



Smithsonian Institution

National Museum of African American History and Culture

Pamphlet: The Road to Negro Liberation

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leadership must carry through a less open policy of collaboration at the top with the white ruling class elements. The dictation of policies for the N.A.A.C.P. by the imperialists must be carried through in a more concealed manner. In other words, he is for making the N.A.A.C.P. more authentically a Negro nationalist organization, an organization which will be able to embrace the numerous petty-bourgeois nationalist movements now cropping up. This is what he means by "fundamental reorganization of the N.A.A.C.P.", "turn to the masses", etc. In other words, DuBois' "opposition" is but another maneuver to catch the masses, to hold them back from revolutionary struggle. Truly, petty-bourgeois nationalism has found a cunning spokesman in the person of Dr. DuBois.

Moreover, the opposition of DuBois and his friends has brought out clearly the growing demoralization within the top ranks of the Negro middle class leadership, a real crisis of Negro bourgeois reformism. It shows that the sharpening imperialist offensive against the Negro masses, the growth of the revolutionary movement among them is shattering the basic props of Negro bourgeois reformism, as well as its pet slogans—dependence upon the white rulers and, as DuBois expressed it, the doctrine that "obvious deserve and accomplishment by Negroes can break down prejudice", etc. The ideological confusion in the top leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. is clearly shown in a recent issue of the Pittsburgh Courier, unofficial mouthpiece of that organization. For example, on the front page in big headlines we read, "DuBois Defends Segregation", the front page article launches a sharp attack against him while the leading editorial in the same issue comes to his defense.

Comrades, for our Party this situation reveals tremendous possibilities. On the basis of the sharpened and sustained offensive in our agitation, in our polemics with these mislead-

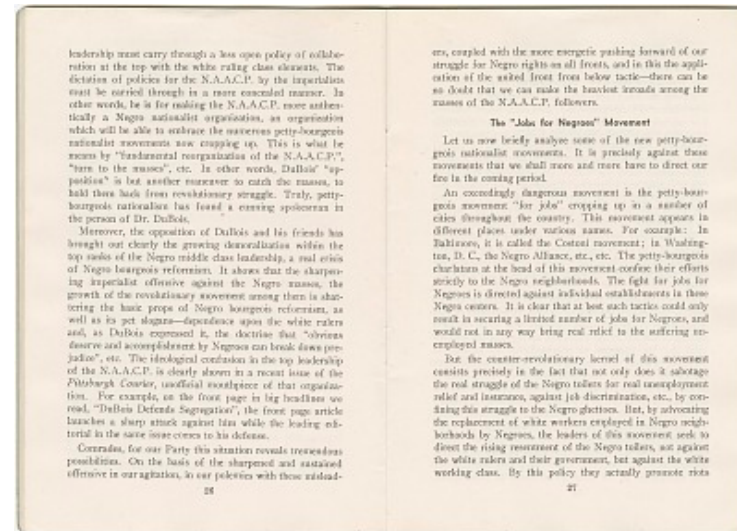
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ers coupled with the more energetic pushing forward of our struggle for Negro rights on all fronts, and in this the application of the united front from below tactic—there can be no doubt that we can make the heaviest inroads among the masses of the N.A.A.C.P. followers.

The "Jobs for Negroes" Movement

Let us now briefly analyze some of the new petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. It is precisely against these movements that we shall more and more have to direct our fire in the coming period.

An exceedingly dangerous movement is the petty-bourgeois movement "for jobs" cropping up in a number of cities throughout the country. This movement appears in different places under various names. For example: In Baltimore, it is called the Costoni movement; in Washington, D. C., the Negro Alliance, etc., etc. The petty-bourgeois charlatans at the head of this movement confine their efforts strictly to the Negro neighborhoods. The fight for jobs for Negroes is directed against individual establishments in these Negro centers. It is clear that at best such tactics could only result in securing a limited number of jobs for Negroes, and would not in any way bring real relief to the suffering unemployed masses.



But the counter-revolutionary kernel of this movement consists precisely in the fact that not only does it sabotage the real struggle of the Negro toilers for real unemployment relief and insurance, against job discrimination, etc., by confining this struggle to the Negro ghettos. But, by advocating the replacement of white workers employed in Negro neighborhoods by Negroes, the leaders of this movement seek to direct the rising resentment of the Negro toilers, not against the white rulers and their government, but against the white working class. By this policy they actually promote riots

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