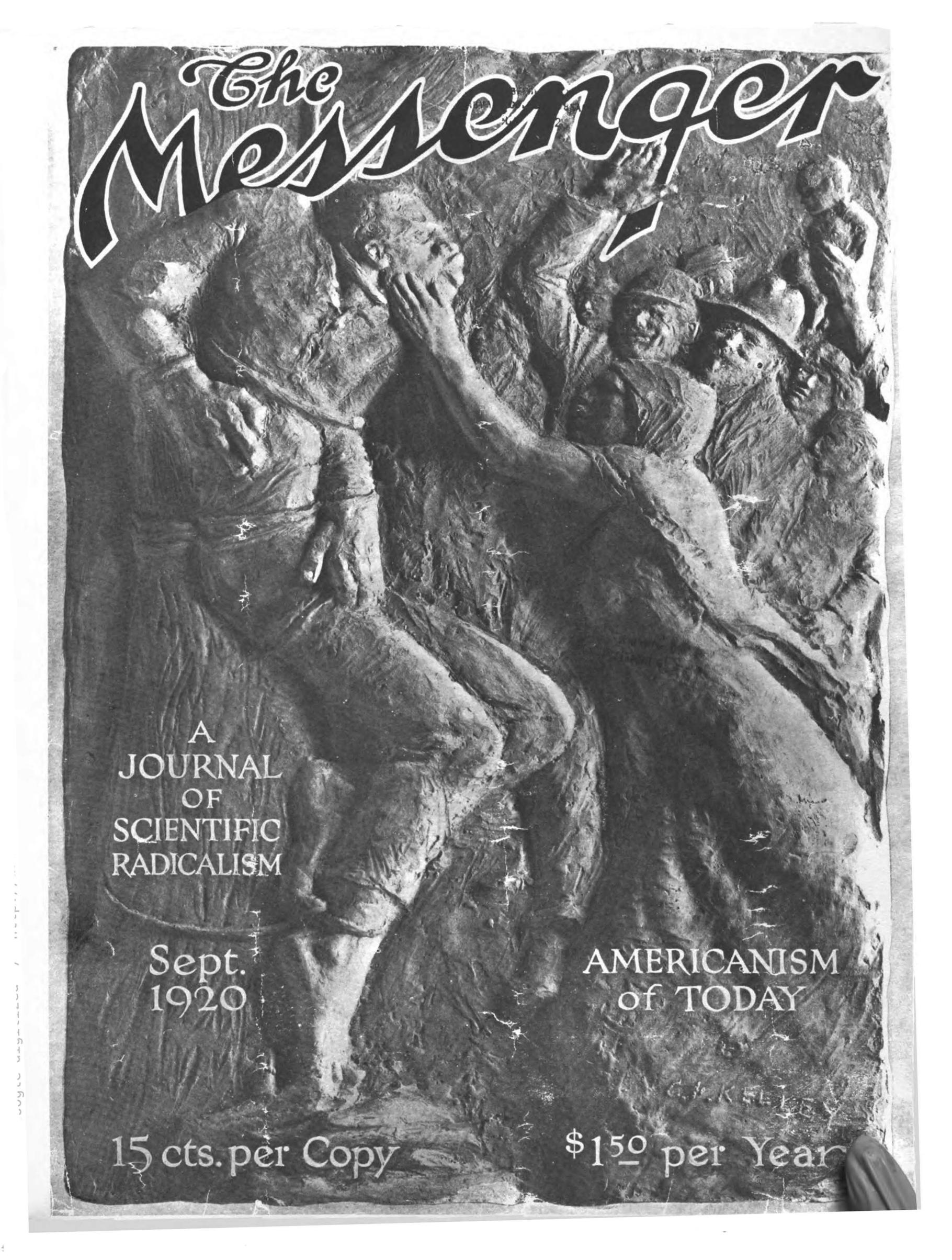


The Messenger



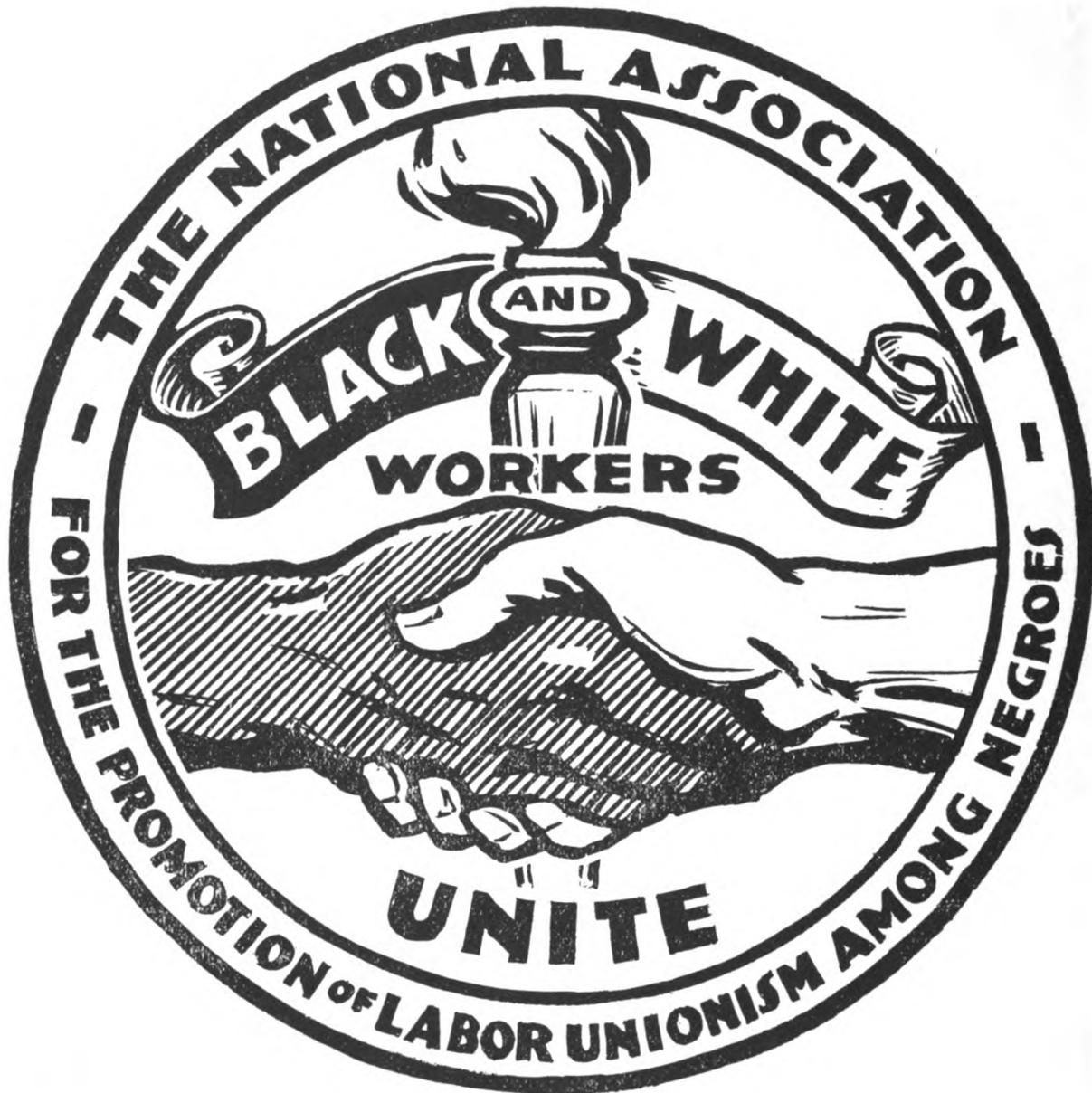
A
JOURNAL
OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

Sept.
1920

AMERICANISM
of TODAY

15 cts. per Copy

\$150 per Year



CHANDLER OWEN
PRESIDENT

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ADVISORY BOARD

JOSEPH D. CANNON
JOSEPH BASKIN
CHAS. W. ERVIN
EDWARD F. CASSIDY
M. FEINSTONE
JULIUS GERBER
MORRIS HILLQUIT

JAMES H. MAURER
ANDREW WEINEIS
JACOB PANKEN
MAX PINE
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
A. I. SHIPLACOFF

OFFICES: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City

THE MESSENGER

15c. per Copy
20c. Outside U. S.

A Journal of Scientific Radicalism

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

Published Monthly by the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Telephone, Morningside 1996

VOL. II.

SEPTEMBER, 1920.

NO. VIII.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. EDITORIALS	80
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	85
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	90
4. WHO'S WHO	93
5. THE OPEN FORUM	93

Application entered for Second Class Mailing Privileges at Post Office, New York, N. Y., July 6th, 1920.



Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:

W. A. DOMINGO WILLIAM N. COLSON
GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

STUDY

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM

A Correspondence Course for Beginners
Prepared by David P. Berenberg

Fee \$4.00

THE RAND SCHOOL

Offers This and Five Other Correspondence
Courses in Socialism

For Information

Write to Room 301—7 East 15th St., New York City
Ask for Folder

Phone Connection

J. P. FANNING

Manufacturer of

Fine Havana Cigars

122 West 135th Street, New York

Try the Old Reliable Duff's Hats

Best Made Hats At Reasonable Prices

Also Harlem Agent for the

John B. Stetson Hats

DUFF'S HAT STORE

136 LENOX AVENUE

(Near 116th Street Subway Station)

During the presidential campaign don't miss reading
ART YOUNG'S MAGAZINE
of Humor and Satire, Illustrated

GOOD MORNING

Out the 1st and 15th of each month
A three months trial subscription is only
\$1.00 and the yearly rate is \$3.50

Send in your subscriptions

GOOD MORNING COMPANY

7 East 15th Street New York City

MARRIAGE

As IT Was, Is, and SHOULD BE. By Annie Besant. That intensely interesting Brochure, 25c. The Scarlet Review, No. 1, 25c. each. Diana, A Psycho-Physiological Essay on Sexual Relations, 25c. The Crucible (Agnostic), 4 samples, 10c.

