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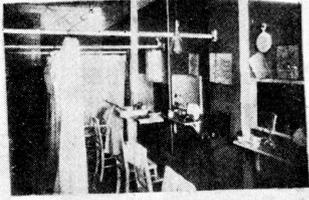
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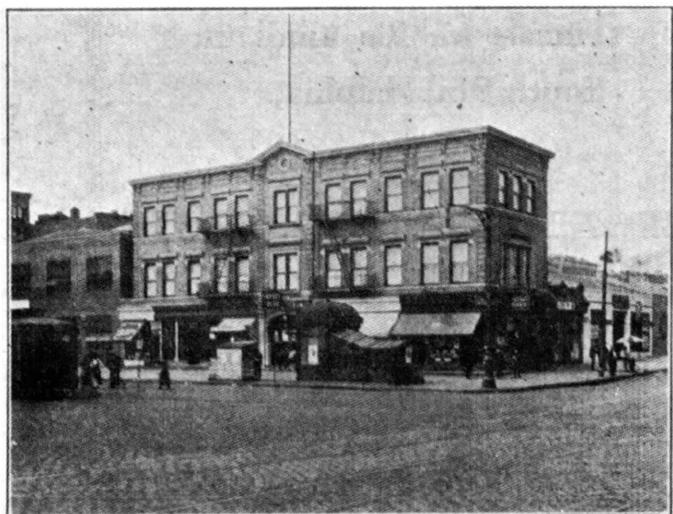
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Entered As Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919.

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Editorials

DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL PASSES HOUSE

THE Dyer Bill passed the House of Representatives.

It has yet to pass the Senate, to be signed by the President, to be declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Perhaps it will go on its course safely. We doubt it; yet we hope it will. All Negroes, of course, and all workers, as well, of all creeds, color and nationalities, out of enlightened self-interest, should pull for the Dyer Bill. For even if the Bill should fail to pass the Senate, or passing the Senate, is vetoed by the President, a very great improbability; or is declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the light of publicity shed on the heinous crime of lynching, would make the enterprise of immeasurable value.

Education and agitation will establish the justice and merit of the Bill. The Supreme Court can only establish its constitutionality. The Supreme Court, during the while the Slave Power of the South dominated the economic and political life of the country, upheld slavery, the right of one man to own and sell another. We would not at all be surprised if it should uphold lynching today.

Of course, lynching is, as a rule, the pastime of rural communities. The South is being gradually industrialized. This was the chief significance of Mr. Harding's speech at Birmingham. And it may not be unlikely that the need for a more contented and less timorous mass of unskilled labor, which is not possible in a lynching-ridden section, that the American money power will decree the enactment of drastic measures against this dreadful evil.

Besides, there is a certain type known as the new Negro now, who cannot be cowed and intimidated so easily, who show signs of fight. This certainly will cause trouble. It was all right so long as the Negro meekly submitted to the South's indignities and injustices. One or two dead "niggers" every now and then didn't matter much. But when the black brother begins fighting; that's a different song. Something must be done. Because the Negro cannot work and fight, too. As we had a "work or fight" order during war; we also have a "work or fight" order in the industrial war. Now, since the higher capitalism is invading the bourbon, feudalistic South, it requires stable, satisfied labor. It might be necessary even to grant them the ballot. For, after all, what's a vote when you haven't got to count it. Why they don't even count the white working people's votes in New York. It must be thoroughly understood that *American democracy* does not mean the rule of the people. Not at all. It means the rule of *certain white people*. This is true both North and South.

However, we are for the Dyer Bill whether it stops lynching or not. The New York *World* fears that it won't. Nor, might we add, do laws against murder

and theft stop those crimes. Yet we are too civilized to advocate their repeal.

Yes, we are for the Bill if we do suspect the motives of some of those who pass it.

A benefit is a benefit whether it comes from a devil or a saint.

We know that leopards don't change their spots. Nor have those fossilized Democratic and Republican Congressmen had any baptism of social and political justice. They care nothing about justice. But the exodus of 500,000 Negroes to the North, East and West, sections where they can vote, gives them cause for worry about their political fences during the coming elections. Just as the Negro has fought back physically; it is feared and suspected that he might also fight back politically. And, of course, that will never do!

Thus we find the most dyed-in-wool reactionaries, Republicans and Democrats for and against the Bill. And, upon examination, it will very likely be found that a good number of those for the Bill (Democrats and Republicans) hail from States where the Negro has a considerable vote. In politics, you don't get anything for nothing. Politics is a reflex of economics. In economics commodities and services are bought and sold. Thus politicians simply echo the will of their economic masters.

Now about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. What part did it play? It did not change or soften the hearts of those old, crafty political aces by presenting lynching exhibits, or figures of mob victims. That old crowd have only tears for lost votes, patronage and "pork."

The chief work of the N. A. A. C. P. consisted in publicity and propaganda. This made those old weazened politicians feel that perhaps the public is about to demand that something be done about this American sport. For this splendid work, it deserves no grudging mead of praise.

COAL MINERS' STRIKE

ALTHOUGH coal is a social necessity, mined by hundreds of thousands of men, a dozen or more banks in New York, own and control the great coal mines in America. The miners may be locked out at the will of the banks; and, in winter, the public may be made to shiver unless they can pay the price of the robber coal barons. Thus, a tiny fraction of men—the coal operators, have both the miners and the public by the throat. Now, that the country is passing through an industrial depression, the coal operators have started an offensive against the coal miners, bent upon wrecking the United Mine Workers' Union. Under this attack the miners have called upon the "Big Four" Railway Brotherhood chiefs to

meet with them in council. If the leaders of the coal miners and the railroad workers have the guts to go to the bat, the coal bankers will back down.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to certain officials of the United Mine Workers, Negroes constitute 40 per cent of the organized members. *Thanks to the awakening class consciousness of the Negro workers, they are beginning to look with contempt upon the 'scab.' Wherever the white workers have "brains" enough to recognize the necessity of taking Negroes into the unions, they are taking out their union cards; and, wherever the white workers' heads are so full of capitalists' race prejudice as to refuse Negro workers entrance, then, the black workers, as they should, proceed to organize their own unions.* One thing they are intent upon, viz., organizing their labor power. Negro leaders are yet too blind or too subsidized by the "money bags" to encourage this move; *but thanks to the world trend the old Negro leaders, like the old white leaders, are fast slipping into disrepute.*

FALSE AS HELL

AFTER Senator Trumann H. Newberry of Michigan had made his speech in defense of his alleged corrupt election, a few weeks ago, the Honorable John Sharp Williams, U. S. Senator from Mississippi, rose in truly southern fashion and announced that what Mr. Newberry had said was as "false as hell." Mr. Newberry was addressing the Senate. He claimed to have been ignorant of a quarter million dollars spent for his nomination in a fight against Henry Ford, the Flivver King.

We do not claim to disagree with the Honorable "John Sharp." We believe it is the honest-to-goodness truth which he uttered. Johnnie does that occasionally, *doncha know?* But it came with such poor grace from a Senator whose election is always a stolen election, in violation of the constitution, secured by robbing not only tens of thousands of Negroes of their votes—but *hundreds* of thousands of whites, as well. As we recall "Sharpie's" election (we did not say Sharper's) to the Senate was first secured by less than ten thousand votes—about the number which would be required to elect a state assemblyman in Michigan—Newberry's bailiwick. It is probably the lowest electorate of any state in the Union, unless it be South Carolina.

Why then did not Newberry counter with this argument? Or some other pro-Newberry Senator? This is the reason. The vote-stolen elections of John Sharp Williams and the entire Southern group of representatives exist by the grace of the hypocritical Republicans. Had any of the pro-Newberry Senators raised the misrepresentation of the South argument—"John Sharp" would have been *sharp* enough to have replied: "*We get it because you give it to us*"—which would have been the absolute truth.

