Lesson 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 the enemy not only on the inside 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 explaining 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 the Negro Masses 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 stump 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 live in 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 — wisely and intelligently, and 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 organized Negroes to join this organization that sets itself up as "the whole cheese" how can they expect the members of existing 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 might 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. America's Negro Strength in America MUST BE DEVELOPED before it can exert political, moral or
News at a Glance

MARTIAL LAW IN INDIA

Simla, India, Oct. 16.—An extraordinary edition of the Gazette, issues yesterday, promulgates on ordinance of martial law providing for the constitution of military courts for the trial of persons accused of certain offenses in the martial law area. The offenses include the commission of acts alleged to mislead or hamper, on the part of British commanders, the cooperation 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?

INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY

Stockholm, Sept. 1 (Rosta Wien).—The "Right" trade unions have issued an appeal on behalf of Russia. The Swedish Union of Landworkers have decided that each member is to contribute 10 kilograms of grain, 15 kilograms of potatoes, and one kilogram of peas to the relief work.

Copenhagen, Sept. 8 (Rosta Wien).—The "Russian Week" of the Danish Communist Party yielded 10,878 danish crowns.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Crusader announces that its columns are at the people's disposal for an open discussion of the Garvey-Briggs discussion (and, for that matter, any other public question) and invites the opinion of its readers upon the merits of the case.

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The Crusader wants its readers to know that this is their magazine and that its columns are at their disposal to tell of their experiences in shop and factory, etc., and to give space and publicity to all wrongs to be righted. Tell us of conditions in your town or country. Tell us of your experiences in shop and factory. Bring your problems to us. Give us the opportunity to help you. This is the people's publication. USE IT.

BRIGGS POCKES FUN AT GARVEY

The following open letter was indited to Marcus Garvey, president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, by Cyril V. Briggs, executive head of the African Blood Brotherhood and editor of The Crusader Magazine, in answer to a statement made by Garvey in his paper for October 4: "My Dear Marcus: "I must thank you for the half-hour's hearty amusement you afforded myself and large number of relatives ranging in all the beautiful and variegated shades of the great Negro race from the 'lightest light' to the 'darkest dark'