

A New Crowd — A New Negro



MAY--JUNE, 1919

CONTENTS

Uncle Sam No Land-Grabber?

The League of White
Capitalist Governments

What are We---Negroes
or Colored People?

The Right and Left Wing
Interpreted

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THE MESSENGER

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THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

The MESSENGER

Published Monthly by THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City
Telephone, Morningside 1996

MAY — JUNE 1919

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CONTENTS

Cover Design	By Arthur Meyers	
		PAGE
Editorials		5
Economics and Politics		13
Education and Literature		19
Who's Who		24
Open Forum		26

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EDITORIALS

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AMONG NEGROES

The co-operative movement is thriving in most of the European countries today. Banks, bakeries, manufactories, retail and grocery stores are run upon the co-operative plan.

The co-operative method of conducting businesses is designed to cut out the middleman whose interest is to raise prices as high as possible in order to make large profits.

The object is to make the consumer the owner of the goods he consumes and to share among the consumers the profits which the middle man receives.

Is this possible and how can it be done? It is both possible and it has already been accomplished.

The process is a simple one.

To illustrate: Let us suppose that all of the persons living in a given square agree to buy their groceries weekly, together. The amount would be large enough to buy from the wholesale dealer at wholesale prices, thereby saving the money which the retail dealer would receive for handling the goods. The retail dealer must raise the cost of the goods high enough over and above the wholesale price which he pays for the goods as to enable him to: (1) pay rent of store; (2) to pay gas or electric bill for light; (3) to pay his help; (4) to pay for license to the city for the privilege of carrying on the business; (5) to pay the interest on the capital which he uses to conduct the business, and (6) to make sufficiently large profits as to make it more advantageous to carry on the business than to become an employee of some other business.

Thus the main desire of the retail merchant is to charge the consumer as high a price as he is able to pay for as small amount of goods as he is willing to accept. He also desires to deceive the consumer into accepting low-grade goods for high-grade goods. Hence there is a tendency to adulterate goods and to do false advertising.

But if the consumers conducted the business there would neither be the desire to adulterate the goods nor to deceive themselves by false advertising; because they would occupy two positions, viz.: owners and consumers. In other words a sane man is not going to adulterate the foods which he consumes himself; nor is it profitable to him to raise the price of goods he owns and consumes, to himself.

Now, in order to begin our co-operative store everybody who buys groceries in the said apartment house or square would simply agree to pay 25 or 50

cents a week for the rent of a room where the groceries would be received from the wholesale dealer or from the farmer, and from which the residents of the square or the tenants of the apartment house would get their daily or weekly share of the groceries. The consumers would also agree to employ a clerk to supervise the dispensing of the goods. The consumers would further agree to elect a board of supervisors (without pay) to insure the proper management of the enterprise. A price would be set for the goods which would be sufficiently above the wholesale price as to enable the co-operative store to defray expenses and whenever there is a surplus, such would be divided upon a pro rata basis among the members of the store. Every consumer may become a member of the store.

This is one of the modern, sound and effective methods of solving the high-cost-of-living problem.

Now, since the Negro is affected by the high cost of living more than any other people on account of the low wages which he receives, it follows logically that he should be ready and willing to adopt this plan. The Negro buys poor food at good-food prices. He pays higher rents than other people on account of the segregation principle limiting the supply of houses which he may use.

The Rochedale stores of England are operated upon the co-operative plan. It divided \$360,000,000 among its members in 1917. The movement is highly developed in the Scandinavian countries; also in Russia, France, Germany and Belgium. The grape-growers of California and the farmers of the West are promoting producers' co-operative societies for marketing their goods directly to the consumers thereby eliminating the commission jobbers who rob both the producer and the consumer. Negro farmers and consumers can do the same thing.

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THE NEGRO IN PUBLIC UTILITIES

In every industry and field of human endeavor, men of all races and classes are insisting that, equality of opportunity shall be the measure and test of democracy; and, especially is this true as respects economic relationships. And this same spirit: to demand equality of opportunity, has seized the Negro. He is becoming more intolerant of the barrier of race to his economic advancement, either with respect to organized capital or organized labor.

The specific question of the Negro in public utilities is now pertinent, in view of the fact, the gov-

ernment is extending its control over these utilities and the government cannot afford to be known as a condoner of race prejudice.

On the railroads, the subways and surface cars, there are no Negro conductors, engineers or motormen. Surely this is not due to the lack of ability on the part of Negroes, for all that is required to be a conductor on a railroad is the physical power to manipulate a ticket clipper and a good memory, which all Pullman porters have. On the subways, muscle is all that is needed to operate the doors for the exit and entrance of passengers. On the surface cars the work is still less difficult. As for engineers, most Negro firemen are competent to handle and run efficiently an engine.

Thousands of Negroes make use of these utilities from day to day. As consumers, they, like the white, pay excessive freight charges upon food and other products which they use in abundance and constantly. As a big integral part of the politic, as constitutional, if not as actual voters, in some sections, they are entitled to reap the reward from the grant of franchises to private companies for the privilege to operate these public utilities.

But, on these public utilities the Negroes do not hold any positions of responsibility; and in some sections they are actually denied the use of them. The highest positions in these public utilities which the Negro worker can get is the lowest position which is given to any other worker. In the New York subway stations and in the railroad terminals throughout the country, Negro women are employed as porters. Of course they are underpaid and overworked just as Negro men are. (By the way, the same white stockholders who own these public utilities and who are demoralizing Negro womanhood by holding it in industrial slavery, are the same pious philanthropists who make charitable contributions to Tuskegee, Hampton Institute and the National Urban League, etc.) "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts."

It is becoming evermore apparent, as an examination of the Negro problem is made, that the solution is economic justice and not economic charity. High wages and low prices for 12,000,000 Negroes will be of far more fundamental benefit to them than a paltry one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) or so, from Rockefeller to a Negro school who raises his oil a half-cent the next day or week and takes back, out of the pockets of poor Negroes and poor whites, one hundred million dollars (\$100,000,000), in profits.

The editors of the MESSENGER understand that the son of Abraham Lincoln is a big stockholder of the Pullman Company. Now, if as the Negro-leader-patriots maintain, there is such magic-power in the name of Lincoln, why not attempt to prevail upon his son to utilize it in raising Negro porters to more responsible positions. Besides, Negro porters are compelled to rely upon a sympathetic public to dole out tips to them to help them secure a living wage. This destroys manhood. No one can bow and kow-tow and stand erect at the same time. This is one of the reasons for the servile and docile character of the Negro in general and in the South in particular. He has been obsequiously serving plutocratic, rich, white men, too long. His whole life has been absorbed in trying to tickle the fancy of some

guest, either on the train or in the hotels, from which he expects to receive a favor.

This is a new era now, and the Negro has done with tips and with charity. His new demand is justice.

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JAPAN AND THE RACE ISSUE

Japan has recently made the Peace Conference very uncomfortable by constantly injecting the race issue. And by irony of fate President Wilson was chairmaning the convention at the time the question was raised. Pious platitudes and blatant professions of justice, democracy and fair play have been repeatedly made by Lloyd George and President Wilson. Japan knew of course, that all this pious pretence was for the consumption of the people of Europe. Japan knew that the Western States of the United States have discriminatory laws against Asiatics owning land and also against their immigration. She also knew that Japanese were prohibited from citizenship and entrance in Canada and Australia by vicious exclusion acts. So here came the time to expose this "perfidious Albion," this smug Anglo-Saxon race prejudice and this pious American hypocrisy. Japan made a demand that inasmuch as they were all talking of equality and democracy the peace conference should go on record against discrimination on account of race or color.

What a monkey wrench! The Tory Lloyd George to take a stand against race prejudice? And Woodrow Wilson whose party (the Democratic Solid South) has had but one campaign issue in fifty years, namely: "Keep the Nigger Down!" How could Woodrow Wilson take a stand—the same Woodrow Wilson who has steadfastly refused to appear before any colored audience since he has been President, if not in his whole life?

We are glad, however, that Japan exposed this hypocrisy of America; this pretence of a desire "to make the world safe for democracy."

A word of warning, however, to the unsuspecting and to those not thoroughly versed in social science. The Japanese statesmen are not in the least concerned about race or color prejudice. The smug and oily Japanese diplomats are no different from Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George or Orlando. They do not suffer from race prejudice. They teach in the Rockefeller Institute, wine and dine at the Waldorf Astoria, Manhattan or Poinciana, divide financial melons in Wall Street, ride on railways and cars free from discrimination. They care nothing for even the Japanese people and at this very same moment are suppressing and oppressing mercilessly the people of Korea and forcing hard bargains upon unfortunate China. *It is possible, however, by appealing to the race issue to divert the attention of the Japanese people from the abuses of the Japanese plutocracy.* And that is the real intention of Japanese statesmen and peace delegates. Japan is dominated by a set of junkers as reactionary as our Southern Bourbons in the United States. Out of a population of 55 million only one million are voters. And all the disfranchised are *Japanese* of the *same race* and *color*.

The real conflict is commercial and industrial. Japan has built up her merchant shipping during the

war. She became highly industrialized. She has taken part of America's carrying trade and part of Great Britain's. Japan also wants to exploit the coal mines and oil wells in China. She wants to close the much talked of "Open door" in China, not because Great Britain and America are white, but because they are taking a part of her business. She would assume the same position toward any colored nation. In fact, she assumes the same position to China at this moment, since she wants China for Japan's aggrandizement and not for the interests of China. It is an old case of commercial and economic rivalry. It is headed straight toward war. And in such a war the psychological appeal to race prejudice would have to be made in order to keep the people's minds off the profits which the Japanese munition makers and business men would be making.

Again we call attention to the fact that the race issue is psychological with the people only, but economic with the privileged few who coin money out of the people's ignorance of the real causes of their conflicts.

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BREAK UP THE A. F. OF L.

The dissolution of the American Federation of Labor would inure to the benefit of the labor movement in this country in particular, and to the international labor movement in general. Why?

In the first place, it is organized upon unsound principles. It holds that there can be a partnership between capital and labor. Think of it! A partnership between the exploiter and the exploited! Between the spider and the fly! Between the lion and the lamb! Between the cat and the mouse!

Second, it stands for pure and simple unionism as against industrial unionism. In a printing establishment if the pressmen strike, the union linotypers may continue their work with scab pressmen. How absurd!

Third, the present American Federation of Labor is the most wicked machine for the propagation of race prejudice in the country. Many of its big unions have clauses against men of color. For instance, the machinist's constitution contains a clause, "*that each member agrees to introduce no one into the union but a sober, industrious white man.*"

The Switchmen's Union only recently went on a strike because of the employment of colored men. Samuel Gompers and his reactionary executive board are opposed to strikes to *increase wages, to shorten hours, or to improve conditions of labor*, but they are not opposed to strikes in *protest against* the use of colored workers!

Fourth, the American Federation of Labor is too reactionary to subservise the interests of white or colored labor. Its president belongs to the Washington (D. C.) Chamber of Commerce. Think of it! The president of the American organized labor movement belonging to the most reactionary group of exploiters and labor haters in the United States.

What do we suggest, you ask? Well, *the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will*. The most effective way to control a thing is to control it economically. Large numbers of radical labor organizations are opposed to the Samuel Gompers American Federation of Labor. But so long as the A. F. of L. receives 25 per cent. of their dues

each month, it can carry on more organized, reactionary propaganda than you can by word of mouth. Cut off the funds! Pull out! Let such radical bodies as the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Unions, the Western Federation of Miners, the Fur Workers of America and Canada, the members of the United Hebrew Trades, the International Federation of Workers in the Restaurant and Hotel Industry, the lumber workers of the West, the radical railroad brotherhoods, the Harbor and Boatmen's Unions, pull out and form one big Union just as they are doing in Canada and Australia. In this way you can carry the money, power and prestige along with you, break up the *American Separation of Labor* and make the labor movement of America a force to be feared and respected, instead of what it now is, the hissing and byword, an object of ridicule of the workers of all the world.

Break up the A. F. of L. and let's get a real constructive labor movement! The whole machinery of the American Federation of Labor needs to be destroyed. It cannot be reformed. Form a labor movement of workmen—not white men—but all men who work without regard to race, nationality or color. Retire the American Separation of Labor to the tall timbers and to that oblivion and obscurity from which it ought never to emerge.

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RADICAL RENEGADES

In all countries the radical renegades have been forced to take a position as the ever growing persecution made itself felt. There are no doubt a few more left who will choose whom they will serve as organized reaction, drunk with power, adopts all kinds of harsh and inexcusable laws.

Radical renegades operate under the law of social oscillation. We all know that a pendulum swings from one extreme to the other. That is the way in which renegades operate. When they get out of the radical movement, they become more intolerant, more vindictive and vicious than the rank-est reactionaries. Look, if you please, for a moment at Walling, Stokes, Chas. Edward Russell and Spargo throwing mud at the socialist movement. The same is true of the foreman—he is, as a rule, a worse slave driver than the owner. The head waiter is worse than the hotel manager or proprietor. The Secretary of Labor Wilson, once hounded and persecuted himself, is more intolerant with labor agitators than Rockefeller.

Whence this psychology? It is this. The man who rises from the ranks feels that he can afford to show no sympathy with those in the ranks lest someone should suspect that he was once in the ranks. Lack of sympathy implies lack of similar station in life. But the position being artificial necessarily becomes more exaggerated, based upon the fact that artificial desires are more intense and recur more frequently than natural desires.

Again, today it is hard for a man to stand between two factions. He is in "no man's land," and likely to be shot by both parties. Hence the necessity of the renegade making it clear, that he is either a bourbon or a radical.