John Sharp Williams told the truth, no doubt, but we are reminded of the philosopher who said: *How can I hear what you say when what you are is continually ringing in my ears!*

WAIST MAKERS' DRIVE

THE Waist Makers comprising six locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have started a drive on the 800 remaining "open" shops in the industry. Meanwhile, negotiations are pending between the unions and the manufacturers' association in the industry in regard to a proposed wage reduction of 15 to 25 per cent in the union shops, together with changes in working conditions. The Joint Board is preparing to face the bosses with a solid, well disciplined front such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers did. This, of course, is the only sensible way to fight. An army is beaten before it starts if its ranks lack unity, discipline and intelligence. This, unfortunately, has been the chief lack of the American Labor Movement. It has paid little attention to the "scabs" except to denounce them. This method, needless to say, is fruitless. It does not eliminate scabs; it increases them. The only sound policy of organized labor to adopt in relation to the unorganized, is to organize them.

Be it said to the everlasting credit of the needle trades unions which are composed largely of Jews, Italians and Negroes, that they are sufficiently class conscious and forward-looking to realize that organized labor, like a chain, is no stronger than its **weakest** link. As long as there are open shops in an industry, the closed shops are not sure of remaining closed. The bosses know this. Therefore they fight for the Open Shop Campaign or "American Plan."

Open shops mean low wages, long hours and poor working conditions. The closed shops, on the contrary, stand for a high living wage, a short work-day and human working conditions. It is for the afore-named reasons that intelligent workers fight for the closed shop and the bosses fight for the open shop.

Happily, the Waist Makers is one of those intelligent unions which sees the perils of the open shop in its industry, and hence, is bent upon eliminating this menace to a decent standard of living which it has been able to win for its members.

We are glad to hear that there are 5 or 6 thousand Negro girls in the waist and dress making industry who are in the unions fighting side by side with their white sisters for economic justice. Of course, there are thousands of colored girls, as well as whites, in the open shops. They, too, must be brought within the fold of the union. They will come whenever they are made to understand that it is to their interest to do so, and when the union goes out to get them. Negro workers entertain deep suspicions of white unions, and in many cases, their suspicions are well justified. But with respect to the Waist Makers' Union, there is no reason why the Negro girls should have any doubts about the attitude of this organization toward them. They have only to join and test it. Those already in the Union, we understand from Messrs. Langer and Mackoff, leaders of the organization, are excellent strikers. So are the Negro miners in West Virginia. In fact, everywhere the Negro workers are on strike, they acquit themselves splendidly.

THE SOLDIERS' BONUS

THERE is much ado over the Soldiers' Bonus now.

During the war nothing was too good for the boys "over there." Then they were needed as cannon fodder. Many eloquent speeches were made in eulogy of the supreme sacrifice which our brave boys were making in the war to "make the world safe for democracy." In that war they sacrificed their limbs, careers, lives, their all; while the One-Dollar-A-Year, 100 per cent patrioteers and their parasitic hirelings revelled in an orgy of graft and profiteering unparalleled in history. The bankers, manufacturers, coal magnates and railroad barons built up empires of wealth, while the poor "Henry Dubbs" were rotting in the trenches for the fabulous fortune of \$30 per.

The pulpit, press, stage and school—every available psychological agency for molding public sentiment was mobilized to lash the "peepul" in to a frenzy against the "Hun," always alert to extol the conscript army, sparing no pains in venting their venomous spleen upon all who faltered or challenged the motives of the war. No one dared to question the Khaki.

But now—! The war is over. The panic is on. Factories, mills and mines have closed. Wages have fallen. But prices follow the downward trend slowly. Six million men tramp the street jobless; ex-soldiers, too!

Thus, the boys are appealing to Uncle Sam to stand by them as they stood by him. But the "best minds" of the country claim that a bonus will mean an increased burden of taxation to the tune of 4 or 5 billions. Wall Street's press has vouchsafed the dear public some inside dope, revealing a most startling discovery, namely, that a bonus will positively not help the soldiers. It is alleged most facetiously that the well-meaning but misguided soldier-citizens are merely attempting to lift themselves up by their bootstraps. To explain. You see a bonus has got to come from somewhere. And according to sound government economics it can only come through taxation, and taxation is levied either on labor or property. The rich simply refuse to be taxed any more. And who knows when labor will get to the end of its ropes of patience. Besides, to tax a commodity is to discourage its consumption; and to discourage or limit consumption is to slow up production, and to slow up production is to accentuate an already acute and distressing condition of industry. Thusly, reasons Big Biz. And, of course, this is sound capitalist economics.

But the agitator comes along with the embarrassing comment that the Government did not reason thusly when it subsidized the railroads and shipping interests.

It is only just and fair, however, in this connection, to observe that the railroads are poor and weak. And the soldiers? Well—they are strong, healthy and able-bodied. Yes, able to work! Besides, who ever heard of anyone calling for pay for doing his plain duty. It is quite a sufficient reward to be given the honor to die!

Such is the reception the Bonus appeal is meeting at the hands of our erstwhile paytriteers. A splendid and interesting slap in the face for the super-patriotic American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan of the North, East and West. This is the crowd of peanut-

headed ignoramuses that opposed the release of Debs. Now, we could say to this gang of intolerant, bigoted dummies that "we told you so." But, no; we adopt a different course. We know that the American Legion does not represent the sentiment of the rank and file of ex-soldiers. The World War Veteran is far more representative.

We know also that the soldiers were conscripted. They had no right or power to exercise the element of choice. Hence, in the interest of the soldier-worker, we take our stand for the Bonus. We know that the few dollars the men receive will not relieve their condition appreciably; we know too that it means more taxation. The Government can raise all the money it needs, however, by taxing unused land to its full rental value. This method of taxation will not only raise an adequate supply of money to pay the Bonus; but it will force unused land into use thereby increasing building, which in turn, will set the machinery of a long line of basic industries agoing, which will serve to decrease unemployment.

But we are not concerned about suggesting a way out for the government. That, it will have to figure out for itself. We know that the Bonus will damage the temple of capitalism. This, we want to see; for it is the only fundamental remedy for removing the cause for a bonus.

We might as well say here, also, that we are not interested in soldiers, as such. We only demand the Bonus for them because we realize that it is against the grain of the "silk stocking" fraternity; and that it will work havoc with the already badly crippled machinery of political-financial capitalism, the ultimate and utter collapse of which is the only hope of the military as well as the industrial soldier.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

AFTER seven or more centuries of struggle with one of the bloodiest and cruelest tyrants of Christendom—Great Britain—the Irish people have finally achieved a slight measure of freedom in the form of the Irish Free State. No people have suffered, sacrificed, bled and died more willingly and freely for the right of self-determination than they. Be it said to the undying honor and credit of the Irish patriots that they never faltered, never equivocated, never retreated a single step before one of the most merciless foes that ever unsheathed a sword. But through veritable rivers of blood and tears; devastated cities and smoking villages, the Sinn Feiners carried on until "perfidious Albion" was forced to consider terms of peace and the conditions of an Irish independent state.

Of course, all is not well at this hour. De Valera suspects that the Irish Free State is a Trojan Horse. So accustomed is he to the wiles and trickery of the Welsh Premier Lloyd George that he can't understand the British bearing gifts. On the other hand, Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins are willing to worry along with the present makeshift until the hour to strike for absolute independence from the British Empire.

Meanwhile Sir James Craig is working with might and main to maintain Ulster free from the Irish Free State. But this is not all. The railway workers are on strike.

The Irish Free State, like the Soviet Government, is facing serious times. As to what will be the ultimate issue of these cross currents in Ireland, is too early to predict. Undoubtedly, Ireland will ere long achieve freedom. We hail the victorious march of the Irish people toward complete nationalism as a signal contribution to the cause of human liberty. We bid them onward, upward, forward! Now that Irish nationalism is flowering forth into self-determination the Irish workers are free to fight for a true workers' republic.

LYNCHERS GET LIFE

A NEWS despatch reads:

Oklahoma City, Okla., Jan. 24.—Five men, two of them colored men, were sentenced to life imprisonment in the state penitentiary when they entered pleas of guilty in district court here today to charge of complicity in the lynching of Jake Brooks, colored packing house worker, here the night of January 14.

The white men are Lee Whitley, Elmer Yearta, striking members of the Butcher Workmen's Union, and Charles Polk, a union sympathizer. The colored men are Robert Allen, cousin of the man who was lynched, and Nathan Butler, and also are union men.

