



Smithsonian Institution

National Museum of African American History and Culture

Pamphlet: The Road to Negro Liberation

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contrary, it implies the collaboration with the white imperialist rulers, or in the words of the N.A.A.C.P. leaders, "united front of the 'best' elements of both races." Against whom? Against the rising mass movement of Negro and white toilers, particularly against its leaders--the Communists.

This is the core of Negro bourgeois reformism. From this flows its tactical line of reliance on bourgeois courts, legislative bodies, its treacherous compromises with the white ruling class, its reactionary sabotage of the revolutionary struggles for Negro rights. "The Constitution is the ship, all else is the sea," says Kelly Miller.

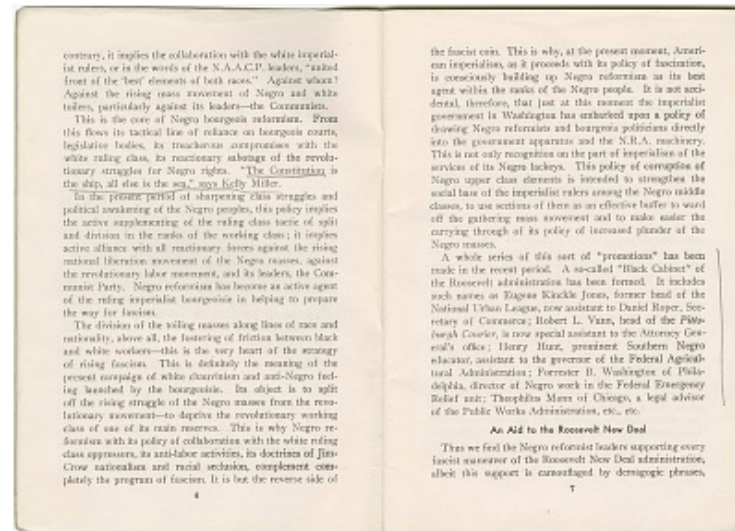
In the present period of sharpening class struggles and political awakening of the Negro peoples, this policy implies the active supplementing of the ruling class tactic of split and division in the ranks of the working class; it implies active alliance with all reactionary forces against the rising national liberation movement of the Negro masses, against the revolutionary labor movement, and its leaders, the Communist Party. Negro reformism has become an active agent of the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in helping to prepare the way for fascism.

The division of the toiling masses along lines of race and nationality, above all, the fostering of friction between black and white workers--this is the very heart of the strategy of rising fascism. This is definitely the meaning of the present campaign of white chauvinism and anti-Negro feeling launched by the bourgeoisie. Its object is to split off the rising struggle of the Negro masses from the revolutionary movement--to deprive the revolutionary working class of one of its main reserves. This is why Negro reformism with its policy of collaboration with the white ruling class oppressors, its anti-labor activities, its doctrines of Jim-Crow nationalism and racial seclusion, complement completely the program of fascism. It is but the reverse side of

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the fascist coin. This is why, at the present moment, American imperialism, as it proceeds with its policy of fascistization, is consciously building up Negro reformism as its best agent within the ranks of the Negro people. It is not accidental, therefore, that just at this moment the imperialist government in Washington has embarked upon a policy of drawing Negro reformists and bourgeois politicians directly into the government apparatus and the N.R.A. machinery. This is not only recognition on the part of imperialism of the services of its Negro lackeys. This policy of corruption of Negro upper class elements is intended to strengthen the social base of the imperialist rulers among the Negro middle classes, to use sections of them as an effective buffer to ward off the gathering mass movement and to make easier the carrying through of its policy of increased plunder of the Negro masses.

A whole series of this sort of "promotions" has been made in the recent period. A so-called "Black Cabinet" of the Roosevelt administration has been formed. It includes such names as Eugene Kinckle Jones, former head of the National Urban League, now assistant to Daniel Roper, Secretary of Commerce; Robert L. Vann, head of the Pittsburgh Courier, is now special assistant to the Attorney General's office; Henry Hunt,



prominent Southern Negro educator, assistant to the governor of the Federal Agricultural Administration; Forrester B. Washington of Philadelphia, director of Negro work in the Federal Emergency Relief unit; Theophilus Mann of Chicago, a legal advisor of the Public Works Administration, etc., etc.

An Aid to the Roosevelt New Deal

Thus we find the Negro reformist leaders supporting every fascist maneuver of the Roosevelt New Deal administration, albeit this support is camouflaged by demagogic phrases,

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