But no one trusts the renegade. Confidence in him is lost by all. The radicals reject him and the

reactionaries use him till, when no longer able to serve their purposes, they cast him aside as a child abandons a toy which no longer delights it.

And history with its cruel and relentless judgment records the renegade as neither a notorious criminal nor a celebrated statesman. Such is the lot of a radical renegade. There are *renegades* and *renegades*, but the radical renegade is the worst of all. He deserts the people for the predatory interests, while others only make changes which are about the same, and sometimes better.

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THE MARCH OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Still it continues! The cosmic tread of Soviet government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a social volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain—the railroad, transport and mine workers—threaten to overthrow the economic and political bourbonism of "Merry Old England." The red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

Soviet government proceeds apace. It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!

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THE PEACE TREATY

If press reports are true, the treaty about to be imposed upon the German people will stun the democratic sense of liberals and radicals in all countries. Huge indemnities and territorial concessions, without historical or other legitimate justifications, will lay the foundations for future wars, for the flooding of the world in another orgy of blood and death.

Frequently the President has said, "We have no quarrel with the German people." Then why all this vindictive action with respect to the German people? The MESSENGER has no interest in the reactionary government which formerly dominated the German people. We are even opposed to the present Ebert bourgeois government. But we realize that the Ebert government of Germany is more democratic—more representative of the German people—than any government of any one of the entente nations is representative of its people. The peace treaty will not be worth the ink with which it will be written if it is vindictive and imperialistic. "It will leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, which will not rest securely, but as upon quicksand." It will be a veritable "scrap of paper."

We might as well go on record, therefore, now as opposed to any unfair, vindictive and undemocratic treaty being forced upon the German people.

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HOW GERMANS TREATED NEGRO SOLDIERS

If the testimony of Negro soldiers is to be taken, the Germans are not such Huns, despite our reactionary papers to the contrary. We have talked with hundreds of Negro soldiers to get the real facts without any intimation of our own opinion, sym-

pathy or inclinations. In all except one case the testimony is about as follows: "The Americans were most prejudiced, unjust and unfair, and they attempted to spread race prejudice against us at every opportunity. The French people were fair, friendly and kind, but the effect of American race prejudice propaganda began to show its effect among them during the latter part of our stay. The German people treated us the best of all. They invited us into their homes; they entertained us as human beings and they showed no prejudice."

This is most unfortunate, if true, and the evidence points to its accuracy. The countrymen with whom the black men were fighting and for whose liberty they were dying, treated them worse than the enemy whose duty was to kill the Negro soldiers and whom the Negro soldiers were killing. We account for the attitude of the German population toward the black soldiers on the ground that the American whites had no chance to contaminate them with race prejudice propaganda.

The editors of the MESSENGER are preparing a scientific history of this war and of the Negro's part in it. In due time we shall announce its appearance, and it will contain facts not found in Kelly Miller's History, the Du Bois-Scott History or the histories of the Negro written by white authors.

We care nothing particularly for any nation, race, or people and we shall give the facts, whether they favor the Negro or not, whether they reflect credit on the United States or not, whether they are creditable or discreditable to the enemy. Only truth matters. We suspect that our systematic and methodical collection of data on the war will startle our *rhetorical historians* who are writing a deal of stuff on Negro galantry—most of which is irrelevant and immaterial.

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NEGRO MASS MOVEMENT

The time is ripe for a great mass movement among Negroes. It ought to assume four distinct forms, viz., labor unions, farmers' protective unions, co-operative business, and socialism.

Negro workers especially suffer from low wages, long hours and bad conditions under which to work. Everywhere in the country they ought to come together, organize their labor power either by trades and crafts, or better still, according to the industry in which they work. Having thoroughly organized, they should make a united demand for more wages, shorter hours and better conditions. Railroad porters, firemen, track walkers, long shoremen, masons, molders, plasterers, farm hands, cotton pickers, elevator operators, packing house workers—all kinds of workers should organize.

Secondly, colored farmers protective associations should organize. You are getting too low prices for your cotton, corn, potatoes, meat and peanuts. Speculators are giving you what they please. Sometimes you ship your goods North, East and West without getting any returns, or just what the whims of the speculator may direct. You are paying too high prices for fertilizers and machinery and too high interest for money. Organize with a view to paying less for such goods as you must purchase and also in order to get better prices for your produce. You are simply agricultural laborers. Your wages are what you get for your farm products. Organize in every Southern state.

Third, co-operative business must be adopted by Negroes, whether in the country or in the city. Big Negro business is not desired from the point of view of having a big Negro own a fine drug store, clothing store or grocery store. He will charge you the highest prices and pay his employees the lowest wages just like anybody else. Already Negroes pay Negro undertakers the highest prices for funerals, and they are charged the highest premiums by Negro insurance companies. What we must do is to have genuine *co-operative businesses*, (not *fake co-operative businesses*), where the people are the beneficiaries of all returns.

Fourth, and last, Negroes must get into the Socialist Party. Politics should reflect the economic condition of a people. Socialism is the political party of the working people. Now 99 per cent. of the Negroes are working people, so they should join the working people's party. The Republican party is the party of monopoly, big business and wealth. It represents plutocracy. Negro plutocrats should belong to the Republican party, but Negro working people should join and support the workingmen's party. That is the Socialist party in all countries. It draws no race, creed, color or nationality lines. All are freely welcome into its ranks.

A series of articles will follow beginning with next month on the relation of Negroes to *labor unions*, *farmers' protective unions*, *co-operative business* and *socialism*. Try to follow the whole series. They will be the most fundamental and useful articles which the colored population has had an opportunity to read in the United States.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNREST

Still they come. The ranks of the unemployed grow daily. Soldiers are discharged from the army and industrial soldiers are thrown out of the factories. The country has no reconstruction program. Congress cuts out the Federal Employment Service by reducing 80 per cent. of the Bureau's appropriation. A bonus of \$60 is voted to discharged soldiers three months after their discharge and was paid, probably two or three months hence. Our legislators don't seem to recognize that there are certain wants which will not admit of postponement—*eating*, *sleeping* and *wearing clothes*. These wants must be satisfied continuously; but Congress says debate when the people's interests are involved. It votes only when big business is involved.

Meanwhile hungry soldiers roam the streets of cities without money or work. They discuss the four billion dollars coined by big business of the United States last year. They reflect on the 7,995 millionaires produced last year. They read from the Federal Income Tax reports that millionaires have increased by 22,000 in the U. S. since the war began. They read that the packing industry made 300 per cent. profits, that a certain textile industry made 700 per cent. All of this was done while the soldier boys were risking their lives on the fields of Flanders. The sacrifice at home was in striking contrast with the sacrifice abroad.

Shoes are \$8, \$9 and \$12; hats are \$6, \$7 and \$10; ties are \$1.50, \$2, \$3 and \$5; suits are \$40.00 and up; rent and food are soaring. There is no money and no work, and the government refuses longer to try to find work for the unemployed.

And yet there is wonder at social unrest!

To the enforced unemployed we say that you must work to change the system of society which makes you endure this suffering. You must so use your political and industrial power as to hasten the change. The intelligent direction of your political power or your industrial power can accomplish the change as calmly and tranquilly as a star meets morning. The immediate issue is the acceleration of the rate.

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NEW LEADERSHIP FOR THE NEGRO

The Negro needs new leadership. The old leadership has failed miserably. Du Bois and Kelly Miller, Pickens and Jas. W. Johnson, W. H. Lewis and Chas. W. Anderson, W. T. Vernon and Roscoe Conkling Simmons, W. H. Tyler and the politicians of Chicago, have simply held jobs, produced school boy rhetoric and lulled Negroes into a false sense of security. Another set of leaders like Geo. E. Haynes, Emmet Scott, Dr. R. R. Moton, Fred R. Moore and T. Thomas Fortune, have preached a gospel of satisfaction and content. With one or two exceptions the whole group lacks information and courage. They demanded nothing during the war, and now that it has closed, they can goad nobody for having failed to keep his promises.

In the midst of the war when black men were giving their lives by the minute, Du Bois wrote his infamous "Close Ranks" editorial in the Crisis which will rank in shame and reeking disgrace with the "Atlanta Compromise" speech of Booker Washington. Kelly Miller's contribution to the reconstruction discussion so far has been that "just as we have been 100 per cent. Americans during the war, we want to be 100 per cent. Americans after the war"—whatever that means! William Pickens' contribution was a "good nigger" exhortation with this argument: "If your mother doesn't treat you right, she's your mother just the same." This was handed out to persuade Negroes that they should not complain about lynching, disfranchisement, Jimcrowism and segregation because their mother country did it. What trash! Did Pickens ever read Thomas Paine's "Crisis" and "Common Sense?" In speaking of England as the mother country he argued, "Even brutes do not kill their young or starve them by privation." He there showed that even a mother should be respected only for that which was good in her and rejected and rebuked when she failed to act as a mother. Jas. W. Johnson is a man of considerably more ability than his economic relations will permit him to reveal. He would make a much abler editor of the Crisis than Du Bois. He cannot be accused of using school boy rhetoric and he is inclined to prosecute his study of modern problems more than any of the old liners. His giving credence, however, recently to a suggestion that lynching could be dealt with by a day or week of prayer shocked our opinion of his good judgment. Lewis, Anderson, Vernon and Tyler, of course, are simply old line Republican politicians who have been celebrated for their faithful service to the reactionary Republican machine. Like most appointees they are of no service to the people. They owe their places, not to the votes of the people, but to the white bosses who appointed them; and, therefore, they represent, not the people

but the white bosses to whom they owe their jobs. "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." Haynes, Scott, Moton, Fortune and Moore belong to that extremely conservative wing of Negroes, who can qualify to the satisfaction of Tillman, Blease and Vardman. As a matter of fact, just a few months ago, Mr. Fred R. Moore in company with some other Negro leaders, held a conference with Cole Blease! What was done we fear was not in the interest of the Negroes or he would have given out the accomplishments of the conference. In the next issue of the MESSENGER, however, we shall give a full account of what took place in the Cole Blease—Fred Moore Conference. Moton has just been to Europe to urge Negro soldiers to "be modest and unassuming when they get back home." Scott is having Du Bois prepare some rhetoric of praise for the black boys' valor. Poor Fortune is racking his deceased mind over the growth of radicalism among Negroes. Fortune once a fearless spokesman of the people is now wallowing in the shame and chagrin of his own apostasy. Haynes is pouring over figures to find out whether Negroes are actually laboring in the United States. Roscoe Conkling Simmons is to deluge us soon again with a discarded and discredited rhetoric which is distinguished for its power to talk much and say little. At best it is little more than an adroit mode of saying nothing.

All of which we regard as valueless. The Negro soldier is not asking for rhetoric and praise. He wants justice and fair play—a chance to work with a decent wage, freedom from discrimination on railroads and street cars, theatres and hotels, protection of his life from lynching and his property from mob violence, the right to vote and education for his children. Leaders who have not the courage to demand these things are worthless. Our present leaders are not demanding them. We need a new leadership—a leadership of intelligence and manly courage.

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POLITICAL PRISONERS

The recent conviction and sentence of the National Socialist officials, the Supreme Court's confirmation of the convictions of Eugene V. Debs and of Kate Richards O'Hare, definitely stamp the United States as the most archaic, antiquated and reactionary of the alleged civilized nations. In addition to these popular and well-known characters, there are 1,500 political and class prisoners in the prisons. Practically all other countries have granted amnesty to their political prisoners, but the U. S. is sentencing them more savagely now than during the War. Men like Victor Berger, Adolph Germer, Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and Charles Kruse have each been sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years for speaking a word in favor of human liberty and for making statements concerning profiteering and patriotism, the truth of which has been amply corroborated by the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Income Tax Reports. Among the 1,500 political and class prisoners are men of practically all races and nationalities. Negro men like Ben Fletcher, who have done more to improve the actual economic and social life of Negro workers than the much heralded so-called leaders, are in prison for fifteen and twenty years. There is no race, color or sex line involved. The best and brav-

est, the noblest and most courageous, are in the dark and cavernous prison cells of this country.

Eugene V. Debs, who refused to speak in a Jim Crow hall in Atlanta, and who took his stand in the open air, deserting a despicably segregated hall, has been sentenced to ten years. And Kate Richards O'Hare, who never allowed the race or color issue to swerve her from her duty, is to be there for five years.

A call we send out to white and black citizens. We must stand together as a stone wall in demanding the release of these political prisoners. Among their members are to be found those white men and women and those courageous Negro workers who have most frequently raised their voice and pen against lynching, disfranchisement, segregation and discrimination in this *alleged land of the free*. Their concern is our concern. We must give more consideration to those men who will face jails and cells for a principle, and less to the smug, sleek leaders who swerve, compromise and equivocate for soft berths, fat salaries and slothful ease.

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THE CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU

The Civil Liberties Bureau has been one of the most effective and efficient organizations in America during the war. Nor has its good work ceased to function. It has in it a group of broad and liberal minded men and women of different nationalities, races and political faith who believe in the maintenance of free speech, free press and free assemblage in war or peace and who believe in the freedom of conscience. No economic or political question has been too delicate to merit their examination. They studied the facts about the Industrial Workers of the World and ably set them forth in a pamphlet entitled: "The Truth About the I. W. W." They published another pamphlet entitled: "The Truth About the Conscientious Objectors." All of these were courageous efforts on the part of a group of quiet, sincere unostentatious men and women. The former Director of the Bureau, Roger N. Baldwin, is now in the Essex County jail, New Jersey, for refusal to report for the Draft Board's physical examination—war being contrary to his conscientious scruples. We cannot extend sympathy to Mr. Baldwin, because sympathy is objectionable to men who stand upon principle and suffer for it. We do, however, extend our congratulations and express our appreciation of his stand. We also commend most heartily the splendid work of the Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, New York City.