Most people will miss the significance of the swift justice dealt out here. It is a first class example of capital protecting its interests even to the extent of favoring a Negro above white men. What happened here was this: In Oklahoma City and several other meat packing centers, white and colored union men have been on strike. The employers are hiring white and black workers to take their places. Thus seeing men in their places when winter's cold and starvation are facing them—infuriates both black and white workers. (When a man's life is endangered, when he is being undermined for his job, he will fight to the death against any one regardless of race, creed or color.) White men will murder white men. Negroes will kill Negroes. And—as happened in Oklahoma City—both white and colored men will combine to lynch either a Negro or a white person. In the above instance, the Negro lynched was a cousin of one of the lynchers.

This is simply an evidence of the terrible struggle for existence. It shows the intensity with which the battle for life is waged. It demonstrates how weak are family ties when cold and hunger threaten. It exposes how empty are racial claims in the presence of an undermined job.

In short, it re-enacts the scenes in the war for work, the battle for wages, the struggle for life. It cannot be repeated too often that at present a man's job is his life. With wages he purchases food, fuel, clothing and shelter. On these life depends. Hence, with wages he purchases life. When wages are high, life is high. When wages are low, life is low.

Of course we would not be understood as defending lynching of anybody—white or black. What we are doing is explaining the bitterness which the struggle for life assumes. It is one of the most cogent arguments for demanding a new order of society. Humanity, speed the day!

ART IN AMERICA

WHILE in Chicago we picked up a *Herald-Examiner* and read: "One hundred society leaders meet at the Art Club to launch a drive to save opera for Chicago. They face the task of obtaining 250 individuals, firms and corporations to sign guarantees, pledging \$1,000 each year for five years to make up the opera deficit."

Such is the state of art in America. The sordid chase for money—the call of cash—has well-nigh killed the soul of our people. The love for the beautiful, the charm of music, the fascination of dulcet voices, the elevating spiritual forces—have almost been emasculated from this land. The grind of industrial life has vitiated our vision; it has gnawed, like a rat, at our very vitals.

Step by step we reach the point where there is no market for genius in America, which also marks the decay of talent and genius, since it cannot develop or persist where there is no demand, no appreciation.

The account reads: "The deficit for the current season (in Chicago) said to exceed \$800,000, will be met by Harold F. McCormick and Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick." How fortunate that art still has such patrons! This, however, is true among white people only. As for Negroes, the outlook is dark. They are faced by poverty. They have no such patrons. Those who will give to their musical development immediately prescribe the kind as "typical Negro music." All of which means that their music is proscribed. Other musicians are not confined to German, Russian, Austrian, Italian, French, English or American music. Music is universal and recognized as such.

Still if Negroes are to get music—and have that music patronized by wealthy donors—they must pledge themselves in advance not to pursue the whole scope of the subject. Against this vicious proscription some groups of Negroes are valiantly fighting. Most pronounced among them is the Martin Smith Music School of New York City. In addition to the groups are certain able and talented individuals like Helen E. Hagan, Melville Charlton, Carl Diton, Nathaniel Dett, and the late, lamented Coleridge Taylor. (We do not claim to include all who are worthy of mention here.)

We have editorialized on this subject not to discourage but to encourage Negroes. By seeing through what struggles the whites are going they may better understand that they are not alone. Music is like education in other lines. Those who have most need least, and those who have least need most. Yet those who have least want least, and those who have most want most.

The path of progress is strewn with obstacles. Sometimes the mountains must be tunneled, rivers spanned, streams forded, rocks removed. The dizzy heights of success are attained only through toil and tears, blood and brawn, sweat and sorrow. We move forward today; we retreat tomorrow. Yet finally we do surely, if slowly, march forward in the world. Evolution is the law of life; it is the unconquerable force which may be retarded but not stopped.

The grind of commercialism of this, the old order,

must eventually give way to the new order of society, when the stern exactions of sordidness and gain will be drowned in a cluster of cherished hopes come true—a world softened by art, poetry, music and love which throw a beautiful and irresistible charm over human life!

THE RUSSIAN FAMINE AND HOOVER

THE New York Times has been carrying accounts of the opposition of Mr. Hoover, the State Department and the Department of Justice to extra-governmental agencies engaged in relief work for the famine-stricken of Soviet Russia. It is feared by Mr. Hoover that genuine relief work done by other unselfish agencies might not be sufficiently anti-Soviet such as his relief work was in Hungary. It is not denied that Hoover's bread overthrew the workers' republic in Hungary. So that in order to discredit the work done by the independent relief organizations, he cries that Bolsheviks are at the head.

Happily, today, this cry will frighten no one who would prevent the famine from claiming millions of helpless children. On the contrary, it will simply cause those who have in them any of the "milk of human kindness" to give doubly, to give until it hurts. The American people are not interested in Hoover's scarehead; they are concerned about saving life.

In answer to this attempt to stab the Russian babies in the back, the workers should redouble their efforts to send relief. Let workers of all races, creeds and nationalities put their shoulders to the "Russian Famine Relief Wheel."

NEGRO FAILS TO GET REGISTRAR OF TREASURY JOB

THE Negro press generally is bewailing the fact that President Harding did not appoint a Negro to the job of Registrar of the Treasury. We positively refuse to shed any tears over this thing. What difference does it make whether a big Negro politician is or is not handed out a political plum for plighting the votes of an innocent, ignorant Negro electorate to a wicked and corrupt Republican machine? What about the masses, how do they come in? They, of course, are given the ha, ha! and told that the race ought to be delighted when one big Negro is appointed.

From the hullabaloo the Negro leaders (for the rank and file are not concerned) are raising over President Harding's rebuff, one would think that Negroes had a patent on the Registrar of the Treasury. They are not bright enough to see that their attitude merely operates to limit their eligibility to certain jobs—jobs that are mere rubber stamp places.

We congratulate Mr. Harding on his wallop to the jaw of the old crowd Negro politician. This will pull more Negroes from the G. O. P. than tons of arguments made by the MESSENGER ever could. We trust that Wall Street's handy-man Harding will deal them a solar-plexus blow next. They deserve it. When a group of people can be duped, inveigled and tricked for 50 years without ever taking a hunch, it's about time that something is done to change their feeling, if not their mind. We are just suffocated

with delight; for the radicals could not hope for anything better.

We are not particularly concerned whether Negroes hold such appointments or not. We are interested, however, in seeing them disappointed when they think they are entitled to them; for this creates more discontent, which, in turn, recruits the ranks of the radicals. We feel the very same way about labor. Some of us don't awake until we are jolted by the gentle tap of a soft ax. Hence, our philosophy.

Besides our attention is not at all directed to such petty places as registrars, etc. Why not a Cabinet post? Of course, we are aware that a Negro Cabinet officer would be as useless to the masses of Negroes, as a labor leader in the Cabinet would be to the workers. Still we would like to see a race conscious of its ability, right and eligibility to any place in the nation held by a citizen. A big size man should feel that he is entitled to a big-size place in a big-size nation. This, at least, develops the social equality complex in Negro posterity.

LABOR PRESS

RECENTLY representatives of 150 prominent labor organizations came together for the purposes of making the New York *Call*—the great New York, English, labor daily—a bigger, better and more powerful organ. There was a remarkable wiping out of petty jealousies in the assemblage. The American Federation of Labor group mingled with the independents like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Perhaps the recent assaults of capital have taught the labor movement that the bosses don't care any more about the A. F. of L. than they do about the A. C. W. of A.

Race lines, too, were wiped out. Abraham Baroff, a Jew, is chairman of the committee, and Kehoe, an Irishman, is secretary.

It is reassuring to see this new spirit of co-operation. The next six or eight months will be the most trying period for the labor movement. Capital will be making its drive against labor, in trying to make the most of the unprecedented wave of unemployment. The bosses hope to demoralize labor. Against this the labor press must fight with might and main. It is with us that the first line trenches have been entrusted. The labor press must stimulate labor's morale; it must not allow labor's courage to flag. This can be done most effectively by reporting labor's victories; giving advance warnings of new offensives against the workers; reporting the methods of meeting capital's attacks from various parts of the world; and, in short, representing labor's ideals, aspirations, hopes and strivings.

