

Garveyism Calls for Black Bosses Instead of White

By CYRIL BRIGGS.

No worker who reads the series of articles depicting the suffering of the crew and the gross misuse of funds by the Garvey officials on the cruise of the "Booker T. Washington," can fail to realize the treacherous, exploitive nature of the fake Garvey program for Negro liberation.

Those articles, written by a Negro seaman on the cruise of the "Booker T. Washington," and relating for the first time the crew's story of the cruise—the starving of the crew, the cynical disregard of the Garvey misleaders for the health and comfort of these Negro workers, the evident intention to rob them of their wages, the ghostly disappearance of thousands of dollars collected from impoverished Negro workers in the West Indies and Central America—have thoroughly exposed the characteristic petty bourgeois outlook and attitude of the Garvey misleaders.

A Petty Bourgeois Leadership.

In its organizational aspects, Garveyism represents the leadership of the Negro petty bourgeoisie (parasitic preachers, rent gouging landlords, prostitute intellectuals, careerists, etc.), over the Negro workers. Through various capitalist enterprises, through the statements of Garvey and his lieutenants, its object is revealed as merely to exchange white capitalism for a black capitalism. With the social emancipation of the Negro masses it is no more concerned than are the white imperialist oppressors.

For this reason Garveyism deliberately tries to cover up from the Negro masses the class character of capitalist society and of Negro oppression.

Presents False Picture of United White Race.

Garveyism presents to the Negro masses the false picture of the white race as an entity, confusing the oppressed white working class with the capitalist class which exploits and oppresses both white and black workers. Garveyism feeds on the natural resentment of the Negro masses against their oppressors, but the Garvey misleaders have never yet categorically pointed to the imperialists as the oppressors of the Negro masses. Garveyism takes no cognizance of the irresponsible and constantly sharpening conflict between the white ruling class and the white workers of the home countries, as expressed in strikes, uprisings, and the growth of the Communist Parties (which make no secret of their struggle to overthrow the capitalist system) in most of the capitalist countries. Instead it preaches "loyalty of Negroes to all flags under which they live" (Marcus Garvey). Garveyism derives no inspiration from the gigantic struggles of the Chinese and Indian masses against foreign imperialists and their native tools, nor from the mighty Russian Revolution whereby the working class won control over one-sixth of the earth, scrapping the imperialist policies of the Czars, abolishing racial and minority oppression, and challenging the continued existence of imperialism throughout the world. Garveyism instead acts as an apologist and defender of the capitalist system under which Negroes are oppressed.

Like Rest of Negro Misleaders.

Like the rest of the petty Negro bourgeois misleaders (Du Bois, Kelly Miller, etc.), the Garvey misleaders are not interested in the social liberation of the Negro masses but merely in exchanging white capitalism for a Negro capitalism under which they would replace the white capitalists as the exploiters and oppressors of the Negro masses. Like the rest of the misleaders, the Garvey misleaders are quite content to compromise with the white capitalists in exchange for a greater participation in the exploitation of the Negro masses. The Garvey misleaders not only refuse to carry on any struggle against the white capitalist enemies of the

Negro masses but they actually collaborate with the white bosses.

Spreads Illusions Among Masses.

The United States capitalists spread the illusion that every worker in America can some day become a millionaire if only he be "patient" and "save his money." How workers are to save their money out of the miserably low wages they receive, is, of course, not explained. Garveyism spreads the same illusion of escape through capitalism for the frightfully oppressed Negro masses—all that is necessary, says Garveyism, is to "build factories, develop plantations, launch steamships" (Marcus Garvey in Negro world, Sept. 6, 1930).

The fact that the great masses of the capitalist countries are still impoverished after four hundred years of capitalism means nothing to misleaders who are seeking their own personal advancement at the expense of the toiling masses of their race. Exchange your white oppressors for black oppressors and everything will be well, says Garveyism. And the Negro World wants to be sure that Marcus Garey gets all the credit for that brilliant idea. In an editorial on November 16, 1929, it boasts that:

"Years ago Marcus Garvey startled, not only America, but all the world with his demand that Negroes should go into business, and build a safe and secure foundation which will enable them to secure the wherewithal to grease the wheels of progress."

And Garvey himself, in the same issue of the Negro World, boils down the Negro liberation struggle (as he sees it) to the assisting "to industrially, agriculturally and commercially help the great Negro homeland, Africa." For the purpose of stabilizing capitalist economy in these colonies and facilitating the exploitation of these countries and their populations, Marcus Garvey asks the Negro workers to donate him six hundred million dollars!

How Garveyism actually defends the capitalist system of oppression of Negro and white workers and acts as apologist for imperialism will be told in tomorrow's article.

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