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TRIPLE ALLIANCE OF LABOR IN GREAT BRITAIN

The railroad workers, the transport and harbor workers and the miners of Great Britain are holding a general concerted strike over the head of Lloyd George and his Tory government. It is a sword of Damocles which is forcing the British Bourbonism to grant decent conditions to the workers. The British miners demand a six hour day, a five day week, the nationalization of the mines, and a 30 per cent. wage increase. The transport and harbor workers and the railwaymen are making similar demands. The demands are entirely sound, too. *Six hours a day is long enough for anybody to work. Five days a week are enough days, too, to work out*

of seven. In fact, four days are adequate. Nationalization of the mines will prove the foregoing facts. And a 30 per cent. wage increase is a moderate demand when the mine owners have made 135 per cent.

We congratulate the British mine, railroad, harbor and transport workers on their demands. Negro workers in the United States have tens of thousands of men in the mines, over 149,000 on the railroads and thousands of longshoremen, stevedores and transport workers. Organize your forces and you can tie up the transportation and fuel in the country unless you get a decent wage with decent hours. Follow the British workers and go by them if you can. We wish to congratulate the miners of the U. S. for the position recently taken at Indianapolis by the United Mine Workers of America, in demanding a six hour day and a five day week.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK

GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB:

On the 13th of March, your committee appointed to study Bolshevism reported that an attempt to arouse discontent among Negroes in the United States is being made by circulating Bolshevik doctrines among them. Your committee further reported that "in order to stimulate an interest in Socialist activities, an association has been formed which is known as the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes." After reciting certain excerpts from the MESSENGER, your body unanimously "passed a resolution directing the committee to present to the Legislature of New York, a resolution for an investigation by a joint committee to determine the extent of the revolutionary movement in New York with a view to the enactment of laws necessary to protect the Government."

First, with respect to the legislative committee's investigation of our activities, we wish to say that all of our work is open to the public and we shall welcome the proposed investigation.

Secondly, the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes was not formed to stimulate Socialist activities among Negroes, but to promote unionism among Negroes, just as its name implies.

Third, it is true that an attempt is being made to arouse discontent among Negroes by circulating sound economic, political and social doctrines among them. If that is what the Union League Club means by Bolshevik doctrines, we plead guilty to the charge.

We wish, however, to ask the Union League Club a few pertinent questions. You gentlemen represent and control about one-third of the wealth of the United States—*one hundred billion dollars*. There is hardly a corporation, trust, syndicate, railroad or bank which you do not control directly or indirectly. Your political party is the party of big business—the Republican party. That party just now is in control of the government. You have it within your power to allay the discontent of the Negro population by according justice to it.

1. Negroes are disfranchised. They don't like that. *Will the Union League Club direct its Re-*

publican Congress to reduce the representation of the South, which it now sends to congress in criminal violation of the constitution, and also to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution?

2. Negroes are lynched—one every four days. One was burned at stake in Pensacola, Florida, just about the time that the Union League Club was passing its resolution on Bolshevism among Negroes. *Will the Union League Club direct its Republican Congress to pass a federal law against lynching—a law with real teeth in it?*

This will do much to allay discontent among Negroes, for it is lynching more than anything else with which Negroes are dissatisfied.

3. Negroes are in peonage and on convict farms in the South. This is a violation of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution.

Will the Union League Club direct its Congress to enforce this amendment and stop nullifying the law in its administration?

4. Negroes are Jim-Crowed and made to ride like cattle on the government controlled railroads of the United States. This is unjust and undemocratic. It creates discontent.

Will the Union League Club direct its Republican controlled Congress to abolish the despicable Jim Crow Car?

5. Negroes cannot enter the military and naval academies of this country at Annapolis and West Point respectively. We do not believe in such academies at all. We wish they could be discontinued completely. But while they exist, there should be no discrimination shown between the dusky and the fair skin warrior.

Will the Union League Club direct its Republican Congress to open the doors of West Point and Annapolis to all applicants without regard to race or color?

Gentlemen of the Union League Club, in asking you these questions, we have incidentally stated the chief causes of unrest among Negroes. The unrest grows out of the unjust conditions in this alleged land of the free and home of the brave. They are the true Bolshevik propaganda. Without the conditions the agitator could not exist.

The disfranchisement of more than two million Negroes in the United States is a complete refutation of our professions of *political democracy!*

The lynching of more than two hundred and seventy Negroes since war was declared—among them fifteen year old girls and fourteen year old boys—shows that law and order does not exist and that any professions to the contrary are a delusion and a snare.

The peonage which obtains in the South is a complete refutation of any claims of industrial democracy and largely accounts for the widespread migration of Negroes to the North, East and West within the last three years.

The Jim Crow car smacks of an unspeakable caste system which does not obtain any longer in any other civilized country.

The discrimination in our military and naval academies reveals our sham professions about undiluted patriotism.

Finally, gentlemen of the Union League Club, *99 per cent. of Negroes are working people*. They earn their living by labor—by sweat and toil and tears,

by brawn and blood. You are *100 per cent. plutocrats*. You get your living from *rent, interest and profits*. You secure it by the manipulation of paper, by taking title to wealth produced by the labor of the toiling black and the sweated white workers. Only last year you gained over four billion dollars off the food which you sold them, off the shoes and clothes which they had to buy, off the high rents you charged for the hovels in which they eked out a miserable existence. You paid both black and white workers the lowest wages for their labor, and charged them the highest prices when they bought back the products of their labor.

You smug plutocrats and silk-gloved hypocrites who have time to sit in clubs, *steam-heated* in the winter and *ice-cooled* in the summer, are the real causes of the discontent among Negroes and among whites and all classes of labor. We would advise you to read Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal." The story there is in point. Then remember the inscription of the historian, "*Lector si monumentum requies, circumspice.*"

You are really attempting to avert suspicion by condemning the thing you are doing yourself. You are crying: Stop, thief! with the loot under your arms.

Unless you billionaires of the Union League Club stop playing the African ostrich with your heads in the sand, trying to convince yourselves that things are not as they are; and unless you quickly find out and remedy the real causes of discontent among Negroes and among whites—you will not have occasion to doubt the result. Once a certain king, drunk with power, said: "This will last as long as we last; after us the deluge!" But the deluge came before he had finished his unhappy and hapless career. You are in danger of the same fate, as the hands of Evolution's clock rapidly strike the high noon of the black and white workers' seething unrest, brewing revolution and wild-eyed discontent.

Gentlemen of the Union League Club: Beware the Ides of March; beware of March Revolutions!

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 GEORGE E. HAYNES

*Director of Negro Economics, Department of Labor,
 Discusses the Negro and National Reconstruction*

In the "Public" of February 8, George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics in the Department of Labor, essays to set forth a National Reconstruction Program for the Negro. He bears his burden this wise: "They (the Negro) have come to a new conception of the dignity of common labor. The stigma of manual labor as a badge of servitude is disappearing." This statement suggests that Mr. Haynes sketched this cornerstone of his program in the shadow of Vardaman and Cole Blease. It is followed by a characteristic comment of a "big" Negro leader, namely, "The demonstration of the Negro's loyalty and devotion to his flag and country has created a marked change in the attitude of thousands of white Americans North and South."

The only marked change, as we can see, toward the Negro is increasing race prejudice. Witness the formation of a Klu Klux Klan in Tennessee to maintain white supremacy. The Negro is still jim-crowded, lynched and disfranchised. Mr. Haynes speaks of the Negro as fighting for *his* country. The law recognizes the right of a sane person to control that which he owns. One's home is his castle. But Negroes are deported from Coatesville where they

worked to make profits for those who support Mr. Haynes. We recollect also that a rich Negro by the name of Crawford was lynched in *his own country*.

More specifically, Mr. Haynes urges as a part of his economic program that, "an adjustment be made of the landless peasant Negro." But, of course, Mr. Haynes reveals his utter bankruptcy of any fundamental information as to methods for adjusting the Negro farmers' conditions. He suggests no remedy for tenant farming and the crop lien system which are the bane of the Negro farmer.

What about farmers' co-operative protective associations to safeguard the interests of Negro farmers, Mr. Haynes? Something similar to the Farmers' Non-Partisan League of North Dakota is fundamental. Of course, no philanthropists or good mission societies with Christian impulses, will contribute to this type of organization. Yet obviously, the chief need of the Negro farmer, like the white farmer, is to eliminate the speculative, middle, commission jobber who robs him of what he produces. He must discard the bankers, too, in the South, who charge him as high as 125% on the dollar for a loan which he needs, with which to get machinery to cultivate his farm land. These very same bankers who make farm tenants out of Negroes by foreclosing the mortgage on the farms, contribute to Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes.

In what he calls the third phase of the Negro and reconstruction, Mr. Haynes says that the Negro has not yet been organized into unions. Why echo the obvious? Mr. Haynes states that some labor leaders are advocating that the unions accord the Negro a fair play. The editors of the MESSENGER know of no discrimination against Negroes in the I. W. W. In fact there is a clause in the Constitution against discrimination on account of creed or color. Is this sufficient for Mr. Haynes to advocate the Negro workers' joining the I. W. W.? The Negro I. W. W. longshoremen of Philadelphia are some of the best paid workers in America. This ought not, of course, to be new to Mr. Haynes.

Mr. Haynes speaks of education. But the kind is of chief importance. What program does he present? None. He also bewails the housing conditions among Negroes, which he would remedy by bringing the said conditions to the attention of city officials.

You are late, and credulous, too, Mr. Haynes. The city officials are controlled by the very men who make profits out of the housing conditions against which you complain. The landlord profiteers also give money to Negro Schools and charity organizations now busy doing patch-work and camouflaging the Negro.

Mr. Haynes says in conclusion: "Last but by no means least, if the public press of the country could be led to adopt a national attitude of seeking and giving publicity to the better side of Negro character and life, of emphasizing the better side of racial co-operation and racial relations, much good would be accomplished."

Mr. Haynes is lamentably ignorant of the economics of the public press. Capital is national today. Railroads and real estate are owned by corporations which are controlled by Southerners and Northerners. Capital also controls the press through advertising, etc. Hence any condition which is a source of profit to landlords and capitalists generally will not be condemned by the press, and any-

thing which is not of interest to capital will either be condemned or suppressed. Race prejudice is useful to keep the white and black workers from organizing and striking against capital. Besides, publicity of the better side of the Negro is of no interest to capitalistic papers.

We would refer Mr. Haynes to the files of the New York Call, a socialist paper. It gives the N. A. A. C. P. more publicity than any other paper in the country. Is Mr. Haynes willing to support the press that gives the publicity he desires?

The editors of the MESSENGER take this privilege to analyze the true value and worth of the methods which the big Negro leaders offer upon reconstruction—which is doubtless the most important period of the Negro in America. The amazing lack of the slightest conception of the problems of reconstruction confirms the repeated charge of the MESSENGER as to the ignorance of Negro leaders. If all which Mr. Haynes demands were granted, the Negro

would be in no better condition than that in which he now is. He also suggests that the American Negro be used as ambassadors to the darker peoples. Does Mr. Haynes know that a representative must obey those who appoint him? Political parties control the appointment of ambassadors. The ruling political parties of America are controlled by the steel, coal and iron interests, who make billions out of the resources and cheap labor of darker peoples. How now can a Negro ambassador, appointed by either the Democratic or Republican party, serve the interest of the Negroes at home or abroad? Negro job holders are not allowed to speak out for their people. The Negro like the white ambassadors may be used as tools to rob their ignorant black brothers.

Mr. Haynes, like the government which he represents, has no reconstruction program which will really reconstruct.

Economics and Politics

UNCLE SAM NO LAND GRABBER(?)

By George Frazier Miller

The Wanamaker store thus advertises in The Sun:

"Uncle Sam is not a territory seeker but sooner or later the United States must do what James G. Blaine wanted to do 30 years ago—acquire Mexico, and thereby do away with hiding places for enemies."

Here we have it: Uncle Sam though professing to be no land grabber, must grab some land, and the most accessible, the richest and therefore the most desirable land that comes within the scope of probable, successful conquest is Mexico. The pretext of this claim and cherished purpose is very plausible. But why, really, does the Wanamaker interest make this specious overture to Uncle Sam that he "acquire" Mexico—do "what James G. Blaine wanted to do 30 years ago?"

Let us note the artful villainy enfolded in those few words: "not a territory seeker," "acquire Mexico," "hiding places for enemies."

The unvarnished truth of the matter is that the Wanamaker people are consciously voicing the sentiment, and pleading the cause of their class—the class that availed itself of the advantage of special privilege, and immunity from accountability, to bleed the common

people throughout the world war, and furnished some genius the occasion to originate the word "profiteer." They represent that class that cried *patriotism* and fixed prices while the unsophisticated went voluntarily upon the field of slaughter to bleed and to die that the despoilers of the people might reap their rich harvest: the class that cried *patriotism* and increased its number, by seven thousand millionaires, at the expense of the blood of its fellows. Now it wants to lay the guilty hand—the hand of plunder and spoliation—upon the rich and favored land of Mexico.

The principle of "Mexico for the Mexicans" finds no response, hearty or otherwise, in the predatory soul of American plutocracy.