In no other press can these things find voice. As a consequence it is the business of all those who are sympathetic to labor to extend the voice of our press, to increase our circulation, to swell our income. Let us drive up the circulation of the New York *Call* to 100,000. Let us send the *Forward* on to the half million mark per day. The *New Majority* and the MESSENGER, the Seattle *Union Record* and the Milwaukee *Leader* must be made to rank with the big capitalist papers.

Let us drive them right up—and do it now.

THE LABOR

Labor and Disarmament

FROM various quarters there are emanating pleas for disarmament. Pressed by taxation, burdened with debt, permeated with discontent steadily growing into radicalism, the leading capitalist countries desire to call a halt ere it is too late. The demand is for Great Britain, the United States and Japan to meet in conference and talk the situation over.

The reason for this is two-fold. First, they are potential enemies of one another, anticipating the occasion when they may be actual enemies. Such preparations as are being made by each of these nations are made because of the prepared strength of the other. If there is to be a halt in the naval program of Great Britain, then there must be a halt in the American program. And other factors must be considered. America is watching the program of Great Britain and Japan inasmuch as America believes (with good reason) that both of them have a defensive and offensive treaty. When Lloyd George was asked in the House of Commons whether the British-Japanese treaty called for Japanese alliance in the event of war with America, he replied that all responsible parties understood just what it included, that there was no misunderstanding on that point, or words to that effect. In short, evasion and more evasion constituted his reply. So the American program is being pitted against the Anglo-Japanese program.

Secondly, Great Britain, Japan and the United States are forming a joint program against Russia, Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and Turkey in Europe, along with assassinating glances at India, Egypt, China and other undeveloped territories. Russia, it is true, is the immediate menace. Just when Germany, Italy and Central Europe will join Russia as an active menace is not certain. That the trend is in the direction of a radical, democratic, socialistic Germany, Italy and Central Europe is sure and certain. The result of this lurid spectacle, looming larger as the big three capitalist nations look down the future, is driving England, America and Japan together as against the titanic menace of international labor and Socialism. They are united by fear of democratic growth.

As minor enemies these three nations are ready to fly at each other's throats. Confronted by the red terror of democracy and socialism they are ready to unite against the common enemy without regard to nationality, race, creed or color.

We, of course, are in favor of the disarmament. We are not interested in the capitalists's fight among themselves. We know that history records few cases in which the people have declared a war or in which

the ruling classes have fought one. We, therefore, desire to limit the extent of such a conflict which sacrifices the life and limb of the flowering youth of the labor world. Next, we yearn for the growth of labor everywhere, knowing full well that here is the hope of the future new civilization. And when it is possible to lessen the physical opposition to labor, we regard it "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Nevertheless, we had no rosy prospects for the disarmament program. So long as people have something to fight about, they are going to fight. So long as they realize the inevitable conflict, they will prepare for the clash. Agreements to carry out a program against one's interests will be veriest scraps of paper. Napoleon tried to destroy the German army by the limitation of the number of men permitted to be trained in the standing army, but Germany evaded the provision with ease, surely and effectively built-up the military machine which swept through to Paris in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

The Hague Conventions prohibited the use of dum-dum bullets and poison gas, yet men on each side of the contending factions in the Great World War were found with dum-dum bullets in their bodies, as well as victims of poison gas.

There can be no genuine disarmament in a capitalist world. A bone of contention in trade routes, commerce, concessions, spheres of influence, undeveloped territories, weaker peoples, cheap land and cheap labor will ever exist under such a regime. About these prizes contentions will arise; fights will flow; alliances, ententes, leagues, will be formed; alliances and leagues will be dissolved and new ones formed, according to the special interests. The statesmen's eyes, watching the future, will prepare for war, for the business of killing. When this killing starts, submarines, poison gas, dum-dums, bombing—everything will be resorted to. For while in the business of killing the object is to kill as many and as rapidly as possible.

The Washington Disarmament Conference has come to a close.

It has been successful in every respect except that for which it was called, namely, limiting the means for carrying on war. And the Far Eastern Question is a tangled as ever.

The future belongs to the people, said Liebnicht. Until the people take over society we must stand face to face, with daggers drawn. To call for disarmament in this imperialist world is as fatuous as asking the water to seek its level or a body not to fall to the earth in a vacuum. Serious time lost here is in the field of hoping, not the domain of science.

OUR WORLD

The Labor World

Genoa.

The Genoa Economic Conference is about to be postponed. Lloyd George and Poincare fail to agree on date. America holds aloof. What's the matter, are they afraid to meet Lenin?

Mine—Railroad Alliance.

Will the 500,000 Miners and the 2,000,000 railroad workers unite? John L. Lewis, president of the miners has called a conference to discuss the advisability of some form of an alliance. Will it take the form of the Triple Alliance of England comprising the miners, railwaymen and transport workers? This is good labor strategy. Negro workers are members of the miners union. But the "Big Four" railway unions deny them entrance. Think of labor discriminating against itself!

The capitalists care nothing about the color, religion, race or nationality of a miner or a railway worker. Why should organized labor? Workers, like capitalists should unite without regard to race, creed, craft, or color.

The German Railroad Strike.

In Germany, the railroads have been tied-up by a strike. The cost of living has been mounting so high and so rapidly that there was nothing else for the workers to do save strike for more wages or starve. The printing presses are busy making marks but the marks are becoming increasingly more worthless. Meanwhile, the Allied Powers demand their "pound of flesh." What will be the end of poor Germany? It would appear that only a workers' state can save the German people.

The Meat Strike Off.

Another collapse of labor. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen had just grounds for calling their strike. When the union asked for government arbitration, the packers replied that there was "nothing to arbitrate." Yet the strike is called off against the announced wishes of 90 per cent of the workers. Do they need an Untermeyer in Chicago to investigate?

Fur Workers Triumph.

The Fur Workers Union has been successful in maintaining all of their wage and hour standards in the industry. Here is an evidence of good leadership and rank and file morale. There are a large number of Negro Workers in the Fur Union, and they are good strikers, so we are told by Brothers Kaufman and Weiniss, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively.

Children Leaving School.

According to the National Child Labor Committee, one million boys and girls, between the ages of ten and fifteen, are leaving school and going to work each year. Capitalism can only exist upon the ignorance of the masses. Such is the reason why the Supreme Court of nine old, decrepit mental fossils declared the federal child labor law unconstitutional.

Headgear Workers Uniting.

The Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers' Union and the United Hatters are adjusting differences with a view to consolidation. Bravo! Labor is learning fast that there is no hope without solidarity.

Navy Workers Hit.

The Arms Conference succeeded in one thing. Instead of limiting armament; it has increased unemployment by laying off 4000 workmen in the Navy Yard without notice. It is rumored that 12,000 more will follow. Under the system, the worker has no security. Only property is guaranteed a continuous return.

THE INDUSTRIAL COURT OF NEW YORK

THE New York Board of Trade and Transportation has framed a scheme for the establishment of an industrial court on the pattern of the Kansas Industrial Court. It has become known as the Miller-Duell measure. Like the Kansas Court, its purpose is to hamstring the strike—the only effective weapon of defense and offense the workers possess.

It is presented under the guise of a public benefit. So was the Kansas Industrial Court, which is admittedly a failure. The workers had better be careful of these benefits handed them on a silver platter by the philanthropic wise ones of Wall Street. It is urged by the proponents of this device that it is bound to bring the millennium between labor and capital because it introduces a new stunt in phraseology, namely, "economic-legal justice," whatever that is. Out of this phrase the workers will get the *legal* but not the *economic justice*.

From all reports, it would appear that labor is learning from history, and they are not running away with everything because it receives the blessing of the unsophisticated breed of corporation lawyers. It is also interesting to note the attitude of the liberal capitalist press, the *New York Globe* and the *New York World*. Their attitude to the Bill is based upon the fear of labor's revolt under too drastic repression. They know, that court or no court, labor will strike. It is the inevitable outcome of the class conflict. The Industrial Court will merely complicate matters, and render the conflict more violent.

Economics and Politics

By CHANDLER OWEN

HENRY FORD

ON industrial enterprises the unbiased must give the Flivver king an ear. It was, therefore, interesting to learn of Mr. Ford's plan to develop Muscle Shoals. As a rule when an offer is made to buy some such plot or site, the steam roller is well oiled and everything goes through flying colors. Graft has been paid or contracted for and all hitches have generally been removed.