RAYMER'S OLD BOOK STORE
1330 First Avenue Seattle, Wash.

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
2 West 13th Street New York

THE MESSENGER

15c. per Copy
20c. Outside U. S.

A Journal of Scientific Radicalism

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

Published Monthly by the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Telephone, Morningside 1996

VOL. II.

SEPTEMBER, 1920.

NO. VIII.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. EDITORIALS	80
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	85
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	90
4. WHO'S WHO	93
5. THE OPEN FORUM	93

Application entered for Second Class Mailing Privileges at
Post Office, New York, N. Y., July 6th, 1920.



Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:

W. A. DOMINGO WILLIAM N. COLSON
GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

Phone Connection

J. P. FANNING

Manufacturer of

Fine Havana Cigars

122 West 135th Street, New York

Try the Old Reliable Duff's Hats

Best Made Hats At Reasonable Prices

Also Harlem Agent for the

John B. Stetson Hats

DUFF'S HAT STORE

136 LENOX AVENUE

(Near 116th Street Subway Station)

STUDY

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM

A Correspondence Course for Beginners
Prepared by David P. Berenberg

Fee \$4.00

THE RAND SCHOOL

Offers This and Five Other Correspondence
Courses in Socialism

For Information

Write to Room 301—7 East 15th St., New York City
Ask for Folder

During the presidential campaign don't miss reading
ART YOUNG'S MAGAZINE
of Humor and Satire, Illustrated

GOOD MORNING

Out the 1st and 15th of each month
A three months trial subscription is only
\$1.00 and the yearly rate is \$3.50

Send in your subscriptions

GOOD MORNING COMPANY

7 East 15th Street New York City

MARRIAGE

As IT Was, Is, and SHOULD
BE. By Annie Besant. That
intensely interesting Brochure,
25c. The Scarlet Review, No. 1, 25c. each. Diana,
A Psycho-Physiological Essay on Sexual Relations,
25c. The Crucible (Agnostic), 4 samples, 10c.

RAYMER'S OLD BOOK STORE
1330 First Avenue Seattle, Wash.

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
2 West 13th Street New York

Editorials

THE COVERLEAF

—0—

We are indebted to the courtesy of the Liberator and the genius of Mr. C. F. Kelley for this striking cover which is a true picture of the

AMERICANISM OF TODAY

AMERICANISM

AMERICANISM is a term that has been used very often of late in the speeches of public officials and in editorials of the daily press. This term, as generally understood, describes the mental attitude of men and women who believe in American ideals as against all other ideals. Therefore, when we speak of a man's Americanism, we refer to his attitude toward the ideals of the nation and it becomes necessary to scrutinize those ideals in order to arrive at a logical understanding of what constitutes Americanism. It is well to realize at the outset that no matter what a people's *professed* ideals may be, their *real* ideals are the ones that assert themselves and give force and direction to the affairs of government. Thus, in scrutinizing American ideals, we find that at the very beginning of our national existence the Declaration of Independence, with all its lofty rhetoric, was signed by slave holders, thereby placing the stamp of hypocrisy on the brow of the new born nation. The nation has grown strong and vigorous since those days but the stamp of hypocrisy is still there—the hideous heritage of the forefathers. We often hear and read great eulogies on the wonderful foresight of the founders of the Republic, unmindful of the fact that they built their beautiful structure on a foundation of quicksand that almost collapsed in 1861. Had they possessed the vision and the sincerity of purpose to free the slaves and shut off the slave trade when the Declaration of Independence was signed, there would have been no Civil War in 1861 and no race problem in America today. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. Hence we find that the heritage of hypocrisy handed down by the forefathers is still predominant in our present day national life. Witness the great anxiety professed by American statesmen for the liberation of oppressed peoples in foreign lands

while twelve millions of their own countrymen are bound down in virtual slavery. Observe their indignation at outrages committed across the seas while they sit complacently by and see black men, women and children tortured and burned at their very doors. The Senate passes a resolution favoring a hearing for Ireland at the Peace Conference while millions of American citizens are disfranchised and taxed without representation. And witness the hysteria caused by the awarding of Shantung to Japan. We drove Spain out of the Philippines and kept what we took. Japan drove Germany out of Shantung and kept what she took. The two cases are exactly the same, one set of usurpers merely ousting another set of usurpers in both instances. We have no more right in the Philippines than Japan has in Shantung. But self evident facts are strangely lost to the oblique viewpoint of some of our highly sensitive statesmen. When the American people discard hypocrisy as their chief stock in trade and develop ideals that find expression in deeds instead of mere lofty words, the term Americanism will become vested with a dignity and meaning of which it is sadly lacking at this time.

Nominations

THE Socialist Party of New York has nominated A. Philip Randolph, co-editor of the MESSENGER, for State Controller—one of the most responsible offices within its gift. This is the highest office to which one of the three big parties has nominated a Negro in nearly fifty years. It is the only instance in which a Negro of intelligence and principle has been nominated for such a high office. Nor is the nomination made at a time when the party is weak. It is at its greatest strength at this moment. It is practically certain that the Socialist Party will poll from a quarter of a million to 300,000 votes in New York City alone. Moreover, there was only one Negro delegate to the state convention where the nomination was made. So hearty was the spontaneous response to this nomination that the convention was almost stampeded for a few minutes. Three other Negroes are on the Socialist ticket of New York this year. Attention, Negro voters.

THE CHICAGO WHIP VERY TIMELY OBSERVES:

"More Negroes went to see Babe Ruth play ball in Chicago than appear on the registered voters' lists. Raschall is of more interest to the shallow minded than segregation and discrimination."

This statement is too true. And Negroes will suffer from proscription and discrimination until frivolity and fickleness are supplanted by serious thought and devotion to fundamental purpose.

JEWISH POGROMS PASSING

IN an interview in the New York Call Max Pine of New York (who along with Judge Fisher of Chicago is a member of the Committee for Jewish Relief) made the following observation upon their return from Russia a few days ago.

"The conditions of the Jews in Soviet Russia, while not so excellent, because of the general depressed conditions of Russian industrial and economic life, are yet far better than in Ukraina, Poland or Galicia.

"First of all, their lives are safe. The Soviet Government has inflicted the severest punishment upon pogrom agitators and all anti-Semitic propaganda is ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities.

"Secondly, there are no distinctions made between the Jews and Gentiles in Soviet Russia. They are all citizens and they all *share equally* in whatever the government can offer in the line of food, clothing, education and other opportunities."

Whatever may be said against Soviet Russia, it has certainly accomplished a feat in wiping out Jewish pogroms. Before the Bolsheviki came into power the Jews in Russia were treated worse than Negroes in America. Without further discussion we wish to ask this question: *If Bolshevism can stop massacres of Jews in Russia—would it be able to stop race riots and lynching of Negroes in the United States?*

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS

Socially A Success

"AS a social gathering, a chance for teachers all over the country to fraternalize and to hear speakers of national repute, the meeting of the National Association of Teachers in colored schools was a huge success. As a serious gathering that added something constructive to the solution of the educational problems confronting the colored people, it was a notable failure.

"The keynote of its lack of success was struck by President John M. Gandy in his annual address Wednesday night at Bethel Church, where, in the presence of the Mayor and other notables, he declared that school equipment and teachers' salaries among Negroes was a disgrace to America, but they could only be improved by an appeal to the best conscience of the white man, for without him all in the South will be lost."

"Dr. Gandy like a good many Southerners, is ultra-conservative. He and the Association, most of whom came from the far South, seem unable to understand that the Negro is footing his own educational bill in America, just like other citizens. If a state gives \$40,000 for Negro education in Virginia, President Gandy would doubtless opine that it was the result of generosity of the white people, notwithstanding the fact that the colored people on the basis of population might be due \$140,000 and had been robbed of a million dollars in educational appropriations in Virginia alone in the past ten years.

"This 'best conscience' of the white people, President Gandy talks about has salved itself enough to

perpetrate the robbery and will undoubtedly keep it up as long as pussfoot objectors appeal to sentiment instead of to the law as written in the Constitution of the United States.

"Some time ago statistics published in the *Afro-American* showed that Maryland is giving a half million a year for the higher education of whites and nothing for the higher education of colored people. Other statistics showed that the states of Alabama and Virginia make appropriations not exceeding \$5,000 per year to Tuskegee and Hampton, while giving far larger amounts to white schools.

"Thus far has an appeal to conscience brought colored schools. Certainly it is about time for the people to do something else besides "appeal." Some of them are. By the hundreds of thousands they have left the South and gone Northward, where educational facilities are equal. With better leadership, they might have been able to keep their homes and rear their children in Dixie, but this leadership lagged behind, when it should have been aggressive, and the leadership that the teacher loses in this generation will set the profession back at least a quarter of a century.

