



Smithsonian Institution

National Museum of African American History and Culture

Pamphlet: The Road to Negro Liberation

Extracted on Apr-23-2024 08:49:18

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between Negroes and white toilers, thus playing directly into the hands of the fascist lynchers.

Neo-Garveyism--New "Back-to-Africa" Movements

Among the latest petty-bourgeois movements are several new editions of Garveyism--neo-Garveyism, Negro Zionism. For example: The Nationalist Movement for the Establishment of a Forty-Ninth State (headquarters in Chicago). In its program, the leaders of this organization cite the various proscriptions suffered by the Negro masses in this country, displacements under the N.R.A., etc., concluding that all of this is natural and inevitable. Therefore, they propose that "the Federal government acquire a territory from the existent States (adequate in size and fertile in soil) and dispose of this land and its resources to Negroes willing to settle."

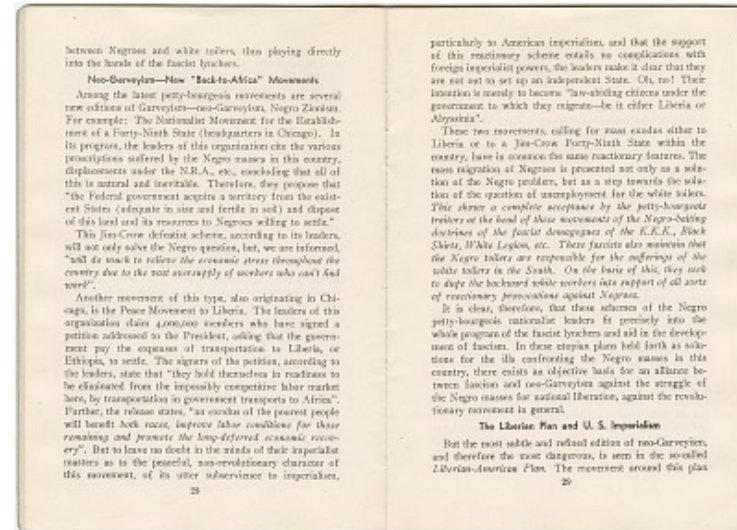
This Jim-Crow defeatist scheme, according to its leaders, will not only solve the Negro question, but, we are informed, "will do much to relieve the economic stress throughout the country due to the vast oversupply of workers who can't find work".

Another movement of this type, also originating in Chicago, is the Peace Movement to Liberia. The leaders of this organization claim 4,000,000 members who have signed a petition addressed to the President, asking that the government pay the expenses of transportation to Liberia, or Ethiopia, to settle. The signers of the petition, according to the leaders, state that "they hold themselves in readiness to be eliminated from the impossibly competitive labor market here, by transportation in government transports to Africa". Further, the release states, "an exodus of the poorest people will benefit both races, improve labor conditions for those remaining and promote the long-deferred economic recovery". But to leave no doubt in the minds of their imperialist masters as to the peaceful, non-revolutionary character of this movement, of its utter subservience to imperialism,

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particularly to American imperialism, and that the support of this reactionary scheme entails no complications with foreign imperialist powers, the leaders make it clear that they are not out to set up an independent State. Oh, no! Their intention is merely to become "law-abiding citizens under the government to which they migrate--be it either Liberia or Abyssinia".

These two movements, calling for mass exodus either to Liberia or to a Jim-Crow Forty-Ninth State within the country, have in common the same reactionary features. The mass migration of Negroes is presented not only as a solution of the Negro problem, but as a step towards the solution of the question of unemployment for the white toilers. This shows a complete acceptance by the petty-bourgeois traitors at the head of these movements of the Negro-baiting doctrines of the fascist demagogues of the K.K.K., Black Shirts, White Legion, etc. These fascists also maintain that the Negro toilers are responsible for the sufferings of the white toilers in the South. On the basis of this, they seek to dupe the backward white workers into support of all sorts of reactionary provocations against Negroes.



It is clear, therefore, that these schemes of the Negro petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders fit precisely into the whole program of the fascist lynchers and aid in the development of fascism. In these utopian plans held forth as solutions for the ills confronting the Negro masses in this country, there exists an objective basis for an alliance between fascism and neo-Garveyism against the struggle of the Negro masses for national liberation, against the revolutionary movement in general.

The Liberian Plan and U. S. Imperialism

But the most subtle and refined edition of neo-Garveyism, and therefore the most dangerous, is seen in the so-called Liberian-American Plan. The movement around this plan

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