Not so, however, this time. Mr. Ford has been conferring and offering and reconferring with Secretary Weeks, President Harding and others for the last nine months. Why so much delay in the acceptance of Ford's offer? It is about the nearest approach to fairness of any which the country has ever received from the moneyed magnates, manufacturers or syndicates.

The answer to this question is to be found in the encroachment upon the graft of other powerful interests. It is true Mr. Ford has promised to manufacture nitrate on the proposed site. This alone has been publicly emphasized. Another factor, which has not seen much public light, is his more far-reaching proposal to develop electricity from water power of the Mississippi River. What has this to do with delay in getting Muscle Shoals? This: the development of electricity from water power has far-reaching consequences. An engineer by the name of Parsons has just pointed out that the St. Lawrence River of Canada, if used for water power, would save fifty million tons of coal per year. The Mississippi River is many times more powerful than the St. Lawrence. With electricity produced by its titanic current, hundreds of millions of tons of coal could be saved each year. Not only that; electricity is cleaner, more convenient, more efficient, more easily transmitted, cheaper than all other known fuels for producing power, heat or light.

Consequently, if the Flivver Wizard develops electricity at Muscle Shoals, the coal trust will soon be on the blink. The manufacturers of coal stoves and furnaces will be retired from their rake-off. The stationary engineering producers will soon be no more. The locomotive monopoly will be in a precarious position. The oil barons will be threatened because there is more water than oil in the United States—and the water is more cheaply and easily gotten or gotten to. The steel kings also have a "green eye" on Ford's electric enterprise, because coal is heavy and has to be carried in vehicles which are made of iron or steel. Besides, iron, steel or tin must enter into the manufacture of boiler plates, engines, stoves and furnaces, locomotive and freight cars. The gas trust, too, is not asleep to the consequences of the success of Ford's

venture. Electricity is safer and more desirable than gas for both heating and lighting.

It is easy, in view of the above explanations to understand why so many interests are working in the dark to keep many shoals between Ford and Muscle Shoals. Unless these magnates, trusts, monopolies and syndicates do keep their minds and muscles on the job and keep Ford's mind and muscles off Muscle Shoals—they will lose their minds and muscles reflecting on the shoals placed by Henry Ford between them and their graft.

Unfortunately even labor under the present system of society will not welcome the extension of electric power through Ford's enterprise. Why? Because each new invention or discovery for the saving of labor swells the ranks of the unemployed. Instead of labor's being able to look upon a new labor saving invention as an opportunity for more leisure and more wealth with less work—it is compelled to look upon those scientific advances as media for the increase of unemployment. The full development of so useful an enterprise as ample electricity from water power will throw out of work 500,000 coal miners, 100,000 steel workers, thousands of boiler plate makers, stove and furnace workers, and numerous groups whose industry would be largely supplanted by electric power.

Does this mean that we should hold back the march of these new labor-saving devices, inventions and discoveries? Certainly not—just to the contrary. We must change the distribution of the wealth. Distribution is the issue. The people who work are not desirous of getting more work because they like work. They simply work because work is the means to an end. It is the means whereby the laborer secures wages with which to purchase food, clothing, shelter, fuel, education and recreation. It is the avenue to life in our present society. It is because a few only reap the benefits of inventions and discoveries that labor is compelled in its failure to change the social system to insist upon turning back the hands of the clock of progress.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note what is developing. Not only is labor beginning to suffer from the march of new inventions and discoveries. But even capital is feeling the very same blow. Besides the reason is the same. It destroys labor's employment—labor's business—labor's source of income. It destroys capital's business—capital's source of income. Moreover, the method by which labor is affected is the method by which capital is affected. Each one loses on the basis of non-distribution. Those workers whose employment will be increased by Ford's electricity development from water power have no complaint. Neither does Ford have any complaint. Nor

will any group of capitalists object who have to purchase more of Ford's products than they sell. If Ford's enterprise yielded big income—and that income was passed around to the coal kings, the steel barons, the locomotive monopoly, the tin and stove trust, the oil syndicates, etc.—then these gentlemen would be quite satisfied. If these gentlemen could even form a corporation with Ford whereby a distribution of profits was assured, all would be well. But Ford is a sort of individualist. He is not inclined to be transferred in his ideas by any one. He even bought out his partner, Mayor Couzens of Detroit, paying him thirty million dollars for his part in the Ford Automobile Company.

The problem up to the nineteenth century was one of production of science—inventions and discoveries—production of fuel, production of everything, but ever and anon—*production*. The problem of the twentieth century is *distribution*—the distribution of

wealth, the distribution of education, the distribution of the means for satisfying human wants—verily the distribution of happiness, the end of all human effort.

It is to a better, more equitable distribution of every economic, social or political good that the new social order must dedicate itself. It is the great task lying before us without the solution of which the splendid inventions and discoveries from the genius of our Henry Fords and Edisons will leave in their wake the stalking ghost of unemployment, following in whose train will rise the weird and wanton phantom of hunger, the unspeakable voice of misery, the withered hand of want asking the pessimistic question: "Is the world actually growing better or is it growing worse? Has education advanced or set back the world? Are inventions and discoveries a blessing or a curse? Is life worth living?"

Who knows?

LOCAL 8 OF I. W. W. ON FIRING LINE

THE Administration's policy toward the I. W. W. has been everything but frank, just and fair. On the contrary it has been mean, petty and cowardly. Believing that public sentiment was not as aroused and as insistent for the release of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World as it was for other prisoners charged with the violation of war-time laws, it announced a different policy in dealing with the I. W. W. cases.

It was well established by the action of the Courts of Appeals of the seventh and eighth districts in the Chicago and Wichita cases, that the I. W. W.'s were found innocent of acts of sabotage or other industrial crimes. Their legal status now is the same as that of Debs before his release. In other words they are held in prison for expressing opinions in opposition to war.

As was pointed out in the foreword of the brief of attorney Otto Christensen, "many of the offenses that the I. W. W.'s were convicted of in the lower courts having been nullified by the action of the Court of Appeals, the legal basis for holding them in prison likewise has been changed." "Since," according to the Civil Liberties Union, "the reversal of the industrial courts on which three-fourths of the evidence was introduced, these cases are in every essential analogous to the case of Mr. Debs."

In view of the foregoing facts, it is apparent that the difference in policy in handling the cases of the Industrial Unionists, arises out of prejudice and class hatred.

It appears that the Administration acts not out of consideration for justice and right, established by facts and reason; but only out of fear of a general upsurge of an outraged public against blind, unreasoning intolerant, autocratic, Kaiser-like methods.

Recognizing this fact, Local 8 of the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, has, in accordance with its general policy of enlightened, militant, revolutionary action, proceeded to arrange an intensive campaign of education and agitation in the interest of the 118 class-war and political prisoners still languishing in prison.

Only by ceaseless, relentless, systematic propaganda

by labor, and such other agencies as the American Civil Liberties Union will President Harding and Attorney General Daugherty be forced to declare a general amnesty for the release of all class-war and political prisoners. Every American citizen, black and white, Jew and Gentile; every worker and lover of liberty should write or telegraph his congressman and senator, the President and Attorney General to let the I. W. W.'s and political prisoners go. These politicians will listen to you now more than at any other time, because they are worried, ill-at-ease and uncertain about their political fortunes in the coming congressional and senatorial elections. They have their ears to the ground trying to sense which way the wind is blowing. They have no interest in economic, political and social justice; they think of the "pork barrel," patronage, "slush-funds," election. They are essentially creatures of expediency and cheap opportunism, ready and willing to do a political somersault in order to keep their mouths in the job-troughs.

This fall will witness the struggle for re-election of the present incumbents in Congress and about one-third of the present members of the Senate. These political parasites are trembling in mortal dread of defeat. Hence, like the rabbit in the bushes, they jump, ready to flee with and without reason. Thus the workers can capitalize this political state of mind by bombarding both houses with letters and telegrams in the interest of general amnesty. Of course, don't accept any promises. They must put up or shut up. They have no principles except those that benefit the profiteers, consequently, they will promise you anything and give nothing.