—Baltimore Afro-American

It is not often that the MESSENGER utilizes such a long excerpt from any publication but the foregoing preceded us and took the expression from our mouths. It is notorious, however, that "*socially a success*" is applicable to most Negro Conventions. It is true of the National Negro Business League, the Doctors' Convention, fraternal benefit societies and social workers' gatherings. The science of education, control of institutions, methods of pedagogy, principles and laws of mental activity are not subjects which receive much consideration at the National Negro Teachers' Association. Capital and labor, cooperative business, monopoly principles, valuing goods, salesmanship, the relation of transportation to production—these are not considered appropriate subjects for discussion at the National Negro Business League. Instead there is a lot of *spread eagling* oratory and lying about how certain Negroes "*by dint of their own efforts and self sacrifices*," have made of themselves little Negro Rockefellers, Morgans and Carnegies. The theories of materia medica, bacteriology, social medicine and research never take rank with the "*Doctor's Dance*" at the Negro Physicians' Convention. Actuarial bases, relation of premiums and benefits to death rate, housing and health of the class to be insured,—receive but scant attention at Negro fraternal society conventions.

It is ever and anon the social side which counts. A dance, a parade, a picnic—these are the *summa bona*. Now we are not averse to social pleasure. 'Tis proper, desirable, inevitable. But these social events ought to be ancillary. They ought to be secondary—not primary; auxilliary, not chief. Until these conventions of Negroes become scientifically a success, they will not be even *socially a success*. For *socially* has a wholesome, vigorous and desirable connotation. The truth, after all, is that these conventions are simply *socially* a success!

SHOULD BLACK WORKERS JOIN WHITE UNIONS?

THE very necessity for asking this question, indicates the inexcusable backwardness of the American labor movement. That a worker should join hands with other workers of whatever race, creed or nationality should be accepted—and recognized as a matter of course. But not so in America. Some international unions have clauses in their constitution debarring Negro workers from joining them. The Big Four Brotherhoods of railway workers are instances in proof. This fact has naturally impressed Negro workers with the idea that their white brothers were their enemies. Besides organized capital has carried on relentless propaganda against black and white workers organizing. The organized Negro church, press and schools have been influenced by donations from the capitalists of the country. Witness the tremendous endowment funds of Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Fisk, etc.! Where did they come from? They came from those who rob black and white labor — Rockefeller, Morgan, Rosenwald, the railroad, coal, food and land kings of America.

Yet, this is no justifiable reason for the Negro workers supporting their enemies. Again white labor is learning. The Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor is a favorable sign. We are not over optimistic, however. We simply realize that enlightened self interest will dictate that the organized labor movement of America accord the Negro worker justice. Again, it is utterly impossible for white labor to win its demands just so long as 15,000,000 black workers can be employed as scabs by the employing class against it. The logic of the class struggle will also force the black worker to go into the labor movement. For just as white and black capitalists will combine against black and white labor; black and white labor will be forced to combine against black and white capitalists. Incidentally the Negro has no big capitalists. The income of the so-called Negro business man does not rank with the salary of an ordinary superintendent of the average factory. In fact as the process of the integration and concentration of capital goes on, the Negro business man, together with the small white business man, will be weeded out and dropped down into the ranks of the working class, for they are nothing but workers who are working for themselves. Hence, there is every reason why the Negro as a race should support the workers as a class. But the white workers need also to realize that they have been negligent and recreant to their duty with respect to the organization of their black brothers. They, unfortunately, have allowed the virus of race prejudice to poison their minds. This has divided the ranks of the workers, thereby enabling the master class to rob both more easily. Yes, black workers should join white unions and white unions should organize black workers.

HARDING AND THE NEGRO

ON July 22, while delivering his acceptance address, Warren G. Harding, candidate for President on the Republican ticket, had this to say:

"I believe the federal government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America."

"I believe the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battle-fields of the republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands."

The New York Republican State Convention, in session July 28, adopted the following resolution:

"We demand equal justice for all our citizens. We not only condemn lynch law, but we condemn all acts which tend to create and foster race prejudice.

"We declare for the honest enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments."

This cynical interest in the Negro is amusing at this late date. The same Republican Party which has been in control of the government for fifty years (with the exception of the Cleveland and Wilson Administrations) is now having difficulty restraining its lachrymal ducts over the wrongs of the Negro. This same Republican party has winked at disfranchisement of the Negro since 1876. It has colluded in sweeping from him the last vestige of civil rights, Judge Bradley being the Republican Supreme Court Justice who in conjunction with the Republican Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Summer Civil Rights Bill. This same Republican Party has been in power while nearly three thousand Negroes were lynched, burned at stake, denied due process of law. This same Republican party has winked at and connived in the peonage system to which Negroes in the South were subjected in criminal violation of the federal Constitution as well as the federal statutes.

These illustrations are matters of long record, but some one may say there has been a change of heart on the part of the G. O. P. What change? And how manifested? Let the vote on the Madden Bill to abolish the Jim-Crow law speak for itself. Out of 237 Republicans in the House of Representatives only 11 voted against the Jim-Crow car. When Senator France introduced the bill in the Senate, only five Republican Senators voted against the Jim Crow Car. This has been within the last few months, too!

Again let us ask: *Did Senator Harding vote for or against the Jim Crow Car?* What action has he taken, though nearly six years in the Senate, to stamp out lynching and mob violence? Has he ever made a speech against disfranchisement? Ever called for appropriate legislation to reduce Southern representation; to stamp out peonage; to secure civil rights to Negroes?

Of course, we know that the Republican Party has not done anything for the Negro, nor has Senator Harding. Both are playing to the gallery as a means of attracting the discontented, intelligent and progressive Negro voters who are turning toward Socialism and labor. This is a disturbing factor for the old

guard. The *New Negro* is leaving them. He is awakening and awake. He knows he has nothing in common with the trusts, bankers, railroad magnates and insurance syndicates who control the Republican Party. He knows the Republican spirit of justice has long since atrophied, if indeed it ever did exist. Disillusioned by experience and education, untrammelled as a job hunter or a job holder—the *New Negro* is marshalling his forces to smash the wicked, reactionary time-serving political arch-hypocrit of America—the Republican Party—not the party of Lincoln; not the *Grand Old Party* but the *Old Guard* Pirate, prostituted and preying upon the rights of the people.

THE RUSSO-POLISH WAR

RESPONSIBLE government heads in Europe are reported, as seeing in the near-fall of Warsaw, a crisis second only to the anxious times of 1914. Millerand and Lloyd George, in their wild and frantic efforts to save a crumbling Poland, are employing all of the wiles, finesse sophistry and hypocrisy of European diplomacy upon Soviet Russia. But the astute Soviet statesmen, without the slightest difficulty, have penetrated the transparent tricks and subterfuges of Lloyd George. It is obvious that Soviet diplomacy is not understood by the Elder Statesmen of European and American capitalist politics. The Old Diplomacy of lies, chicanery and deception is met, face to face, with the New Diplomacy of Truth—the diplomacy of Soviet Russia, the Workers' Republic. The old capitalist diplomats are at sea. And they are digging their own graves; for they have lied so much that they cannot understand when they hear the truth, as it is promulgated by the diplomats of a Socialist Republic. When have modern Meternichs, Machiavellis and Bismarks ever heard of a victorious army granting territorial concessions to the enemy country that are beyond the boundary lines claimed by the allies of the said enemy country? But such is the case with the present Russo-Polish diplomacy. Now, Great Britain and France pretend to be protecting the interests of Poland. Of course, they care nothing about Poland. They are simply using Poland to do their dirty work of destroying Soviet Russia. Lenin exposed the double-dealings of the wily and crafty diplomatic tight-rope walker of European politics—Lloyd George, when he informed Poland that she could get much better terms than those demanded by the little Welsh champion of the "rights of smaller nationalities," by negotiating directly with Soviet Russia. Happily, the Lloyd George-Millerand-Wilson diplomacy will not deceive the present leaders of Russia. Soviet Russia will not accept the word of capitalist Europe and America. And this is the only policy that can possibly save the Russian Revolution, beset upon every side, as it is, by a notorious gang of international thieves, liars and bandits.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION'S AWARD TO THE RAILROAD

THE Interstate Commerce Commission has generously awarded the railroad owners one million and a half dollars. This award was made without any dickering or hesitation. It followed hard upon the award of the Wage Labor Board of six hun-

dred million to the railroad workers. The workers' original demand was \$1,100,000,000. The original demand of the owners of the railroads was below that which they received. In justice to the splendid and liberal attitude of the Wage Labor Board, it must be admitted that the award to labor was only made upon the threat of a general railroad strike by the railway workers! Now, what does the difference in the attitude of the government to labor and capital indicate? There is only one conclusion to be drawn from the facts, viz., that the government favors those who control it. Everybody knows that the increase in freight rates will bring about a corresponding increase in the cost of living: But who suffers from the high cost of living? Certainly not the railroad owners! It is the railroad workers and their families, who live off wages, who suffer. Then, it is inconceivable that the workers would boost the cost of living of which they alone are the victims.

