro conservative expresses it: "Capital is the Negro's friend; white labor is his enemy." Therefore, according to this, the winning of Negro rights does not entail a fight against capital, i.e., imperialism; on the

5

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