But if we start a back-fire of education and agitation now, while the "ins" want to remain in and the "outs" want to get in, we will get an immediate and respectful hearing, and very likely achieve our desired end—opening the jails upon the battle-scarred champions of economic and political liberty. Besides, the United Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association and Wall Street, the real masters of the House of Representatives, the Senate, the President and the Attorney General, always alert to allay unrest, seeing that the workers of hand and brain are deter-

mined and unafraid, will order their political lackeys to let our people go.

After all, we won't get general amnesty for class-war and political prisoners until we want it. In very truth we haven't wanted it. President Harding and Wall Street knew that we didn't want it. For if we had really desired to free the I. W. W.'s and other war prisoners for political offenses, the jails would have long since opened and they would have walked forth to breath the air of freedom; to join the militant host of workers struggling, sacrificing, bleeding, yea, dying for working-class emancipation.

Well might Local 8, an organization composed of two-third Negroes and one-third whites, lead the host for a general amnesty. Three of her most tried, tested and able leaders—Neff, Fletcher and Doree—were the victims of the war hysteria. These Fellow Workers have been the pillars of the I. W. W. organization.

In these times of storm and stress, the workers are in great need of honest, able, and fearless leadership. While it is true that leaders will always rise up to fill the places of those who have fallen in or been removed from the immediate struggle, yet it is a fact which we can not ignore that those men who have gone through the fires of persecutions, thereby acquiring an invaluable fund of experience, can not be very readily replaced.

Hence, let us work and fight until we free all prisoners, class-war and political. Let us turn the searchlight of publicity upon the Administration's crime against free speech, free press, and free assemblage. Let us make the whole nation resound for political and class-war amnesty.

On with the fight!

The Editors.

Education and Literature

IS THE KU KLUX KLAN RETURNING?

ACCORDING to the monthly survey of the state of civil liberty in the country by the American Civil Liberties Union, the unlawful, savage practices of the Ku Klux Klan are on the increase. Negroes, labor leaders, A. F. of L. and I. W. W., Catholics, Jews and foreigners are being kidnapped, tarred and feathered, flogged and beaten, branded, chased out of towns, lynched, burned and murdered promiscuously, without interference by the local or state authorities. In most cases the local authorities confess their helplessness before this murderous gang of night-riders.

So that the so-called Congressional investigation of the Klan was a fiasco—a mere white-wash! We never had any faith in it. Most investigations fizzle out. Too much deference was shown the "sob" stories of the Imperial Wizard. He threw fits for the fun of it and the naive or hypocritical committee fell for such transparent legerdemain.

We carry the following release from the Federated Press as proof of our charge that the Ku Klux Klan is reviving:

By ART SHIELDS

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Chicago.—In spite of the frightful rawhide lashing he received from the masked mob near Shreveport, Harold Mulks, the young attorney for the Oil Workers' Industrial Union looks full of fight as he sits in his office at 111 Monroe Street, Chicago, and lays out plans for a joint investigation by liberals and labor unions of the Louisiana atrocities.

"The Ku Klux Klan reigns unchallenged in that barbarous state," said Mulks to a Federated Press representative, "and it is doing the will of the great oil interests. The beatings which organizers and their attorney have received are just the beginning of a policy of terrorization unless sharp and vigorous action is taken by lovers of justice.

"I have every reason to believe that the police

authorities of Shreveport worked hand in hand with the Klan members in my kidnapping case. The police authorities were the only ones to whom I had given my address—at their request. After I was threatened the Monday night before the kidnapping they refused to give me any protection. I put the case up to Assistant District Attorney Crane. He advised me to see the mayor, but Mayor McCord ridiculed my story and told me I had nothing to fear.

Mulks said that a certain city detective with a checked suit was always in his vicinity, and apparently acted as shadower for the Klan. This man was a witness in the case of the organizers sentenced to the Parish farm, whose case Mulks had come to Shreveport to appeal. The sleuth was standing in front of the car when the kidnappers carried him out of the hotel.

All the extremes of Southern courtesy and brutality were illustrated in the action of supposed Klansmen, said Mulks. When he was first threatened in front of his hotel Monday night, January 9, it was by a well dressed man, with a soft drawing voice. The man, followed by two others quietly told him that they wanted no trouble, and that they and the 2,000 "best people" of Shreveport would all be very much pleased if he would drop the case of the I. W. W. men.

"You know we have some 40 per cent niggers down here, and a lot of Jews," said the man, "and sometimes we have to just take the law into our own hands in dealing with them.

"Now we know you are a smart man and have traveled around a lot, but we don't want you to travel around here on this case. There are 2,000 of the best people of Shreveport behind us, and you can't go ahead with the case.

"Well, I know my rights as a lawyer defending my clients," said Mulks. "I don't care if there are two or two thousand. I'm here and I'm going to stay."

Mulks notified the authorities at once and went ahead with the case, appearing in court next morning. The other side then had the case postponed another week, and Friday night the gang of fifteen masked men suddenly rushed into the lobby of the

Hotel Yokem and began beating him with their fists. Thinking they were going to kill him there Mulks knocked one of his assailants down in the effort to break through to the door, but they picked him off his feet and carried him into a large closed door. Five men piled into this car, the rest following in two more machines.

Rushing past the police station, ninety feet away, they went on into the prairie night, cursing and threatening their victim every minute.

"Ah, you dirty ———," they would snarl. "We'll cut you to pieces. You and your Jew friends, we'll clean you up and make you wish you had gone back to Russia."

"Yes," another would say, "he's another one of those Catholics—we'll teach him what the Klan can do."

Another would denounce him as a friend of the Negroes and another as an I. W. W., all in a confused way that showed their utter ignorance, Mulks said.

The Ku Klux Klan, which Shreveport reports say these men belonged to, hates Jews, Catholics, foreigners and labor unionists impartially.

Twenty miles west of Shreveport the cars stopped and Mulks was taken out and his shirt stripped off, then he was thrown over a log and held by five men, while three others lashed him with rawhide whips over the back and head.

Faint from loss of a quart or more of blood Mulks was helped on to a train that stopped at a junction not far off and put in charge of the conductor, who was ordered to hold him till the borders of Texas on peril of his life.

The conductor proved to be a decent fellow, bathed Mulks' wounds and told of the spell of terrorism under which the union men of that part of Louisiana lived. The district, he said, was known for its trutality. He himself had seen some twenty lynchings of Negroes who were hanged, burned to the stake and shot.

Some of these Negroes were lynched as the result of economic causes. Unions of skilled craftsmen are frowned on, the conductor said, but the violent persecution comes when unskilled workers, black or white, attempt to better their condition.

After three days in a Dallas hospital, Mulks came on to Chicago to organize support for an investigation of the Louisiana persecutions. He is an unusually sturdy man physically so escaped internal injuries as a result of the flogging, but his back is scarred, and part of his head is shaved and plastered.

POOR MASSES

WE take the following item from the Chicago *Tribune*:

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IS READY TO HELP EDUCATE MASSES

New York, Feb. 4.—[By the Associated Press.]—Columbia university stands ready to co-operate with labor unions in education of the masses and thereby wipe out class division, said Prof. James C. Egbert, director of the university extension, in a report presented tonight by President Nicholas Murray Butler.

Asserting that the first national conference on workers' education in the United States was a most significant development in adult education, Prof. Egbert expressed surprise that those interested in the movement had not turned to the universities and called attention to establishment, within the last three years, of labor colleges in ten industrial centers stretching from Boston to Seattle.

The university, rather than the labor college, is the appropriate instrument for the education of the worker, he said, adding that Columbia was willing to provide the class freedom which the workers thought necessary.

In order to read the above, one must read between the lines. A new interest has suddenly developed in educating labor. It follows the entire trend of the present system of education. At first an effort is made to keep the people in ignorance. When it is evident that this can no longer be done, then comes the effort to direct them into paths of misinformation or retarded information.

Labor has been much more in need of education than it is today. The Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York, is the leading institution devoted to labor education in the United States. It has two scores or more of brilliant instructors and educators—some of them by the grace of "Czar Nicholas." (Witness Prof. Harry W. L. Dana, formerly professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia.) The same system of academic intolerance, in which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler is a leader, brought to the Rand School the distinguished Scott Nearing from the University of Pennsylvania. The school is ably directed by Algernon Lee, assisted by Bertha Mailly, David Berenberg, and others too numerous for mention here.