In connection with the consideration of the economics of the Interstate Commerce Commission's award, it would also be illuminating to examine into its politics. First, a word about the personnel of the Wage Labor Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is beyond the realm of debate that there are no Socialists on the Board or the Commission. The reason, of course, is based upon the fact that, the members are appointed by the President, who is not allowed by the Big Capitalists and Manufacturers to appoint persons whose economic and political views are opposed to the views of the Democratic and Republican parties. That is to say, every man who passed upon the claim of labor and capital was either a Democrat or a Republican. And it is a matter of common knowledge that the two major parties are controlled by bankers, manufacturers, capitalists railroad and coal magnates who supply the campaign war chest. Hence, the Wage Labor Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission, the creature of the two capitalist parties, naturally would respond to the interest of the employing class in the country. Now, what is the remedy? There is only one solution to the railroad problem. It is the solution of all of our economic and industrial problems, namely, the public ownership and the democratic management of the social means and resources of production and exchange. It will eliminate the cause of the problem. This is the program of the Socialist and Labor-Farmer parties.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS

CERTAIN elements of American Negroes, as well as similar elements of West Indians in their native islands, in Central America and in the principal cities on the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, are enthused over the idea of ousting all non-Negroes from Africa. The plan is variously and euphemistically described as "redeeming Africa" "back to Africa" and "getting a place in the sun." The *modus operandi* for the attainment of this end is extremely simple—transparently so. It involves neither politics nor cooperation with the native races of Africa. All that is necessary is unity—magic word! Viewed seriously this state of mind must be regard-

ed as being indicative of two things: A desire to end the oppression of the black race by Caucasians and a lack of understanding of the basic causes of that oppression.

In the first place the Negro is not the only race that is now being oppressed. Brown Hindu, Yellow Chinese and White Irishmen are equally, and in some instances, more oppressed than Negroes. The oppressors are not all Caucasians. Among the worst oppressors are found the Japanese, a yellow nation. In the dim past Negroes were among the greatest oppressors in the world. The Egyptians who, according to the Bible, enslaved the Jews were a dark people of admitted Negro blood.

Further, Negroes have been some of the most effective instruments for the oppression of members of their own race as well as of other races. Negroes were used by British-Peruvian Capitalists to exploit, murder and mutilate peaceable South Americans. Brown Sikhs and black troops have been used by white Britishers to conquer East Africa and Persia and are now being used for a similar purpose in Mesopotamia.

What does the foregone recital of facts disclose? This: that oppression is not racial; and that no particular race has absolutely clean hands. There may be degrees in suffering and oppression but none is absolutely "without sin."

Why do nations, races, classes and individuals oppress other human beings? Because they hate? No; but because they profit from such oppression. Nowhere do we find any intention on the part of a modern oppressor to exterminate weak peoples; but everywhere we see an intention to reduce them to political impotency and physical helplessness while their lands and labor are being exploited. The Egyptians did not slaughter all the Jews, the Japanese all the Koreans, the British all the Hindus, Ashlantees, Irish and modern Egyptians. Each oppressing nation slaughtered only sufficient of the weaker race as is sufficient to cow the remainder into subjection. Wholesale slaughter is only resorted to when a people choose annihilation rather than economic serfdom, as in the case of the American Indian and the Australian Native. And usually the territory of the exterminated race must be climatically suitable for occupation by the "superior" race.

There is no race problem where a people are willing to toil in the interests of their military superiors. But do all of the stronger group benefit from the subjection of weaker peoples? Does the ignorant, deluded and patriotic dirt-eating cracker of Georgia benefit from the presence of American Marines in Haiti? Does the proud, imperial Englishman who flounders in the filth of White Chapel benefit from the enslavement of the despoiled Zulu? Those who benefit are not the majority of England, America or Japan: they are the small group of financiers who have investments in Haiti, South Africa and Korea.

It is Alfred Beit and the Duke of Fife, brother-in-law of King George, and the directors of the National City Bank of New York City, who profit from the robbery of native lands and the serfdom of their rightful owners. And these men form the powerful and respectable of England and America. They are

dignified statesmen, liberal philanthropists, devout Churchmen and prominent social and political leaders.

The freedom of Africa from alien exploitation, if that is what is meant by redeeming Africa, must comprehend a defeat of these men and all the moral and physical resources they control.

It is safe to say that a people are weakest when they are most oppressed, and if South and East African Negroes are more oppressed than West Indian and American Negroes, it is because they (the Africans) are actually weaker. How then can the relatively stronger group help the weaker group? By sensational gestures? No. But by doing everything possible to weaken those who profit from oppression.

For instance a boycott against all British goods by Negroes in America would be more effective than all the mass meetings and parades they may organize. England is the principal oppressor of Negroes, and the oppression brings profits to English bankers, manufacturers and merchants who dominate the British Empire, so in order to aid those who are injured it is good tactics to attack those who profit from the injury.

To free Africa the wishes of the natives should be consulted, methods secretly discussed and only such methods as are calculated to be successfully adopted. Emotion, ignorance, ambition, are poor material with which to expel the British Capitalists from Africa who have battleships, factories, airplanes, machine guns, poison gas, liquid fire and lying newspapers, ministers and other media of propaganda at their beck and call.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

THE *Crisis* proclaims itself as "a record of the darker races" and as such we expect it to chronicle current happenings of importance to Negroes. Being a monthly and published by the National Association for the advancement of Colored People it is natural to expect it to record such political, social and industrial events as are calculated to advance the interests of the racial group the association claims to serve.

There should be no bias, no petty meanness. Indeed the magazine has editorially descanted on the viciousness of petty meanness. And yet it is guilty of what it condemns in others. It does to its opponents exactly what Negro hating Southern newspapers have done and are still doing to the *Crisis*—suppress facts pertaining to the N. A. A. C. P.

Upton Sinclair in his recent book on American Journalism points out that suppression of important news is a favorite method of misrepresentation employed by the press of the country, the Associated Press and other news distributing agencies. And this is the method of the *Crisis*. It affects a superiority that scorns to mention those with whom it disagrees.

In 1918 a Negro of prominence, Dr. Geo. Frazier Miller of Brooklyn, was the candidate of the Socialist party for Congress in the 21st congressional district, New York; but the *Crisis* "knew" nothing of the affair.

During last summer a sensation was created in the entire country over certain alleged dangerous documents written by a Negro radical which were found by members of the Lusk committee in a raid on the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. Scarcely a prominent Negro or white paper failed to mention the incident; but the Crisis was strangely silent.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association has built up some kind of an organization and staged several spectacular events in New York City and although the Crisis mentioned minor events and associations it has steered clear of referring to the organization. This year the Socialist Party has nominated A. Philip Randolph, one of the editors of the MESSENGER, for the fourth highest office in the State of New York, Comptroller, besides three Negroes for the Assembly and one for the State Senate but, so far, the Crisis, a record of the darker races, is silent.

Even if the Crisis and its wealthy backers, Moorfield Storey and Major Spingarn, dislike Socialism, the political creed of the oppressed toilers of the world without regard to race, creed or color, its management ought to be free from petty meanness and deal justly with its readers by giving them information relative to the progress of the race politically and otherwise. It is about time that the Crisis got in touch with the true sentiment of the race; cease falsifying its information by conscious suppression of important events which are *truly advancing* Colored People.

LABOR STOPS WAR

"There is no intention of sending troops to Poland. If the Soviets want peace they can have it." was the timid and half-hearted pronouncement of Lloyd George in the House of Commons, according to a special cable dispatch to the New York *World*, of August 11th. But this is surprising. Is this the same Lloyd George who has only recently sent virtual ul-

timatums to the Soviet government on her drive on Poland?

What is responsible for this sudden diplomatic somersault? It is the solidarity of British Labor against war in Poland. Labor, indeed, is awakening. It has learnt and digested the lessons of industrial power, wielded by organized and class conscious labor. Labor has, at last, discovered its power to stop war. A menacing discovery to the war-lord of all capitalist countries this! When the workers, transformed into soldiers, refuse to obey the orders of the self-appointed masters of the world—Lloyd George, Millerand and Wilson, the doom of the existing capitalist governments is sealed. But not only did the British workers revolt. The workers of France and Czecho-Slovakia, together with the women's industrial organization representing 1,000,000 members of England, stated unequivocally their opposition to the Allies' sending troops and munitions to Poland. And the one weapon which the Allies feared—and respected—was the threat of a general strike.

For, after all, diplomats, parliaments, congresses, kings and presidents have no power. They are usually old men. They may send out ultimatums, pass war legislation until Doom's Day, but if labor does not heed and take orders, not a gun will be fired; not a wheel on the railroads or in the factories will turn—in fact, there will be no war. We have wars because the workers are ignorant. They are easily deceived by flimsy, superficial, specious and hypocritical slogans, such as, "we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy" and "the self-determination of smaller nationalities." When Lloyd George, Millerand and Wilson arrogantly and blatantly rave, rant and fulminate about what they will or will not do, they are relying upon the continuous ignorance and servility of the workers.

But at last, the workers are refusing to serve as cannon fodder any longer. This is the dawn of a new day for mankind. All power to the workers! The future belongs to the people!

Economics and Politics

Will Bolshevism Free America?

By W. A. DOMINGO

WITHOUT doubt the most important happenings in international affairs, from the standpoint of the Negro and all oppressed nations and races, are the defeat of imperialist Poland, the legitimate offspring of French militarism and British finance, by the Soviet troops, and the spread throughout eastern and southwestern Asia of the liberating doctrines of Bolshevism.