Not surfeited yet with its depredations amongst weaker peoples, and its slaughter of men to enrich itself, it plants the seeds of war, and deeply roots them, in this vicious, but, withal, plausible "ad"; and nothing less than war, fierce, relentless war, is inclosed in this covert purpose and calculation to "acquire" Mexico. "Acquire," indeed! Let us translate it "steal"—that is the plain meaning; and as this theft could be committed, or accomplished, only through force, it would amount to highway robbery on a "grand" scale, and be "dignified" with the euphemism of "war of conquest."

The Mexicans are holding the land for their own purposes and pleasure, and are not baring their

land to the designing schemes of aliens.

The American investments in Mexico are not yielding the fabulous profits the dream of which excited the marauding mind of the "lovers of liberty" to dispossess the Mexicans and to seize their territory; and the only hope of these despoilers of men is to grasp the land of Mexico and reduce the inhabitants thereof to virtual serfdom. Little likelihood there is, however, of the Mexicans yielding themselves the willing prey these unconscionable plunderers design to make them.

Uncle Sam is not a land grabber, but poor Hawaii lost her identity through the land-grabbing proclivity of this sedate old gentleman; and as the people of that country were not prepared to defend their interests, they had no course other than to be absorbed into the body politic of the Union; it was only through the determined spirit of the Cuban people to establish and maintain their independence that Uncle Sam did not indulge his land-grabbing propension upon the Queen of the Antilles; Porto Rico would now be free, but helpless she finds herself in the clutches of the greedy old man.

We look with deep commiseration upon the case of the Philippines—Aguinaldo had demonstrated the ability of leadership, and would have led his people to independence, self-reliance and competence, but for the shameless

treachery of one Frederick Funston, in base violation of the universally accepted rules of war; and the non land-grabbing Uncle Sam now dominates the land and domineers the life of its inhabitants.

Haiti is now an involuntary subject of this non land-grabbing man, but we are hopeful that the establishment of the principle of self-determination of nations may free the little republic from this mastership uninvited and unwelcome.

The Mole St. Nicholas had long been a gem fascinating and entrancing, holding in hypnotic spell the covetous eye of this sedate and retiring old gentleman; finally, however, he could withstand the severity of the temptation no longer, so he decided that the whole of Haiti needed protection, and, forthwith, he proceeded to "protect" her. We used language loosely and carelessly in saying we are hopeful of a break of this mastership—there is precious little ground of hope: we were merely expressing a wish.

Uncle Sam is no land-grabber, but Simon Legree was not less kindly to old Tom than is dear old Uncle Sam to Haiti.

Then again, don't say this courteous old gentleman is not alert, dextrous, and subtle in picking quarrels to satisfy his insatiable greed. The plea of necessity might be made the extenuating ground for any theft, however bold, despicable, or ruinous. The high-handed theft of the Canal Zone from the defenceless state of Colombia is one of the cardinal disgraces of this non land-grabbing Uncle Sam. And in that case no more effort at excuse was found, or sought, than that offered by a bandit on a western train: "I need the money."

No, Uncle Sam is no land-grabber, but if there be any lands held by weaker peoples, lands whose wealth the old man can convert into profit, you may rest assured he will lose no time in grabbing them.

Now Mexico must be taken, beaten, plundered, despoiled, to "satisfy" the insatiable greed of the capitalistic interests of America.

Again, "hiding places for enemies!" The shrewdness of these plunderers is just too adroit for anything. This is an elusive

piece of legerdemain, indeed! We want the enemies of Mexico kept out of Mexico; and we want the enemies of the working class kept out of Mexico; the profiteers are not content with bleeding the people here and those whom they sent to war to subserve their ends, now they want to lay their grasping tentacles, like the giant octopus, upon another people who, despite internal disorders, are purposed to brook no interference from without.

Now we are anti-imperialists on the high ground of the right of peoples to govern themselves, and the further principle of the instinctive wrong of theft, whether committed singly or by concerted action; but the question arises: *why should the colored man of America, in particular, be opposed to imperialism?* There is a slogan in this country that says, "*the constitution follows the flag.*" With virulent spirit and rancorous determination this damnable mind we call American prejudice follows both. Even when the colored soldiers went to Europe to fight the battles of the Allies, and offered their lives in sacrifice to the cause for which they were called, the American whites were not content to let them go on their merits, and be received in harmony with their personal worth, but were tireless in their efforts to poison the mind of the French against them. We try to view the entirety of conditions and deeds on their intrinsic merit, but when we are affected for good or ill, it is impossible for us to eliminate ourselves from the general consideration.

Because the virus of American prejudice follows the flag and the constitution, the black man in America should be always an ardent opponent of imperialism.

Let not the American of darker skin deceive himself into believing that this imperialistic procession means anything to him, save the elimination of opportunity and the curtailment of liberty through the propagation of this reprehensible thing we call American race prejudice.

THE LEAGUE OF WHITE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS

By CHANDLER OWEN

A league of white capitalist governments has been formed at the Peace Conference with our good *Democratic democrat*. Wood-

row Wilson, the chief pilot. The fact that it was organized, accepted and shunted on its way by the old school diplomats like Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, Woodrow Wilson, Bonar Law and Arthur Balfour, would result ordinarily in our *prima facie* rejection of it as full of loop-holes and obstacles fraught with grave danger to *democratic* governments. A document upon which those pious, old school diplomats could agree would necessarily be against the interests of the people, white or colored, and of any race, creed or nationality. As social scientists, however, we are called upon to examine it critically, and instead of a blanket rejection of it, to point out just where it is faulty and why it should be immediately scrapped.

The preamble is probably the construction of President Wilson. It is padded and long, suavely rhetorical, and sufficiently vague and meaningless to be characteristic of his writings.

Article I speaks of the *high contracting parties* giving the pact a true stamp of its genuine character—an agreement of the old Austro-German variety in the days of resplendent Kaiserism.

Article II prescribes the number of votes of members of the League and prescribes that the representatives may meet anywhere. The reason for this, no doubt, was that the League felt it might have to seek an asylum any day—just where, it is impossible to say—as the *march of Soviet government is rapidly narrowing the seats of comfort* for capitalist governments.

Article III—Provides that the Big Five shall control the league with representatives of four other states. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan are to have five votes against the votes of the other four states represented. These states are to be selected (not elected) and the selection is not subject to any clearly defined or prescribed principles, but upon "*such principles*" and in such manner as they—the *big five—think fit*. This provision is made to keep the League purged of democratic and revolutionary countries. The *capitalist big five* will not select a revolutionary Russia or Germany to be a member of the League. We fear that Germany of William Hohenzollern had a better chance

of entrance than republican Germany of today has.

This Article also provides that meetings shall be held from time to time as occasion may require. That occasion we predict will be frequent, since the League's chief problem will be the consideration of how to check the rapid development of democratic and revolutionary government.

The Article also states that *invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.*

This cause looks innocent upon its face, but it is as vicious as the Grandfather Clauses in the Southern States. Economic, political, commercial and trade problems are so intertwined, interlaced and inter-connected today that almost every nation is concerned about matters to be adjusted. *Directly affected.* Isn't it innocent! The Straights of Gibraltar and the gates to the Mediterranean Sea only indirectly affect Germany, but what does it matter whether an effect is direct or indirect? The Bagdad Railroad affected Great Britain only indirectly, but that did not minimize the nature and character of the effect. The "open door" in China affects all the *big five* only indirectly, but each one is clamoring for an equal chance to hog the coal mines and oil wells of China. The Monroe Doctrine only affects the United States indirectly, but she fights hard to prevent that indirect effect of other nations sharing part of South and Central America. A man may be starved, poisoned or killed indirectly, but death is the result. We suspect this is a shrewd design to keep Germany and Russia out of councils where trade expansion, colonial development and commercial agreements are discussed and settled.

Article VII—Requires a two-thirds vote for admission to the League, and limits such admission to fully *self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.* This is a clear Anglo-Saxon clause framed by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George to keep out Negro and colored peoples. None of the Negro African Colonies, India or the West Indies are permitted to be self-governing, hence

the conditions could not be met by the black colonies without revolution.

The second clause of Article VII is clearly aimed at Germany. It states that no state shall be admitted unless it guarantees that it will behave to the satisfaction of Anglo-Saxon international law, and unless it keeps its naval forces sufficiently low as not to threaten Great Britain's naval supremacy, and its military forces sufficiently low as not to be able to over-run France or any country or countries which Great Britain may depute to stand between Germany and the British Isles.

Article VIII fraudulently and hypocritically deals with the reduction of armaments. It holds that the Executive Council shall determine *what armament is fair and reasonable.* These terms—*fair and reasonable*—are very oily and vague. Great Britain has always maintained that her naval strength was fair, necessary and reasonable. So did Kaiser Wilhelm maintain that the German Army was a defense strength army—with numbers fair and reasonable.

This Article states *that the high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections.* There is nothing mandatory, however, about this article. It simply takes cognizance of an evil. It does not go into the real causes of the evil for it would mean a condemnation of the capitalist system. The only objection to private manufacture of munitions and implements of war is the profit stimulus which will bring on war in order to create a demand for the goods manufactured.

There is a reservation in this clause which is pernicious. The Constitution does not say by whom, but we presume that the private capitalist manufacturers of the Big Five Countries will set up and reserve for themselves an exclusive monopoly in the manufacture and traffic of munitions for undeveloped countries. This will be supplemented by stirring up strife continually to keep these small nationalities fighting so that they will consume the munitions. Ain't it clear as day to even a blind man?

The high contracting parties are so honest that they agree not to conceal from each other any

new method of killing. No more submarines or new forms of poison gas shall ever again be sprung as a surprise! There is an amusing suggestion, too, that each country is to carry on a department of inventions of such implements of war. But if anything new is discovered or invented, the Big Five will give the secret to each one of the League's members, to be used, not on themselves, but upon the Bolsheviki or some such non-capitalistic countries. No *c o u n t r y*—civilized country, we mean—will profit any more from exclusive invention! We shall hereafter have *open inventions openly arrived at* in the place of secret inventions secretly arrived at and secretly kept.

Article IX is probably a military council which will show how to execute the League's mandates. It is not clear, as much of the Constitution is not clear, but this is probably the meaning.

Article X agrees to use the combined forces of the Big Five and other *good nations* who are members of the League *to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing independence of all states, members of the League.* This provision is to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic government. It is a pact between parties confronted by a common danger. France, Great Britain and Italy can't tell which one will go into the control of the Soviets first. And the change of any one of the Big Five into a soviet or socialist form of government would endanger the existing independence of the other four countries.

Articles XII and XIII admit the probability of war and give the League members the right to use any means which they deem wise and effectual to safeguard peace. The whole of Clause XII is vague and might well have been omitted.

Article XIII is a triumph for William Jennings Bryan. It is a reproduction of his famous breathing spell treaties which will enable the two sides to get prepared after they actually decide to fight.

Article XIV provides for a sort of U. S. Supreme Court which is supposed to render international justice, whatever that is. We judge that it is a sort of "*Capitalist International!*" to offset the Socialist International Bureau.

Article XV admits the likelihood, probability and possibility of rupture, war and dissention among the members of the League despite the unctious pretenses of drawing up an agreement which will prevent war.

The latter part of the second clause of the Article recognizes that a balance of power may be formed within the League by one group of the nations against the other group—Japan, France and Italy, possibly, against America and England; or Great Britain and Japan against France, America and Italy.

Article XVI provides that any member of the League which disregards its covenants shall be blockaded and cut off from trade, financial and personal intercourse—or economic boycott.

Article XVII deals with wars or disputes between states not parties to the League, or when one party is a member and the other not a member.

Article XVIII is in sharp contradiction with the spirit which purported to dominate Article VIII and clearly reveals that the munitions trust intends to manufacture and sell munitions for profit to *small countries* and probably for *big countries* except for the fact that the big countries are not supposed to fight and the League cannot make open provisions for supplying them with munitions.

Article XIX deals with colonies. It institutes and revives the vicious mandatory which Belgium used in the Congo Free (?) State with which she reduced the African population there from twenty million to eight million. Such countries or colonies as have ceased to be under the sovereignty of any of the Central Power States, by virtue of the war, and "*which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world,*" to them "*there shall be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.*" This hypocritical clause has all the style and subtile subtlety of Woodrow Wilson. It is aimed directly at the German African Colonies. It pretends to aim also to carry the so-called European civilization to *benighted* Africa. The truth, however, is that the combined big white capitalist nations desire and intend to use

Africa as a beast of burden to feed the belly of Europe.

The clause reads further "*that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations.*" Advanced nations like Belgium who under Leopold's reign killed twelve million Africans! Advanced nations like Great Britain who pay a wage of 15 cents a day to Africans who are forced to work from 12 to 18 hours. Advanced nations like France who according to Statesman's Year Book owns more African territory than any other nation, 3,940,000 square miles with a population of 31,533,000 Negroes to work for France at the lowest wages and the longest hours.

Certain nations or races like America and Palestine, formerly under the Turkish sovereignty, are to be given quasi-freedom and semi-independence when they have reached a *certain stage*. That stage we understand is their willingness to maintain capitalist and bourgeois government for themselves. If they desire to be democratic or Bolshevistic, it is a conclusive presumption that they are not prepared for self-government!

The third clause of Article XIX is interesting both for what it attempts to conceal and for what it reveals. It reads:

"Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the *trade and commerce* of other members of the League."