The New School for Social Research directed by Chas. A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson, is an institution wholly by the grace of Educational Czar Nicholas.

The Workers' University organized and controlled by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of New York is directing the education of a hundred thousand workers.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has also established its own schools for the education of its members constituting 150,000.

The Labor College, directed by A. J. Muste, at Brockton, New York; similar colleges in Boston, Chicago, Seattle and in many cities of Pennsylvania show which way the straws are blowing.

In short, labor has decided that its education must be through schools, *of, for and by labor*. It understands that the labor education of Columbia, Harvard, Princeton—dominated, controlled and bossed as they are by corporate interests, trusts, syndicates and bankers—can never be the education which labor needs. Especially easy is it to recognize this allegation when it is remembered that most of the labor schools and colleges exist through the direction of professors and educators kicked out of Columbia, Pennsylvania and such universities because they dared to teach a little true labor education.

Dr. Butler closes: "*The University, rather than the labor college is the appropriate instrument for the education of the worker.*" "*Columbia is willing to provide the class freedom which the workers think necessary.*" Not yet, Dr. Butler. The American University is not the appropriate instrument for workers' education yet! And for the very reason that it is unwilling to provide the class freedom which is necessary. *Certainly freedom for workers to learn must carry with it freedom for teachers to teach!* Most of those professors who have had the courage to disseminate genuine workers' education either in the university class rooms or on the outside by lecture or press articles, have been kicked out. As we re-

call your casuistry on the subject read about like this: "Such professors want to say what they think without thinking what they say!" Which means they must think how what they say will affect the financial feelings of the University's contributors.

The Labor Colleges need not consider suspending because Dr. Butler has spoken. Just as they have

driven the American university to considering some form of labor education these labor institutions will yet drive the universities to the teaching of all extant knowledge on labor.

Labor, too, will do well to "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts." Otherwise Czar Nicholas may hand you a Trojan Horse

Open Forum

MEYER LONDON DEMANDS JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO

IF, in his entire term, Meyer London, the sole Socialist congressman, had done nothing but tell the truth about this country's treatment of the Negro, which he did in a masterly speech on the floor of the House Wednesday afternoon, the district that sent him to Congress would have reason to be proud that he carried its message in a manner befitting its vital importance to the cause of real freedom. The entire delegation from the State of New York has not performed as great a public service as this one congressman did when he told the country the truth about the Negro question.

We are glad that London took occasion to rebuke the North for its hypocritical attitude toward our brothers who happen to have a different colored skin from ours. "We are paying for the sins not only of the slaveowner of the South but of the slave importer of the North," said London.

When London discussed the arguments of those who had brought out the outworn fetish of state rights to justify the refusal to pass anti-lynching laws he exposed their arrant hypocrisy with this sweeping sentence: "You did not hesitate to pass a conscription act, which enabled the Federal government to reach its hands into the homes of the people in the several states for the purpose of sending them to destruction in a foreign land, but when it is proposed to abolish lynching you invoke this doctrine of state rights."

That portion of London's speech addressed directly to the white workers of this country is the pre-eminently important utterance which the Socialist congressman made. We wish it were in our power to place it in the hands of every white worker in this country.

We place it here with the hope that every one of our readers will show it to as many of his fellow workers as he can reach:

THE LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE AIMED AT THE NEGRO HIT THE WHITE WORKER SOONER OR LATER, WITH JUST AS MUCH FORCE AS THE NEGRO. THE INTERESTS OF THE WHITE WORKERS AND THE COLORED WORKERS ARE IDENTICAL, AND WHEN THEY PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE SWAYED BY THE PASSIONS WHICH IT IS TO THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING

CLASS TO CONSTANTLY FAN, THE WHITE WORKERS ENTER THE SAME TRAP THAT HAS BEEN LAID FOR THEIR NEGRO BROTHERS.

The Negro question will not be settled by any sort of compromising. Our brother with the dark skin is entitled by the right of life itself to every right that we with the white skin enjoy. It is true we have not many rights, but what few we have gained he is entitled to, and he is further entitled to fight side by side with us to achieve real freedom.

As for ourselves we will not only do our part to help our colored brother get what he would always have had if we were really civilized people, but we gladly welcome him as a soldier of the common good if he wishes to fight by our side in the battle for the rights of all. And we welcome him as an equal, judging his desirability only by the same standards which we apply to those of our own and other races.

—New York Call.

Editors the MESSENGER:

Enclosed herewith please find Money Order for \$1.50, my subscription for the current year. I regret my inability to make this remittance promptly at the expiration of the annual period paid for previously and take this occasion to thank you for your courtesy in continuing to send your splendid journal in spite of my tardiness.

Need I add my appreciation of the great work you are doing so capably and fearlessly for the race. Your editorials show a thorough grasp of the various questions of public interest which inevitably recur from time to time and you tackle them with the intrepidity of men who know their business. More power to you with the dawn of a new year.

Your truly,

ALEX. VAN ROYEN.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 5. — "I would quite as readily enter a drug store or doctor's office and blindfolded drink the contents of bottles on shelves as sample the average specimens of bootleg liquor that comes to me officially for analysis," was the observation of Mr. J. M. Doran, Head of the Industrial Alcohol and Chemical Division of the Prohibition Unit.

Continuing, Mr. Doran said: "Less than two per cent is fit to drink. The truth is, there is scarcely any

actual whiskey or gin being peddled by bootleggers. All sorts of alcohol enter into the concoction of bootleg liquor, and the startling number of deaths, occurring in all parts of the country, indicate one certain thing, which the public should know, that some of the alcohol being used is of the poisonous variety. I don't assert that wood alcohol is always used deliberately, but it looks, tastes and smells like true alcohol, and is ignorantly used in the compounding of liquor that is peddled by bootleggers.

"Purchasers of bootleg liquor are running enormous risks, for labels are not only counterfeited, but bottles of recognized brands are refilled over and over again, the contents consisting of diluted alcohol and coloring matter and flavoring extracts. The reason so much gin is being peddled is because the concoction consists

mostly of alcohol, flavored with oil of juniper. With bottle fraudulently labeled, purchasers are deceived into believing they are purchasing real stuff."

Mr. Doran declared that if the concoctions do not kill, eyesight will be affected and stomachs and systems generally sadly damaged.

As to home brew, he said, the insanitary method usually employed will develop a generous population of dyspeptics.

Asked as to official data of deaths from poisonous liquor the expert said it is impossible to obtain such records, for the chief reason in many instances, relatives and others either suppress or make deceptive reports. In his opinion hundreds of fatalities and poisonings have occurred the past year.

Who's Who

BENJAMIN S. SCHLESINGER

THE subject of this sketch is the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, comprising some 160,000 members or more.

In the recent garment strike which the Union ended victoriously, Mr. Schlesinger distinguished himself by his masterly marshaling of forces, industrial and legal, in the interest of the Union. In controversy with the legal and economic staff of cloak manufacturers he triumphed with flying colors. He was astute and resourceful, employing the requisite strategy necessary in dealing with so crafty and venal a crowd as the manufacturers in any industry are.

He possessed the good and commendable judgment to employ the finest legal brains obtainable in America in the persons of Hillquit and Untermeyer. Both men, quite apart from being geniuses at law, have a broad, comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic basis of modern law. With such legal talent Mr. Schlesinger out manoeuvred the "best brains" of the Garment Manufacturerers at every angle.

We have had many opportunities to have a close-up of our subject. From our general survey and study of his character, we have come to set him down as essentially a man of "action," endowed with extraordinary ability for the manipulation, organization and systematization of the practical affairs of the union. He is possessed of a keen analytical mind, being exceptionally skillful in recognizing the weak defense of his opponent.

Typically speaking, his mind in action presents much of the Lloyd George power of finesse and agility which enables him to jockey himself into a position of advantage. We cite this comparison in mind workings between Lloyd George and Benjamin Schlesinger in no spirit of disparagement to the latter. Of course,

the brilliant labor leader has a higher and nobler cause to serve. His fine mentality is devoted to the development of the great labor movement, struggling for the emancipation of the disinherited and exploited toiling masses of all races, creeds, religions, color and nationalities. The human mind is merely an instrument which may be used for or against the interest of society. But in order that it may be used for good or ill effectively, it must be equipped, trained; not necessarily in schools, by books; many a times the finest mental metal is fashioned in the fires of experience.

