

Lessons in Tactics For the Liberation Movement

*Upon the Intelligent and Fearless Application
of Correct Tactics Depends the Success of the
Liberation Struggle*

By
CYRIL V. BRIGGS

WARS are not all won by actual fighting. Propaganda is everywhere recognized as a great weapon. The Negro needs to put out propaganda not only on the inside to wake up the masses and mobilize Negro thought in the Liberation Struggle, but on the outside, among the whites, as well.

WE MUST AIM to encourage existent divisions and even to foster new divisions in the ranks of the white race. To this end we must refrain from chauvinistic utterances and threats of "what we are going to do when we win Africa," etc., that would have the effect of forcing together the much-divided ranks of the white race. We must aim to keep White Labor and Capital apart by showing White Labor that its interests are identical with our own, inasmuch as we are both seeking freedom from Capitalist oppression and exploitation and neither the Negro nor White Labor can achieve that freedom without the aid of the other. So long as Capitalism is allowed to retain its grip on the resources of "the colonies," White Labor will find it well-nigh impossible to destroy Capitalism at home. And, in the case of the Negro, co-operation is even more essential, since under present conditions of warfare and control of the weapons of destruction we will find it impossible to effect an early liberation of Africa without outside aid in some form or other: the supplying of arms and munitions; the exertion of moral influence by the class-conscious white workers against their imperial governments; or "direct action," against aggressive or subjugating wars, such as forced the governments of France and Great Britain to keep their hands off of Soviet Russia.

NO BUSINESS ENTERPRISE is good enough to base the Liberation Movement and the morale of the Negro Masses upon the success or failure of that enterprise. Of course we must have business enterprises, but let's not link them up directly with the Liberation Movement and thereby stake the entire movement upon their chances of success or failure and at the same time invite white aggression to what may be correctly considered a vulnerable spot in our armor. The sooner the Garvey Section of the Liberation Movement recognizes this the better for that section in particular and the movement in general.

JUST AS THE NEGRO in the United States can never hope to win equal rights with his white neighbors until Africa is liberated and a strong Negro state (or states) erected on that continent, so, too, we can never liberate Africa unless, and until, the American Section of the Negro Race is made strong enough to play the part for a free Africa that the Irish in America now play for a free Ireland. Every Negro in the United States should use his vote—and use it fearlessly and intelligently to strengthen the radical movement and thus create a deeper schism within the white race in

America and at the same time make more friendly—by demonstrating his willingness to go half the way—those who are already friendly to his Cause.

WE MUST CONSOLIDATE the organized strength of the Negro. And we cannot do this by putting up any one organization as "the organization par excellence" and demanding as a prerequisite to participation in the Liberation Struggle that all other organizations destroy themselves to let their members come into the theoretical "organization par excellence." When it is impossible even to induce all unorganized Negroes to join this organization that sets itself up as "the whole cheese" how can they expect the members of existent organizations to forego their loyalty to their own organizations and destroy all that they have painfully built up to go into another organization whose program—if it has one—may not appeal to them as strongly as does the program of their own organization? No, the common sense way does not consist in insisting that all other organizations should destroy themselves and that ALL Negroes should come into MY organization or YOUR organization—the common sense way is for all Negro organizations to co-operate and TO FEDERATE in order to make for effectiveness in the Liberation Struggle. The Federation Plan was outlined in the Bulletins which the A. B. B. issued at the Second Garvey Congress and in the invitation to co-operation sent to Mr. Garvey. It is further explained in this issue.

DESIRABLE AS IT IS that our energies be directed against the enemy and not wasted in fighting among ourselves, it is sometimes necessary to engage in discussion in order that certain vital issues may be clarified and a better understanding gained of the problems with which we are faced. In such discussions the A. B. B. has always, and shall always, confine itself to the issues involved. We have too many arguments in favor of our program to need to descend to mud-slinging, false allegations and abuse. We could call names, too, if we wanted to. We could put out false statements, too, and could lie as hard and as fast as the other fellow. But we don't have to. Common sense is overwhelmingly on our side.

APROPOS of making the American Section of the Negro Race strong enough to play its destined important role, all Negroes in America must use their votes. Those who have votes must help the disfranchised ones to get their votes. Those who were not born in the United States and are not naturalized MUST NATURALIZE. Not because it's better to be an American citizen than to be a British subject (or vice versa), but because it's better to be a NEGRO THAN TO BE EITHER OF THE OTHERS, and because the Negro Strength in America MUST BE DEVELOPED before it can exert political, moral or

financial influence upon the Liberation Struggle.

THE UNFORTUNATE experience of U. N. I. A. divisions in Santo Domingo, where they have been suppressed and their leaders arrested by United States marines, and in Cuba and Costa Rica where they have been persecuted by the United Fruit Company, supply ample proof of the necessity, long ago affirmed by the A. B. B., of underground tactics in certain parts of the world. In those parts it's a choice of one of three things: (1) Open organization

with fearless operation and resultant persecution by the powers that be; (2) open organization and compromise of principles with the powers that be for the sake of exemption from hampering persecution; or (3) underground organization and the ability to "carry on" fearlessly and effectively without compromise and without inviting premature persecution that would hamper and perhaps even cripple the movement in its early stages, before it is strong enough to strike back effectively at its enemies. WHICH IS THE COMMON SENSE WAY?