Poland which contests with the United States for primacy in mob law and racial arrogance, was designed to be an outpost of "civilization" against Muscovite "barbarism" and so as to make the security

of "noble" France, "liberty-loving" England and "democratic" Germany more secure, this little country ruled by the fake Socialist Pilsudski, embarked upon a war of conquest. Lacking factories for the adequate supplying of their armies of deluded Jew-murdering conscripts, the Polish Junkers had their needs supplied by the products of English, French and American factories. Even the officers of highest rank were furnished by the two first named countries, while the aviators were mainly Americans.

Apart from other "ties that bind," apart from the

international interests of all capitalist nations, apart from the benevolent instigation of that synthetic harlot, the "Plague of Dam-Nations," there was one great purpose influencing the conduct of Polish aggression upon Socialist Russia. And that purpose grew out of the circumstances that Poland was in one particular a replica of Great Britain, France and the United States. While these countries differed in religion and language there was one question upon which they agreed thoroughly: the oppression of weaker peoples.

A thief will invariably help another thief to escape. It is part of an unwritten but none the less observed code of conduct that where interests are similar alliances are advantageous.

The strengthening of Poland by France, England and America meant to those countries the increase in the total power possessed by the race—persecuting nations. A strong Poland would mean a strong nation that would look with benign indifference upon another Amritsar, another expropriation of the ancestral territories of native Africans, another Congo, another Ireland drenched in blood, another Haiti, Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, another Morocco, another Tripoli, another Shantung and another East St. Louis. But thanks to the Communist arms, brains and valor, Poland is no more, and out of the debacle just ended, oppressed peoples should take hope and pray that what was recently a catspaw of wily Lloyd George, the Socialist renegade Millerand and the unblushing and clumsy diplomatic prestigitator Churchill will become a corridor into Germany for the forces of civilization and of humanity represented by Lenin and Trotzky.

May the pianist Paderewski play a fitting requiem for his country's evil ambitions!

While Bolshevist arms are winning in Western Europe and undermining the great imperialist nations France and England, Bolshevist propagandists, men and women who count life cheap when compared with their ideals, are destroying the foundations of British and French power and wealth in the East. Bullets are to be respected and feared, but ideas are the bete noir of those who prey upon ignorance.

Having accomplished what all the weasel words of Wilson in his now infamous 14 points could not do—break the morale of the German troops; having influenced British and Italian workers to oppose the foul conduct of the masters of their countries, Bolshevist doctrines—Socialist propaganda—are now being carried to the victims of imperialism. Persia, India and Armenia are infected and combined with a nationalism that is coterminous with self-determination. These people are girding up their loins to do battle with alien and native exploiters alike.

Nor is Bolshevist help a negative one: it is highly positive. It includes the furnishing of arms and technically trained minds to the Armenians and Persians. Sooner or later British rule in the East, which is frankly based upon force exercised by a minority of aliens, must go.

Another phase of Franco-British financial imperialism supported by the silent acquiescence of the United States is the campaign to dismember and emasculate Turkey. To achieve this appeals are being made to the lowest passions and the basest emotions. The

Turk is not a genuine European! The Turk is a Mohammedan! These are the cries that are being bellowed to the world by a bigoted and self-righteous Caucasian press, European and American.

The Turk must leave Europe, his crimes against Christian Armenia must be punished and the only adequate penalty is for him to abandon the great mineral and agricultural wealth of lands that have been occupied by him for centuries. But expulsion is not easy; hence a recourse to force of arms which can be most effective when backed by the peals of church bells and the chants and prayers of hypocritical clergymen. From India, Algeria and Senegal as well as from England and France mercenaries are despatched whose holy mission is to drive the crescent from its only foothold on sacred European soil. Desperately in need of a friend the Turks like other oppressed peoples, turned their eyes to Moscow and found a friend in non-imperialistic Russia. Emisaries are despatched and now the Near East, from Armenia to Arabia, is ablaze with Bolshevism. And from Arabia to Egypt—Africa—is but a short distance. Soon the light-giving current of Bolshevism will pass over the conducting wires of Turkish, Syrian and Arabian nationalism until it reaches the better conductor of Mohammedanism which will challenge British, French and Belgian imperialism in the heart of tropical Africa. Soon, perhaps, will the stately Mandingo and the industrious Kroom, the despoiled Masai and the progressive Vais realize their essential political kinship with the humble peasants of Turkestan, Samarkand and Ukhainia.

This threat of Bolshevism into Egypt and into the heart of Africa via Arabia constitutes the greatest danger to imperialism and the greatest hope to the Negro race everywhere. For opposition to imperialism makes allies of all oppressed races and those who support Socialism in Russia and the rest of Europe, must, sooner or later, support Socialism in Asia and Africa. The world cannot be half Socialist and half capitalist, and not all the straddling moderate Socialists, liberals and laborites of England, France and America can overcome this fact.

Verily, the forces of freedom, represented by Soviet Russia and guided by impersonal economic laws are on the side of the Negro. It is, therefore, for the New Negro, whose newness represents intelligence and clear vision, who has no excess baggage of emotion to discard and who carries no deadweight of prejudice and ignorance, to support the political and industrial groups of his country which are today supporting Soviet Russia.

And in America the Socialist Party is the only recognized political organization that has longest and consistently supported the Moscow government. Bolshevism—Socialism—is the only weapon that can be used by Negroes effectively to clip the claws of the British lion and the talons of the American eagle in Africa, the British West Indies, Haiti, the Southern States and at the same time reach the monsters' heart (they have a common one) in London, Paris, New York, Tokio and Warsaw.

A vote for Socialism is a vote against imperialism --a vote to strengthen the forces that are now engaged in destroying the foul and merciless monster.

The Coming Panic

By **THE EDITORS**

A PANIC is the breakdown of the economic, industrial and financial mechanism of production and exchange. Panics are periodic. They usually follow wars—economic periods of abnormal production. They are the natural, logical and inevitable consequence of the operation of definite, inexorable laws of our economic life. They are products of our capitalist economy—an economy which sanctions the private ownership of the social tools of production and exchange—a system under which the principle of our economic conduct is to “buy cheap and sell dear”—a tooth and claw, a beak and fang plans of social action. In short, the basic philosophy, is the philosophy of profits, or the right of one to appropriate the social values created by the labor of others.

Now the right and power to make profits by exploiting labor has engendered and fostered the spirit of competition. Hence, we find competing groups of capitalists juggling the wages of labor. The capitalist system tends to force down wages. Because the values created in excess of the values which labor receives in the form of wages, represent surplus value or rent, interest and profit—which are appropriated by the property owning class of society. Now since labor is exploited or robbed at the point of production, it follows that the chief struggle between labor and capital will take place at the point of production or on the job.

Now, the fact that there is an excess of values produced by labor above the wages received, proves that labor can not buy back for consumption more values than are represented by the wages received. In fact, all capitalist countries are continuously piling up surplus wealth, that is, wealth which is not consumed by the people in the country. This surplus wealth is either invested in undeveloped countries, such as, China, Africa, Asia, Mexico and Haiti—or it is destroyed. Capital is always invested where the investment brings the highest returns, profit; it is destroyed if it forces down the rate of profits. Hence, all capitalist countries have a see-saw of under-production and over-production. Under-production follows a low rate of profits,—and over-production a high rate of profits. Now a high rate of profits is based upon an intense and increased exploitation of labor.—This manifests itself through high price levels. As the rate of profits goes upward the movement of price also goes upward. Competition between capitalists becomes more acute, struggling as they are to reap the reward or profit—afforded by the high prices of commodities. This competition in production to satisfy the high demand of the market, results in over-production, with the consequent glutting of the market. Then a reaction sets in. Prices begin to tremble. Capital is withdrawn from the field of investment. The rate of profits falls. The exploitation of labor lessens. But labor is worse off; because capital retrenches by closing down the factories, mines

and mills. Entrepreneurs or active industrial and financial capitalists fail in the payments of loans received; mortgages are foreclosed; railroads become insolvent; a run is made upon banks; and finally the crash comes. Such is the process of panics.

We are facing a panic. Already Japan has had her's. The Seventy-fourth Bank, the Mogi, is reported to have failed. The Kakinuma Shoten of Tokio, one of the leading cloth and cotton yarn houses of Japan, has been declared in bankruptcy, and is now in the hands of the receiver. Kichiji Takeuchi, an Osaka capitalist, is said to have committed suicide after losing 4,000,000 yen in the raw cotton slump. Figures given out by the bank of Japan show that the prices of 56 staple articles have fallen.

In America, we have noted, with much apprehension, the closing down of the American Woolen Mills, despite the protest of the workers. The Pennsylvania railroad has only recently cut 12,000 workers off the payroll. Unemployment is becoming nationwide. There is also a noticeable slump in the prices of shoes, clothes, sugar, and several other commodities. Capital is becoming more difficult to secure. The Federal Reserve Banking System is raising the rate of discount. The financial bubble of inflation, with its wild and frenzied period of speculation, is passing. The war period of high prices stimulated over-production. Now, the aftermath is setting in with its train of social evils and economic mal-adjustments, such as unemployment, bank failures, low prices, bread lines and bread riots.

Of course, by over-production, we don't mean that the workers have produced more than they can consume: but merely, that they have produced more than they can buy back with their wages to consume. They possess the desire to consume but not the power or right to consume.

Panics always swamp the small investors, such, for instance, as the little Negro real estate operators. Take the property in the Harlem section of New York; it will pass out of the hands of the present Negro real estate operators.