We have not seen or heard anything from Mr. Schlesinger which is of a philosophic turn. He is practical; in a measure, impatient with theory.

He has the "get to it" outlook on life.

Nor does he display the sensitive, profound sympathy of an idealist, with his mind engrossed in the theoretic ground work of political, economic and social ultimates. His is the practiced idealism of immediate results. To him labor progress is measured in terms of tangible, concrete higher-wage, lower-hours and better working conditions achievement. We regard his lack of a philosophic, theoretic idealism as a definite limitation. It is a limitation just as the absence of any useful quality is a limitation to one whose work would be enhanced by its possession. Of course, but a few can boast of the "thought and action" combination. In schools of labor thought and action, we suppose, that history will classify him as progressive.

As an aggressive, able, skillful, resourceful, independent leader, the American labor movement can present but few who are the equal of Benjamin Schlesinger.

A Call to Solidarity!!

Local 8 of the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, call to the workers of all races, creeds, color and nationality to Unite.

If we would maintain our standard of living, and prepare for the final emancipation of the workers, we must organize our labor power upon an industrial basis.

We are the only organization in America which has a uniform wage for engineers, holemen, truckers, riggers, and water boys.

Of our three thousand and five hundred members, over two thousand are Negroes.

In this period of industrial depression and black reaction, only solidarity can save the workers.

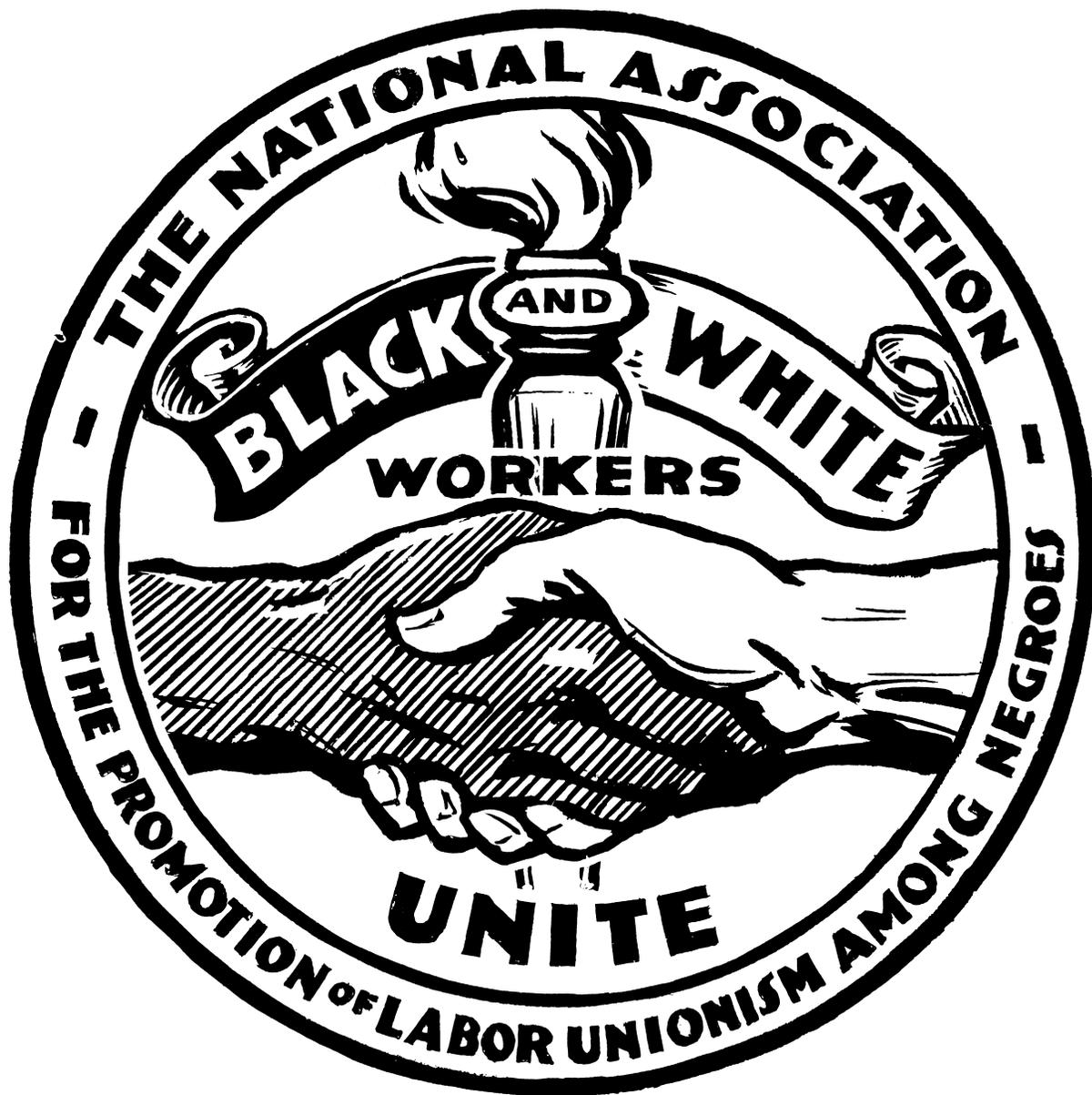
Let workers of all races, creed, color and nationality, organize to liberate the class-war and political prisoners. Let us organize to build up a new Brotherhood for mankind where there is no race, class, craft, religious or nationality distinctions.

Workers: Organize, Agitate, Educate, Emancipate!

Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, No. 8

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (I. W. W.)

121 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.



Until the workers of all races, creeds, nationalities and color are joined hand in hand against their common foe—the capitalist exploiters, for the achievement of a common aim—their emancipation, their fight will be futile, useless.

As long as the **black and white** working dogs keep fighting over the **bone of race prejudice**, the **yellow capitalist dog** will run up and **grab the meat** in the form of **big profits**.

Race wars like wars between Nations are fought for the benefit of the **Owning Class**.

What Leading Thinkers Say About The Messenger

The MESSENGER is of exceptionally high standard. That it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* * *

As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance—the courage and significance of what you have to say.

H. W. L. DANA,

Former professor of English and Comparative Literature for ten years in Columbia University, New York City.

* * *

The MESSENGER shows a masterly grasp not only on our particular Negro problem, but on world problems as well.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE

President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

* * *

I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

* * *

A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths, and have a *brilliant mouthpiece* in the MESSENGER.

OSWALD G. VILLARD,

Editor, *The Nation*.

* * *

We rely upon the MESSENGER for light on the Negro question.

P. FONTANA.

French Minister of Education.

* * *

I've been intending to write you for some months expressing my appreciation of the thoughtful and vigorous work you are doing and of the help I have derived from your paper in understanding the Negro and his problems.

Part of a letter from PROF. WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, of the University of Wisconsin.

* * *

The MESSENGER is a very excellent publication, with splendid articles on general political and economic problems written by able journalists.

NEW YORK JEWISH DAILY FORWARD.

I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro's recognizing this solidarity.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

* * *

The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States. Some of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the MESSENGER, studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among Negroes.

THE NEW YORK CALL.

* * *

You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticize with much success your presentation.

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,

Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

* * *

The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital.

SCOTT NEARING.

* * *

May the MESSENGER continue the noble work it has undertaken to enlighten the colored worker in this country upon his being exploited by the master class.

PETER MONAT,

Secretary-Treasurer,

New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

* * *

It is edited by two as well read, well educated and competent Negroes as there are in the United States.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

* * *

"THE MESSENGER, the monthly magazine published in New York, is *by long odds* the most able and most dangerous of all the Negro publications."—*Report of U. S. Department of Justice to U. S. Senate.*

I regard the MESSENGER as a good publication.

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD.

* * *

I am all admiration of the unique style and high standard of your magazine. Every Negro who appreciates clean journalism should be proud of it.

CLAUDE MCKAY.