Let us examine this whole paragraph. "Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa," is made sufficiently precise to include the Negroes of Central Africa. There is to be "*freedom of religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals.*" This latter phrase looks innocent on its face. Mr. Edgar Mels, writing in Collier's Weekly, Mar. 22, 1919, says: "*What does the native want? Print cloths, cheap clothing, of gay colors, pocket knives, canned goods, tobacco, the historic beads, and anything in the way of mechanical toys.*" Now this clause,

"*subject to the maintenance of public order and morals,*" is very likely a basis for forcing the African to wear a certain kind of clothing of the type which British, French, American and Italian Capitalists have to sell. Not to wear them is to be against *public order and morals*. To wear them is to maintain *public order and morals*. But it is chiefly to secure profits by selling to the natives such goods that this clause is drawn. Print cloths, cheap clothing of gay colors (to hide the quality), pocket knives (probably for the Harvester Trust or Sears Roebuck & Co. to sell), canned goods (so that surplus rotten goods may still yield a profit), tobacco (Oh, you American Tobacco Company, with your fool at one end and fire at the other), the historic beads (Isn't it romantic?), and anything in the way of mechanical toys (Won't the Allies have a time on selling those toys with Germany's toy trade shut out!)—these are the articles which Mr. Mels says must be sold to the native. And if he doesn't use them, the League of Nations will discipline him for breach of public morals.

The slave trade is to be prohibited—the same slave trade which civilized white men started to rob the African and keep him from ever being civilized. It is to be cut out; though we were told that it had been cut out long ago!

There is to be no more arms traffic. The natives have had too much experience in this war, too much eye-opening, to permit them to get hold of arms. Egypt already is in revolution, resisting forcibly the British exploiter who for decades has held her under the brutal feet of greed.

And the *liquor traffic* is to be cut out. You know this is awful—the liquor traffic. You know, no doubt, that liquor is not known in any part of Africa, *except in Christian Africa!* It is a distinct product of the *advanced nations'* civilization—the white man's civilization! But liquor demoralizes the productive power of the natives and they don't produce as much wealth for the British, French, Italian and Belgian exploiters. So the liquor interests must give up their petty profit for the sake of the larger profit of the rubber, gold, copper, date and diamond interests.

No military or naval bases are to be established. Watch your step! The fear here is two-fold:

(1) the members of the League of Nations distrust each other, and (2) they all fear that the natives may seize the fortifications and bases to expel the whole League of Nations, as will actually happen one day sure enough.

The forces, however, may be kept *large enough for police purposes*. That means, if the natives are too arrogant and untrustworthy, the big white planters and exporters may organize a sort of national guard, as we have it in the States of the United States and as Great Britain has in the West Indies—the object being to break and suppress strikes and to terrorize the workers.

The last clause of this paragraph calls for "*equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League*." This is what we call the *economic interpretation of history*. Throughout this war it has been almost a crime to claim that trade and commerce—economic relations—had anything to do with war (or the Democratic Party). "We do not ask a single thing for ourselves," said President Wilson. "We have not a single selfish purpose." But when hard tacks were gotten down to, the pious gentlemen of the League of Nations called for equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League. Remember now, that this is the clause referring strictly to the African colonies. Why equal opportunities for trade and commerce in Africa? Let statistics answer. The "*Statist*" declares that in 1916, *undeveloped though it be, the total imports of Africa amounted to 100,950,000 pounds, or over a half billion dollars, and the exports to 97,584,000 pounds, or a half billion dollars*. For the six months ending June 30th, 1917, Consul Bray reports the mineral production of the Union of South Africa was: Gold, \$94,445,421; diamonds, \$18,562,505; coal, \$7,808,421; copper, \$2,793,171; tin, \$981,622; antimony, \$45,750; asbestos, \$221,392; ostrich feathers, which farming trade originated in Cape Colony, had an export trade of \$10,000,000.

"There are 6,000,000 human beings in the Union of South Africa, of whom 4,200,000 are black."

This explains the desire for equal opportunities in trade and

commerce. It is the equal opportunity to rob the natives of their land and labor. It is cheap land and cheap labor that Britain, America, France and Italy desire, an equal opportunity to exploit. This is the real motive power behind the whole League of Nations idea.

Article XX, assures labor that the *high contracting parties will endeavor to maintain fair and humane conditions* of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend. Bah! It is the commercial and industrial relations of these countries which create the *inhumane* and *unfair* conditions of labor. Labor, however, will not leave its interests to the tender care of the League of Nations. Shop stewards, Soviets, Bolshevism and strikes, together with high grade labor organizations, with its sword of Damocles dangling perpetually over the heads of the industrial and commercial relations of the League's members—will exact fair and humane treatment.

Article XXI again calls for equal treatment for commerce of all States members of the League. How about others? Commerce and trade seem to be getting a pretty good plea for protection in the League Constitution. Still this should not surprise political scientists. *Interstate commerce was the moving force which actuated the formations of the Constitution of United States*. And in the "New Freedom" President Wilson tells what a crassly materialistic document that was and is.

Articles XXII, XXIII and XXIV, deal with treaties and their publication, etc.

Article XXV, deals with the abrogation of the vicious and pernicious secret treaties which Trotsky exposed upon the advent of the Bolsheviki to power.

I have herein reviewed the most important parts of the Constitution of the League of Nations. The reader will note, however, that my title is: "The League of White Capitalist Nations." I predicted even before the Peace Conference began its deliberations that the race issue would split Japan from the so-called "Big Five." The facts have richly cor-

roborated my predictions—so much so that we see the whole metropolitan press speaking of the "Big Four" now. Even if Japan had winked at all the discrimination on account of race and color, the whole League would still have been made up of the worst stripe of capitalist nations. With Japan out, it will be truly a "League of White Capitalist Nations."

Of course, the League will not last. The growing class consciousness of the international proletariat will equitably revise it, or better still, destroy it and build up in its stead a league of free peoples.

Nor is the League of Nations, strictly speaking, a league of nations. It is a league of white capitalist governments against the peoples of all the nations. The object of its members is to suppress and exploit white, black and brown working men, women and children everywhere, of every nationality, religion, race or color. It is the Capitalist International suavely and subtly set forth in saccharine language. It has all the unctuous rhetoric of a Wilson, all the subtlety and shrewdness of a Lloyd George, and all the pertinacity and force which Clemenceau could give it with that terseness for which the Frenchman is so celebrated.

There is nothing to hold the League together except the fear of democratic growth of the people. It will be held together by the same forces which caused its formation. All through its articles the Constitution breathes distrust, infidelity and doubt among the members with respect to each other—and justly so. It is undemocratic, archaic, antiquated, reactionary and imperialistic. It is better calculated to produce war than any document since the Franco-Russian Treaty of 1871. Negroes and white men—working people everywhere—should fight against it. It is a living challenge of capitalist internationalism against working-class internationalism. As the capitalists of all countries have united to hold back the red tide of revolution, the people who toil and sweat and bleed and die must unite to warn the capitalist League of white nations—"Thou too must pass away!"

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THE NEGRO—A MENACE TO RADICALISM

By the Editors

There is much opposition nowadays to the very word—radicalism. The radicals are hunted, outlawed and jailed for propagating, as it were, "dangerous thoughts." Whoever seeks to find out the root-cause of social diseases is a radical. Hence socialism and industrial unionism and agnosticism are radical. They search for the forces which determine human actions and human institutions, in order to ascertain which methods to adopt either to destroy or to develop the institutions and to direct human actions to socially constructive ends. In short, all radicals are opposed to the status quo; they desire change; but not mere change, but progressive change.

This is the crux of the opposition of the propertied class to all radical propaganda. Those who hold vested property interests and privileges under a given social system will resist with desperate determination any assault upon that system by the advocates of a new, a different social doctrine. Moreover, the beneficiaries of a social order strive through force or deception to secure the acquiescence and support of the victims of the social order. This is being done with respect to Negroes and the radical movements.

For instance, the leading capitalists of the country—the chief artfully and persistently prosecuting an insidious campaign of propaganda among Negroes, through the press, pulpit and school, with a view to making them fireproof to all liberal and democratic opinions. The jim-crow Negro censorship either withholds from or misrepresents the radical movements throughout the world, to the Negro. When one is uninformed of the nature of a movement he is disinclined to entertain it, and when one is misinformed concerning the objects and aims of a movement, he is inclined to oppose it. Hence, through ignorance or error the opposition of the Negro to the very movements which are calculated to achieve his economic, political emancipation, is being effected by big, hand-picked Negro leaders—and the plutocratic in-

terests of this country. Witness a Negro minister of reputed light and leading in the city of Savannah stating in an address before a large convention that:

"Bolshevism was begotten in Germany, or that it is of German parentage, or that it was born in Russia, it took its name from a man named Bolsheviki, an insurrectionist or rioter, who raised an army to overthrow the recognized government of Russia. At that time the Government was tottering under the great blows of the German army. Bolsheviki thought that the time was ripe to establish new ideas and a new government that was somewhat after the idea of the Socialist. The definition or meaning of Bolshevism, as may be determined by research, is analogous to anarchy, the state of society where there is no law or supreme power, a state of lawlessness and general disorder. A condition where human life and property, human rights and justice, all that is noble and great, trampled under the feet of human beasts."

(Taken from the Savannah Journal, of Saturday, March 22, 1919, a Negro weekly.)

This is a mild sample of the intellectual pabulum served up to Negroes on problems of world moment.

This is why, unless the Negro worker is unionized and the Negro public educated as to the nature and aims of radical movements, the Negro constitutes a definite menace to radicalism in America.

In the first place, the organized labor movement—the American Federation of Labor has either ignored or opposed Negro workers. Hence, the labor movement is not in their confidence. Secondly, no systematic effort has been made to arouse the interest and enlist the support of the Negro by radical labor and political organizations, with the exception, only recently, of the Socialist Party in New York.

Thirdly, capitalists through contributions to Negro schools, churches and charitable institutions, are impressing him with the idea that they are his real benefactors and friends. He (the Negro) sees workingmen forming the mobs of the South and opposes unions on the grounds that workingmen lynch him. Thus, the

Negro is inclined always to choose the side of capital. Herein lies the menace of the Negro to the movement toward industrial democracy.

And this much the white radicals must learn that, ten million Negro soldiers and scabs will break the backbone of any radical movement. To maintain that the Negro is not ripe is not only fallacious but suicidal folly. Labor cannot afford to ignore any factor which capital does not ignore. Unhappily, the Negro is the most backward part of the working-class in America and the radical Negroes fear, lest he be used savagely to beat down the more radical wing of the working class. Negro soldiers, if ordered, will shoot down Negro workingmen as quickly as they will white workingmen; just as, for instance, white soldiers shot down white workingmen and women at Ludlow, Colorado, or just as white policemen beat up the heads of white girls striking for a living wage. Add to the Negro's obedience to order the factor of race feeling, and one can conceive of a saturnalia of blood that makes one sick at heart.

Hence, the Negro radical's task is doubly huge and difficult. They must educate the radicals to the realization of the fact that capital is ever weaving a net work of lies around Negroes, and, to educate Negroes so that they may understand their class interests. Negroes must learn to differentiate between white capitalists and white workers, as yet they only see white men against black men. This makes the Negro both a menace to the radicals and the capitalists. For inasmuch as he thinks that all white men are his enemies, he is inclined to direct his hate at white employers as he is to direct it at white workers.

Hence the editors of the MESSENGER sound this note of warning to the white ruling and working-class in America of a gathering race storm which can only be averted by more sober, enlightened and dispassionate studying of the problem, with the purpose of removing the cause of an impending explosion.

Organized labor must harness the discontent of Negroes and direct it into working-class channels for working-class emancipation.

Education and Literature

THE RIGHT AND LEFT WING INTERPRETED

By the Editors

In all parties there are radical and conservative elements, keeping in mind, of course, that both terms are relative. The phenomena are monistic for we find the same or similar evidences in all countries, among all nations and all races. In Germany formerly we had our Fatherland party which represented the landed interests and a National Liberal party, which represented the industrial classes. In England today we have the Unionist and the Liberal parties, which represent landed estates and industrial interests, respectively. In America we have our National Democratic Party representing landed Bourbonism and a Republican Party which represents big business and the industrial classes. As to all of these groups the Socialist Party represents a left wing. The Socialist Party regards them as hypo-conservative and they in turn regard the Socialists as extremely radical.

Now all the time a change is going on in all these parties. Men from the extremely conservative parties become quasi-liberal and go into the liberal party, while men from the liberal parties gradually drift into the Socialist parties. To illustrate: Watch the present trend of the Republican party. We have a so-called progressive, independent wing led by La Follette, Hiram Johnson, Borah and Cummins, while the standpatters like Lodge, Penrose, Smoot, Wadsworth and Nelson call them radical Socialists or Bolsheviks. In the Democratic party we have a so-called liberal or left wing led by President Wilson (?), J. Hamilton Lewis, Walsh of Massachusetts, Frank P. Walsh, Brandeis, Villard, Frederick C. Howe and Amos Pinchot. At the same time we have a reactionary wing led by the Southern South with its John Sharp Williams, Hoke Smith and Col. E. M. House—also such standpatters as Senators King of Utah and Reed of Missouri.

To continue the illustration, we

find the same thing taking place in our own party—the Socialist party. In Russia we have our more conservative Social-Revolutionary party and our Bolsheviki party. We have our Kerenski and our Lenine, Trotsky, Radek and Tchitcherin. In Germany we have our Ebert and Scheidemann leading the right wing of Socialism and, at the same time, we have our Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and George Ledebour. In France we have a conservative “social patriotic” leadership of the right wing Socialists in Albert Thomas and Renaudel. At the same time we have our more splendid leaders of the left wing in Jean Longuet and Loriot. In England we see such conservative leaders of the right wing as George Barnes, J. H. Thomas, Adams and even Henderson. We see a more courageous left wing led by Robert Smilie, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald and McLean. We could trace all the countries at length to show that the law of evolution is moving with the same inexorable-ness and absoluteness in social as in physical life. In America, then, it could not be different. The forces of conservatism and radicalism are clashing here, too. The Socialist party is in the midst of a keen and sharp discussion as to tactics and policies. The Left Wing has issued a manifesto with ten planks, points—or whatever you wish to call them—in its program. Let us examine them critically and fairly, giving them full credit where such is due and withholding credit where the planks are without merit.