The Negro real estate investor can only hold this property during the high rental boom. Because the lease or purchase price is based upon a definite rental income. Now if rents go down, the present holders cannot meet their notes or mortgages. The only hope of the small investor is the period of high prices. But this period is passing. Besides, when the prices of building materials go down, a building boom begins. This is the death knell of the little white and black real estate sharks.

Now, what can be done to meet the coming crisis. There are three methods: (1) labor organization, (2) political action; and, (3) cooperative societies. The first is for the purpose of getting jobs, holding jobs and raising wages and shortening hours of work; the second, for the purpose of bringing political power

to bear in the interest of economic and social benefits; and, the third is intended to reduce the cost of living by the elimination of the profiteering middlemen.

But the final solution of the problem of panics is

the complete abolition of the capitalist system. This can only be done by the adoption of the socialist program. The Socialist program is planful; the existing capitalist system of production and exchange is planless. Hence, panics!

Resolutions of the Convention of the Friends of Negro Freedom

FOREWORD

WE wish to call to the attention of the country that in America, the term "Negro Problem" is a misnomer. No oppressed race within a national group has yet been able per se to make itself a problem.

The problem that has been occasioned by the presence of the Negro is only incidentally a race problem, but fundamentally, an economic problem. The Irish problem is not the problem of the Irish race, but simply the labor problem of Ireland. The Hindoo problem is not the problem of the Indian races, but fundamentally the Indo-British-Labor Problem. Strictly speaking, the so-called Negro problem is the result of the white capitalist exploiting Negro labor on the one hand, and the white laborer fighting his Negro fellow laborer for the too limited supply of jobs.

(A) Economic:

Ninety-five per cent of Negroes are working people, who earn their living by labor power. They constitute a large part of the creative workers of America. One-tenth of the railway workers, one-third of the workers in the steel and iron industry, forty per cent of the organized coal miners, fifty per cent of the workers in the packing industries are found in their ranks. In fact, they constitute one-seventh of the industrial population of America, and while they form only one-third of the population of the South, according to Albert Bushnell Hart, they produce three-fifths of its wealth.

Within a few years, they bid fair to count far more largely in labor, as the result of the trend of emigration back to Europe. Ex-Director of Public Safety, Lee, reports that in the cities of Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, ninety thousand Poles, not counting other races, have already engaged bookings to return to Europe. Frederick C. Howe, former Commissioner of Emigration at the Port of New York, states that between four and seven millions of foreigners have engaged or are seeking bookings to return to Europe in the next year and a half. When war was declared, withdrawing from production three and a half million workers, a tremendous migration of Negroes Northward and Westward resulted. The imminent migration to Europe of four to seven million of foreigners will create an unprecedented labor vacuum, and stimulate to a very much larger extent, the migration of Negroes to industrial centers. That these may, with the least possible friction, be adjusted to their new environment, to the best advantage of them

and their class, there is the necessity of their being unionized.

(B) High Cost of Living:

Just as most Negroes work for wages for a living,

1. Housing:

most of them have to rent houses to live in. The migration to the industrial centers, created by the labor vacuum, and steadily increasing, makes acute the problem of the supply in housing.

Meeting the Demand:

This problem is further accentuated by the crystallized law of segregation, limiting the option of Negroes on houses to certain locations known as Negro Districts.

Having poorly organized and limited political power, the Negro finds his houses neglected by the Municipal Government, resulting in poor lighting, filthy streets, low or no sewerage, and bad sanitation—for which he pays the highest rents. To eliminate these evils, we urge the formation of tenants' leagues, on the one hand, and heavy taxation on unimproved urban land, on the other, as a means of forcing such lands into use by driving the owners to build. Thereby, there is provided an increase of houses.

The Tenants' League, by organizing rent strikes, will require owners to give better service, also to reduce rents. Not only is there a limited supply in the housing of Negroes, but the character of available houses is very undesirable. We, therefore, urge upon municipalities a program for the erection of adequate housing at reasonable rentals.

2. Consumption.

At the present time, Negro workers are receiving larger money incomes than ever before. The purchasing power of the dollar, however, determines all real wages. The dollar today is worth approximately thirty cents of its normal purchasing power in 1914. The cost of food, fuel, clothing, transportation and shelter determines the value of one's wages. How can the price of these commodities be reduced?

European countries have successfully solved this problem by the development of the cooperative method. Denmark, Russia, France, England, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland have developed cooperation in both consumption and production. It is the one social remedy that did not fail during the war. Instead it advanced on a large scale. Cooperation may be organized by city blocks, department houses, church congregations, fraternal societies, and, in rural districts, by counties or convenient sections. The cooperative, by eliminating the middle man, enables the

producer, whether farmer or industrial worker, to

secure more of his goods, and at the same time, to reduce the price to the consumer.

We wish to issue a special warning to Negroes to guard against pseudo-cooperatives, or in other words, movements by individuals for private profits, sailing under the guise of genuine cooperatives.

We would suggest that this organization issue a syllabus on the details of methods of cooperation for the use of those who desire specific information.

As an effective means to produce a reduction in the price of commodities, and to secure better and courteous service, we recommend the organization of a Boycott Committee in every local council. This committee shall study the character and function of all businesses, giving its O. K. to those it approves and condemning those found unsatisfactory according to its standard. We would also strongly recommend that the Boycott Committee protest against a defamation and stigmatization of Negroes on the stage, screen, and in music, through Negro quartettes and jubilee singers. In addition to boycotting, when the Negro is presented in such a light on the stage or screen, the players, actors or portrayal should be roundly hissed by all Friends of Negro Freedom of any race or color.

3. Social.

There is the necessity that the masses of the people become familiar with the fundamental problems which concern the Negro race. This implies education. Education, therefore, must be the corner-stone of the Friends of Negro Freedom since an organization is weak or strong in proportion as its membership is poorly or well informed. Col. Ingersoll once said, "To teach the alphabet is to inaugurate a revolution; to build a school-house is to construct a fort."

We, therefore, urge that every local council shall form a forum which shall meet weekly and discuss all vital problems, giving precedence to those which more closely affect Negroes. When forums shall have been organized in several cities, we suggest that a National Chatauqua be instituted to be addressed by the National Officials, various experts and specialists from the universities and municipal departments in those cities and centers. There should also be a monthly official organ as well as press releases.

We would call to the attention of the country that Negro colleges and universities are being dominated by an invisible government, an interlocking directorate, which controls the curricula, shapes the policy, and suppresses academic freedom even more ruthlessly than in white colleges and universities. In such institutions, methods are in vogue which tend to create intellectual puppets of the student and intellectual prostitutes of the teacher. The universal protest of those who stand for real education should be made against such conditions.

National Day

By the setting aside of a National Day for annual celebration, nearly all great movements have given publicity to their work and aroused the enthusiasm of their followers.

The Labor Movement added considerable impetus to its development by setting aside of May 1st for its international holiday. More in point, is the Irish race's setting aside March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, on which they (the Irish) have great parades, mass meet-

ings, etc., to keep before the world the cause of oppressed Ireland and its determination to be free.

We urge that the Friends of Negro Freedom also establish an annual National Day.

The Committee would designate the birthday of John Brown, May 9th, as the day to be observed. On this day, the local councils everywhere should organize a parade with appropriate floats and banners. This should be followed by mass meetings, and, where possible, pageants, in the afternoon and evenings.

On this day a membership drive should be conducted; girls should sell tags and distribute propaganda matter. Buttons should be worn, and two weeks prior to the day, all members of the Friends of Negro Freedom should use on their mail the seals which may be secured from the National Office. Ministers should be urged to preach sermons, papers to write editorials, and instructors to teach the children to revere the day.

4. Political.

We urge that Negroes no longer base their political affiliation on that of their fathers, and until they are wholly satisfied that a political party represents their aspirations, their economic and social needs, we suggest that they maintain a non-partisan attitude, throwing their strength where it shall count most for their interest.

We urge that our councils shall give less attention to so-called good men and more to political organization and the *interests of those who compose the organization*. Good men may die overnight, but not their organization. A party composed of brewers and distillers could not be relied upon to enact a genuine prohibition law. Undertakers could not be relied upon to enact a law providing burial at cost. Gamblers would not pass legislation penalizing games of chance. Slave holders would not issue and enforce an Emancipation Proclamation. In other words, the beneficiary of a system cannot be relied upon to overthrow that system.

Negroes who are chiefly workers, should therefore note that parties composed of large land-owners, manufacturers, bankers, railroad magnates, trusts, syndicates and monopolists, cannot represent a race of workers.

Program of Destruction.

Destruction precedes construction. Excavation must go before erection. Disease germs must be destroyed before health can be developed.

Much of the chief work in the liberation of Negroes calls for the destruction of many deep rooted American institutions. We, therefore, urge the abolition of disfranchisement, the annihilation of peonage, the extirpation of lynching, the elimination of the jim-crow car; in short, the relegation to oblivion of every form of race and color discrimination in every country of the world.

This tersely and succinctly sets forth the salient principles and methods of the Friends of Negro Freedom, a program of thought and action, calmly and dispassionately entered upon by a convention characterized by more light and less heat.

We believe that its pursuit will usher in a new day

for an oppressed people. We welcome examination and criticism of its content and method, believing that where attention is given it, without prejudice or prepossession, the inquirer will find it rich in con-

struction,—fraught with bigness and consequence.

