

GARVEYISM DEFENDS OPPRESSION OF NEGROES

By CYRIL BRIGGS

(This is the second of two articles by Comrade Briggs on Garveyism. The first article was published yesterday)

UNDER cover of fake struggle-phrases, Garveyism deliberately allies itself with the imperialist oppressors and enemies of the Negro masses.

Garveyism peddles all the illusions created by the master class to befuddle the oppressed Negro and white masses. It spreads not only the illusion of escape from oppression through capitalism, but of supernatural intervention, of childish dependence upon the white bosses' god, of submission to the "will" of that god, thus helping the imperialists to divert the discontent of the masses into reformist movements with foolish promises of solution by the simple expedient of exchanging white capitalist exploiters for black capitalist exploiters, white gods for black gods, etc.

Supports Bosses' Isolation of Negro Masses.

Capitalism fosters the isolation of the Negro masses in order to effect their greater exploitation. Garveyism embraces wholeheartedly this enemy policy, deliberately playing into the hands of the enemies of white and Negro workers who seek to split the working-class in order to weaken its resistance—the imperialist enemies who keep the Negro masses at the very bottom of capitalist society by branding them as "inferiors," as "not fit to associate with white men" on the job or socially. Marcus Garvey in the Negro World of September 6, shamelessly supports this doctrine:

"We believe that the white race should protect itself against racial contamination," says this treacherous misleader and faker, adding an open appeal to the Ku Klux Klan, the Caucasian Crusaders, the American Fascisti, and other extra-legal instruments of the boss-class to enforce this doctrine of Negro inferiority, of Negro isolation as a pariah-class of "untouchables."

"We are expecting the cooperation and support of liberal White America in the promulgation of the ideal of racial purity."

Garveyism Has No Solution For United States Negroes.

Garveyism has no solution for the pressing problems of the 12 to 14 millions of Negroes whose unrequited toil transformed the South from a wilderness. The program of Garveyism for these masses is abject surrender of their rights and emigration to an Africa groaning under the oppression of another group of imperialists. Says Garvey in the Negro World of November 16, 1930:

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association is planning a sane and proper system of emigration by which Negroes from America, West Indies and Central America can emigrate to black Africa, where black men administer the affairs of government in its three chief executive branches."

There are only two so-called "independent" nations in Africa today. Liberia and Abyssinia. And the black government of Liberia is as much a puppet of United States imperialism as is the black government of Haiti. Abyssinia is a puppet of United States, French, British and Italian imperialisms. It retains its semblance of independence merely because of the conflicting interests of these imperialisms, none of which is ready to surrender it wholly to any of the others.

Garvey's Fake Self-Determination "Demand"

Garveyism, it will be noted, has no demands for the Negro masses of the United States, the West Indies and Central America. Its fake fight for Negro liberation is confined to a long distance demand, most of the time a cringing request to the imperialists "League of Nations," for self-determination for the African masses. Yet it is in the United States that Garveyism was born. And it is in the United States, West Indies and Central America that it today has whatever forces are left if after the many widespread defections it has suffered as a result of

the natural dissatisfaction of the masses arising out of the failure of Garveyism to carry on any struggle for the masses in these places. The glamour of the sham struggle for Africa could serve the Garvey misleaders only for a time. Garveyism makes no fight on the lynching terror of the bosses, but with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spreads the illusion that the bosses will themselves stop their own lynching terror, will punish themselves for lynching Negroes. The Negro World of May 10, 1930, childishly calls upon President Hoover, ally of the Ku Klux Klan and the Southern lily-whites, chief of the treacherous republican party, which has consistently betrayed the struggles of the Negro masses, to send an army of Negro workers into the South to shoot down his fellow imperialists:

Looks to Oppressors to Stop Oppression.

"Can America look the civilized world in the face, in view of this apathy regarding the crimes done in the Southland? Is justice dead? Is honor lost?... Why not, Mr. President, march and despatch a black army down south?... Why not try it, Mr. President?"

Was ever more ludicrous example of the petty bourgeoisie's efforts to camouflage the role of imperialism? Of utter confusion? Of treacherous betrayal of the struggle of the Negro masses?

Garveyism does not recognize the right of the Negro majorities in the "Black Belt" of the southern states to have their own form of government and to control that government and the white minorities in its territory, deciding its relations with other governments and specifically with the bourgeois United States government on the question of separation, if the Negro masses so desire. The Communist Party demands this right of self-determination for the Negro masses. And the Communist demands are as shocking to Garveyism as to the white ruling class of the South whose wealth and "position" are based upon the frightful oppression and bare-faced robbery of the Negro masses.

Wants West Indians to Abandon Homeland.

The population of the West Indies are overwhelmingly Negro. Yet here again Garveyism has no solution for these Negroes except the surrender of their homeland and emigration to Africa. In Central America the population is predominantly Indian and Negro, but here again Garveyism calls for surrender and retreat. With a number of strong branches in the West Indies, with Garvey himself and his pocket international offices in Jamaica, Garveyism yet does not raise the question of a federated West Indies, of the right of self-determination for the West Indian masses.

On the contrary, Garveyism **defends the status quo, upholds imperialism!** In his Jamaica paper, The Blackman, Marcus Garvey gives to the Jamaica masses the treacherous and slavish advice that, in their struggle against imperialism oppression, they must do nothing that would offend their oppressors. The oppressed colonial masses, Garvey says, "would not dare to accept and foster something that was tabooed by the mother country." This is the same as telling the Negro masses that they dare not struggle against imperialist oppression. For, of course, such struggles are tabooed by the "mother country." And significantly, to Marcus Garvey the oppressing imperialism which murders and enslaves the Negro masses is the "mother country."

Negro workers! Only by a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the imperialist oppressors can real Negro liberation be achieved. Only the Communist Party prosecutes the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism, for real liberation for the oppressed masses of all races. The Communist Party is the party equally of the Negro and white masses, the party of all oppressed classes. Join the Communist Party! Support its struggle against the capitalist bosses! Fight lynching! Demand the right of self-determination for the Negro masses of Africa, of the United States, of the West Indies, etc.!