Program of Left Wing

1. “We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national, and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.”

First, a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms—both local and national—is illogical. In the South in some States we have disfranchisement and Jim-Crow laws. In Northern, Western and Eastern States we do not have them. It would not be worth while for New York and Ohio in their State platforms to declare

against Jim-Crow and Grandfather laws.

Second, with respect to social reform planks, we cannot dispose of that matter with platitudes. The opposition to social reform is based upon a wide-spread fallacy and a great deal of misinformation on social evolution. As Lester F. Ward says: “*Discontent increases with social improvement.*” The more concessions granted, the more concessions will be demanded. The best cared for workers, the highest paid, are usually the least contented. Bismark attempted to hold back socialism in Germany by adopting social reform legislation, but he thereby increased it. Wisconsin has more social reform legislation than any State in the Union, but Wisconsin also has proportionately more socialism. The legislators feel that unless they grant certain concessions, they will be supplanted, and they do what we call “stealing socialist thunder.” But the truth is, that the more they grant the more they must grant, and social reform legislation has not hindered, but has accelerated, socialist and radical growth.

2. “*The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship.*”

Here again amateur enthusiasm is not keeping pace with scientific method. The mere uttering of the words, “overthrow of capitalism” and “proletarian dictatorship” are not so material. It is method that counts. Every time we can pull a brick out of the capitalist wall we are hastening its overthrow, speeding the day when it will topple over. Get woman suffrage today. Strike to increase wages and shorten hours. Abolish child labor. Take over your railroads. Take over your telephones and telegraphs. Don’t refuse to strike these blows, because all cannot be gotten at once.

Remember, Comrades, that we are in a war, and several battles are generally fought in order to win. But each battle won gives aid and comfort to the winner and weakens the morale of the loser. Every triumph creates fresh hope and new faith in the victor. So with the proletariat. Each strike

won means much toward creating that *industrial proletarian militarism* which is necessary to fight the organized capitalists and employers.

3. *The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.*

Of course, unless the first two provisions are sound, there is no reason why the Socialist candidates should adhere to the provisions.

Plank number 4 calls upon the Socialist party to assist industrial organization by a propaganda of revolutionary industrial unionism as part of its general activities. This plank is absolutely sound, but, so far as I know, this is just what the party has been doing. It supports the workers' strikes, criticizes constructively and destructively their labor organizations, attempts to stir labor into newer and more revolutionary modes of action. That is why the Gompers American Federation of Labor machine opposes the Socialist party so bitterly.

5. *We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.*

This is in harmony with the constitutional requirements at present and the party is not supposed to donate funds to any other press. There are, however, certain Socialist organs owned by private parties who were able and willing to organize and float them when the party was not. Whether the Left Wing would purchase these organs, start new ones, or destroy them, we have no intimation.

6. *We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.*

This is a sound demand for newly created institutions, but should not affect certain existing institutions which are efficiently organized and manned like the Rand School.

Article 7 demands that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature. Such literature as is obsolete should unquestionably be discarded and literature in keeping with the times should take its place.

Article 8 demands that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of formulating party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis. We recognize that such conventions cost much money, but we believe

there are a number of problems necessitating such a convention. There is the New Labor Party. What position does the Socialist party take on it? There is the Non-Partisan League. What is the party's position on that? There is the march of Soviet government with the cosmic tread of revolution. What is the real position of the party on Soviets? It is time that the leaders stopped proclaiming in the party press and out of the party press that they are not Bolsheviks. Are the Bolsheviks something to be shunned, despised and disclaimed? If we oppose them, why? If the Soviet system is sound, then let the party say so. If it is not adapted to conditions generally, then let us discuss the facts and interpret them. What about real propaganda among Negroes? Does the party believe in that? If so, let us get on the job. We believe the Left Wing demand for an emergency convention is sound. We believe that such a convention should be called by the National Executive Committee.

Article 9 demands the repudiation of the Berne Congress as engineered by "Moderate Socialists" and social patriots. The March issue of the MESSENGER sharply took that Congress to task for such trite things as appointing commissions to fix the blame of the war—or the "bad nation" theory, which is about as fallacious as the "bad man" or "good man" theory. Repudiation of that nationalistic Berne Congress would do credit to the party.

Article 10 calls for the American Socialist Party to elect delegates to the International Congress proposed by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) and that our party shall participate only in a new International formed of Left Wing parties or groups.

We think that the party should send delegates to the International Congress proposed by the Bolsheviks. We do not agree, however, that we should determine the representation from other countries. If the majority party of France were under the leadership of Albert Thomas, we would receive the delegates and exchange opinions with them just as readily as with the Left Wing, now the majority and led by Jean Longuet.

So much for the program of the Left Wing. What else must we admonish?

First, we believe that there is a sincere difference of opinion in the party, that there is an honest difference between men of high purpose and loyal devotion to the socialist movement. The solution cannot be helped by calling names, whether it be the Right Wing calling the Left Wing Anarchists, lunatics and traitors, or the Left Wing calling the Right Wing reactionaries, standpatters and Scheidemanns. There are men also in the party like Nearing, Lochner, Berenberg, Glassberg, and ourselves who do not desire an unnecessary split. Fight the difference out on its merits if it is a deep conviction with you! Then take a clean, straight vote. If the Left Wing wins, let us yield to the majority. If the Right Wing wins, let us do likewise. Don't have a split. Stay in the party and fight for the change within!

The tendency is world-wide just now. The fight grows intense and bitter. But in the words of Lester F. Ward, "We need more light than heat." We need clear, intelligent thinking. It is not action but the direction of our action that counts. Let us submerge any personal feeling for the best interests of the Socialist movement. The Left Wing of today will be the Right Wing of tomorrow! Let us remember this, too.

RACE HATRED SHALL DIE

Within that breast of ebon hue
There is a heart that beats as true
As does the heart of you,
Oh hater of his race!
Nor in him can you trace
The bitterness that dwells
Within thy mind from whence
there wells,
More words with danger fraught
Than his hath ever wrought.

Within his midnight eyes there
gleams
▲ tender light that ever seems
To grow and shed its cheerfulness
Wherever Need hath brought distress;
Nor hath the wrongs of ages
That stain historic pages
Until they cry aloud with shame,
And cast upon his foes the blame
For every act thou dost condemn
And all the odium on them.

The black man's patience doth excite
 My wonderment! Man could not write
 A list of all the monstrous deeds,
 Committed 'gainst him that he who reads
 Might comprehend! No other race
 Could stand it all and leave no trace
 Of fierce revenge in frenzy wrought,
 On those that to it e'er have brought
 Such degradation, hellish wrong,
 And woe extending ages long!

The blood that courses Negro veins,
 Is just as red as that which stains
 The bosom of good Mother Earth,
 When white men die in giving birth
 To fair Democracy!
 Oh! the hypocrisy
 Of those who claim that all who live,
 Are sons of God, then fail to give
 Fraternal greeting to their brothers
 If they are black! Alas! that mothers
 Should e'er be doomed by Fate

To sense the white man's hate!
 When Evolution strikes the bonds
 From all mankind, and Love responds
 To Love, and Hatred dies,
 And man to man with succor flies,
 Then the black man will arise,
 And lift his hands towards the skies,
 While voicing loud his glad refrain;
 Hozannah! man is man again!
 — Bertuccio Dantino.

WHAT ARE WE, NEGROES OR COLORED PEOPLE?

By *W. A. Domingo*

EDITOR OF THE NEGRO WORLD

The discussion as to what should be the racial cognomen of the composite people of Negroid descent living in the Western world is not a new one, but has been a moot question for nearly fifty years. This discussion, strangely enough, has always been waged among the people in question themselves, and while arguing the, to them, momentous matter, the white race, which controls the literature of the world, has gone its way placidly, fixing the term according to local usage or the particular language.

But among the disputants considerable bitterness and acerbity of feelings have been engendered, which in the long run have only helped to make a breach in the ranks of a people who, despite their foibles and intra-racial distinctions, are destined by the dominant white man for a position of social inferiority.

In other words, while we are fighting among ourselves over inconsequential, the Caucasian keeps his determination fastened to the more important matter of a fixed relationship between himself and us. However, as the question seems to disturb Negro minds so much and having a definite opinion on the matter, we are treating it editorially without importing either personality or petty antagonisms into the subject.

According to modern ethnologists, the human family is capable of two main divisions, viz., the colorless race and the colored races. This division is arrived at

from a purely scientific standpoint. White, as any scientific book or any dictionary proves, is not a color, but is the negation of all colors, and since there is no pigmentation in white people, science correctly regards them as being the colorless race. On the other hand pigment is to be found in the skins of all the colored races whether it be yellow, Mongolian; black, Negro; red, Indian, or brown, Malay. From these major divisions, subdivisions are made, as for instance among the Caucasians, who are classified as Latins, Teutons, Slavs, etc.

It is, therefore, easily seen that the term colored can with equal exactness be applied to a Chinese, a Nubian, an Apache or a Hindu. But the term colored has a special as well as a general usage. When the Kaiser is trying to unite the white people of the world, he refers to the bogey of the colored races uniting; when a person refers to a man of Negroid extraction in the United States, he speaks of a colored man, but that conveys to the hearer's mind no idea as to the man's actual color; but in the West Indies when the word colored is used in statistics or in describing a person, the understanding is that it refers to a person of visible white and black ancestry. Hence the term has three meanings:

The first meaning is scientific, the American meaning is vague and interchangeable with Negro, while the West Indian meaning is definite, if inappropriate. What the West Indian use of the word really implies is that a colored person is a person of white origin but who has been "colored" because of an infiltration of non-white blood, and, but for this

coloration, such a person would be white. In other words, the original use of the word came from the white man's reluctance to admit into his racial group anyone who is not altogether white. But this terminology is weak, for by the same process of reasoning, a person of Hindu-Caucasian parentage is a "colored" person, because such a person has an infusion of some kind of pigment into his otherwise colorless self. But out in India such persons have a distinct group name, one that connotes both their social status and their origin—Eurasian. The same thing is also true of the hybrid of Indian and white in Brazil; they are called Mestizo, and not colored.

There is this that can be said, though, of the West Indian usage. It is possible of continued acceptance and currency despite its obvious weakness, because the people so classified have become a more or less exclusive or distinct group with definite color and group interests, which fact makes the term colored one of value to them. The average West Indian of visible white admixture would be insulted to be called a Negro, because he realizes that that word connotes, in that country, a status lower than that connoted by the word colored. Hence, the clinging to an ethnologically vague and philologically inexact terminology. In the United States the situation is different, as there is no material or social gain in the use of either term. Whether a person is called colored or Negro, the dominant white man has a fixed status for that person.

If a man applies for a position and refers to himself as colored,

it does not insure him greater possibility of success over the other applicant who refers to himself as a Negro. The two terms are used interchangeably, as both connote to Negroes and Caucasians in America, the same social, civic and industrial destiny. When either colored or Negro is used, it means any person in America who is not a Mongolian, an Indian or a Caucasian. And, if he hasn't on his native robes, it may even include a Hindu!

Both the words Negro and colored are terminological inexactitudes in so far as they refer to the composite millions of America; for a person one-eighth black is more a "colored" man than is the person who is one-eighth white a Negro. The so-called colored or Negro race, so far as the Western world is concerned, is neither black, yellow nor brown; but a composite people carrying in their veins the blood of many different types of the human family. What holds them together is the pressure exerted from the outside upon them by a dominant and domineering stronger race. This pressure has produced oneness of destiny and for that reason the "race" is developing a sentiment and consciousness of unity. Working from the inside is a centrifugal force that tends to disrupt, but stronger than that is the centripetal force exerted by the white man.

The Caucasian has said that if a man has one-sixteenth black blood, such a person is black. While this is an absurdity in logic, still it is a fact in practice, hence such a person has no choice but to accept the name given to the black race, a little of whose blood flows in his veins. To do otherwise would be to proclaim a longing to be included in a race that despises him.

Of the two terms "colored" and "Negro" the former is the weaker, as it is too loose, too inexact and means nothing specific in America; while the latter is generic and is reinforced by a history that is worthy of pride. The word colored, as apart from the people called "colored," connotes shame and implies an insult. Besides, with what kind of logic could anyone insist that such an indefinite adjective as colored should be capitalized? On the other hand, the generic term Negro is gradually being capitalized be-

cause the word designates a racial group and not a particular color, and it would be absurd in speaking English to designate color by saying "a Negro hat," but it would be eminently correct to refer to "a colored hat," meaning a hat that is not white.

The word Negro is never used to describe skin color, but rather to fix racial affiliation; while a majority of Negroes are black, nevertheless, even in Africa itself, there are yellow Hottentot, brown Zulu and ebon-black Nubian, all of whom are generally grouped as Negroes.

Whenever color descriptions are being made, the race name is used as a noun and is preceded by a distinguishing adjective thus—a brown-skinned Negro, a yellow Negro or a black Negro. Nor is it correct to think that all black people are Negroes, as the supporters of the word colored unconsciously imply, for there are black Hindus with aquiline features, black Arabs and black Jews. And conversely all so called Negroes of Africa, even if black, have not the other alleged Negro characteristics; for there are aquiline featured Mandingoes with curly hair on the West coast, and straight haired black Somali on the East Coast, while as already pointed out, there are yellow and brown Kaffirs with kinky hair in South Africa. These facts make the conclusion unavoidable that the word Negro covers, as applied to Africa, a people of varying external physical characteristics.

Even as the word Mongolian includes Tartars and Chinese, and Japanese who are of various degrees of mixture of Chinese, Malays and the aboriginal hairy Ainus of their island kingdom, and the word Caucasian includes blonde and "black" Germans, pigmented Spaniards and South Italians and red-headed Celts the word "Negro" can include all the people of African blood in this country who are, because of that blood, given the same ethnological classification. It might be permissible to use the indefinite word colored as a more or less general term, or as a colloquialism, but as a specific racial designation it is fatally weak, as it is not on a par with Malay, Caucasian, Mongolian or Indian; nor is it as terminologically precise as Eurasian or Metizo; nor is it specific in fixing mixture or racial types as mulatto, quadroon, zambo or

octroon! Ethnologically, anthropologically and terminologically the word colored cannot stand the test of even a casual examination.

Many persons object to the Negro because they hate its corrupted form "nigger." But have they ever stopped to think that any word in any language is susceptible of being debased into a corrupted term of contempt? What word would they suggest that is ethnologically exact and yet would be free from being corrupted? The term "nigger" lives largely because of the careful nurture given to it by Negroes themselves. White people can hardly be blamed for using the objectionable corruption when Negroes are the principal peddlers of the term. And what does "nigger" mean? According to the dictionary it is "a term of contempt applied to Negroes," just as the terms "cracker" and "greaser" are terms of contempt applied to certain other peoples. Will white people stop calling Negroes "niggers" because Negroes refer to themselves as colored? That is too childish for belief.

No one has ever heard of any agitation on the part of the natives of Japan to change their national name of Japanese to something else because of the use of the, to them, offensive abbreviated corruption "Jap" by the English speaking world. Instead, they have by their achievements made the words "Jap" and "Japanese" synonyms of prowess, daring, energy and progress—synonyms that are respected and feared by all races of mankind.

Another objection advanced is that the word Negro connotes slavery, but since colored and Negro are synonyms in America, how can one word connote something which the other does not connote? This objection is puerile.

Every one of the other races has a generic race name and since the composite gets its present status from one branch of its origin, it seems but sensible to accept the generic term that specifically designates that branch. Unless they can control American literature, it will be utterly impossible for Negroes to obliterate the word Negro. And the word is more worthy of living than the vague substitute offered. Instead of fighting a windmill and doing the futile, energy-dissipating thing, Negroes should concen-

trate upon demanding that the word Negro be capitalized in the literature of the English language even as its fellow generic terms Malay, Mongolian, Caucasian and Indian are capitalized. No amount of exclusion from racial newspapers will kill the word, for although no Negro newspaper is so shameless as to use the word "nigger" still that word has great currency among Negroes and is still to be found, in the dictionary! Negroes can do better than fritter away their energy on non-essentials, and start in right now to give prestige to the word

Negro, first, by capitalizing it and next by deeds that any race would be proud to have connected with its name.

To sum up: the word "colored" is objectionable because, first, it is philologically weak; second, it is ethnologically inexact; third, its origin is not pleasant; fourth, it tends towards division inside the "race"; fifth, it has comparatively no history; sixth, it cannot be capitalized; seventh, it is a makeshift.

The word Negro, on the other hand, has all the qualities lack-

ing in colored, and is the word, more or less, in one or other of its forms, incorporated into all modern languages.

In the absence of a nomenclature that is satisfactory to all types of so-called Negroes or colored people in America, the word Negro should stand, and it is for the people so designated to use all their influence to see that their race name is lifted from the same literary status as pig, monkey and dog, to the level of other race names, and be spelt with a capital "N."

WHEN THE COLORED TROOPS GOT BACK

When the colored troops got back,
And the whites 'joined in' with them
In the hurricane of laughter,
Which stirred the city to its depths
And thrilled all hearts with paternalness,
I felt—if only for a moment—
"The Great International Spirit of Brothers."
And when the town was 'whipped up' to catch the stir
Of so spirited a 'Welcome' of our colored fighters;
And when hearts shuddered for the release
Of long-repressed joyousness and sang;

And mothers tried to 'mother' their hilarious boys
Back to the heaving bosoms of a suffering humanity,
My heart beat high for the Negro.

And as I let my mind pierce through the hard granite past
To catch the bold glow of the future,—

I see two hostile camps
Throwing aside their inherent hates—

Prurient with passion.
I see the barriers of prejudice and racial antagonisms
Torn away in the whirlwind of 'brotherly feeling,'

Which promises to wreck all of our 'petted' anachronisms.

I see the victims of the crow-bar, and the lawless mobs

Pressing forward in 'restless' steadiness,

To challenge the pitiless judge,
Who has condemned them—without just cause—

To a life of slavery, and made them to suffer

The pangs of a birth of insolence and ridicule.

And I see the Dawn 'father' our colored brothers

Into a world of Free Men, proud of their heritage.

In the look of those troops faces,
— Faces worn by sufferings encountered in the struggle,
— Faces beaming—hiding the 'Marks of Slavery'

Beneath the 'Joys of Victory'—
I felt the heavy gaze of a noble and heroic race

Lighten up. And in the sunlight of that smile,

The wrongs against Our Colored Brothers,

Will melt into acts of kindness.

By Dan Block.

MILL GRINDINGS

By G. F. M.

The most abominable thing on the green earth is the Loyal Slave, so heralded by our "race leaders" (?), our white coddlers and cajolers:

Patriotism and Profits move in parallel lines; their velocities are equal, the velocity of the first being determined by the velocity of the second.

Loyalty postulates a moral relation subsisting between equals, founded upon reciprocal pledges or promises, expressed or implied: the slave may be submissive, or servile; he cannot be loyal.

I had rather bow my knee in

adoration of a fly-blown horse than sing the praises of a "loyal slave."

Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey are my heroes, not Uncle Tom.

Maybe we will believe Bolshevism ought to be shot to death when we see the fat Mr. Taft on the way to Russia, himself to do the shooting.

At the annual meeting of the Urban League, right thinking was greatly stressed as a cure for social and economic ills. But who are to do the "right thinking"—Elihu Root, Alton B. Parker, and Charles E. Hughes, those artful and greedy servitors of predatory wealth?

"Don't preach *Class Conscious-*

ness," some of my friends say to me, "the array of class against class is wrong and very injurious." Maybe that profiteering combine—sucking out the very life-blood of the people—Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson and Cudahy, think so too.

Maybe that vulgar fellow, Chandler Owen, was right after all in saying the people don't know how to spell "Paytriotism"—they persist in omitting the "y."

It was terribly embarrassing for that borish New Yorker, Hubert Harrison, to ask me before a crowded audience in Washington, whether Mr. Taft proposed going to Russia himself to shoot Bolshevism to death, or wanted

some poor mother's son to try his hand at it. Please do not ask me a question like that again, before a large audience; and that, too, at the seat of government.

When a man prates much of the courage of his conviction, note well whether it be not the courage of his financial interest.

Who advances his loyalty as a slave, as a feature of merit, glories in his own shame and is wanting in self-respect.

A man's claim to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is not based upon the aid he renders the cause of his oppressors, but solely upon the fact of his manhood.

The test of a man's devotion to principle is what he is willing to have it cost him.

Regard the man who is dominating and arrogant towards his subordinates: likely he is cringing

and fawning at the feet of those above him.

Who is bought for much is no better than he that is bought for little—honor is above price.

INGERSOLL'S VISION OF THE FUTURE

A vision of the future arises. I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the subtle powers of the earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love

and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called "the asp of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, a suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.

—Robert Ingersoll.

Who's Who

A NEW CROWD—A NEW NEGRO

By A. Philip Randolph

Throughout the world among all peoples and classes, the clock of social progress is striking the high noon of the Old Crowd. And why?

The reason lies in the inability of the old crowd to adapt itself to the changed conditions, to recognize and accept the consequences of the sudden, rapid and violent social changes that are shaking the world. In wild desperation, consternation and despair, the proud scions of regal pomp and authority, the prophets and high-priests of the old order, view the steady and menacing rise of the great working class. Yes, the Old Crowd is passing, and with it, its false, corrupt and wicked institutions of oppression and cruelty; its ancient prejudices and beliefs and its pious, hypocritical and venerated idols.

Its all like a dream! In Russia, one-hundred and eighty million of peasants and workmen—disinherited, writhing under the ruthless heel of the Czar, for over three hundred years, awoke and revolted and drove their hateful

oppressors from power. Here a New Crowd arose—the Bolsheviks, and expropriated their expropriators. They fashioned and established a new social machinery—the soviet—to express the growing class consciousness of teaming millions, disillusioned and disenchanted. They also chose new leaders—Lenine and Trotsky to invent and adopt scientific methods of social control; to marshal, organize and direct the revolutionary forces in constructive channels to build a New Russia.

The "iron battalions of the proletariat" are shaking age-long and historic thrones of Europe. The Hohenzollerns of Europe no longer hold mastery over the destinies of the German people. The Kaiser, once proud, irresponsible and powerful; wielding his sceptre in the name of the "divine right of kings," has fallen, his throne has crumbled and he now sulks in ignominy and shame—expelled from his native land, a man without a country. And Neitschez, Treitschke, Bismark and Benhardi, his philosophic mentors are scrapped, discredited and discarded, while the shadow of Marx looms in the distance. The revolution in Germany is still unfinished. The Eberts and

Scheidermanns rule for the nonce; but a New Crowd is rising. The hand of the Sparticans must raise a New Germany out of the ashes of the old.

Already, Karolyi of the old regime of Hungary, abdicates to Bela Kun, who wirelessly greets to the Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic. Meanwhile the triple alliance consisting of the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Transport Workers' Federation and the Miners' Federation, threaten to paralyze England with a general strike. The imminence of industrial disaster hangs like a pall over the Lloyd George government. The shop stewards' committee or the rank and file in the works, challenge the sincerity and methods of the old pure and simple union leaders. British labor would build a New England. The Seine Feiners are the New Crowd in Ireland fighting for self-determination. France and Italy, too, bid soon to pass from the control of scheming and intriguing diplomats into the hands of a New Crowd. Even Egypt, raped for decades prostrate under the juggernaut of financial imperialism, rises in revolution to expel a foreign foe.

And the natural question arises:

What does it all mean to the Negro?

First it means that he, too, must scrap the Old Crowd. For not only is the Old Crowd useless, but like the vermiform appendix, it is decidedly injurious, it prevents all real progress.

Before it is possible for the Negro to prosecute successfully a formidable offensive for justice and fair play, he must tear down his false leaders, just as the people of Europe are tearing down their false leaders. Of course, some of the Old Crowd mean well. But what matter it though poison be administered to the sick intentionally or out of ignorance. The result is the same—death. And our indictment of the Old Crowd is that: it lacks the knowledge of methods for the attainment of ends which it desires to achieve. For instance the Old Crowd never counsels the Negro to organize and strike against low wages and long hours. It cannot see the advisability of the Negro, who is the most exploited of the American workers, supporting a workingman's political party.

The Old Crowd enjoins the Negro to be conservative, when he has nothing to conserve. Neither his life nor his property receives the protection of the government which conscripts his life to "make the world safe for democracy." The conservative in all lands are the wealthy and the ruling class. The Negro is in dire poverty and he is no part of the ruling class.

But the question naturally arises: who is the Old Crowd?

In the Negro schools and colleges the most typical reactionaries are Kelly, Miller, Moton and William Pickens. In the press Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Fred R. Moore, T. Thomas Fortune, Roscoe Conkling Simmons and George Harris are compro-

promising the case of the Negro. In politics Chas. W. Anderson, W. H. Lewis, Ralph Tyler, Emmet Scott, George E. Haynes and the entire old line palliating, me-to-boss gang of Negro Republican politicians, are hopelessly ignorant and distressingly unwitting of their way.

In the church the old crowd still preaches that "the meek will inherit the earth," "if the enemy strikes you on one side of the face, turn the other," and "you may take all this world but give me Jesus." "Dry Bones," "The Three Hebrew Children in the Firy Furnace" and "Jonah in the Belly of the Whale," constitute the subjects of the Old Crowd, for black men and women who are overworked and under-paid, lynched, jim-crowed and disfranchised—a people who are yet languishing in the dungeons of ignorance and superstition. Such then is the Old Crowd. And this is not strange to the student of history, economics, and sociology.

A man will not oppose his benefactor. The Old Crowd of Negro leaders has been and is subsidized by the Old Crowd of White Americans—a group which viciously opposes every demand made by organized labor for an opportunity to live a better life. Now if the Old Crowd of white people opposes every demand of white labor for economic justice; how can the Negro expect to get that which is denied the white working class. And it is well nigh beyond the realm of controversy that economic justice is at the basis of social and political equality.

For instance, there is no organization of national prominence which ostensibly is working in the interest of the Negro which is not dominated by the Old Crowd of white people. And they are controlled by the white people be-

cause they receive their funds—their revenue from it. It is, of course, a matter of common knowledge that Du Bois does not determine the policy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; nor does Kinckle Jones or George E. Haynes control the National Urban League. The organizations are not responsible to Negroes because Negroes do not maintain them.

This brings us to the question as to who shall assume the reins of leadership when the Old Crowd falls.

As among all other peoples, the New Crowd must be composed of young men who are educated, radical and fearless. Young Negro radicals must control the press, church, schools, politics and labor. The condition for joining the New Crowd are: ability, radicalism and sincerity. The New Crowd views with much expectancy the revolutions ushering in a New World. The New Crowd is uncompromising. Its tactics are not defensive but offensive. It would not send notes after a Negro is lynched. It would not appeal to white leaders. It would appeal to the plain working people everywhere. The New Crowd sees that the war came, that the Negro fought, bled and died; that the war has ended, and he is not yet free.

The New Crowd would have no armistice with lynch-law; no truce with jim-crowism, and disfranchisement; no peace until the Negro receives complete social, economic and political justice. To this end the New Crowd would form an alliance with white radicals such as the I. W. W., the Socialists and the Non-Partisan League, to build a new society—a society of equals, without class, race, caste or religious distinctions.

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The Open Forum

THE CRUCIBLE

A magazine, new to us, has made its appearance in the literary world, and having read every word in the first issue which fell into my hands, I feel justified in giving it unstinted praise.

The *MESSENGER* is a publication written principally by members of and in the interests of the Negro race, and is a work of which any race might well be proud. While calculated to promote the welfare and interests of the Negro people anyone can profit by reading it. The *Crucible* wishes the *MESSENGER* a long life of usefulness. It is published by the Messenger Publishing Co., 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City, and will be on sale at 1330 First Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

— Bertuccio Dantino,
Editor, *The Crucible*.

Hon. Charles Evans Hughes,
Union League Club,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Hughes:

I note by the press that the Union League Club is to petition the state legislature of New York for an investigation of the spread of Bolshevism, and that part of your evidence of its spread is the manly editorials that appeared in the *MESSENGER*, a monthly edited by two brilliant young men in New York.

I assure you that these two young colored men, and their paper represent the highest thought among colored people, and the wisest statesmanship

among whites in this country. They have shunned the ranks of the time-server to war upon all forms of injustice, hence they offer a policy that will make America great. What your club should recommend is not an investigation, but a system of universal justice, a justice that gives to labor the fruit of its toil, shorter hours, and larger pay: a justice that will end all forms of color caste, and depredations of wealth. Men will never change to something new if they are happy with what they have, hence it is up to great legal minds to withdraw from the service of predatory capital and enter that holier service to masses.

When will men learn that there can be no peace without justice? When will they learn that persecution only makes converts to the cause it seeks to stamp out? When will they learn that picking a leader for us and paying him well to preach contentment with our wrongs is an unwise investment, as unwise as it is wicked? We are never going to stop agitation until absolute justice is done, and we have a real democracy in this land our fathers have served so well, and in which we cannot draw a free breath.

No, Mr. Hughes, if Bolshevism spreads, it will be the fault of capital and all other forms of Bourbonism and not that of the toiling masses who are groping and struggling upward toward a genuine democracy that is sure to come.

Hoping you will aid in eradicating the cause of social unrest, which is patent to all, I have the honor to remain,

Yours for our common country,
(Signed) Neval H. Thomas.

TWO ARTICLES CONDEMNED BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK

THE SOVIET

The Soviet is, doubtless, the most hated, the most loved and the most misunderstood political institution in the world today. The Russian people love it; the capitalists of all countries hate it. Most people don't understand it because the channels through which they get their information are controlled by its enemies, the capitalists.

The Soviet government resembles the elements in our American democracy which are the most stable and strong. The Soviet organization rests upon local self-governing bodies, like the famous New England town meetings. These local self-governing bodies are comprised of the peasants and working men of local communities. These local bodies send delegates to the "All Russian Assembly of Soviet Delegates," which must meet every three months, sometimes more frequently. This All Russian Assembly of Soviet Delegates, in turn, elects a central executive committee of about 250 members. This executive committee is the legislative body of the Russian people.

This central committee elects what are called "Commissioners of the People," who are similar to the cabinet officers in England, France and Italy and the President and Cabinet officers in the United States. These "Commissioners of the People" are always responsible to the legislative body which has chosen them.

Where, then, is the ground for

the cry of disorder and anarchy in Russia? Nothing can be more orderly or more stable in a democracy than this!

Here the representatives of the Russian people are both selected and elected by them. Whereas in all capitalists' countries the representatives are selected by the capitalists and elected by the people.

Of course, the capitalists maintain that anarchy exists in Russia, because the discarded and discredited Romanoffs and their ilk no longer rob, exploit, pillage and plunder 180 millions of Russian peasants.

The ruling class in Germany, England, France and America are in a state of consternation and despair, lest the clock of democracy be striking the high noon of the reign of the ruling class in their countries, too.

Order! Who calls for order in Russia? "Let him who is without a sin cast the first stone." By order, do we mean a state in which life, property, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are safe? If so, have we order in America, where over 280 Negroes have been lynched since the war began; where free speech, free press and free assemblage no longer exist; where 1,200 I. W. W. Miners were torn from their families in Bisbee, Arizona, packed in cattle cars, and deported away into an hapless desert by capitalist thugs and gunmen; where men are being imprisoned because they dare to quote the Declaration of Independence or a passage from the New Freedom by President Woodrow Wilson; where the Supreme Court, by a decision of 5 to 4, declared the child labor law unconstitutional? Can England make a motion in the "Parliament of the world" for order, who has held her heel of oppression upon the neck of Ireland for over 800 years, and

whose hand is red and reeking with blood of India and other undeveloped peoples?

After the revolution of 1789, France was chaotic for years and changed governments constantly and rapidly, swinging from a republic to a monarchy.

Germany only became an organized nation in 1871. The North German Confederacy welded with the sword, the recalcitrant dutches, monarchies and principalities into a stable empire. And yet the "Zabern affair" is a fact of common knowledge to every student of world politics.

As for the Negro, neither property, life, liberty nor the pursuit of happiness, which by the way, is only possible by the possession of the former, is secure in the Southern section of these United States.

The MESSENGER denies the right to every capitalist hypocrite in Christendom, to speak to the motion of order on the Soviet of Russia. Long live the Soviet!

WE WANT MORE BOLSHEVIK PATRIOTISM!

We want more Bolshevik patriotism in this country. We want a patriotism which springs from the breast of the people. We want a patriotism to attract rather than coerce. We want a patriotism where the people are more articulate and the profiteers less articulate. We want a patriotism which is proclaimed by the teeming millions and not by the scheming few who make millions of dollars. We want a patriotism which thinks more of the children than of the fathers; which loves posterity more than ancestry. We want a simple patriotism which spontaneously emanates from the bosom of the

masses because they love the country, and not a "hat waving" patriotism, based upon fear of punishment. We want more patriotism which recognizes the substance of justice, fair play and public service, and not a sullen, reluctant form of patriotism which proclaims its love under the lash of pressure. We need more patriotism which loves the country, because the country accords to all a chance—the humble and the high, the lowly and the lordly, the nobility and the poor ability, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. We want more patriotism which gives unselfish service—popular service, and not pecuniary service; public service, and not profiteering service.

We want no landless patriots in a country of almost unlimited lands. We want no patriot talking about "my country," not a foot of whose land he owns. We want a patriotism which practices that "Any man who protects the country's flag shall be protected by that flag." We want a patriotism not streaked with race, color, or sex lines.

We want a patriotism represented by a flag so red that it symbolizes truly the oneness of blood running through each one of our veins.

We want more patriotism which surges with turbulent unrest while men—black or white—are lynched in this land. We want more patriotism which makes us hungry while our fellowmen are without food. We want more patriotism which produces chills while our fellowmen are cold. We want no black and white patriotism which demands separate camps, separate ships and separate oceans to travel on.

What we really need is a patriotism of liberty, justice and joy. That is Bolshevik patriotism, and we want more of that brand in the United States.

Don't Forget To Subscribe

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER:

I have just been reading the March number of the MESSENGER. Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I cannot refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and Godspeed.

With all best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

John Haynes Holmes.

WHERE AIR OF FREEDOM IS

By WALTER EVERETTE HAWKINS

Where air of freedom is,
I will not yield to men,—
To narrow caste of men
Whose hearts are steeped in
sin.

I'd rather sell the king,
And let his goods be stole,
Than yield to base control
Of vile and godless men.

Where air of freedom is,
I will not yield to men.
I'd rather choose to die
Than be a living lie,—
A lie in all I teach,
A lie in all I preach,
While truth within my heart
Its burning fires dart
To burn my mask of sin.
I'd rather victory win
Thru martyr's death than grin
At wrongs of godless men.

Where air of freedom is,
I will not yield to men.
I spurn the alms of men,
The livery of kings,
I own far nobler things.
I'd rather choose to own
The pauper's garb and bone,
The eagle's eye of truth,
The lion's strength of youth,
The liberty of thought,
A free man's right unbought,
A conscience and a soul
Beyond the king's control
Than be the lord of slaves,
Of quaking, aching slaves,
Of senseless, soulless knaves,
Or seek to revel in
His ill-got wealth and fame,
His world-wide name of shame,
His liberty to sin,—
I will not yield to men!

March 14, 1919.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER:

Fortunately by the merest accident, we happened to stumble onto a copy of your most excellent magazine, the MESSENGER, and to say that we were delighted with it would in no way express our sentiments. We did not know that such a periodical was published, never having seen a copy, or even heard of it.

We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of. It is discriminative, justly critical, far seeing and tolerant. In fact we have failed to find one paragraph in the MESSENGER that strikes a false note. Mr. Raymer, the business manager of The Crucible, is a man devoid of race prejudice and one that believes in the greatest freedom of thought and press, and I, the editor of the same, am in thorough accord with his sentiments. I have lived in Tennessee and Texas, and met with disfavor in both states from a certain element because I defended the rights of the Negro whom I had been taught to consider human, and not the senseless animal, only fit for slavery, which so many in certain quarters profess to believe.

I have Negro friends for whom I have the greatest respect and esteem, as I do for people of any race whom I consider worthy of the same respect good people of my own race are entitled to.

Good for you boys, and may you have the greatest success! As an appreciation of the possibilities of the MESSENGER, we enclose a check for \$5.00 for which please send us 25 copies each of the March and April issues, to be sent at your earliest convenience. We will see what we can do in working up a sale for you in this region. We would suggest that it might be a good thing for you to mail us some extra numbers to be distributed among the Negroes of our vicinity.

We started with 25 copies of The Masses, and now sell 500 copies each month of the Liberator. We hope we can do as well for you. We also are sending you a bundle of the Crucible, and shall put you on our exchange list, and hope you will reciprocate. I shall give your magazine a good notice in the Crucible. Also we will gladly exchange "Ads" with you. If that is favorable to you, use the

enclosed and forward your ad for insertion in our paper.

With best wishes for your success, we are,

Sincerely yours,

THE CRUCIBLE PUBLISHING CO.,

C. D. RAYMER, *Business Manager.*

BERTUCCIO DANTINO

(La Verne F. Wheeler, Sr.) *Editor.*

P. S. If it would be agreeable to you I would gladly contribute for your columns occasionally. I have some decided ideas on the race question that might please you at times.

B. D.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER:

March 20, 1919.

The People's Institute is an educational centre organized and controlled by the workers. Our membership consists of men of all nationalities, so-called, and men of the yellow and black races. We are a centre for the Worker in the full sense of the word.

I was very much pleased with the stand that your paper is taking and am now making a special effort to help bring your problem, and it is our problem as well, before both the white and the black workers in this city. It maybe hard going at first but I am sure it is well worth it.

We plan to place your literature and other working class literature in those stores and stands where the most good may come from them. One of the members, one of your race, is putting them in touch here in San Francisco and in Oakland so that we may begin to do our work systematically. We are inviting men and women interested in this problem and who are willing to work for it to meet at our school and devise ways and means to carry on this educational and propaganda work.

For the present send us *fifteen* copies of your next issue, April, of the MESSENGER, ten copies each of the "Truth about Lynching" and "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races."

We are just ordering in small amounts just to get the work started and hope later to increase our orders. Check for the above will be mailed as soon as we receive bills for same.

Yours for the
Day of the Workers,
The People's Institute
(Signed) Emanuel Levin,
Business Manager.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER:

A copy of your magazine the MESSENGER has just come to my hands — sent me as the secretary of the Lawrence Socialist local I suppose, and I have fairly been running around in circles, cheering ever since I got hold of it. I cannot remember when anything has given me so much encouragement, so much certainty that the old world really is moving along the right way, too slowly. This little magazine of yours is what I have been longing for.

As the daughter of a radical abolitionist, I have always been interested in the Negro race, longing to see them make good, that the suffering and privation, humiliation and bloodshed of my

parents and grandparents would be justified, as they were certain it would be. As a radical Socialist (of course being of the stock I am, I could be nothing else) I have been so discouraged at times, when I have found so few of the colored people on our side. Yet knowing them so well, as I do, I have seen that it was one of their best traits, that of gratitude, which has held them to the old party so faithfully. I have been able to make some impression upon a few but have longed for the right sort of publication—for a few good orators of their own people to lead the way. And here it is.

I have let no grass grow under my feet before getting busy. Already I have shown this one copy

to several colored people, and have one man who will take up the work of getting subs for you. He is the Baptist minister here. He is not a Socialist, but is interested in the magazine just because it is put out by colored people, and is one they cannot help but be proud of. Well, though not a Socialist, here is betting he will be after he reads your MESSENGER awhile—so will a lot more of them.

Here's success to you, and also the desire to "do my bit" towards helping you attain it.

Yours for the cause for all the people of all the world,

(Signed)

Gertrude Crumb Harman.
March 11, 1919.

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