R. W. BAGNALL, *Chairman*
CHANDLER OWEN, *Secretary*
RICHARD E. LUNDY
JOHN MORGAN

Education and Literature

The Invisible Government of Negro Institutions

By THE EDITORS

THE government of any institution means the control of that institution. The control of any institution resides with those who pay for its existence and perpetuation. While people are extremely ignorant,—savage, barbarous, or semi-civilized—the hand of control is not deliberately concealed. 'Tis not necessary because ignorance is blind. But when they begin to secure education, they grasp the idea that the fund givers are the controllers,—the government of their institutions. Now when the controllers of any institution are actually working in the interest of the group for whom they profess a desire to assist, there is no reason to conceal their identity nor their motives. On the contrary, however, if the relations of the group supplying the funds are such as to make them the inevitable enemies of those for whom they are supposed to be working—then it is necessary for the fund givers to stay in the background, and if paraded in the forefront, no mention will be made of the relations which are materially opposed to the recipients of their philanthropy. For instance, if Negroes found Hoke Smith, Cole Blease, John Sharp Williams and Vardaman on the board of directors of any Negro institution, they could be quite sure that the institution's policy was "to keep Negroes in their places." If Negroes were employed there as presidents or in other capacities, it would be axiomatic that those Negroes were hat-in-hand, *good niggers*, for under no circumstances could it be a job for a *real Negro man*.

This, of course, is universal social law. Deception must be employed where the motives, purposes and objects will not bear examination. It was ever thus when people are awakening or awake. In the middle ages and as late as the 18th and 19th centuries Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon declared war avowedly to add new territory to their respective empires. National patriotism was high and poor, deluded fools would readily go forth to die. Not so today. Your wars must be "for the rights of smaller nationalities," "to make the world safe for democracy," "to save the Fatherland from destruction in a war forced upon it by England," or, as in the case of Czaristic Russia, *just acting the part of Big Brother to Serbia*. In other words, what you are professing to do—not what you

are doing—must be something in interest of those whom you ask as followers.

Some opponent revolts against these citations and replies that the very thing professed was just what each country was constantly violating. For instance, England, fighting for the rights of smaller nationalities, had under her imperial heel the bleeding body of Ireland, the suffering soul of India, the dusky slaves of Egypt. America, fighting to make the world safe for democracy, had two million disfranchised Negroes, millions of women, an unspeakable white terror in Haiti and Santo Domingo, imperialism in the Phillipines and Cuba. Nevertheless, this policy is logical, deliberate, effective. It is what we understand in philosophy as the *attempt to avert suspicion by condemning the thing you are doing yourself*. To illustrate: The thief frequently cries, stop thief! with the loot under his arm. This diverts attention from the real thief. England by talking about small nationalities diverts attention from her oppression of Ireland, Egypt, India. America, by asseverations of democracy, diverts European attention from the holowness, the emptiness, the sham, the mockery, the rape on decency and the travesty on common sense which such protestations of Wilson on democracy amount to. As a result, Europeans (until they learned better), thought that President Wilson, the statesman of the Bourbon South, the South of lynch law, peonage, proscription and slavery,—was serious in his professions of fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

So with Negro institutions. The professed purposes and objects of those who represent them are by no means the real objects. The apparent is usually the opposite of the real, and here is no exception. An examination reveals that there is an interlocking directorate in control of all these institutions among Negroes. This is true of the Negro schools, colleges and universities, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Negro Church, the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Community Service, Boys' Welfare Clubs and the American Legion. It is not necessary to mention the Republican Party. We shall publish the interlocking

names on these boards, their corporate and trust connections, their attitude toward policies diametrically opposed to the Negro, their control of school curricula, their dictation of preacher's sermons, the use of churches, Y. M. C. A.'s and Community Houses. Definite attention will be given to certain personalities such as Jesse Mooreland, Thomas Jesse Jones, Moorfield Storey, Chas. H. Kelsey, Robert Russa Moton, Emmet Scott, Dr. Durkee of Howard University, Joel

E. Spigarn, Mary White Ovington, Prince Loud, Geo. E. Haynes, Eugene Kinckle Jones, John M. Gandy, A. S. Frissel, William P. Thirkield, Rosenwald and others.

So interesting and illuminating is the whole subject that exhaustive treatment requires a series of about five or six articles. The first one next month will deal with *The Invisible Government of the Negro School*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Phases of the Negro Problem

The Negro Faces America—By Herbert J. Seligman. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.

THE Negro problem can and will be solved. The solution, however, depends upon a knowledge of its phases—a grasp of the main and the contributory causes of that problem. Dr. Seligman has made a commendable effort in this line—one of the best we have seen.

Intelligently to read this book, one must understand its purpose. It aims to appeal to liberals. It is tactful, non-vindictive, almost entirely devoid of invective, vitriol, cutting satire. In a word, the book intends and tends to convince one to the author's point of view. In the very beginning the author sets forth the Negro problem under the unique title—*Blind Spots*. He holds Northerner and Southerner responsible and thus puts himself in company with those upon whom the criticism is launched. He recites the New England merchant captains' adventures in rum and slaves, the slave traffic, lynchings and riots of the North. He has then paved the way for criticism of the over sensitive South.

Second only to the economic aspects of this work was the puncturing of southern myths and fallacies on the Negro problem. This is admirably done in the most scientific chapter in the book entitled *Anthropology and Myth*. Here we can do no better than to quote: "Modern anthropology takes the position, with respect to the Negro, as with other races, that no direct connection with physical characters and abilities or aptitudes has yet been established. Thus even the possession of large or small brains does not postulate genius or stupidity. . . . Nearly if not all of the scientific experiment such as the measurement of intelligence of school children, of Negro and white races, is subject to criticism of method, in that it has not been possible to isolate racial characters from influence of social environment." In other words, Dr. Seligman would call to attention the inability to compare a class of Negro children, most of whose parents are in poverty, with a group of middle class white children, or children of highly paid white laborers. The home, parents, housings, diet, leisure are all factors which would tell and modify the results in such an experiment.

The three chapters entitled, respectively, *Why Race Riots*, *The Negro in Industry*, *The Scape Goat of City Politics*—might have been grouped in one chapter entitled Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

Herein the author gets right down to the problem. To sum up the thought in *Why Race Riots*, he shows they are caused by labor competition when whites and Negroes are contending for the jobs as in Chicago. Sometime the Negro is the scape goat of city politics as in Washington and Omaha. Here, however, Mr. Seligman did not develop his economic point to its full extent. He failed to point out that the vice ring of Omaha and the liquor ring of Washington wanted control of the government because the reform government prevented their economic income from vice. Again the author assigns to real estate speculators partial responsibility for rioting such as was found in Chicago. Once more we see the economic factor at work. Real estate speculators are holding property to sell at a profit. Negroes depreciate the value of property. Consequently, the property owner hires thugs and gunmen to bomb homes of Negroes. With the race and "color psychosis" to bandy in the face of ignorant white workers, it is possible to make tools of them to do the bidding of real estate speculators who are ruthlessly exploiting both whites and blacks.

In discussing the migration of Negroes emphasis is placed upon the part played by decent treatment, schools for Negro children, the vote, no Jim-Crow Car and similar factors. We believe all the Negro writers and writers on Negro subjects have unduly stressed this. Here again the economic factor is the issue. For instance, Negroes have been lynched, Jim-crowed, held in peonage, disfranchised, segregated for several years, but no such exodus took place. Nor was their treatment during the war worse than heretofore. What then was the cause of this migration? It seems clear and unassailable to us that opportunity in industry was the issue. It was the one differentiating factor which presented itself. The woolen mills, munitions plants, stock yards, automobile plants, factories, mines and mills were chiefly in the North and West. To these industrial centers the Negro flocked. Economic stimulus is powerful—overwhelming. Had the factories mills, mines and stock yards been located in the South, in spite of the social, civil and political conditions, Negroes would have gone South. They would have flocked from the North to Georgia, Mississippi and Florida. In fact, they went to any Southern point which offered economic opportunity. Newport News, Va., was crowded, even though Virginia has Jim Crow Cars, poor schools, segregation, disfranchisement and lynching. Probably another illuminating instance is that of Florida,

where Negroes of New York and Northern and Western Centers migrate every winter because of lucrative (tip) employment offered through the hotels as winter resorts. And Florida is the back door to Georgia—the disgrace of democracy.

We like Seligman's conclusions on "Social Equality and Sex" but the argument might have been much more cogent, compelling and forceful. Two quotations are in point on this. He says: *In any circumstances, the question of intermarriage could more safely be left to the decision of the individuals concerned than to politicians with a vested political interest in race hatred.* And again: *"On racial grounds no prohibition of intermarriage has as yet been justified."* The economic factor of freedom from responsibility of caring for illegitimate children, and the inability of illegitimate children to inherit the property of their fathers might have been developed to advantage.

From the last chapter—*The New Negro*—we are constrained to believe Mr. Seligman selected the title of his book. The title of the book is *The Negro Faces America*. But only the New Negro faces America. The old me-too-Boss, hat-in-hand "good nigger" has his back to America. He is being driven. He knows only the advance of retreat. He never takes a stand on anything which American capitalism opposes. Hence this appropriate climax to the book. The author is able clearly to grasp and present what the New Negro's program is. He is a Socialist on the political field and a union man on the industrial field. While fighting the system of capitalism, and criticizing the social order, the New Negro mercilessly criticizes his own race, its leadership, its church. The New Negro is a scientist. He is color blind. He has taught the country cooperation and peace with white workingmen on a basis of equality whereas Booker Washington taught cooperation and peace on the basis of caste. To quote the author: *Certain colored men notably A. Philip Randolph and Chandler*

Owen, editors of the MESSENGER, gave the term special significance. . . . This left wing represented the farthest swing away from the accommodating optimism of Booker Washington. It repudiated even Doctor Du Bois and The Crisis, together with all reform movements for the advancement of the Negro under the capitalist system.

With the instrument of economic determinism at their hand, the editors of the MESSENGER embarked upon a raking criticism of attitudes and achievements among members of their own race. . . . In a sense they carried on Doctor Du Bois's insurgence from the Booker Washington leadership. . . . Like Dr. Du Bois, they set out to create new habits of thought among American Negroes, and, like him, they represented an attitude which has grown ripe for expression."

Mr. Seligman succinctly and tersely expresses a significant fact in saying: "The future of race relations, in so far as they are not allowed to degenerate into violence and irremediable bitterness, would seem to lie with labor and with liberal political forces that represent working-class sentiment as the old parties do not and cannot. It will be largely on the job and in the labor union that the identity of interest of the colored worker and the white will be demonstrated, probably despite all efforts to maintain the color line in industry by using unorganized colored men to break white strikes. *A tolerable future for the relations between white and colored people in the United States depends for the most part upon white labor.*"

To sum up: Dr. Seligman has produced a splendid book. It lacks that primitive downrightness which superficial authors adopt. It is full of thought, illuminating facts, sympathy with the oppressor and the oppressed. It stresses the economic phases more than any book yet produced on the Negro problem. The style is trenchant and readable, reminding one somewhat of Walter E. Wevl's *New Democracy*. It will be profitable and entertaining reading for people of any race or color.

THE EDITORS.

A CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

CONDUCTED BY

CLOTHING WORKERS OF NEWYORK

Amalgamated Clothing System

High Grade Custom Clothing Made to Measure
Mail Orders Filled

NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION BUILDING

44 East 12th Street

New York City

Phone Stuyvesant 5566-3257

Who's Who

LA FOLLETTE

SENATOR La Follette has been the idol of the liberals of America. In the Senate,—he had championed peace. He had fought the war profiteers. All oppressed nationalities sought him to present their case before the American Congress. Besides, La Follette had fathered the progressive movement which crystallized itself politically into the Progressive or Bull Moose Party which became the personal property of Theodore Roosevelt.

Thus, it was the record of La Follette's liberalism which made him the logical presidential nominee for a liberal party, of the sort advocated by the leading personalities of the Committee of 48. La Follette announced his willingness to accept the nomination, providing the platform was in harmony with his political and economic beliefs. It was very readily revealed, however, in the discussion of the majority and minority platform reports in the Liberal-Labor-Farmer Convention that La Follette wanted a platform of liberal capitalism. He objected to the plank demanding democratic control of basic industries. This was a death blow to the liberals' so-called plea for economic democracy. The plank according the Negro economic and political equality was regarded by him as impolitic, in that it would alienate the

South. Think of an alleged liberal pandering to the bloody shirt, mob law, disfranchisement, the jim-crow car of the backward, unprogressive and reactionary South.

But, it was well that a definite test of La Follette's sense of political and economic democracy was made. He had deceived the unthinking and credulous liberals, but not the critical and skeptical radicals.

The industrial workers and farmers very easily saw through the empty, hollow, meaningless shams of the crowd of liberals, who were intent upon working the workers, and farming the farmers. The Liberals wanted to feed the workers and farmers well, so that they would do more and better work and farming. But, they were determined that the workers and farmers should remain mere wage and soil slaves. A good cattle raiser will feed his cow well, in order that she might give more and better milk. But a cow she ever remains.

The Labor-Farmer group, however, were looking for something more than more and better bread. They were looking for life, freedom, the right of self-determination.

Now, La Follette, the spokesman of American Liberalism, is dead. Liberalism is bankrupt. The hope of the workers is the organized might of the workers.

The Open Forum

April 10th, 1920.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF
COMMITTEE,

Dr. M. Michailovsky, New York

My dear Dr. Michailovsky:

On behalf of Mr. L. K. Martens, the representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the United States, I beg to thank you most sincerely for your effort to bring Medical relief to the population of Soviet Russia.

The blockade of Russia, which has been maintained by the Allied powers, in their desperate and futile efforts to prevent the masses of the Russian people from developing the form of society they have chosen for themselves, has among other hardships caused the Russian people sufferings due to lack of medical supplies. Less than ten per cent of the pre-war requirements of such supplies are available in Russia at this time, when epidemics due to under-nourishment—another result of the blockade—and the necessity of caring for those wounded in attacks against Russia, make the need of medical supplies larger than usual. Only by superhuman sacrifices and efforts has it been

possible for our people to overcome these sufferings and trials.

You are, perhaps, aware of the fact, that in many countries, especially in Scandinavia, various organizations are undertaking to bring medical relief to the Russian people,—even Germany has sent a medical relief committee to Russia.

We deeply appreciate similar efforts on the part of the Americans, and we are glad of them not only because of the concrete and valuable aid to Russian men, women and children they represent, but also as an evidence of warm-hearted sympathy towards the people of Russia which is to us so much more valuable at this time when Russia is an object of malice and prejudice on the part of reactionary forces.

I beg to assure you, that we will, in every possible way, facilitate your undertaking.

If you propose to send a relief commission to Russia, our government will be pleased to extend to it every possible accommodation.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) SANTERI NUORTEVA,
Secretary of the Bureau.

May 6, 1920.

Editors of THE MESSENGER,
2307 Seventh Avenue, New York.
Gentlemen:

Having taken the liberty to express our views upon your excellent publication—THE MESSENGER—we are herewith enclosing the May number containing same. I regard THE MESSENGER as the most direct, convincing and aggressive publication of which the Negro people of this country can boast. It is at once and uncompromisingly the scientific champion of the new philosophy of a tremendous subject. May I take the liberty of offering the very best wishes for your highest success.

Humbly yours,
W. O. SMYER,
Editor *The Coming Issue*.

From The "Literary Digest" for August 16, 1919.

"Long years of oppression through disfranchisement, 'Jim Crow' laws, segregation policies, lynching, economic discrimination, etc., coupled with the bitter experiences incident to the Great War, have raised up a group of young men and women in the Negro ranks who are impatient with the old leaders of the race, of both the Booker Washington and Du Bois school, and are clamoring for more aggressive action

along lines of uncompromising social radicalism. These militants are most of them Socialists, and thus represent not only extreme revolt against racial oppression, but also the appearance among Negroes of that same movement of political and economic revolution which is now sweeping the world from end to end. Just how powerful this new group is today, we do not know; but it is largely represented in New York and other great cities, has a journalistic organ, THE MESSENGER, which is of exceptionally high standard, and is pushing a vigorous and determined campaign, especially in the North. It is too early, as yet, to estimate the significance of this sudden appearance among colored people of this movement for radical social change, but that it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely."

—John Haynes Holmes in *Unity*.

Next issue of **THE MESSENGER** out
September 15th.

* * *

Subscription for next three months—40 cents!

Subscribe for

The MESSENGER

THE MESSENGER announces that it is authorized to act as agent for Labor Film Service, Inc. — which has been organized to place life and labor on the moving picture screen without prejudice or perversion. Truth and fact are its watchwords — and race, color, or creed will not be permitted to serve as an obstacle to a square deal for any person or element of society.

Stock sells for \$10.00 per share. Help us establish pictures for progress and fair play for labor.

Subscribe today.

LABOR FILM SERVICE, Inc.,
31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

Dept. X.

Don't fail to mention **THE MESSENGER**.
Watch for full page announcement in our next issue.

Why Negro workers should join the Journeyman Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union of America

1. Because it draws no race or color line.
2. Because it has raised the wages of journeymen bakers to \$42, and \$39 for bench hands.
3. Because it has won the 8 hour day.
4. Because this fall the union will demand and secure a \$50 a week wage, and \$45 for bench hands.
5. Because the union has organized, and has agreements with 750 bakery shops.
6. Because, Mr. Negro Worker, you are overworked and underpaid.
7. Because you can only improve your condition by joining hands with your white brother and by realizing that an injury to one worker, black or white, is an injury to all.
8. Because the Union is 30 years old, and is powerful and stable.
9. Because you do skilled work but you receive unskilled pay.

A branch of the Journeyman Bakers' and Confectioners' Union will be formed, August 28th at 7 p. m., in the office of THE MESSENGER, 2305 Seventh Avenue.

All Negro journeyman bakers and helpers are urged to be present. A charter will be granted.

An Appeal To Reason

1. The International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation Appeals to Negro workers to join hands.
2. It draws no race or color line.
3. The Negro hotel waiters have been, and are the cat's-paw of the hotel employees. When a strike comes, they are ussd as scabs; when the strike is settled, they are thrown out. This ought to be a lesson to you, Mr. Negro Worker.
4. The International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation, will put a stop to this.
5. Mr. Negro hotel worker, do you want more wages, shorter hours and better conditions under which to work? Then join the hotel workers' union.
6. The Hotel Employer is not strong enough to hold the Negro hotel worker on the job. The organized hotel workers are.
7. If black and white hotel workers unite, they can control the hotel industry.
8. If they allow the hotel employers to divide them with the wedge of race prejudice, they will be robbed and exploited, underpaid and overworked. Workers, black and white, unite!. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have all to gain!

New York Main Office:

133 WEST 57th STREET

Harlem Branch Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue.